

Intercultural Contact and Adaptation of International Asian Students in Australian Universities*

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Abstract

This paper sketches out the issues surrounding the intercultural contact and adaptation of international Asian students in Australian universities. It specifically argues the importance of researching intercultural contact from theoretical and practical standpoint. First, the characteristics of previous studies are identified, and the significance of host contact for international students vis-à-vis their cross-cultural adaptation is highlighted. Then, factors affecting the quantity and quality of intercultural contact between international and Australian students are discussed through application of Takai's (1991) model of contact hypothesis. It is argued that many factors influence the nature of intercultural interactions and that international students should be given the opportunities to associate with local students. In view of this, programs aiming to support international students are succinctly examined, and it is suggested that a peer-pairing program is a useful device for promoting intercultural contact and learning on Australian campuses.

Introduction

One of the notable changes in Australian universities for the past decade is an increase in the number of international students. In 1988 there were 18,208 international university students in Australia, and the number had grown to 62,974 by 1997 (Department of Employment, Education, Training and Youth Affairs, 1996 – 1997). Of particular interest is the fact that the majority of international students in Australia come from Southeast Asian countries such as Malaysia, Singapore, Hong

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Kong, and Indonesia (Burke, 1986; Nesdale, Simkin, Sang, Burke, & Fraser, 1995). The dramatic increase in the number of Asian students has induced policy makers to be aware of the importance of internationalization of tertiary education, which focuses on the promotion of intercultural learning and understanding. At a university level, academic staff and university personnel have shown interest in academic and social problems of international students, and intercultural experiences of international students are now recognized as the essential area of research.

The purpose of this paper is to critically review the literature of intercultural contact and adaptation of international Asian students in Australian universities. Specifically, it argues the importance of intercultural contact for international students in relation to their cross-cultural adaptation and accentuates the significance of researching intercultural contact issues at theoretical and practical levels. First, this paper outlines the characteristics of previous research on the cross-cultural adaptation experiences of Asian students in Australian institutions. Secondly, it tentatively identifies factors that literature suggests will facilitate intercultural contact between Asian and Australian students through application of Takai's (1991) contact hypothesis of adjustment. Finally, the paper evaluates the usefulness of support programs that universities can offer to promote intercultural interactions on campuses.

Characteristics of the Previous Studies

Difficulty in defining the adaptation of international students

The phenomenon of cross-cultural adaptation of sojourners has been researched in various disciplines such as psychology, sociology, anthropology, sociolinguistics, and communication studies and has often been studied by interdisciplinary approaches (Kim, 1988). However, the term cross-cultural adaptation or adjustment has been conceptualized in many different ways such as general satisfaction of sojourners, a time-based process, interpersonal interaction, psychopathological consequences, adjustment to change, and competence (Ady, 1995). As a result, no consensus has developed over the past four decades on what sojourner adaptation is or how it is measured (Ady, 1995).

The process of international students' adaptation involves multidimensional

problems (Oei & Notowidjojo, 1990), and it seems difficult to define the state of adaptation of international students. As for the students, academic success is the one of the highest priorities, because failure is the most serious problem for any students (Zwingmann & Gunn, 1983). Thus, adaptation of international students can be measured by their academic performances. However, academic success is not independent of other factors such as social, financial and political factors. Indeed, research has shown that social adjustment and well being of the students are relevant to their academic achievement (Klineberg & Hull, 1979; Rosenberg, 1979). For this reason, it is reasonable to assume that cross-cultural adaptation of international students has both academic and socio-cultural domains.

Three major characteristics

As previously mentioned, a number of articles have been devoted to the study of academic and socio-cultural adaptation problems facing international students in Australian universities. For the purpose of the present study, however, the following argument will concentrate on the socio-cultural aspects of adjustment problems. Based upon the literature review, three points seem to be helpful in sketching out the characteristics of the previous studies: (1) excessive attention to the facts of problems; (2) recent foci on intercultural contact; and (3) lack of theoretical frameworks that facilitate intercultural contact on campuses.

First, it is possible to state that much attention has been paid to the facts of problems rather than to the solution of the problems. Overall, it has been reported that the majority of international students in Australia have adjusted successfully (e.g., Barker, Child, Gallois, Jones, & Callan, 1991; Nesdale et al., 1995). However, Asian students have more difficulties than Australian students in dealing with people of different social status and in establishing close interpersonal relationships and friendships (e.g., Barker et al., 1991). International students are more likely to experience psychopathological problems such as loneliness and depression than Australian counterparts (e.g., Oei & Notowidjojo, 1990). In addition, whilst the nature of problems concerned among international and local students is generally shared, international students experience more problems to a more serious degree than local students (Mullins, Quintrell, & Hancock, 1995). These studies have revealed the seriousness of the socio-cultural adjustment problems facing overseas Asian students. However, what seems to be relatively lacking in the previous studies

is to search for the solution of these problems. Due to a drastic increase in the number of overseas students in recent years, solutions for the social problems of international students have yet to be studied so systematically in Australia.

The second characteristic of the existent literature is that the issues of intercultural contacts between international and Australian students have been raised since the beginning of 1990's. Researchers have quantified the degree of bi-cultural contact and have found the tendency of superficial contacts between the two student groups (e.g., Mullins & Hancock, 1991; Mullins, Quintrell, & Hancock, 1995; Nesdale & Todd, 1993; Nesdale et al., 1995). For example, two thirds of the overseas students who responded to a questionnaire expressed that mixing with Australians was a minor or serious problem and 15 percent of them rated it as a serious problem (Mullins, Quintrell, & Hancock, 1995). Nesdale et al's (1995) research using a sample of over two thousand international students in Australia showed that almost three-quarters of the overseas students had only superficial contact with Australians.

Prior to the studies conducted in Australian universities, much ink has been spent to identify the characteristics of communication and friendship networks of international students in other countries. The results of these studies have shared in common with the results of research in Australia. Most empirical research has pointed out the low level of contacts between international and local students (e.g., Furnham & Alibhai, 1985; Furnham & Bochner, 1982). Furnham and Alibhai (1985) observed that international students at universities in the United Kingdom had a strong preference for making friends with co-nationals first, other nationals second, and host national third. McKinlay, Pattison, and Gross (1996), who carried out survey research at a British university, indicated that closest friends of international students were their co-nationals or students with a shared linguistic background. Similarly, Trice and Elliot's (1993) study indicated that Japanese undergraduate students at universities in the United States spent more than 88% of their study time and 82% of the social time with other Japanese.

At the same time, influences of mixing with host nationals on international students' social adjustment and academic achievement have been the question of research. Studies have shown the correlation between the degree of social contacts of the sojourner with the locals and social adjustment of the sojourner (e.g., Furnham & Alibhai, 1985; Furnham & Bochner, 1982; Quintrell & Westwood, 1994;

Westwood & Barker, 1990; Zimmermann, 1995). While it is explained that support from a co-national and from a host national differs qualitatively (Furnham & Alibhai, 1985), it is argued that the social support and help from a host national network is much more important for adjustment compared to that from a co-national network (Bochner, 1982). Furthermore, a study indicates contact with host national individuals is positively correlated to academic achievement of international students (Westwood & Barker, 1990), though opinions as to this interrelation are still divergent among researchers. Nonetheless, research has suggested that contact with local students is important for international students to adapt successfully to Australian universities.

The third characteristic of the previous research is that despite the importance of intercultural contacts for international students, there has been a lack of theoretical frameworks that facilitate intercultural contacts between international and local students. While theorists in intercultural communication and psychology have identified notable factors influencing the extent of cross-cultural adaptation of sojourners (e.g., Church, 1982; Furnham & Erdmann, 1995; Ward & Kennedy, 1993), few of them have searched for the effective ways to encourage friendly contact between sojourners and host nationals. As Volet and Ang (1998) put it, little attention has been given to the social dynamics and formation of groups of overseas and local students. In view of this, it is fair to say that providing theoretical and practical suggestions to promote contact among people of different cultural backgrounds is critically important.

Factors Affecting the Nature of Intercultural Contact

In this section, the contact hypothesis of adjustment postulated by Takai (1991) is examined to find out the significant factors that would facilitate contact between international and local students in Australian universities. Takai modified Amir's (1969) contact hypothesis and Furnham and Bochner's (1986) social skill/support hypothesis and proposed his model to prepare "resources that lead to skill attainment that leads to social support attainment that finally leads to a feeling of satisfaction with life in the foreign environment" (p. 199). Previous studies have revealed that simply increasing the contact does not necessarily result in mutual understanding between people of different socio-cultural backgrounds (Amir, 1969;

Furnham and Bochner, 1986). But Takai (1991) assumes that "increased contact affords more skill acquisition which allows for more support attainment which results in more contact and so on in a continuous reinforcing cycle" (p. 201). The main reason this paper employs Takai's framework is that his study is one of the few attempts to focus on the components of contact in relation to the international students' cross-cultural adaptation.

To conceptualize the social skills that need to be learned by sojourners, Takai (1991) identifies the factors affecting contacts between sojourners and local people. Although his model does not identify which factors are more influential than others to increase cross-cultural contact, his hypothesis helps us to qualify and quantify the nature of intercultural contact. As shown on Table 1, Takai (1991) particularizes two major components of the contact hypothesis of adjustment as follows:

... the components can be divided into two main categories: the internally determined factors and the externally determined factors. Further, the former can be subdivided into two smaller categories hereon referred to as "resources": the psychological resources and the physical resources. The externally determined factors include situations or conditions faced by a sojourner in which he/she has no control over.... Next, the internally determined factors come with the sojourner him/herself, that is, they are attached to the individual.... The first of two subcategories, the psychological resources, deal with personal dispositions, traits and skills. These resources are relatively difficult to change, as some, such as intelligence, are inherent to the individual. However, factors such as attitude, motivation and prime sojourn goal are not permanent and may be altered.... The second category of resources [physical resources] is less attributed to the individual him/herself, but to the situation in which he/she is placed.... these situations afford a great deal of control. (pp. 199 – 200)

We see, hinted in this extract and Table 1, how numerous factors affect the nature of contacts between international and local students. Since the previous studies have yet to find the significant factors that will increase intercultural contact of Asian students with Australian students, it would be a mere conjecture to

Table 1 Components of the contact hypothesis of adjustment (Adapted from Takai, 1991)

Externally Determined Factors	
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Legal and social restriction on host-sojourner interaction - Attitude of hosts - Nature of living environment - Structure and function of primary group - Political factors 	
Internally Determined Factors	
Psychological Resources	Physical Resources
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Personality - Intelligence - Attitude toward hosts - Motivation toward host contact - Relevance of host contact to final goal of sojourn - Host language competence - Universal social skill - Perceptive skills - Past experiences 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Opportunity to meet hosts - Proximity to hosts - Presence of host willing to be friends - Time - Money

draw conclusion as to how to improve intercultural contacts on Australian campuses. Therefore, based on the literature review, let us look closely at what factors would be worthier to be examined than others for future research in order to enable fruitful intercultural interactions.

Externally determined factors

In terms of externally determined factors, it is worthwhile to discuss three elements, namely, (1) attitude of Australians toward international students, (2) nature of living environment of international students, and (3) structure and function of international students' groups. To the best of my knowledge, there have been no legal, social and political restrictions on contacts between international and Australian students for the past twenty years in Australia. Thus, only three external factors are to be examined.

As for the first factor, it should be recognized that a given environment can be more receptive toward certain groups while unwelcoming toward certain others (Kim, 1994). Since Asians used to be the target of prolonged negative attitude by some Australians (Jackson, 1984), Asian students may find difficulty in social situations partly because of the prejudice and discrimination they may face in everyday life. Indeed, a study shows that approximately sixty percent of international students consider prejudice and discrimination a serious or minor problem (Mullins, Quintrell & Hancock, 1995). In addition, seventy-three percent of

university students from overseas indicated prejudice and discrimination as the area of difficulty (Nesdale et al., 1995). These figures clarify that many international Asian students have perceived negative attitudes of Australians.

On the other hand, there are some findings that reveal the majority of Asian students feel accepted by Australians. For example, almost ninety percent of international students reported that they were somewhat or well accepted by Australians (Nesdale et al., 1995) while in the same study the majority of international students indicated their difficulties in terms of prejudice and discrimination. This result seems to be contradictory, but this numerical discrepancy can be explained by Burke's (1986) contention that the causes of the students' problem with prejudice/racism are unclear. According to Burke (1986), international students may feel prejudiced indirectly (for example, when they see racist graffiti on the walls or when they hear racist remarks) or directly by regular contact with staff members or students. In view of this, it is reasonable to assume that Australians generally accept international students, but some Australians have negative attitude toward international Asian students.

The second important factor that externally influences the contact between international and local students is the nature of living environment of international students. Since residing with other people involves a certain amount of interaction, it is anticipated that those who share the housing with the host nationals have more opportunities for host contact than those who do not. Thus, in order to increase contact with the locals, it is recommended that international students live with local people. However, it is found that most international students lodge with either co-nationals or people from other nations, and few students live with Australian students and families (Nesdale et al., 1995). Despite the shortage of research on the relations between the quantity of intercultural contact and the types of accommodation, anecdotes seem to suggest that overseas students who have a fairly limited amount of host contact tend to live with their co-nationals.

Another externally determined factor is the structure and function of the primary group. Takai (1991) states that the nature of the original group in which international students hold membership affects interaction with the host nationals. Because Takai does not clearly explain this factor, we have scanty information on his idea as to how the primary group influences international students' communication networks. However, in collectivistic cultures where emphasis is

placed upon belongings to a group rather than the importance of individuals' initiative and achievement (Gudykunst, 1994), the members are likely to draw sharper distinction between in-group and out-group and conduct different communication styles (Gudykunst et al., 1992; Triandis, 1988). If this is the case, it follows that many international Asian students, culturally classified as collectivists (Hofstede, 1980), are more likely to stick to their own cultural group than students with Occidental, individualistic cultural backgrounds. Consequently, it explains why many Asian students have difficulty in associating with the local students and tend to adhere to their own cultural enclaves.

Internally determined factors 1 : Psychological resources

As stated at the beginning of this section, Takai (1991) argues some psychological factors are relatively difficult to change but others are not. Whilst psychological elements inherent to the individuals such as personality and intelligence are difficult to be altered, other factors such as host language competence, attitude toward hosts and motivation to have contact with hosts are not permanent and hence, they can be changed. In view of this, it may be useful to briefly look at some of the changeable factors that influence the quality and quantity of intercultural contacts of international Asian students.

First, it is important to point out the impact of English language proficiency on Asian students' intercultural experiences. Since language is a powerful tool of communicating abstract and subtle meanings, the lack of language skill causes communication problems. Indeed, some researchers argue that inadequate language skills and social interaction problems are correlated (Schram, 1988; Surdam & Collins, 1984). Nesdale and Todd (1993) assume that the extent of mixing with Australian students is influenced by the facility of international students with the English language. It is apparent that English language skill is a very noticeable factor in relation to the contact with the local people.

Secondly, the motivation of international students to interact with Australians must be considered. Thus far, there have been few studies on the motivation of Asian students toward host contact, but research has indicated that overseas Asian students show a significantly higher degree of preference for mixing than Australian counterparts (Nesdale & Todd, 1993). This finding indicates that in general international Asian students are highly motivated to have contact with Australians.

Thirdly, it is worthwhile to comment on the relevance of host contact to final goal of Asian students' sojourn. International students are by nature temporary residents in the host society, because their purpose of stay in host culture is to study for the designated periods of time. However, Kim (1994) argues that regardless of the purposes of stay in a new culture, at least some adaptive changes occur in individuals over time and that such changes result in a certain degree of loss of ethnicity. This implies that the reason why some international students actively do not socialize with the locals is that they do not want to change their cultural identity. Gendrin (1991) argues that sojourners are bound to return to their homeland and for this reason, they are less committed to becoming full members of the host society. If this contention is true, it may be that many international Asian students are motivated to associate with Australian students but they do not actually do so, because they tend to hesitate the changes of their own cultural identity.

Finally, social and perceptive skills are considered to be amongst the most significant elements in relation to intercultural contact. Regardless of cultures people belong to, people must acquire sufficient social skills in order to function appropriately in society. Particularly during the course of interaction, perceptive skills, defined as the ability to sense the subtle messages sent through verbal and nonverbal channels (Takai, 1991), are important. Otherwise communication would abound in misunderstandings. Such skills also become fundamental tools to relate to the environment when entering different culture. As Kim (1994) argues, sojourners including international students are handicapped in their relationship with a new culture until they have acquired a sufficient level of behavioral competence. Based on this argument, it is reasonable to state that improving social and communication skills will help international Asian students to facilitate their intercultural contacts.

Internally determined factors 2: Physical resources

Takai (1991) states that physical conditions have much room for improvement while externally determined factors are difficult to control. In view of this, three elements are to be discussed here: (1) opportunity and proximity to meet hosts, (2) presence of hosts willing to be friends, and (3) time and money.

An opportunity to meet hosts significantly influences the nature of intercultural

contact. According to Mullins, Quintrell, and Hancock (1995), having the opportunities to contact with Australians is one of the most repeated requests by international students. Because overseas students are handicapped to communicate in the new environment due to the lack of communication competence, they have difficulty in making friends with the locals unless they are given the chances to meet the host nationals. In addition, it appears that proximity to hosts affects the nature of contact. Without the presence of host country nationals in close proximity to international students, it is almost impossible for overseas students to have contacts with Australian students.

Similarly, the presence of host nationals willing to be friends with international students has an effect on the contact between local and international students. No attempt of international Asian students to make friends with the locals would be possible without the presence of Australian students interested in interacting with overseas students. Research suggests that one of the reasons that international students have difficulty in building relationships with Australians is that Australian students are less interested in communicating with students from overseas. Nesdale and Todd (1993) point out that Australian students are relatively satisfied with the friendship only among Australians; thus, they do not seek friendship with international students.

Finally, it is important to note two fundamental physical factors, time and money. Because some international students, especially postgraduate students are task-oriented, they engage in studying and may not want to spend a lot of time on their leisure and recreation. In addition, on account of their linguistic difficulties resulting in slow reading and writing, overseas students have no time to relax (Burns, 1991). Furthermore, it can be assumed that some international Asian students (e.g., sponsored students) hesitate to spend an extra amount of money, since financial conditions always affect the lifestyles of overseas students. Therefore, it is critically important to be aware that time and money affect the nature of cross-cultural interactions, especially in informal situations.

Promoting Intercultural Contact in Australian Universities

Kim (1984) argues that dealing with cultural differences and studying cross-cultural comparisons alone do not bring about contact and communication.

Since some international students do not have sufficient social skills which enable effective communication that leads to intercultural contact, overseas students should be offered some opportunities to mix with the local students and acquire the adequate social skills. As Barker et al. (1991) mentioned, schemes that help to provide friendship and informal skill training will be beneficial to newly arrived international students. From this viewpoint, this section briefly examines four kinds of programs that international offices at universities can provide to support international students: (1) orientation program; (2) cross-cultural counseling; (3) intercultural communication and/or social skill training; and (4) peer-pair program.

Orientation programs

With the increase in the number of international students, a growing number of universities have begun to offer cultural orientation programs in addition to English language support (McKinlay, Pattison, & Gross, 1996). Defined as "programs that are designed to prepare specific groups of learner to reside in specific target cultures for specific purposes" (Bhawuk, 1990, p. 326), orientation programs range from cognitive-centered learning to behavioral learning in relation to cross-cultural adaptation. However, there is doubt about the effectiveness of this kind of orientation, because the programs are usually provided only in a short period of time (McKinlay et al., 1996). McKinlay et al. (1996) point out the lack of empirical evidence that proves the orientation programs reduce the distress of international students. Since such cultural orientation programs are likely to be provided in a limited amount of time and are usually embedded with general orientation programs, the effectiveness of orientation programs is the subject of controversy.

Cross-cultural counseling

Since the counselors trained within the paradigm of Western psychology have experienced difficulties in dealing with people of non-Western cultural backgrounds, the notion of cross-cultural counseling has become important. This type of counseling plays a significant role in the context where a counselor and a client do not share the same cultural backgrounds. Although counseling is often used for solving problems of a client, cross-cultural counseling can be a useful support for international students and help their intercultural adjustment.

However, international students are reluctant to use psychological services (Westwood & Baker, 1990) and tend to use counseling services as a last resort (Klineberg, 1982). As Burns (1991) argues, most of their problems are likely to be solved by their peers, because in Asian cultures it is uncommon to talk about personal problems to professional people. Thus, it seems difficult for cross-cultural counselors to assist international students who are in trouble.

To improve this situation, institutions should be sensitive to the needs, cultures, and circumstances of international students so that international students can use the support services. As Burns (1991) put it, trained counselors of the relevant ethnic origins are better facilitators for adjustment of international students than those of Australians whose cultural background restricts knowledge and understanding of international students. Therefore, universities should organize culturally sensitive systems of counseling, so that more international students can ask for professional as well as peer group assistance.

Intercultural communication/social skill training

Intercultural communication training refers to "formal efforts designed to prepare people for more effective interpersonal relations when they interact with individuals from cultures other than their own" (Brislin & Yoshida, 1994, pp. 2-3). As pointed out in the previous section, sojourners are socially unskilled in their new environment (Furnham, 1993), and consequently they tend to have difficulties in communicating with local people. Based upon this assumption, intercultural training or social skill training has been developed to help sojourners to acquire sufficient skill and competence that lead to successful cross-cultural adaptation. In most cases, this training is conducted as pre-departure orientation for sojourners, but it is also possible that people arrived in the new culture receive this training. Combining cognitive domains of training with affective and behavioral learning, this training has been proved to be effective for sojourners including international students (Brislin & Yoshida, 1994).

The problem of this training, however, is that it necessitates special trainers, and because numerous international students are simultaneously enrolled, this program can be a financial burden for universities that hire a number of trainers to offer the program to overseas students. Thus, despite the effectiveness of the program, it may be difficult for the institutions that have limited amount of budget to provide

international students with such formal programs.

Peer-pairing program

A peer-pairing program is "a program that links each individual international student to a matched host peer" (Westwood & Barker, 1990, p. 256). In this program, international students are matched with host students who are trained in cross-cultural communication skills beforehand. The criteria of matching is based upon (1) gender, (2) language used, (3) age, (4) field of study, (5) hobbies and interests, (6) country of origin, and (7) other individual differences. Then, the peers are supposed to meet each other at least twice a month, but international students have a choice to discontinue the contact if they think it unnecessary. The roles of a host peer are to be cultural interpreters, facilitators and information givers, referral agents, confidants, and friends (Westwood & Barker, 1990).

Although a few studies have empirically tested the effectiveness of the program, research has shown that international students who had a local peer were significantly more satisfied with their campus life and more willing to use campus services than those who did not participate in the peer-pairing program (Quintrell & Westwood, 1994). It is argued that trained host nationals can become valuable facilitators of adjustment of international students (Quintrell & Westwood, 1994). In addition, this program helps account for the argument that the presence of even one close host national can facilitate social skill attainment and bring about new relationships (Furnham & Bochner, 1986).

In my viewpoint, the peer-pairing program is the most useful device for both international and local students to make them involved with intercultural contact and culture learning. This program contains training and practical domains of culture learning, that is, the program provides the opportunity for both social skill learning and actual intercultural contact between international students and host nationals. In addition, unlike formal intercultural training which necessitates professional trainers, the peer-pairing program can be conducted between international and local students under the guidance of university personnel. Thus, the program can minimize the financial cost for the institutions, and the local students who partake in the program may enjoy their intercultural experiences as well. Consequently, it is expected that this program would facilitate intercultural learning and understanding in Australian universities.

Conclusion

This paper has discussed the issues of intercultural contact and adaptation of international Asian students in Australian universities. First, three major characteristics of the previous research were presented. (1) Most studies have only identified the facts of problems rather than trying to solve the problems. (2) The issue of intercultural contacts has caught scholarly attention since the outset of the 1990's. (3) There has been a lack of theoretical and practical framework that facilitates contact between Asian students and the local Australians. Then, the study looked at factors that would affect the nature of intercultural contacts of international students by employing Takai's (1991) contact hypothesis of adjustment. It was argued that numerous factors influence contacts between overseas and local students and that international students should be arranged opportunities to get to know the host nationals; otherwise it is difficult for overseas students to make friends with the local students. In view of this, programs that support intercultural contacts and enable international students to attain social skills were briefly examined, and the paper contended that peer-pairing program was useful in promoting intercultural interactions on Australian campuses.

Before ending, a few points should be mentioned with respect to the limitation of this paper and directions for future research. First, we have paid scant attention to the relationship among the components of contact hypothesis postulated by Takai (1991). Due to the lack of empirical research in Australian universities, the present study could not specify which factors would be helpful in increasing intercultural contact between international students and the host nationals. Thus, the initial task of future research is to identify factors promoting intercultural interactions. By the same token, attempts to construct the theories of effective intercultural contact should be made. It is through theoretical discussion that we most likely accomplish deeper understanding of intercultural issues. Finally, it is sincerely hoped that more attention will be paid to the support programs, especially the peer-pairing program in order to improve the conditions of international students' adjustment to Australia.

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