Cultural Adjustment in the context of an aid-funded higher education sojourn: an exploratory case study that examines acculturation and re-acculturation challenges for Indonesian PhD Australian scholarship awardees

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The ‘thesis’ folder that sits on my desk has two important pictures that help to sum up my PhD journey. One is an image of a woman flexing her muscles, with the caption reading “You Can Do It”! The other is from Disney’s third segment of *Fantasia*. It depicts Mickey Mouse as the Sorcerer’s apprentice, resorting to magic with a broom stick to succeed in his endeavours. I often think it is the combination of muscle and magic that has got me to the submission stage.

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Declaration

This thesis contains no material which has been accepted for the award of any other degree or diploma at any university or equivalent institution and that, to the best of my knowledge and belief, this thesis contains no material previously published or written by another person, except where due reference is made in the text of the thesis.

Signed [redacted]

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Selected Papers Arising from the Thesis

Below is a list of the conference papers and publications that have arisen from my PhD program and are based on the information gathered for the purpose of the thesis.

Medica (2015) - Reconciling Development and National Interest in an age of uncertainty – Australia Awards Program, 5th Australian Council for International Development, University Conference, "Evidence and Practice in an Age of Inequality", Monash University, 4-5 June.

Medica, K. (2014). Cultural adjustment challenges and family accompaniment: the Indonesian ADS Program Australia's Public Diplomacy Strategy and the Agency of Alumni. Deakin University, Melbourne Campus.

Medica, K (2013) – Cultural Identity – a Case Study of Indonesian Awardees – presentation to Doctoral Colloquium (Annual Australian New Zealand Academy of Management Conference, University of Tasmania, 2-3 December.

Medica, K (2013) Cultural Identity Conceptual Framework – Poster presentation to UK Evaluation Society Annual Conference, "Evaluating to make a difference", London School of Economics, April 17-18.

Medica, Medica, K (2011) - Mixed Motives in Australia's Higher Education Scholarship Programme in Norrad News, Issue 45, pp 35-37.

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Abstract

In the context of rising global mobility, managers and policy makers need to understand the complexity of cultural adjustment issues experienced by educational and professional sojourners, taking into account the context-specific nature and purpose of sojourn and re-acculturation to the home country. The thesis examines the cultural adjustment challenges in the context of an Australian aid-funded PhD-level higher education program and relates these challenges to existing scholarly literature and conceptual models that seek to explain the nature of sojourner cultural adjustment, including inter-cultural relations and identity change. The study offers a new conceptual framework to understand issues of cultural adjustment, including reentry adjustment, which is under-researched in both the international student and expatriate management literature. The in-depth qualitative study investigates the lived experiences of 41 PhD Australian Development Scholarship awardees, including 27 returned Indonesian academics.

The thesis contributes empirical and novel, context-specific findings to existing scholarly international management, international education and intercultural literature. The study extends existing conceptual frameworks to take into account the hybrid and specific nature of these sojourners as both international students and knowledge workers. The study builds on theoretical insights related to adjustment, including motivation, expectancy violations, culture-learning and inter-cultural identity. The findings provide insights that can assist foreign aid and higher education policy makers to enhance the development and educational effectiveness of international higher education programs.

Glossary of Terms

Academic identity is related to the transformation from doctoral student to academic researcher. It involves the sense of feeling like an academic and acceptance by others with whom one interacts, including other faculty members and colleagues (Jazvac-Martek, 2009).

Acculturation refers to the adjustment of an individual to a foreign culture (Martin, 1984). Acculturation refers to the changes in behaviour, values, attitude and identity made by members of one culture as a result of contact with another culture (Gholamrezaei, 1995). Padilla (1980) notes that this entails a complex interactive process involving both members of the cultural group undergoing change and members of the host culture. Berry (1994) noted that cultural change occurs more so in the non-dominant cultural group.

Agency or self-efficacy involves self-esteem and belief in one's capability to reach acculturative goals and acquire skills to assist acculturation (Gholamrezaei, 1995; Gezentsvey & Ward, 2008).

Alumni refers to those ADS awardees who have completed the program and met the PhD requirement.

AusAID refers to the Australian International Aid Agency, an autonomous agency up until October 2013; its functions are now integrated within the Australian Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade (DFAT).

Australia Awards (AA) consists of development scholarships and fellowships, now administered by DFAT. The Australia Awards includes the development scholarships and fellowships, Endeavour Scholarships (administered by the Department of Education and Training) and fellowships administered by the Australian Centre for International Agricultural Research).

Australian Development Scholarships constitute the bulk of scholarships under the broader category of Australia Awards. The ADS program for Indonesia provides for post-graduate

study in Australia and provides for up to 15 per cent of its awards at Doctoral level. The program contributes to development objectives across a range of sectors, taking into account Australia's bilateral aid program priorities. The program seeks to build people-to-people linkages at the individual, institutional and country levels and develop capacity and leadership skills to facilitate home country development (AusAID, 2013b). Since 2013, the program has been more generally referred to as a component of the Australia Awards.

Awardee refers to an Indonesian person who is granted an ADS scholarship to complete a course of higher education study, in this case a PhD-level recognised qualification.

Capacity development is the process by which individuals, organisations, institutions and societies develop abilities (individually and collectively) to perform functions, solve problems and set and achieve objectives. The ultimate purpose of capacity development is to leave behind better skilled individuals and more effective institutions.

Cosmopolitanism refers to an imagined social space that provides for individuals to be grounded in their own identity and self-formed through IC relations that are determined on interconnectedness as well as interdependency that continues to evolve and transform IC identities (Marginson & Sawir, 2011; Rizvi, 2008).

Culture is defined as the learned and shared behaviour of a community of interacting human beings. Hofstede, Hofstede and Minkov (2010) refer to culture as the 'software of the mind', learned from early childhood and manifesting differently in a range of international settings. Culture includes people's beliefs, values, norms, customs and behaviour (Gholamrezaei, 1995).

Cultural adjustment is defined by Hannigan (1990) as involving the process of reconciling the individual and the environment through changes in the individual's knowledge, attitudes, and emotions.

Cultural adjustment framework (CAF) is a tool used to interpret meanings in a given context, in such a way that integrates related theory, literature and findings related to cultural

adjustment. According to Miles and Huberman (1994), frameworks can explain the main things to be studied, including key factors, constructs or variables and the presumed relationships among them.

Culture-distance (Hofstede et al., 2010), sometimes referred to as culture novelty (Black, Mendenhall & Oddou, 1991), influences acculturation and re-acculturation. According to Berry (1992:361), the term is used in reference to 'how far apart two cultural groups are on dimensions of cultural variation', and where culture-distance is great this tends to be less positive for cultural adjustment.

Cultural identity is a self-concept that is derived from the ethnic or cultural membership to which one belongs and learns about. It is shaped by power relations and categorises people and groups relative to others. Cultural identity consigns kinship, ethnicity, language, gender, class, nationality, religion, sexuality and occupational roles within a given society. One's cultural identity is not a constant and can change and transform if one is submerged in a culture that differs from home or offered opportunities not generated by the home environment (Useem, Useem & Donoghue, 1963; Searle & Ward, 1990; Larrain, 1994; Sussman, 2000; 2002; Phinney, 2003; Li & Gasser, 2005).

Culture-learning pertains to the acquisition of relevant social and behavioural skills derived by exposure to a new culture when sojourners learn to negotiate the norms and rules of the new cultural setting as a way of coping with adjustment issues (Bochner, 1986).

Culture shock refers to the difficulties in adjusting to a new culture and associated fears, stress and anxiety related to the loss of familiar cultural markers and cues (Oberg, 1960). Reverse culture shock involves difficulties in re-adjusting back to the home culture.

Development has been defined differently across the literature. For the purpose of this study it is described as a form of progress, moving towards something that is considered better or a form of 'good change' but a change that is meaningful, people-centred with relevance and outcomes for specific contexts (Chambers, 2004).

Developed countries is a term used to describe the relatively richer, more industrialised or economically developed countries of the world, many of which share membership of the OECD.

Developing countries is one of many terms used to describe the relatively poorer countries of the world. Other terms sometimes used are 'Third World', 'South', under-developed or less developed countries (LDCs). Many developing countries are characterised by varying stages of socio-economic development, with different living conditions, social and demographic indicators, as well as historical legacies (Tilak, 1994).

Development effectiveness reflects the extent to which an intervention has brought about targeted results. Development effectiveness considers the extent to which a project or program has achieved its objectives or produced the desired outcome, independent of the costs that were needed for it. The Australian Government established an Office of Development Effectiveness in 2006 to monitor the quality and evaluate the impact of Australian development assistance effectiveness.

Expectancy theory starts with the premise that fulfilment or violation, either negative or positive, of a sojourn expectation can influence cultural adjustment (Martin, Bradford & Rohrlich, 1995) and mitigate against culture shock (Black et al., 1991). The theory contends that a negative or violated expectation will coincide with a poor adjustment (Gullahorn & Gullahorn, 1963; Searle & Ward, 1990; Sussman, 2000).

Global Knowledge Economy (GKE) is the concept closely associated with an important distinction between intellectual capacity to produce ideas, knowledge and information which forms 'knowledge work' as distinguished from manual, physical labour work (Drucker, 1999).

Globalisation. Harman (2005a:121) defines globalisation of higher education as the 'systems and relationships that are practiced beyond the local and national dimensions at continental, meta-nation regional and world levels. These relationships can be technological, cultural, political and economic as well as educational'. Globalisation affects countries in different

ways, based on differences in culture, history, tradition and development priorities (Knight, & de Wit, 1997).

Higher Education, also referred to as advanced tertiary level education, is delivered by a network of teaching and research institutions (including universities, research centres, university colleges, and distance education centres), offering a range of programs and qualifications (Department for International Development [DFID], 2008).

Identity is defined as something that is continually changing and can be multiple. According to Marginson and Sawir (2011:18), identity is 'what people understand themselves or others to be'.

Intercultural refers to a particular kind of interaction or communication that involves people with differences of culture (Bennett, 2013). Intercultural encounters take place between cultures and include the potential for mutual transformation (Marginson & Sawir, 2011). The process of intercultural communication involves interaction between different cultural groups or members that can spur adaptive responses (Gudykunst, 2003; Kim, 2008; 2015a, b; Bennett, 2013).

Intercultural Identity extends the cultural identity theme in a way that emphasises the interplay of acculturation and deculturation with the potential for the emergence of an intercultural personhood that provides for merged self-other orientations (Kim, 2008).

International Development, also called development assistance, international aid, overseas aid or foreign aid, refers to the efforts of developed countries to reduce poverty in developing countries.

International Student includes any student undertaking studies outside their country of citizenship (Böhm & IDP, 2003).

Internationalisation of higher education was defined by Harman (2005b:8) as 'a process of integrating international or inter-cultural dimensions into the teaching, research and service functions of higher education institutions'. Harman noted that the term is broad and extends

to education exports, scholarship, research and management, staffing, domestic student and curriculum issues. IHE is distinguished from globalized higher education which involved systems and relationships outside of the local and national levels.

Knowledge Economy refers to economies based on using knowledge to produce economic benefits, including job creation.

Knowledge workers are individuals with high levels of education and specialist skills combined with the ability to apply these skills and solve problems (Drucker, 1999). Knowledge workers include those researchers who contribute to research and development outcomes that drive economic growth in the knowledge economy. Notwithstanding that most jobs require a knowledge base, it is claimed that knowledge workers come with high-level expertise, education or experience, and the primary purpose of their job is to create, distribute or apply knowledge (Peters, 2007; Davenport, 2015).

Mengubah identitas antar-budaya (translated as changing intercultural identity). This concept is distilled from several meanings. It is firstly emergent and enduring. It is fused with individual, group, relational and academic meaning. It incorporates motivation and self-efficacy to adjust. It manifests in affective, behavioural or cognitive ways. It assumes a sense of global and local belonging.

Official Development Assistance (ODA), also referred to as development aid, is aid given by governments. According to the Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD), ODA is resources transferred by governments on concessional terms with the promotion of the economic development and welfare of the developing countries as the main objective and as distinct from humanitarian or disaster relief aid (Burnell, 2002).

Re-acculturation, Reentry adjustment or Repatriation adjustment involves re-adjustment to the home culture, following a period of acculturation (Martin, 1984). It is a similar but further form of cultural adjustment and regarded as a significantly under-researched dimension of cultural adjustment (Martin, 1984; Black et al., 1992; Sussman, 2002).

Repatriation is the process of returning a person back to one's place of origin or citizenship.

Scholarship is an award of financial aid provided for the purpose of a student to complete further education, however is not limited to programs abroad funded by foreign aid, as the demand is often met by way of scholarships funded from domestic budgets in developing countries for high calibre students to study abroad. Scholarships are usually awarded on various criteria that are articulated by the donor.

Sojourners are individuals who travel abroad for a particular goal, within a specified time period (Bochner, 1986).

Abbreviations and Acronyms

AA	Australia Awards
ADB	Asian Development Bank
ADS	Australian Development Scholarship
AEI	Australian Education International
ANAO	Australian National Audit Office
ASEAN	Association of Southeast Asian Nations
ASG	Australian Scholarships Group (AusAID)
AusAID	Australian Agency for International Development
CAF	Cultural adjustment framework
CIM	Cultural identity model
CN	Co-national(s)
DAC	Development Assistance Committee
DEEWR	Department of Education, Employment and Workplace Relations (Australia)
DFAT	Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade (Australia)
DFID	Department for International Development (UK)

DIKTI	Directorate General of Higher Education (Indonesia)
EAP	English for academic purposes
ELT	English Language Training
EM	Expatriate management
FGD	Focus group discussion
G20	Group of 20
GAD	Gender and Development
GKE	Global knowledge economy
GoA	Government of Australia
GoI	Government of Indonesia
HCN	Host-country national(s)
HDR	Higher degree [by] research
HRD	Human resource development
IADS	Indonesia Australia Development Scholarships
IC	Intercultural
IDP	IDP Education Australia

IELTS	International English Language Testing System
IHE	International higher education
IS	International student(s)
ITB	Bandung Institute of Technology (Indonesia)
LDC	Less developed country
MC	Managing Contractor
MDG	Millennium Development Goals
M&E	Monitoring and Evaluation
MoHE	Ministry of Higher Education
MTDP	Medium Term Development Plan
MTR	Mid-Term Review
NGO	Non-Government Organisation
NTB	Nusa Tenggara Barat
NTT	Nusa Tenggara Timur
OASIS	Online Australian Scholarships Information System (AusAID)
ODA	Official Development Assistance

OECD	Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development
PhD	Doctor of Philosophy
PPIA	Indonesian Student Association of Australia
PR	Permanent residency
RKT	Repatriated knowledge transfer
RP	Reintegration Plan
SRG	Study reference group
SSCI	Social Sciences Citation Index
TCN	Third-country national(s)
UGM	Universitas Gadjah Mada (Indonesia)
UK	The United Kingdom
UN	United Nations
UNDP	UN Development Program
US	United States of America
WB	World Bank

Chapter One:

Introduction to the Study

Chapter 1 - Introduction

1.1 Introduction to the Study[1]

The movement of people across borders involves the crossing of cultural boundaries from the familiar to the less familiar or unknown. In response to the rising demand for higher education, many bilateral, multilateral and philanthropic donors fund higher education scholarships[2] for students from developing countries to study and sojourn in more developed countries. Aims of these foreign aid programs include the stimulation of change at the individual level to facilitate knowledge building and institutional capacity with broader implications for nation building.

Growth in international higher education (IHE) is driven by enrolment pressures arising from the need to build human and cultural capital, the 'knock on' effect of rising primary and secondary education enrolments, a rise in demand alongside insufficient capacity, particularly in developing countries, and high student mobility with increasing participation of female students (Marginson & McBurnie, 2004). Internationalisation of higher education is a broad term that is used to refer to education exports, scholarships, research, staffing, student and curriculum issues. According to Harman (2005b), it provides for the integration of intercultural (IC) dimensions into the teaching, research, and service functions of higher education institutions. The term IC refers to a particular kind of interaction or communication that involves people with differences of culture (Bennett, 2013) and also involves the potential for mutual transformation (Marginson & Sawir, 2011). Higher education is valued

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[1] Terms used in this study are attached in Annex 1 to assist the reader to clarify and define concepts

[2] A Scholarship is an award of financial aid provided for the purpose of a student completing further education, but it is not limited to programs abroad funded by foreign aid.

as an agent of change, an engine of economic growth and a tool to compete in a knowledge-oriented, global market place, where the capacity and need to produce high quality research outputs is growing rapidly. Advancing research capacities of the higher education sector has become an important priority for most countries, with development trajectories linked to public policies that promote enhanced access to educational opportunities and the expansion of English as the global language of business, research and popular culture (Marginson & McBurnie, 2004).

Many scholarship opportunities provide for study in the more economically developed and westernised countries and this is often followed by the mandatory return of these students to their country of origin. International students who typically access these scholarships are motivated by the potential to transform themselves by enriching their personal and professional experience. Benefits include access to qualifications that may not exist at home, development of international networks and worldview, career advancement, social prestige, enhanced English language proficiency and exposure to social and cultural norms that differ from their home environment. Scholarships are based on the premise that the capacity and leadership skills gained abroad will contribute to nation building and generate long-term linkages and partnerships that will be beneficial to both host and recipient nations.

In the context of the rapid expansion of IHE and academic mobility, understanding cultural adjustment, the process of reconciling the individual and the environment through changes in knowledge, attitudes and emotions (Hannigan, 1990), has become of increased significance for higher education institutions, education policy makers, students and IC scholars. Cultural adjustment gives rise to behavioural, attitudinal and values change, as depicted in both the international student (IS) (Rogers & Ward, 1993; Martin, Bradford & Rohrlich, 1995) and expatriate management (EM) literature (Church, 1982; Black Mendenhall & Oddou, 1991). Scholars argue that cultural adjustment is distinguished by way of its psychological and socio-cultural dimensions (Ward & Kennedy, 1993; Ward & Rana-Deuba, 1999; Yang, Noels & Saumure, 2006).

The thesis presents a case study of an Australian aid-funded PhD-level scholarship to Indonesia and in doing so, examines a group of Indonesian post-graduate sojourners who are recipients of this award. Sojourners are individuals who travel abroad for a particular goal to be achieved within a limited time period (Bochner, 1986). Their experience is different from permanent settlers, and is likely to be coloured by the knowledge that they are likely to return home (Berry & Segall, 2002).

This chapter introduces the case study that explores the lived experience of cultural adjustment for Indonesian doctoral awardees and then establishes the significance of the study, the research problem and aims of the thesis. Research questions are identified, along with the theoretical foundations of the study of cultural adjustment. A summary of the research design, its approach and methodology is followed by a short outline foreshadowing what is presented over six subsequent chapters.

The Case Study: Australian Development Scholarship ("the program")

The Australian Development Scholarship (ADS[3]) program to Indonesia provides a case study to explore the cultural adjustment experience of its doctoral-level awardees, taking into account the period of the program from 1998 to 2012. Indonesia is the world's fourth most populous nation, estimated at around 250 million people. It is the most populous Muslim nation, although highly diverse in terms of language and culture. Indonesia is a member of the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) and the Group of 20 (G20) group of major economies. According to the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and

[3] The ADS, which up until October 2013 was administered by the former Australian International Aid Agency - AusAID, was the largest Australian aid-funded scholarship program. The ADS program for Indonesia in 2013 made provision for up to 475 post-graduate scholarship awards, with up to 15 per cent of these awards allocated for doctoral-level study in Australia. The program commenced in 1998 and is now administered by Australia's Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade (DFAT) under a single brand, now known as the Australia Awards program. The value of each doctoral-level ADS award in 2014 was AUD$272,249 (AusAID, 2001b).

Development (OECD) and Asian Development Bank (ADB), it is ranked as Southeast Asia's largest economy and overall as the 16th largest economy in the world (OECD/ADB, 2015). Its location, geography and demography give Indonesia an important geopolitical and strategic role in the region.

The ADS scheme forms a significant element of the Australian aid program, with the provision of more than 10,000 scholarships over the past 50 years (AusAID, 2008a, b). ADS is an integral component of the Australian aid program and forms part of its suite of scholarship awards to Indonesia. The program seeks to develop capacity and leadership skills, so that individuals can contribute to economic and social development in their home country and build people-to-people linkages at the individual, institutional and country levels (AusAID, 2013b). The term development refers to a form of progress, moving towards something that is considered better or a form of 'good change' that is meaningful, people-centred with relevance and outcomes for specific contexts (Chambers, 2004). ADS awards are for study in Australia at masters and doctoral levels; however, for the purpose of this thesis, the focus of the case study is limited to the doctoral[4] award aspect of the program.

In spite of a long history of supporting aid-funded higher education, until this study, there has been no in-depth examination of how cultural adjustment is experienced in the case of Indonesian doctoral level awardees. A review of the cultural-adjustment literature suggests there are several problems that challenge the assumptions of the ADS program. Whilst there is evidence that the program is achieving its aims insofar as the completion of the PhD program and the subsequent mandated return of these awardees are concerned[5], program outcomes pertaining to the awardee's repatriation of knowledge, skills and attitudes gained

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[4] The focus is on research doctoral students, as opposed to professional doctoral students.

[5] Monitoring and evaluation data suggest that around 97 per cent of program Alumni (including masters and doctoral awardees) return to Indonesia and the majority return to the organisations where they previously worked (AusAID, 2011b).

on-Award and the implications of this for nation building should not merely be assumed, especially given the large investment costs over considerable time.

The focus of this study is on the experience of cultural adjustment in the context of the ADS program to Indonesia funded by AusAID[6]. The thesis examines and relates the cultural adjustment challenges in the context of the ADS program to existing scholarly literature and conceptual models that examine the nature of sojourner cultural adjustment, including IC relations and identity change. Until 2015, Indonesia was the largest recipient of Australian aid dollars and its ADS Program is the most supported, in terms of scholarship numbers and aid dollars. The program commenced in 1998 and is now in its third program phase with an annual provision in 2013 of 475 post-graduate awards to study in Australia, with provision for around 70 doctoral level scholarships (AusAID, 2011b). Details of the ADS program can be found in Chapter 2.

The in-depth qualitative case study investigates the lived experiences of 41 doctoral-level ADS awardees (12 completing; 29 completed), all of whom held positions in Indonesian higher education or research institutions, to which they were compelled to return on completion of studies in Australia. Data were collected in Australia and in Indonesia during 2011 and 2012.

The case study explores the on-Award (in Australia) and post-Award (the period that follows study in Australia – typically when ADS awardees return home to Indonesia) experience for those recipients who participated in the ADS PhD-level study program. The explicit aim of the ADS program is for its awardees to succeed during their on-Award and post-Award experience.

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[6] Following a change of government in 2013, AusAID, the Australian International Aid Agency, was integrated into Australia's Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade.

1.2 The Significance of this Study

Consistent with the literature, the thesis treats cultural adjustment as comprising two core phases: (1) the phase of 'acculturation', which occurs when an individual encounters a foreign culture; and (2) the phase of re-acculturation which occurs when individuals repatriate to their home country (Martin, 1984). Though both phases are crucial to the cultural adjustment experience, the re-acculturation experience is less researched and often understood in isolation from the initial adjustment experience. This thesis, however, accepts that it is important to address both dimensions when discussing the experience of reentry adjustment. This is because change is experienced during both phases of the adjustment experience and in such a way that the 'whole' experience is greater than the 'sum of its parts'.

The study considers the relationship between both sojourn phases and the implications for building theory. The study reflects on research pertaining to IS and professional sojourners and contributes culturally context-specific findings to both the IS and EM literature. Research on cultural adjustment has tended to focus on specific sojourners (typically ISs or expatriate workers). The cohort of awardees examined comprises higher research degree (HDR) doctoral students from Indonesia and it is argued that the identity of this cohort represents a hybrid group that encompasses both student and repatriated academic workers[7]. Hence case study findings will also contribute empirical and theoretical findings that can inform the scholarly IS, EM and IC literature, as well as bolster the effectiveness of Australian and potentially other international foreign aid funded higher education programs.

IHE has been well studied, yet research on the mobility and cultural adjustment of academics is limited to a small number of studies (Welch, 1997; Richardson, & McKenna, 2003;

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[7] The ADS awardees in this study held existing jobs in Indonesian higher education institutions whilst on-Award in Australia. As a consequence many received employment benefits in addition to the Australian aid-funded scholarship stipend.

Richardson, McBey & McKenna, 2008; Selmer & Lauring, 2009; 2011; 2013a; 2013b; Froese, 2012). Moreover, the deficit in the literature is even more acute in relation to doctoral students who study abroad on aid-funded scholarships and are mandated to return home at the end of their sojourn experience. Indeed, a primary contribution of this thesis is that it pioneers the study of repatriated academics and does so in such a way that combines understanding of both the acculturation and re-acculturation experiences.

The study delivers a new cultural adjustment framework (CAF) that considers the sojourn trajectory in the context of the scholarly literature on cultural adjustment, including re-acculturation or reentry adjustment. The CAF is a tool used to interpret meanings in the given context of the study in such a way that integrates related theory, literature and findings related to cultural adjustment (Ravitch & Riggan, 2012). The CAF draws from existing frameworks (Black, Gregersen & Mendenhall, 1992; Sussman, 2000; 2002., Ward, 2008; Berry, 2009) on cultural adjustment themes in the context of international academic sojourns. The CAF provides a new analytical lens that can articulate and organise research ideas related to the phenomena of cultural adjustment, taking into account key IS, EM and IC themes whilst providing scope to examine gaps of inquiry relating to cultural adjustment and motivation (Lazarova & Tarique, 2005; Valk, Velde, Engen & Godbole, 2014), academic repatriation and the dynamic of multiple identities and how these are shaped by mobility, transition and formal learning (Rizvi, 2005a). The CAF incorporates an overlay that reflects the importance of multiple identities that reflect new and IC self-understandings.

1.3 The Research Problem

In the context of rising global mobility, managers and policy makers need to understand the complexity of cultural adjustment issues experienced by sojourners, taking into account the context-specific nature and purpose of sojourn.

1.3.1 Research and Program Tensions

Cultural adjustment research has tended to concentrate mainly on the acculturation experience of sojourners, rather than the total adjustment experience, including reentry

adjustment, which is often experienced more negatively. As a consequence there is limited understanding of cultural adjustment, including the similarities and differences between the acculturation and re-acculturation experience, with studies mostly focused on each phase in isolation.

The program assumes its doctoral awardees will return and enhance the institutional capacity of their teaching and research institutions in which they are employed, yet the repatriation of skills and knowledge can be compromised if there is a weak enabling environment for knowledge transfer and for active participation in the global knowledge economy (GKE) (Keats, 1969; Daroesman & Daroesman, 1992; Kiley, 1999; Cannon, 2000; Cyranoski, Gilbert, Ledford, Nayar & Yahia, 2011). In the context of emerging knowledge economies, there is less scope to assume that awardees who have been steeped in Western academic and cultural norms and who have earned a PhD from an Australian university will return to Indonesia, reintegrate, and contribute to nation building. Whilst in many ways this transformation of social, cultural and professional identities is to be applauded, awardees, particularly those of high academic calibre, may encounter opportunities for further academic mobility, including possibilities for migration generated by the demand for researchers with the capacity to publish in high-quality journals. If this tendency is manifested strongly it may constitute a serious challenge to the viability of the program's nation building aims.

The nature of these types of programs underscores a tension. Becoming IC (Kim, 2008) and mediating multiple identities (Soong, Thi Tran & Hoa Hiep, 2015) challenges the prevailing 'West knows best' model (Brown, Lauder, Ashton, Yingje & Vincent-Lancrin, 2008: 143), with inherent assumptions that Western concepts and theories delivered through increasingly homogenised doctoral programs, can be imitated and successfully applied in an IC context (Alatas, 1972). For example, the trend towards a more universal doctoral model (Group of Eight, 2013) carries implications in terms of mainstreaming aspects of supervision and pedagogy that could challenge the potential for IC learning.

To enhance the sustainability of ADS-type programs, it is incumbent on policy makers and practitioners, in both the host and recipient countries, to address these concerns. The thesis

advocates reforms that will optimise the benefits of these programs so that repatriated doctoral students can successfully re-orient and over time make positive contributions to home country development. The ADS doctoral-level program to Indonesia provides a fitting case study, bearing in mind that cross-cultural boundaries are influenced by both culture-general and culture-specific phenomena (Ward & Rana-Deuba, 2000).

1.4 Research Aims

There are four research aims. The first aim is to contribute empirical and novel, context-specific findings about cultural adjustment in the context of the lived experiences of ADS Indonesian doctoral awardees. The aim takes into account that IC transitions are influenced by both culture-general and culture-specific phenomena (Ward & Rana-Deuba, 2000).

The second aim is related to the hybrid IS and academic repatriate identity of the ADS awardees, and the potential to contribute empirical findings of relevance to both the IS, EM and IC scholarly literatures. Such findings will contribute to knowledge about acculturation and re-acculturation, the latter experience notably under-researched in the scholarly literature or researched in isolation from the initial adjustment phase (Martin, 1984; Black et al., 1992; Sussman, 2002).

A third aim is to develop a ‘fit for purpose’ new CAF that is multi-disciplinary, context-relevant, comprehensive in terms of the overall trajectory of cultural adjustment and able to address current gaps in research. The discourse, models, empirical studies and theoretical frameworks relating to cultural adjustment represent the ‘back-bone’ for building the CAF, an important research lens used to guide this study of cultural adjustment. The CAF is informed by the IS, EM and IC literatures and incorporates possibilities to build theory by addressing of gaps identified in the extant literature. The CAF informs the research approach, including research questions and synthesis of findings to the extant literature. Specific theories or models of adjustment that are examined in relation to the findings in this study and represented in the CAF include motivation, culture-learning, expectancy theory and IC identity theory.

The fourth aim is to identify practical interventions that will assist cultural adjustment, including reentry adjustment for ADS awardees, with implications for IHE and aid policy development. Case study findings can provide practical insights for use by bilateral and multilateral aid agencies, educational policy makers, higher education institutions and research scholars interested in IHE issues and international development studies. In addition, the CAF offers a conceptual framework that can be adapted for analysis of other international aid-funded higher education initiatives.

In order to address the research problem and address the aims of this thesis a number of research questions, including sub-questions, are articulated to guide this study.

1.5 The Research Questions

The key research question that guides this study of cultural adjustment is supported by subsidiary questions relating to the acculturation and re-acculturation phases of the sojourn experience. The primary and overarching research question is:

- How is cultural adjustment experienced by Indonesian PhD awardees of an Australian aid-funded program?

Research sub-questions relating to the acculturation phase of the sojourn are:

i) What are the salient factors that can influence the on-Award acculturation experience of the ADS PhD awardees?
ii) What program interventions can assist the Indonesian PhD awardees to acculturate effectively?

Research sub-questions relating to the re-acculturation phase of the sojourn are:

iii) What are the salient factors that can influence the post-Award re-acculturation experience of the ADS PhD awardees?
iv) What interventions can assist the Indonesian PhD awardees to re-acculturate effectively?

1.6 Theoretical Foundations of the Study

The study is informed by four theoretical perspectives derived from the IS, EM and IC literature that has examined cultural adjustment and the sojourn experience. Each of these perspectives is highlighted in the CAF and informs understanding of the cultural adjustment experience. Whilst there are several perspectives drawn upon to understand the research problem, these perspectives together in the CAF offer useful constructs for studying the adjustment experience. The perspectives are grouped as follows: motivation and adjustment (Chirkov, Vansteenkiste, Tao & Lynch, 2007; Gezentsvey & Ward, 2008); culture-learning (Bochner, 1986; Church, 1982; Black & Mendenhall, 1991), expectancy violation (Black, 1992; Martin et al., 1995; Stroh, Gregersen & Black, 1998) and IC identity (Kim, 2003; Cannon, 2000; Sussman, 2000; 2002; Berry, 2009; Collier, 2009; Marginson & Sawir, 2011).

The thesis assumes that academic motivations are related to cultural adjustment (Harman, 2003; Jazvac-Martek, 2009; Valk et al., 2014; Jepsen, Sun, Budhwar, Klehe, Krausert, Raghuram & Valcour, 2014), given the specific nature of the sojourn. Motivation is also linked with agency, the belief in one's own ability to acculturate (Tran, 2011; Marginson, 2014). Together these aspects of motivation adjustment offer theoretical insights that are incorporated in the CAF (Chirkov et al., 2007; Gezentsvey & Ward, 2008). The nature of motivation for academic expatriates is likely to be both intrinsic and self-initiated (Lauring & Selmer, 2015) as well as influenced by friends, peers, family and career pressures (Maslen, 2010; Guerin, Jaytilaka & Ranasinghe, 2014).

Culture-learning theory emphasises the acquisition of relevant social and behavioural skills that are derived by exposure to a new culture (Bochner, 1986; Black & Mendenhall, 1991; Selmer, 2002; Zhou, Jindal-Snape, Topping & Todman, 2008). The thesis is informed by the notion of culture-learning proposed by Bochner (1986) that identifies a process in which sojourners learn to effectively negotiate a new cultural setting. Acculturation according to a culture-learning perspective is based on learning about the norms and rules of the new cultural setting as a way of coping with adjustment issues (Bochner, 1986).

Expectancy theory addresses the fulfilment or violation, either negative or positive, of expectations which can influence cultural adjustment (Martin et al., 1995). It is argued that, where anticipatory adjustment is maximised, adjustment will be quicker and more effective with fewer surprises that can result in negative reactions, including culture shock (Black, Mendenhall & Oddou, 1991). According to the application of expectancy theory, returned sojourners will tend to expect and prepare accordingly for changes at the time of initial transition but are less likely to do so prior to returning home and thus they commonly experience reentry more negatively. The theory contends that this negative experience is due to false or violated expectations on the part of sojourners who tend to assume they will return to an unchanged home and as unchanged individuals (Gullahorn & Gullahorn, 1963; Searle & Ward, 1990; Sussman, 2000), or a home that will respect the fact that one has changed.

In the case of acculturation, culture-learning and expectancy violation theories share commonalities that can explain aspects of the on-Award ADS experience. However, in the case of re-acculturation, the post-Award experience is explained more adequately by expectancy theory, in particular the specific adjustment literature on expectancy violations (Black, 1992; Martin et al., 1995; Kiley, 1999; Stroh et al., 1998).

The literature relating to IC identity is understood variously by scholars, starting with the notion that it categorises people relative to others (Rizvi, 2008). In this thesis, the term IC identity will be used to highlight multiple identities and offer an inter-disciplinary perspective to understand the phenomena of identity change, typologies of cultural identity (Kim, 2003; Berry, 2005; Sussman, 2000) and multiple sojourn identities. IC identity is said to shape the potential for a successful and sustained cultural adjustment with implications for greater psychological and functional fitness (Kim, 2003; Berry, 2005; Sussman, 2000). This theoretical lens positions the notion of IC identity taking into account cultural hybridity (Koehne, 2005; Rizvi, 2005b), cosmopolitanism (Rizvi, 2008) and a ‘third place’ culture (Cannon, 1999; 2000; Butcher, 2009), all of which are concepts used to explain aspects of multiple identity transformation. Analogous to the notion of multiple identities is an emerging academic identity (Jazvac-Martek, 2009) associated with the transition from doctoral student to knowledge worker.

1.7 The Research Design, Approach and Methodology

The methodology utilised to grasp the phenomena of cultural adjustment emphasises that there are multiple understandings of reality (Denzin & Lincoln, 2005) and that such understandings are constructed rather than discovered during the course of human social interaction involving both subject and object (Crotty, 1988; Stake, 1995; Blaikie, 2007). An interpretative approach is used to understand the perspective of the ADS awardees about their adjustment experience that is linked to the selection of a qualitative approach, which can more fully document people's lived experiences than is possible with quantitative approaches. A qualitative study can also balance the scholarly literature, which has tended to apply a positivist approach to understanding issues of cultural adjustment. It is argued by scholars (Martin et al., 1995; Thompson & Christofi, 2006) that qualitative research offers the means to explore the lived experience of educational sojourns and cultural adjustment.

A case study approach to understanding the awardee perspective of their sojourn experience provides for a bounded system that emphasises interpretation and knowledge of the particular (Stake, 1994; Yazan, 2015) which in this study pertains to the ADS doctoral-level program to Indonesia. A case study approach is deemed able to capture qualitative and individual perspectives across this program (Patton, 2002), including unintended impacts relating to awardees' experience of cultural adjustment. In other words, case study offers particularisation, rather than generalisation and for this study the choice of the ADS Program is instrumental in terms of how it facilitates understanding of cultural adjustment in a particular case study context (Stake, 1995). Notwithstanding the flexibility that case study research can offer, it does not seek to test hypotheses (Merriam, 1998) and resists reductionism, with unique and non-comparative findings that are limited in terms of wider generalisation (Stake, 1995).

The case study approach using qualitative methods (60 semi-structured interviews; 1 focus group discussion) was selected to articulate the diverse and lived experience of 41 ADS doctoral awardees, both on-Award and post-Award. Details about the interviews and FGDs are provided in Chapter 4. The specific cohort of awardees chosen for the case comprises

doctoral-level research students who are academics from Indonesian higher education and research institutes. The thesis focuses on the perspectives of this cohort for which there are no studies to date that solicit insights into the experience of cultural adjustment as it is shaped during the process of acculturation and re-acculturation.

1.7.1 Reflexivity (researcher bias)

It is appropriate to place the ideas for this study in the context of the researcher's professional career in international development practised across the Asia-Pacific region, including a professional sojourn in Indonesia and work with DFAT and other Australian government scholarship programs[8]. In addition, ideas for this study, including the methodology, are shaped by the researcher's previous roles within a higher education setting, both as a student and an employee. Since ideas are never formed in a vacuum, other previous postgraduate studies in Public Policy and Management, Development Studies, Workplace Training and Career Development are expected to add a further 'lens' of interpretation or disciplinary orientation. In addition, a practical bias is declared, with the author seeking to improve higher education aid policy and practice.

1.8 Structure of the Thesis

The thesis is presented over seven chapters. This introductory chapter outlines the scope of the research problem, aims and implications for building theory. It also locates the study within the extant IS, EM and IC literature which has shaped the key research questions. Finally, it summarises the research design, approach and methodology.

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[8] Work on Australia Awards program completed by the researcher has included programs in Bangladesh, Maldives, Mongolia, Pacific regional and Endeavour Awards. Further related contract roles included completion of two evaluations for the Victorian International Doctoral Scholarship and Victorian Indian Doctoral Scholarship.

Chapter 2 provides an overview of the case study, the ADS program. Related to the overview of the case study is background information about the state of IHE and the growth in doctoral studies, along with how demand for this credential has been met by the provision of aid-funded scholarships. This chapter also includes an overview of the chronology and aims of the ADS program and outlines important tensions related to the state of Indonesia's knowledge sector.

Chapter 3 explores in detail the extant literature on cultural adjustment, including its aggregation of acculturation and re-acculturation studies. The literature considers empirical studies and review theories deemed of relevance, focusing on motivation, expectancy theory and culture-learning. In addition, the review examines models of adjustment, including the stress-growth-adjustment (Berry, 2003; Kim, 2003) and cultural identity model (Sussman, 2000). The literature focuses on the general, professional and relational challenges of adjustment, including possibilities for cultural identity (Bochner, 1986; Black et al., 1991; Ward, 2013; Berry, 2002; Sussman, 2002; Kim, 2003) transformations, including the potential to develop a 'third place culture' (Cannon, 2000; Butcher, 2002). A review of the literature supports the contention that re-acculturation is generally deemed the more challenging aspect of cultural adjustment (Sussman, 2000, 2002; Black et al., 1992). The literature review also examines relevant salient adjustment factors that seek to explain how cultural adjustment is experienced.

Chapter 4 outlines the overall interpretivist research approach and methodology used to address the research problem and elaborates on aspects of the ADS Program to Indonesia, the specific case study for this thesis. The chapter discusses the research steps, including recruitment of respondents both in Australia and in Indonesia, methods of data collection and analysis to interpret findings. Finally, the chapter addresses research limitations and biases and the positionality of the researcher.

Chapter 5 (Acculturation) and Chapter 6 (Re-acculturation) present and interpret the empirical findings. Both chapters use the extant literature to understand, critique and interpret the key messages from the scholarly literature against the key empirical findings. Both

chapters highlight the salient findings that are in support of and refute the existing scholarly literature, whilst responding to the key research questions.

The concluding Chapter addresses the implications for building theory by using the CAF to synthesize how cultural adjustment theories amalgamate to explain key aspects of cultural adjustment, including the nature of multiple identities that are shaped and transformed during an international sojourn. A further contribution of this chapter is to address the key research question and the four subsidiary research questions. The chapter restates the contribution to the broader IS, EM and IC literature and the implications for building theoretical understandings of repatriation that take into account the distinctive nature of academic repatriation. After a discussion of the implications for policy and practice, the thesis identifies research limitations and areas for further research.

Chapter Two:

The Study Context

Chapter 2 – The Study Context

2.1 Introduction to the Study Context

The thesis examines cultural adjustment in the context of an Australian aid-funded international higher education (IHE) scheme, titled the Australian Development Scholarship (ADS) Program to Indonesia. The ADS program to Indonesia, which is examined over three program phases from 1998 to 2012, provides a case study to explore the complex nature of cultural adjustment and build theory (Yin, 2009; Eisenhardt, 1989; Eisenhardt & Graebner, 2007). The purpose of this chapter is to provide the reader with background information to anchor the study of cultural adjustment in the context of the rising demand for higher education, including doctoral-level study. The chapter examines the way this demand has been partially met through the provision of aid-funded scholarships from donor governments, such as Australia. This is followed by information about the policy and program background relating to the ADS Program, including the doctoral-level award. The chapter incorporates an overview of the state of Indonesia's knowledge sector as further context for the study.

2.2 The Global Knowledge Economy and the demand for Doctorate education

The rapid expansion of higher education over the past century is a worldwide phenomenon. Higher education is increasingly international, borderless and expanding although the rhetoric of borderless categories highlights a paradox of methodological nationalism whereby higher education discourse has maintained the nation state as identity 'containers' for IS societies (Schiller, 2010).

The Asia-Pacific region is currently ranked as the largest regional source of ISs who study in Australia (Norton, 2014). International education represents Australia's largest service export, with higher education students generating AUD$12.5 billion in export income for the Australian economy in 2014-5 (O'Malley, 2015). Growth in demand is related to the demand for increased human and cultural capital, including proficiency in English language, such

factors being important tools to sustain economic growth in modern knowledge-intensive economies where research and innovation drive economic expansion (Tremblay, 2005; Rizvi, 2009a).

The demand for PhD scholarships is rising worldwide and as a consequence doctoral programs have increased, with the scale of growth indicated by expanded programs in all regions of the world (Nerad & Evans, 2014) and still trending upwards in most nations[9] (Pedersen, 2014), including in Australia (Bawa, Gudmundsson, Jayaram & Kiley, 2014). In a recent study of globalisation and its impact on the quality of PhD education, the increase in PhD production was broadly attributed to the demand for knowledge workers in a knowledge economy (Nerad & Evans, 2014).

Doctoral programs are becoming more generic to fit universal requirements in academia and industry, although the notion of quality is still subject to interpretation. At an international level there is general agreement that a defined set of expected outcomes for doctoral education should include a contribution to knowledge through original research, development of critical thinking, independent learning and English language proficiency. In addition, given that increasingly a PhD is utilised for endeavours in business, industry, civil society and government, the development of transferable employability skills and competencies is a feature of contemporary doctorate studies. As a consequence, PhD programs are becoming more standardised and structured to include three to four years full-time study with provision for one to two years of coursework as well as other opportunities to build independent research skills and other 'soft skills' to enhance employability (Bawa et al., 2014).

In order to fulfil a need for quality PhDs, increasing numbers of doctoral students are completing doctoral studies at home as well as abroad, with vast differences between countries and institutions. A key feature of the changing nature of the PhD award in terms of

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[9] Response to demographic changes and higher education needs have led to downsizing of the higher education system in some countries, such as Japan and Korea (Cyranoski et al., 2011).

quality is associated with research outputs, typically demonstrated through publications in Western journals and increasingly viewed as an important measure of research success (Nerad & Evans, 2014). This is especially the case, given the context of the recent expansion of supply in doctorates and concerns about graduate quality (Cyranoski et al., 2011).

Many developing countries recognise the importance of the PhD and have developed targets to increase the numbers of graduate research academics (Perna, Orosz, Jumakulov, Kishkentayeva & Ashirbekov, 2015) who can use their independent research skills to contribute to new knowledge that will be applied to advance the interests of their home economies (Kapur & McHale, 2005; Bernstein, Evans, Fyffe, Halai, Hall, Jensen & Ortega, 2014). Universities in developed countries are increasingly seen as a hub for achieving these aims. The premise is that the quality of knowledge and skills gained in reputable institutions abroad will lead to innovation and direct societal and economic benefits in the home country of the doctoral graduate student (Perna et al., 2015).

In response to the demand for higher education in developing countries, aid donors (bilateral, multilateral and philanthropic) have made available higher education scholarships to enable high quality students to gain opportunities to study abroad at high quality institutions, mostly situated in the more developed countries (Altbach, 2003)[10].

2.3 Australian Development Scholarships

Key drivers of Australian aid policy have included an eclectic mix of foreign policy and economic objectives, associated with a neo-liberal, or free market, approach (Medica, 2011). Whilst the debate about the benefits of aid-funded higher education is outside the scope of the thesis, aid-funded higher education is built around the logic that developing countries will benefit from investments in higher education, as a key element of the development process

[10] Whilst a large proportion of these international higher education scholarships are funded by development assistance, many are also funded by domestic budgets in developing countries.

that enhances skills, knowledge, attitudes and motivation, necessary to drive forms of economic and social capital accumulation, with ‘trickle-down’ effects that provide for economic and social development to occur (Stiglitz, 2004; Collins & Rhoads; 2010; Rizvi, 2011). This logic has guided the Australian scholarship program since its inception in the 1950s with the advent of the Colombo Plan.

Foreign aid funded scholarships have been a feature of Australia’s aid to the Asia Pacific region since the emergence of the Colombo Plan in 1951. Since this time, scholarships have provided assistance for individuals from a range of developing countries to undertake studies at Australian education institutions. Between 1951 and 1980, more than 20,000 Asian students from over 15 nations studied in Australia under the Colombo Plan, mainly at undergraduate or sub-degree level (Alex, 2000; Oakman, 2002; Lowe & Oakman, 2004; Connell, 2009). The Colombo Plan initiative aimed to halt communist encroachment and strengthen the economic and social development of member countries in the region (Rizvi, 2004; Connell, 2009). The program was extended several times until 1980, when it evolved into bilateral aid arrangements.

In policy terms, events that have shaped Australian aid-funded scholarships include the tabling of the Jackson Committee’s Review of the Australian Overseas Aid Program in 1984 and the subsequent Goldring Report. As policy drivers for IHE and the aid program more generally, both reports determined the basis for the simultaneous expansion of fee-paying and aid-funded higher education aligned to partner country programs (Fraser, 1984). Scholarship programs leading up to the ADS included schemes undertaken in the 1990s, such as the Equity and Merit Scholarship, the John Crawford Scholarship, Australian Sponsored Training Scholarships and the Australian Development Cooperation Scholarship (Connell, 2009).

The 1997 Simons Review reinforced the emphasis on scholarship linkages with country programming and the maintenance of academic merit and equity-based scholarship programs. This review provided for policy rigour across the aid program, institutionalising aid effectiveness and establishing the Office for Development Effectiveness (Simons, P.,

Hart, G., & Walsh, C., 1997). The review was shortly followed by the establishment of the ADS Program in 1998. The last major aid review, *Australian Aid Promoting Growth and Stability* (AusAID, 2006), set the scene for bringing the former schemes together under the umbrella of the Development Scholarships linked to bilateral country programs (Chalid, 2015). This was followed by an exponential rise in scholarships which was subsequently overturned in 2013, following a change of government in Australia and a dramatic cut across the entire aid portfolio (Ireland & Hall, 2013).

These policy reviews shaped the trajectory of the ADS Program which commenced in 1998 and now forms the 'centre-piece' for what is more broadly referred to as the Australia Awards. The constituent programs that comprise the Australia Awards are illustrated in Fig 1 and highlight development scholarships, including ADS, Leadership Awards, Fellowships and the Endeavour Award (administered by the Department of International Development).

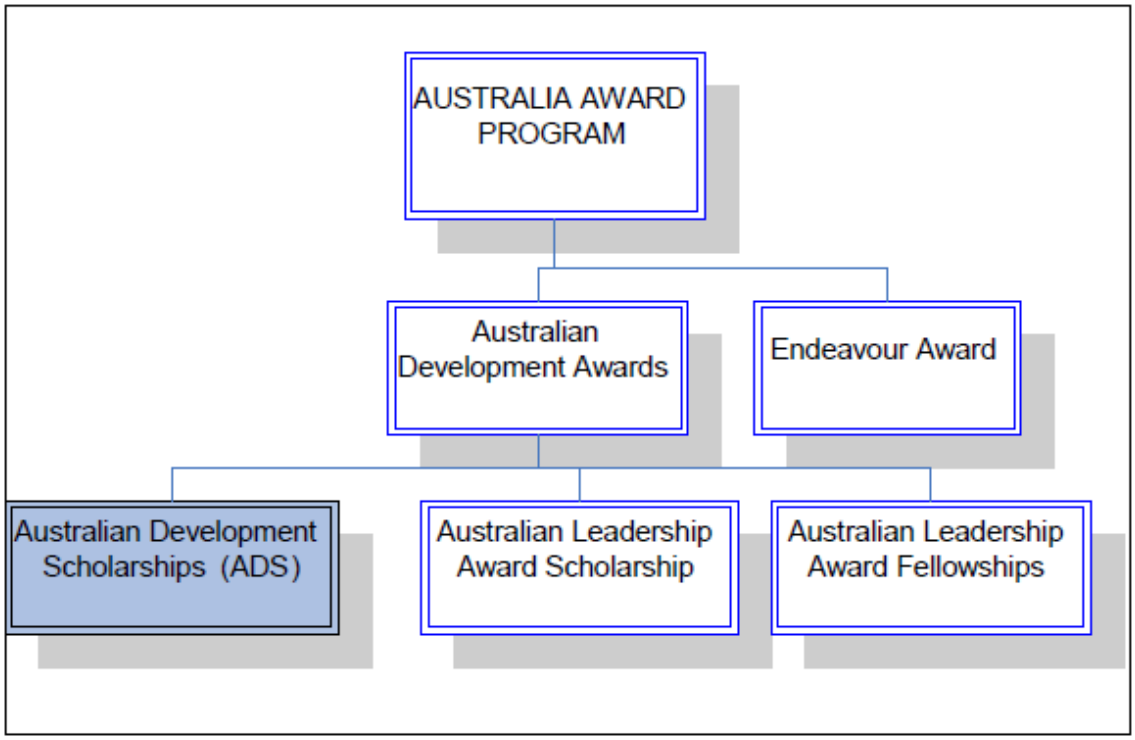

Figure 1. Australia Awards - constituent programs

The ADS program is the principal bilateral aid mechanism by which Australia provides scholarship assistance for ISs to undertake higher education studies in Australia. The

program commenced in 1998 and is implemented in over 30 countries, across the regions of Asia, Pacific, Africa and Middle East. Provision is made for up to 1,000 awards annually to undertake full-time studies in Australia, mostly conducted at postgraduate masters level but with some programs offering study at doctoral level[11]. At the time of data collection in 2011, Indonesia was by far the main recipient of PhD scholarships.

The model for managing implementation of this program is often through an appointed Managing Contractor (MC) tasked with responsibility to provide country-specific support, promotion of awards, pre-selection of awardees through annual competitive selection rounds, placements of students, and delivery of pre-departure and reintegration programs. Reporting of program performance is also the responsibility of the MC, with provision for independent program evaluations, most of which are designated 'commercial-in-confidence' and not made publicly available.

In addition, to the MC arrangements, AusAID typically outsourced on-Award student support to Australian universities. The universities deliver a 5-week academic orientation program, administer the payment of scholarship stipends, arrange approvals for field work and other requirements, as well as provide other practical on-Award support. Student services are usually facilitated by a dedicated student contact officer employed by the university, with activities mainly focused towards the initial settling in of awardees.

The ADS program is premised on achieving both development and foreign policy objectives, including building 'soft-power diplomacy' (Keohane, 1984), involving strengthened regional and diplomatic ties through higher education programs and people-to people linkages (Kapur & Crowley, 2008). Awards focus on the development priorities of bilateral country partners to build knowledge and leadership in the areas of most need. The program aims to equip

[11] In the main, PhD level study is availed to Indonesian scholarship awardees, but there are some limited program opportunities to study at this level for awardees from Bangladesh, Myanmar, Cambodia, Mongolia, Nepal, PNG, Palestine Territories and, until 2015, from Vietnam.

scholars with the skills and knowledge to drive change and influence sustainable development outcomes in their own country. Fields of study strategically target agreed priority human resource and development (HRD) needs articulated in the National plans of Australian bilateral partner countries. Following completion of their award, graduates are required to return home and it is assumed their educational sojourn in Australia will contribute to nation building at home.

In 2010, AusAID summarised the program, as follows:

> Development awards provide opportunities for tertiary study at Australian education institutions, helping build the skills and knowledge required to lead and drive developing countries' economic and social development. Development awards are important to help build people to people links between Australia and developing countries in our region and further afield and for responding to global and regional challenges. Development awards focus on the development priorities of our country partners and build knowledge and leadership in the areas of most need. Recipients of these awards return home to contribute to their home country's social and economic development. Returning awardees are highly valued for their technical, language and analytical skills and are sought after by employers. Some former awardees have gone on to hold positions of major influence, including at the vice president and ministerial level in countries such as Indonesia and Vietnam. (Commonwealth of Australia, 2010:8)

AusAID espouses the value of the ADS program, which it maintains is well-targeted, gender-balanced, and highly effective in terms of development assistance and empowers people from developing countries to drive and reform their own national development agenda. A key feature of 'the program' is the alignment with partner countries' development priorities and objectives, as this ensures the programs are less generic in character so they can target agreed needs, as articulated by governments. Through clear linkages to each country program strategy and alignment with government national priorities, HRD needs can be met by the ADS program.

In spite of a long history of supporting aid-funded higher education, compiled data on the outcomes of the AusAID graduates is seriously lacking. According to Cuthbert et al. (2008), data on development outcomes is an integral component to meeting accountability requirements for the program as well as for effective planning. A recurring theme in the 1999

Australian National Audit Office (ANAO) Report regarding the management of the ADS program was the insufficient monitoring of outcomes: “AusAID does not have performance indicators to measure the outcomes of ADS in terms of students contributing to their country’s development” (ANAO, 1999:21). Similarly, a later 2010-11 ANAO Audit reported that the affiliated Office of Development Effectiveness was still to release performance details in spite of numerous reviews and evaluations, the exception being one evaluation report on the Cambodia Scholarship program (ANAO, 2011).

Development effectiveness is a key issue for aid donors and recipient nations because of public accountability goals to build stronger evidence for more effective aid. The following section provides further details about the ADS Program to Indonesia (the case study), including key program priorities as well as a key distinguishing feature for this program, which is its significant numbers of doctoral level awards.

2.3.1 ADS Program to Indonesia (1998-2012)

The ADS program to Indonesia commenced in 1998. Since that time the program has provided for tertiary scholarships for Indonesians to study at Australian universities. The program to Indonesia, similar to other country programs, is founded on the notion that skills and knowledge gained in Australia will lead to nation building in Indonesia. This also accords with Australian national interests, in terms of economic growth and stability in the region.

The ADS Indonesia program reflects the priorities of the Indonesian and Australian governments. In 2012, the program supported Indonesia’s Long Term Development Plan as an emerging low middle-income country. Its Master Plan spans from 2005-2025 and plans to dramatically lift its economic status. The plan is further divided into five-year time frames, now in its *Second National Medium Term Development Plan (MTDP)* phase. The Second MTDP focuses on the need to build capacity at the individual and organisational levels through enhanced HRD which includes formal academic qualifications. Indonesian

graduates, researchers and policy makers are integral drivers in terms of implementing these priorities.

Study programs have included post-graduate studies and increasingly doctoral-level awards. The ADS program maintains a gender balance that conforms to AusAID guidelines (AusAID, 2011c), with around half the awards allocated to female candidates. The program is based on bilateral engagement between the Governments of Australia (GoA) and Indonesia (GoI) articulated through the Australia-Indonesia Partnership Country Strategy. ADS, which is now administered under DFAT, was administered by AusAID during the period 1998 to 2013. ADS has experienced three program phases: phase 1 from 1998 to 2002; phase 2 from 2003 to 2008; and phase 3 commencing in 2009 and still in progress. This study on cultural adjustment and the ADS program corresponds to the period 1998 to 2012, which includes phases 1 to 3.

Whilst the specifics and nuances of each phase have provided for change over time, the ADS program has consistently promoted a number of constant and explicit aims that are reflected in policy and program design documents. Analysis of program documents indicates that, since the inception of the program in 1998, it has aimed to: (i) build the capacities of awardees, so as to equip them to contribute to the social and economic development of Indonesia; (ii) promote long-term linkages and partnerships between Australia and Indonesia that will assist Australia's broader foreign policy agenda and national interests; and (iii) strengthen public sector institutions, in the case of allocated awards that are targeted to strategic public sector agencies.

There are two categories of ADS awardees, the first targeting government employees and an open non-government category. As is the case for the other ADS programs, all awardees are mandated to leave Australia and return home on completion of studies. In 2013 a program survey indicated 99.7 per cent of awardees returned to Indonesia having attained their post-

graduate qualifications[12], with most returning to their former work place (Serong, Irwansyah & Webb, 2013).

Over the past 50 years, the Indonesia scholarship program has formed a significant element of Australian bilateral development aid, with the provision of over 11,000 higher education scholarships, which includes PhDs (AusAID, 2011b). Since the commencement of ADS in 1998, 4574 scholarships have been awarded and overall 15 per cent of awards are now provided for study at PhD level (DFAT, 2015a). Up until 2015, Indonesia was the largest recipient of Australian ODA with annual aid allocations to assist economic and social development estimated at around $500 million per year (DFAT, 2014). Australia has a long history of providing foreign aid to Indonesia and Fig 2 shows the level of Australia's aid to Indonesia grew exponentially over the ten-year period 2002-3 to 2012-3. The ADS program to Indonesia has recently expanded from 300 scholarships provided in 2010 and an annual budget then of AUD$40 million to 500 awards in 2014, estimated at AUD$75 million per annum (Serong et al., 2013). In 2015, in spite of significant cuts to the overall foreign aid budget, the ADS program to Indonesia remained the largest recipient of overseas postgraduate scholarships from Australia and by far the largest program for doctoral awards.

[12] It is possible these survey rates are distorted, given previous reports (AusAID, 2011b) of a failure or drop-out rate of up to 20 per cent, mostly in the case of doctoral awardees.

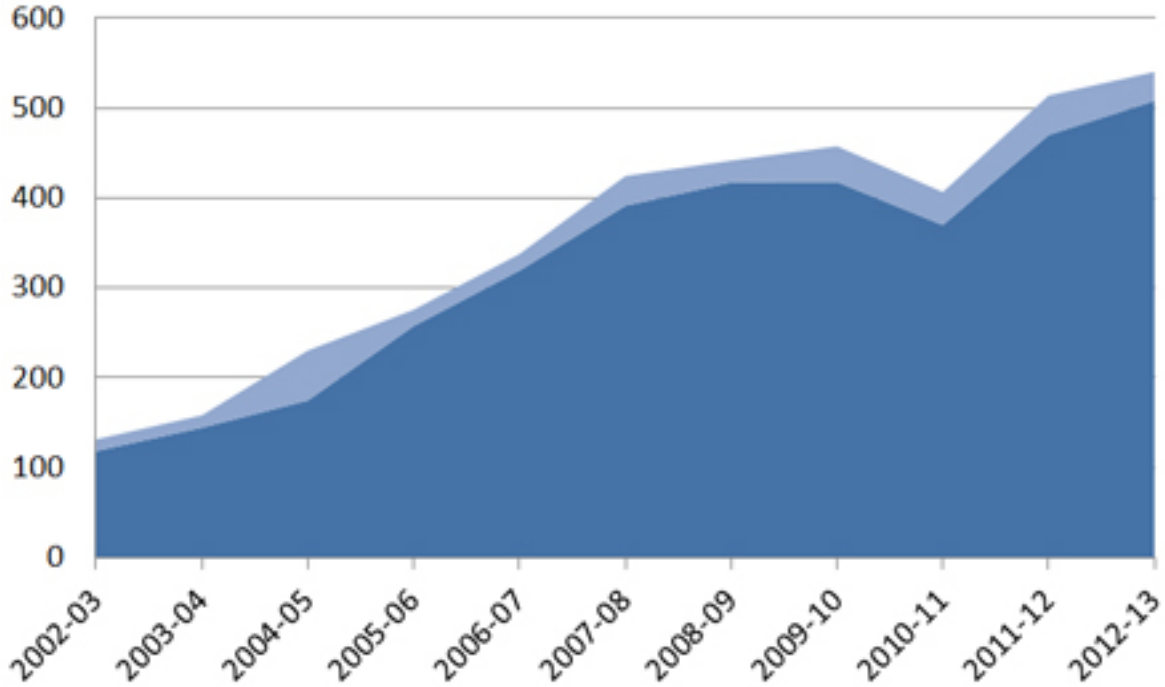

Figure 2. Australian Official Development Assistance to Indonesia 2002-2013 (Source: http://ausaid.gov.au/countries/eastasia/indonesia/Pages/home.aspx as cited 24 March 2013 (no longer available, since the restructure of AusAID into DFAT)

2.3.1.1 ADS Doctoral Awards

As identified in the previous section, a key distinguishing feature of the Indonesian ADS program is its focus on doctoral-level awards with up to 15 per cent of total awards annually. In 2013, the allocation was for around 70 doctoral awards annually for study at Australian universities (AusAID, 2011b). In contrast, other ADS country programs have either very limited provision for doctoral awards or none at all. A 2013 mapping exercise of overseas scholarship programs to Indonesia revealed many donor-funded[13], doctoral awards (Serong

[13] Doctoral awards were offered under development assistance programs, and included Germany, Belgium, Denmark, the United Kingdom, New Zealand, Japan, the Netherlands, China, India, Pakistan, the European Union, the USA and the World Bank.

et al., 2013). This is in addition to doctoral-level scholarships for study abroad by academic staff at state and private universities in Indonesia. The Indonesian scholarship program is funded by the Directorate General of Higher Education (DIKTI [14]) and approximately 25 per cent of these awards are completed in Australia (British Council, 2014).

Candidates for the ADS doctoral program are in the main academics at Indonesian universities, research and higher education institutes, although some awards have been allocated to employees of targeted public sector institutions. There are two categories of doctoral awardees, with the predominant category targeting academics from the public sector, but allocation is also available to candidates from private universities in Indonesia. Whilst most recipients are from Western Indonesia, including Java, the program also targets awardees from the less developed provinces of Aceh, East Nusa Tenggara, West Nusa Tenggara, Papua and West Papua. To address its development plans, the GoI relies on these well-educated, highly skilled workers to meet its strategic needs, including higher education and research priorities (Serong et al., 2013). Priority study themes agreed by the GoI and GoA include: sustainable growth and economic management; democracy, justice and good governance; investing in people; and safety and peace.

In 2015 (DFAT, 2015a) reported the aid budget provision for each doctoral scholarship was AUD $272,249. Benefits of the ADS doctoral-level award for Indonesia include return airfares to Australia for the scholarship recipient, pre-departure programs, including English and cultural programs, an establishment allowance, introductory academic programs, contributions to living expenses, overseas student health cover, study enrichment allowances for fieldwork, conference support funding, tuition fees contingencies to cover extensions, thesis binding, English for academic purposes (EAP), and supplementary academic support.

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[14] DIKTI is the largest provider of scholarships, with over 4400 scholarships awarded during the period 2008-12, including around 800 reserved from study abroad programs, with around 80 per cent of these awards for doctoral study (British Council, 2014).

2.4 The Status of the Enabling Environment for Higher Education in Indonesia

Several accounts (Ford, 2012; Hill & Wie, 2012; British Council, 2014) have chronicled the rapid growth of Indonesia's tertiary education sector, along with the need for critical reforms. All these accounts concur that the enabling environment for Indonesian higher education constitutes a major barrier in terms of quality teaching and research outputs. Hill & Wie (2012:161) dubbed Indonesia an "educational laggard". Capacity to produce quality, policy-relevant research was found to be weak overall and indicative of a poor research culture. Most universities in Indonesia concentrate their activities on teaching, with limited resources available to build research capability. The poor status of the higher education sector is also significantly compounded by the lack of incentives that undermine research capacity.

Indonesia is described as a "high-growth, latecomer" (Hill & Wie, 2012:230) in terms of its university sector. On one hand, Indonesia's MTDP emphasises the importance of the knowledge economy and the imperative to enhance Indonesian centres of research and innovation. On the other hand, the sector has not responded sufficiently to meet these demands.

Although growth in demand for tertiary education is rapidly rising in Indonesia, spending on higher education from both public and private sources has not kept pace with higher education demand. Spending has trailed considerably behind public expenditure on higher education in neighbouring ASEAN countries (OECD/ADB, 2015). In 2010, only 1.2 per cent of GDP was expended on higher education, which was low by comparison to Malaysia (1.69 per cent) but higher than Thailand (0.71 per cent). The vast majority of funding for higher education in Indonesia comes from private contributions, including student fees and levies (Hill & Wie, 2013; OECD/ADB, 2015).

Most of the higher quality universities are public institutions and produce the majority of Indonesia's candidates for foreign PhD study abroad. In 2012, public universities only accounted for around 4 per cent of all tertiary institutions (OECD/ADB, 2015), attracting

approximately 30 per cent of 5.2 million students enrolled nationally across an estimated 550 universities. Around 30,000 Indonesian higher education students are enrolled in study abroad programs, although this is significantly less than other ASEAN neighbours, including Malaysia, Thailand and Vietnam (OECD/ADB, 2015). Of this number, approximately 13,700 Indonesian students were enrolled in Australian educational institutions in 2014, the eighth-largest IS group in Australia.

Although no Indonesian university is ranked highly in terms of world rankings, there are five to seven leading universities, with international links to world-leading universities and these are regarded as Indonesia's elite public universities (OECD/ADB, 2015). According to World University Rankings (Hill & Wie, 2013), the top three universities in Indonesia are *Universitas Indonesia*[15], *Bandung Institute of Technology* (ITB), and *Universitas Gadjah Mada* (UGM). In addition, around 50 public universities are deemed of mixed but generally lower quality (Hill & Wie, 2013) and the bulk of private institutions rank poorly (OECD/ADB, 2015).

In some aspects, Indonesia compares favourably to several ASEAN countries in terms of higher education indicators. In terms of expected years of schooling in tertiary education, Indonesia ranks lower than for Malaysia and Thailand but significantly above Cambodia, Laos and Myanmar (OECD/ADB, 2015). Whilst it is placed below Thailand and Malaysia for participation rates, its enrolment rate is significantly higher than for Laos, Vietnam and the Philippines.

Whilst enrolments have grown, the number of PhDs has not kept pace. In 2007, only 7 per cent of faculty staff held doctoral degrees. This was significantly lower than for other

[15] Universitas Indonesia's overall ranking is currently withheld, but in 2016 it joined the cohort of universities that ranked between 600 to 800 worldwide. Bandung ITB and UGM have not to date ranked in the top 800 world universities (https://www.timeshighereducation.com/world-university-rankings/university-indonesia?ranking-dataset=133819 cited 8 January 2016).

countries in the region (British Council, 2014), with figures also revealing PhD numbers were the lowest in a sample of nine East Asian economies (Hill & Wie, 2012). Efforts to raise quality and address credentialing, partially addressed through the provision of aid-funded scholarships, relate to the passing of a Ministerial decree in 2007 that specified all tertiary educators in Indonesia must as a minimum have a master's degree by 2015 (OECD/ADB, 2015).

2.4.1 Weak Research capacity

The recent OECD/ADB report on Education in Indonesia (OECD/ADB, 2015) noted that the majority of universities in Indonesia do not have the financial and academic basis to conduct research. According to a 2012 diagnostic study of Indonesia's knowledge sector (Ford, 2012), Indonesia significantly under-performs in terms of its research outputs. Research capacity is regarded as weak and indicative of broader and more systemic issues that undermine its knowledge sector (AusAID, 2012). Evidence of this is provided by AusAID (2012:3): "During the period of 1996-2008, Indonesia produced only 9,194 published scientific documents, placing its scientific prolificacy over 13 years below that of Bangladesh, Kenya, Lithuania and Nigeria – and far below that of neighbouring Thailand, Malaysia and Singapore". The recent OECD/ADB report on the status of Indonesia's education (2015) noted that in 2012 only 0.68 per cent of Indonesian lecturers published in international journals.

Indonesia's research intensity is weak, with the lowest number of international publications per one million people compared to other countries in the Asian region, although there has recently been an increase in research output, mostly involving cooperation with foreign researchers (OECD/ADB, 2015). The Social Sciences Citation Index (SSCI) ranks Indonesia's share of domestic research at only 12 per cent, below that of the Philippines, China, India, Thailand and Malaysia (Hill & Wie, 2012). This is also related to the poor enabling environment for research, linked to limited resourcing for research facilities and journal access (Hill & Wie, 2012) and perverse incentive arrangements for academic researchers.

2.4.2 Perverse Incentive Structures

According to Ford (2012:52), “the most intractable barrier to research excellence in Indonesia is the incentive structure within higher education”. Academics typically receive a fixed and low-level salary, commensurate with length of service and rank, rather than performance-based. The academic salary structure in state universities is generally governed by DIKTI, or in some cases the Ministry of Religious Affairs. The pay structure includes perverse incentives that force many academics to pursue alternative income outside of the university (Lambey, Waterhouse & Boyle, 2013). Studies found that up to 75 per cent of income for university researchers came from supplementary or non-core activities, such as research projects consulting or additional teaching loads (Ford, 2012; Hill & Wie, 2012). This activity generally translates into little benefit in terms of scholarly output and can also further undermine the research culture in Indonesian universities.

According to Ford (2012), Indonesian academics who studied abroad, including many who returned from study in Australia, experience a great loss in terms of their potential to publish because of the poor enabling environment for research in Indonesia. Added to this is the lack of post-doctoral opportunities, which also has an undermining effect in terms of converting dissertation work into international publication outputs. Limited institutional mobility is likely to compound this, with academics typically remaining in the same institution for life (Hill & Wie, 2012). As a result, academics returning from study abroad will often opt to publish in low-ranked publications which lack rigour and do not provide for peer appraisal but may meet local performance criteria set by Indonesian universities (Ford, 2012).

2.5 Conclusion

This chapter has underscored the tension between Indonesia’s endeavours to build its knowledge economy under conditions where the current enabling environment for higher education undermines the potential to build capacity for a research culture to thrive and endure. Since the vast majority of ADS doctoral awardees return to Indonesia following their studies, the enabling environment for ensuring they can contribute skills and knowledge

gained in Australia is of critical importance, both in terms of the effectiveness of the ADS program and in meeting the aspirations of the repatriated academics. This theme is revisited in Chapter 6, which examines the re-acculturation challenges for those repatriated after completing their doctoral-level award.

In summary, this chapter has outlined the context for the study of cultural adjustment, including background information and important features that situate the ADS program in terms of its historical and situational setting. In addition, the chapter has outlined the distinguishing features of the PhD award, in the context of the ADS program to Indonesian (the case study). Discussion of the scholarly literature pertaining to cultural adjustment is the subject of Chapter 3.

Chapter Three:

Review of the Literature

Chapter 3 – Review of the Literature

3.1 Introduction to the Literature

The previous chapter introduced the setting for this study of cultural adjustment, which involves the sojourn of candidates from Indonesia to complete doctoral studies in Australia and then return home. The literature review accords with the context of the study and its examination of two core phases of adjustment: (1) the phase of 'acculturation', which occurs when an individual encounters a foreign culture (Martin, 1984); and (2) the phase of 're-acculturation' which occurs when individuals repatriate to their home country (Martin, 1984).

To date, studies have tended to divide research on acculturation and re-acculturation, with few integrated studies that reflect on the similarities and distinctions between each adjustment phase. The approach to this study maintains that reentry adjustment is intertwined with the experience of acculturation (Steyn & Grant, 2007) and hence the literature review reflects both adjustment phases. Notwithstanding this, reentry is considerably under-researched (Martin, 1984; Black et al., 1992; Sussman, 2002; Osman-Gani & Hyder, 2008; Szkudlarek, 2010) and is generally viewed as the greater adjustment challenge (Sussman, 2000; Cox, 2006; Patron, 2006).

The review of the literature is predominantly focused on educational sojourns, as education forms the primary reason for the sojourn examined in this thesis. However, studies from expatriate management (EM) that focus on issues of expatriation and repatriation are also discussed, given the hybrid nature of the awardees, comprising both student and professional

identities[16]. According to Hammer, Hart and Rogan (1998:83), "greater integration of various literature on repatriation (from the corporate studies) and reentry (from academic exchange studies) needs to be done". Hence the literature features contributions from scholars who have studied IS and EM adjustment, drawn from multiple disciplines, including but not limited to sociology, psychology, education and management. In addition, the further integration of scholarly findings from the intercultural (IC) literature will broaden and enrich understanding of the research project. This combined 'corpus of knowledge' arising from the IS, EM and IC research will infuse the study with a disciplinary-nuanced and sophisticated understanding of the research problem.

Four key assumptions shape the approach to the review and assist the development of a Cultural Adjustment Framework (CAF) which is one of the contributions of this thesis. Firstly, *enculturation*, the process in which people initially learn and establish cultural values and behaviours, is assumed to influence adjustment to another culture (Kim, 2005). Whilst enculturation is not examined in this thesis, it is an important and implicit foundation in the study of cultural adjustment. Secondly, acculturation and re-acculturation bear similarities in terms of cultural adjustment but it is assumed each are significantly different phenomena and worthy of separate study (Black et al., 1992). Thirdly, it is assumed that acculturation and re-acculturation experiences shape the identity of sojourners in multiple ways. Fourthly, it is also assumed that sojourners will move through a number of stages which are loosely designated as 1) pre-departure, 2) entry into another culture, 3) the adjustment phase, and 4) reentry and re-adjustment to the home culture.

[16] ADS award conditions provide for up to four years' study in Australia and completed awardees are required to return home, with most resuming existing jobs in Indonesian higher education institutions. While on-Award they receive an AusAID stipend and typically Doctoral students receive an ongoing salary from their university or higher education institution in Indonesia.

The review of the literature starts by expanding on the working definitions of acculturation and re-acculturation, these being the two key adjustment concepts referred to throughout this study. Both concepts are inter-related and involve complex psychological (emotional and affective) and socio-cultural (behavioural) dynamics (Ward & Kennedy, 1993a; Berry, 2005; Selmer, 2007; Smith & Khawaja, 2011). The literature review includes an examination of adjustment factors of relevance to the study, including motivation, culture-distance, self-efficacy or agency, language, religion and gender. The chapter also takes into account a number of frameworks and theoretical foundations that contribute to understanding the study of cultural adjustment.

The review examines each adjustment phase, focusing on issues of anticipatory adjustment, general adjustment, academic adjustment, interaction adjustment, and IC identity changes; additional themes included in the re-acculturation chapter are academic repatriation and adjustment and academic identities. The literature review incorporates empirical studies relating to Indonesian students and international doctoral-level education. Both of these are under-researched in the extant literature yet are highly relevant, given the context of the study.

The CAF emerges from the literature review, developed as a contribution of the study that integrates a number of theoretical perspectives (adjustment motivation, expectancy violation, culture-learning and concepts of IC identities), to assist the analysis of the key research questions. The CAF embodies key themes from the extant IS and EM cultural adjustment and IC literatures, whilst taking into account the specific nature of the study. The CAF offers a tool to integrate the review of the extant literature, and will later be utilised in the analysis of findings.

3.1.1 Working definitions of acculturation and re-acculturation.

Acculturation refers to the adjustment of an individual to a foreign culture (Martin, 1984). It can involve changes in behaviour, values, attitudes and identity of members of one culture as a result of contact with another culture (Gholamrezaei, 1995). Scholars (Padilla, 1980; Berry,

2008) have described acculturation as entailing a complex interactive process involving both members of the cultural group undergoing change and members of the contact culture. Berry (1994) noted that acculturation does not merely involve assimilation, although change occurs more in the non-dominant cultural group. “In principle, each culture could influence the other equally, but in practice, one tends to dominate the other, leading to a distinction between dominant and non-dominant groups” (Berry, 2011:313).

The terms re-acculturation, repatriation adjustment or reentry adjustment are used interchangeably in this study and, as previously stated, are understood as inter-dependent with the initial acculturation experience (Martin, 1986; Sussman, 2002; Steyn & Grant, 2006). Martin (1984) defined re-acculturation as involving re-adjustment to the home culture following a period of acculturation (Martin, 1984). Re-acculturation is another form of cultural adjustment but is distinguished because it involves the return and re-adjustment to the home culture after an extended sojourn with different implications for building theory. Whilst there are similarities to acculturation, reentry adjustment is significantly different and therefore warrants separate examination (Black et al., 1992).

3.2 Salient Adjustment Factors

Scores of studies have identified factors that are significant in terms of moderating the acculturation and re-acculturation experience. Whilst it is not intended to discount other factors referred to in the adjustment literature, in the context of this study the factors found to influence cultural adjustment (Chapters 5 and 6) underscore motivation, self-efficacy or agency, culture-distance, language, religion and gender.

3.2.1 Adjustment Motivation

According to Bochner (1986:38), “It is highly unlikely that the motives of the sojourners, education, culture-learning and personal development will coincide fully with the objectives of those who established these schemes”. This underscores the importance of motivation, because the ADS program, along with other similar schemes, links motivation adjustment to

the selection of scholarship awards, with selection taking into account the candidate's perceived motivation to achieve academically and contribute to nation building.

There is not currently an abundance of studies that have examined motivation and cultural adjustment, but several IS, EM and IC studies have attempted to identify what motivates sojourners and have linked this to patterns of cultural adjustment (Bochner, 1986; Kiley, 1999; Richardson & McKenna, 2003; Chirkov et al., 2007 Gezentsvey & Ward, 2008; Selmer & Lauring, 2013b; Firth, Chen, Kirkman & Kim, 2014; Altbach & Engberg, 2014; Guerin et al., 2014). A review of the literature accentuates that intrinsic-related motivation is likely to positively influence sojourners with respect to the acculturation process (Kiley, 1999; Gezentsvey & Ward, 2008; Richardson & McKenna, 2003; Guerin et al., 2014). For example, adjustment motivation is linked to the belief in one's own ability to acculturate (Gezentsvey & Ward, 2014).

In the case of ISs and academic expatriates, extrinsic motivation, including international credentials from an English-speaking country, were linked to adjustment motivation (Bochner, 1986; Kiley, 1999; Harman, 2003; Jazvac-Martek, 2009; Altbach & Engberg, 2014; Fotovatian & Miller, 2014; Pedersen, 2014; Valk et al., 2014; Jepsen et al., 2014). In the case of Indonesian post-graduate students, Kiley (1999) identified mixed motivations, including extrinsic motivation related to rewards such as job promotions and remuneration, social motivation related to the views and opinions of others, and achievement motivation connected to self-efficacy, manifesting in post-graduate success abroad and linked to an inner desire to achieve for its own sake. Similarly, Guerin et al.'s survey (2014) of over 400 doctoral students indicated that motivation involved a complex mix of both extrinsic and intrinsic factors, however the study identified that deep personal motivations, relating to identity, achievement and social contribution were significant.

In the EM literature, intrinsic self-development goals were also linked to self-understanding, confidence and better adjustment outcomes, compared to more extrinsic forms of motivation (Suutari & Mäkelä, 2007; Chirkov et al., 2007; Lovitts, 2008). For example, expatriates high in cross-cultural motivation and psychological empowerment were found more likely to

demonstrate higher initial levels of work adjustment at early stages of an international assignment (Firth et al., 2014). Richardson and McKenna (2002) identify three typologies of motivation that prompted self-initiated expatriation in the case of academics seeking an overseas appointment. Factors included financial incentive and this type of motivation was deemed 'mercenary', a desire to travel and experience adventure for those academics deemed 'explorers', and the seeking of life changes involving the move away from the home environment for those characterised as 'refugees'. A later follow-up study by Lauring and Selmer (2015) identified that motivation for academic expatriates was more likely to be intrinsic and self-initiated. A further study (Froese, 2012) concluded that academic expatriates in Korea were motivated to adjust culturally because of family issues, previous contact and job-market issues.

A review of the literature finds repatriation motivation is significantly under-researched by comparison to studies that examine issues of motivation and acculturation, with only one related study found (Valk et al., 2014) from the EM literature. That study of internationally mobile Indian female academics (Valk et al., 2014) documented expatriation and repatriation motivations, noting that, even though these women were motivated by extrinsic career factors, their roles as family and societal members were what motivated them to return home. Given the gaps in the literature relating to repatriated academics and repatriation motivation, this study presents an opportunity to address research gaps, as well as build on existing studies that have examined motivation and academic expatriation (Richardson & McKenna, 2002; 2003; Selmer & Lauring, 2009; 2011; 2013b; Froese, 2012).

The review of the literature accentuates intrinsic forms of adjustment motivation. In particular, the desire and belief in one's ability to succeed in meeting the challenges of adjustment is associated with a successful acculturation. This is linked to agency, a theme that is resumed in the following section. The literature on adjustment motivation has also highlighted motivation and academic repatriation as a significantly under-researched area in the adjustment literature.

3.2.2 Agency (Self-Efficacy)

Positive acculturation is associated with agency and self-efficacy. Self-efficacy involves self-belief in reaching acculturative goals and the acquisition of skills to assist acculturation (Gholamrezaei, 1995; Harrison, Chadwick & Scales, 1996; Hechanova, Beehr & Christiansen, 2003; Hedges, 2003; Kettle, 2005; Gezentsvey & Ward, 2008; Yamazaki, 2010). Hechanov-Alampay, Beehr, Christiansen & Van Horn (2002) highlight that agency is an inner resource that enables people to cope with the challenges of stressful IC situations. "Individuals high in self efficacy are more willing to learn new behaviours and tend to persist in exhibiting new behaviours and they therefore have greater opportunity for receiving feedback about their acquired skills than people low in self-efficacy" (Hechanov-Alampay et al., 2002:461).

Incorporating agency into analyses involves a shift from a passive view of acculturation "where the individual is acted upon by external forces to an agentic view where the individual actively engages in shaping acculturation outcomes" (Gezentsvey & Ward, 2008:213-4). Agency is related to Kiley's (1999) notion of achievement motivation, and her typology of ISs as 'Strategists' (Kiley, 2003), with the means, including skills and attitudes, to succeed during study abroad: "These are the students who quickly determine what it is that they need to do to successfully complete the tasks and they do this in a very strategic manner" (2003:352).

The application of agency in terms of cross-cultural self-efficacy has positive outcomes for psychological and socio-cultural adaptation (Li & Gasser, 2005; Marginson & Sawir, 2011). Self-efficacy is an antecedent for cultural intelligence and competence in a cultural and social learning context that involves anticipating changes to reduce uncertainties (Bandura, 1977; MacNab & Worthley, 2011). According to Bandura (1977:79), "The strength of people's convictions in their own effectiveness determines whether they will even try to cope with difficult situations". Accordingly, Gezentsvey & Ward (2008:217) noted:

> Agency is the active engagement of individuals in the acculturation process, that (a) encompasses the belief in one's capability of reaching

> selected meaningful acculturative goals; the ethno-cultural and civic navigation skills necessary to achieve those goals; and the management of environmental stressors with effective coping strategies within the social, cultural, and historical constraints of the larger society; and (b) has positive consequences for individuals' psychological and socio-cultural adaptation. In other words, agency is the active, positive engagement of individuals in the acculturation process.

Tran (2007) argues that ISs plot new strategies to transform themselves personally as well as academically and in the process of changing and adapting to a new learning and social environment gain personal agency that enables them to deal with issues of diversity and inclusion. Agency involves personal as well as academic transformation in order to respond to academic challenges. According to Tran (2007) this creates the space to discover internal strengths and for the emergence of a newly-constructed self. Similarly, in the EM literature there is reference to "agents of change", with capacity to develop and draw from a repertoire of problem focused coping strategies to deal with stress and other challenges associated with expatriation and repatriation (Stahl & Caligiuri, 2005).

3.2.3 Culture-Distance

In a later edition of Bruce Grant's[17] 1964 seminal study of Indonesia (Grant, 1996:207), culture-distance between Indonesia and Australia was emphasised:

> Australia and Indonesia are as diverse a pair of neighbours as it is possible to find. One is a large, flat continent, thinly populated with, for the most part, Caucasians professing Christianity and individualism, essentially materialistic and scientific in outlook, instinctively part of the Western world. The other is an archipelago of mountainous islands, populated with Asians professing for the most part, Islam and communitarianism, essentially mystic and spiritual, instinctively wary of Western ways.

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[17] Bruce Grant, academic, former diplomat, foreign correspondent and foundation chair of the Australia-Indonesia Institute, wrote a seminal study of Indonesia that was subsequently updated in 1966 and 30 years later in 1996.

This position is supported by Hofstede, Hofstede and Minkov (2010), whose research also found that Indonesians and Australians show pronounced differences in terms of culture-distance. Culture-distance factors, sometimes termed culture novelty (Black et al., 1991), influence acculturation and re-acculturation. According to Berry (2011), the term is used in reference to the distance between two cultural groups in terms of the dimensions of cultural variation. Berry (2011) notes where culture-distance is great, this tends to be less positive for adaptation. In other words, culture-distance plays an important moderating role in influencing acculturative stress, including culture shock (Ward, Bochner & Furnham, 2001; Roskell, 2013) among international sojourners, and is a predictor of cultural adjustment.

Although Hofstede's (1980) earlier analysis is criticised for its staticism and binary conceptions (Marginson & Sawir, 2011), claims of culture-distance are relevant to the study of Indonesian and Australian culture due to significant differences. Differences in particular, accord to power distance (which relates to the acceptance that power is distributed unequally) and to individualism, involving people's self-image, as defined in terms of "I" or "We". In short, by comparison with Australia, which is highly individualistic, Indonesia is a highly collectivist society that seeks to promote harmony within the group rather than individual self-expression. Such distinctive differences in culture between Indonesia and Australia are reported by the World Values Survey (Inglehart & Welzel, 2010) and the Global Leadership and Organizational Behaviour Effectiveness (GLOBE) project (House, 2004).

Related to the idea of culture-distance, Triandis (1994) referred more generally to 'loose' cultures with more flexible cultural norms and 'tight' cultures in which cultural rules and norms are stricter. According to Triandis, Australia is a 'loose' culture in comparison to Indonesia, with 'tighter' cultural conditions, although both could be regarded as culturally plural societies (Berry, 2011), with social frameworks that include shared institutional norms and accommodation of differing cultural interests.

Several empirical studies find cultural adjustment is more difficult where there is greater distance between the home and host culture (Klineberg & Hull, 1979; Church, 1982; Ward et al., 2001; Hedges, 2003). If this is the case, studies on acculturation and re-acculturation need

to take into account culture-distance factors (Hechanova et al., 2003; Hedges, 2003; Stahl & Caligiuri, 2005; Szkudlarek, 2010; Sussman, 2011), including differences relating to language, religion, traditions and cultural values such as collectivism and individualism.

Martin et al.'s (1995) study of US students abroad suggested only partial support for the culture-distance thesis, as they find sojourn expectations can be positively or negatively violated in the case of culture-distance factors, and this is more likely to be related to adjustment expectations. The culture-distance hypothesis, on the other hand, was rejected in a study of expatriate academics (Selmer & Lauring, 2009), which found no difference in adjustment, or the time to adjust that was based on perceived cultural similarity or dissimilarity.

Empirical studies confirm the culture-distance phenomenon in the specific case of Indonesia and Australia. Golamrezaei's (1995) dissertation on acculturation stress found relatively higher levels of stress in the case of an Indonesian student cohort in Australia, and these were linked to culture-distance, including variables such as individualism and collectivism, with Indonesia deemed highly collectivist compared to Australia (Perkerti & Sendjaya, 2010). According to Gholamrezaei (1995), acculturation outcomes can vary widely for sojourners where culture-distance is experienced, given that orientations, values, beliefs and ways of learning can contrast with a host culture. Kiley's longitudinal study of postgraduate Indonesian students studying in Australia found a marked difference between power distance and individualism rankings for Indonesia and Australia with subsequent challenges, such as the meeting of Western approaches to learning, based on more individualised conventions. Similarly, Novera (2004), drawing on Hofstede's framework, found that power distance shaped the relationships between Indonesian post-graduate students in Australia, who were also found to be more collective in their orientation, valuing notions of reciprocity, obligation, duty, security, tradition, dependence, harmony, obedience to authority, equilibrium and proper action.

Given the significant cultural and social differences that Indonesian students find in Australia, which is supported by the findings from the IS literature (Gholamrezaei, 1995;

Kiley, 1999; Novera, 2004), culture-distance represents a significant challenge in both a general and academic adjustment sense.

3.2.4 Language

Language is a crucial marker of identity and also noted as a significant factor that can challenge and influence cultural adjustment. Poor host-country language skills represent a major impediment to all facets of adjustment (Froese, 2012). Language competency represents an important variable that combined with agency and self-efficacy can assist students in new cultural settings (Yang et al., 2006; Marginson & Sawir, 2011). A prevailing belief that a foreign English language education can provide status and positional advantages is a view widely shared (Marginson & McBurnie, 2004). According to Marginson, Nyland, Sawir and Forbes-Mewett (2010:320-321),

> Not only is English the medium of learning, but language also enables students to understand, cooperate and exchange with lecturers and each other, to navigate the regulatory and administrative requirements of governments and universities, to deal with financial institutions, the health sector, the housing market and the retail sector, to manage the tasks of paid work, especially when these involved direct dealings with the public, to establish a broad network of friends and contacts, to navigate through problems and crises and to exercise their rights as students and humans.

Poor language ability is cited as an acculturation stressor, especially in terms of academic writing and speaking, whereas competent use is said to predict good adjustment outcomes (Liddicoat, Lo Bianco, Crozet, 1999; Patron, 2006; Smith & Khawaja, 2011). Whilst language proficiency is not the only important skill for crossing cultures (Storti, 2007), it is nonetheless positively associated with sociocultural adaptation as suggested by empirical findings (Gholamrezaei, 1995; Novera, 2004; Yang et al., 2006; Pedersen, Neighbors, Larimer & Lee, 2011; Lu, 2012) and other scholarly research (Harman, 2003; Marginson & Sawir, 2011; Smith & Khawaja, 2012).

English language proficiency has been positively related to the sociocultural adaptation of IS, since language skills can accord greater opportunities for sojourners to acquire cultural knowledge of the host country which facilitates IC relations (Triandis, 1994; Hechanova et

al., 2003; Hartshorne & Baucom, 2007; De Araujo, 2011; Marginson & Sawir, 2011; Lu, Samaratunge & Härtel, 2012). Use of host country language is associated with the ability to meet academic requirements (Trice, 2003) and engage in host country IC relations (Pedersen et al., 2011).

Many IC studies of educational sojourners have documented language as being a key inhibitor to cultural adaptation and a critical competency required for academic success and social functioning (Kim & Gudykunst, 1988; Hedges, 2003; Bhaskar-Shrinivas & Harrison, 2005; Olivas & Li, 2006). Doherty and Singh's (2005) study argued that ISs heavily invest in English language attained in a Western English-speaking country as a form of symbolic or cultural capital that can be exchanged for improved work opportunities in the local labour market. According to Gholamrezaei (1995:43), "the absence of instrumental skills, such as knowledge of English keeps the unfamiliar world from becoming familiar and controllable". Gholamrezaei further notes that the ability of students to use the host language is a function of their desire for integration into the host culture. Eustace (1994) documented that ISs with poor language competency were likely to be marginalised and isolated from the host culture.

3.2.5 Gender

Gender is identified as an important predictor of adjustment in a number of expatriate and reentry adjustment studies. Studies have found that the adjustment experience can vary according to gender and this is reported in both the EM (Caligiuri & Lazarova, 2002; Lazarova, Westman & Shaffer, 2010; Koveshnikov, Wechtler & Dejoux, 2014; McNair, 2014) and IS literature (Brabant, Palmer & Gramling, 1990; Nilan, 2005; Wild, 2007; Brown & Brown, 2009; Boey, 2014; Valk et al., 2014).

In a study by Brabant et al. (1990) gender was identified as the single most important variable for predicting reentry problems with females reported as more likely to experience adjustment problems related to family and friendship issues. Scholars (Gama & Pedersen, 1977; Brabant et al., 1990) suggest this is related to changes that take place during the sojourn, including their experience of culture shock and stress found to be more pronounced

in female returnees. Gama and Pedersen (1977) argued family conflict with respect to female returned postgraduates was also related to value conflicts arising from changes that occur during the sojourn experience.

Wild (2007) and Brown and Brown (2009) identified cross-cultural and gendered differences in separate studies of IS, especially greater power imbalances, with females more constrained by familial obligations when they return home. Nilan's (2002) case study of Indonesian scholarships found that females typically experienced fewer opportunities due to the nature of Indonesian society, which tends to be hierarchical and patriarchal. Nilan (2002), claims this has implications for women's professional achievements and career outcomes that are likely to be negative, especially in the case of managing domestic responsibilities (Wild, 2007) and those with children (McNair, 2014). Boey (2014) found that study abroad differed by gender with females balancing study, work and family demands during study. In addition, Boey's study of Asian female ISs finds they were motivated to study abroad for reasons of personal growth, freedom and access to equal opportunity, which tended to be restricted in the home setting. In addition, women were found to be more relationship-oriented and therefore likely to mediate family relationships and friendships on sojourn (Caliguiri & Lazrova, 2002).

In contrast to these findings, other research (Gholamrezaei, 1995; Sussman, 2002) found no association between gender and acculturative stress. In addition, a study by Cox (2004) showed no significant relationship between repatriation and gender and argued that gender in isolation to other background characteristics was insufficient as a factor to predict adjustment.

Given the focus of gender equality which Australia's government deems to be a critical cross-cutting theme across the entire Australian aid program, the need to highlight gender as an important development issue, especially in terms of equality and the empowerment of women is central to economic, social and human development and related to the ADS program aims (AusAID, 2011c). This evokes a need to provide for gender-disaggregated data in order to gain a more gender-nuanced understanding of the cultural adjustment experience.

3.2.6 Religion

Religion is under-researched in the literature on cultural adjustment. Marginson (2014) argued that the experience of ISs is better understood through disaggregating findings according to factors such as language, cultural background and religion. For example, Kiley's (1999) study highlighted that religion is a factor in terms of how ISs experience IC relations during study abroad. She found that friendship groups were often in accord with a shared religious affiliation. For example, many Indonesian students seek to maintain a religious identity during study abroad. A similar finding with respect to Indonesian students found religion closely aligned to social interaction (Rosenthal, Russell & Thomson, 2007).

A study by Ward (2013) noted that religion had a protective effect on psychological wellbeing. For example, Muslims share a common expression in terms of religion and this can act as a coping strategy to deal with adjustment challenges (Gonzales, 2010; Ward, 2013). According to Ward, Muslim identity was found to be stronger than ethnic identity and this could assist regulating social behaviour, which in turn could impact positively on socio-cultural adjustment. For example, Muslims will tend to follow prescribed religious practices, including fasting during Ramadan and, for women, the wearing of a hijab is a "tangible marker of difference" (Ward, 2013:399). Similarly, Gholamrezaei (1995) documented that, whilst religious differences could manifest negatively for some educational sojourners because of differences across cultures, it was nevertheless viewed as an important source of support to assist cultural adjustment, in particular the facilitation of networks that could reduce acculturative stress. Extending this notion, Sadrossadat (1995) found that where the religion of the sojourner converges with the major religion in the host culture this can represent a further means of adjustment support.

In contrast to the above findings, a study by Hedges (2003) that looked at many adjustment factors, in a holistic way drawing on findings from IS and EM empirical evidence, found religion was insignificant in terms of acculturation success. Religion was also raised in the Novera (2004) study, documenting that a lack of Muslim facilities for Indonesian students

studying in Australia posed a further challenge in terms of maintaining a Muslim identity for many students.

This literature, whilst limited, has tended to focus on the issue of religion in the context of acculturation. While it is professed that religion offers a respite and support mechanism in terms of the emotional and psychological aspects of cultural adjustment, research into how this affects reentry adjustment is significantly lacking, in the adjustment literature (Szkudlarak, 2010).

3.3 The Acculturation Literature

The acculturation literature broadly examines how sojourners anticipate and prepare for a sojourn. The literature examines issues of general adjustment, interaction adjustment and given the context of a PhD study experience abroad, a review of academic adjustment issues is included. Acculturation and identity change is then considered, along with two models of adjustment.

In reviewing these aspects of the acculturation literature, the thesis considers theoretical assumptions related to how acculturation is distinguished by group and individual experience (Berry, 2005), along with associated limitations related to resolving tensions between the psychological and functionalist socio-cultural theoretical orientations.

3.3.1 Cultural Adjustment Stages

The idea that sojourner adjustment is distinguished by temporal stages during the acculturation phase was raised by Oberg (1960), with his ideas extended in the work of Adler (1981), Gullahorn and Gullahorn (1963) and Black & Mendenhall (1991). Both the ‘U’ curve and its latter iteration the ‘W’ curve are referred to as stage theories that are illustrated as temporal curves that depict the adjustment process over time. The stages proposed were initially likened to a ‘U’ curve, starting with the contact phase characterised by excitement. Later stages include disintegration (often marked by withdrawal and alienation), reintegration, autonomy with a more consolidated understanding of the host culture, and

finally independence associated with advanced self and cultural awareness and IC competency (Church, 1982). The notion of a 'W' curve was later put forward to explain how similar phases were experienced during and after the repatriation stage, particularly the stages of initial euphoria on return and then decline and later recovery and final adjustment (Gullahorn & Gullahorn, 1963; Gama & Pedersen, 1977).

Whilst there is some support for the notion of an adjustment curve (Everts & Sodjakusumah, 1996), critics (Church, 1982; Furnham & Bochner, 1989; Bhaskar-Shrinavas et al., 2005; Hotta & Ting-Toomey, 2013) have argued it is weak in terms of prediction for adjustment, inconclusive and over-generalised. For example Black and Mendenhall (1991) revisited the curvilinear model ('U' curve) in their review of cross-cultural adjustment, arguing that the shift from culture shock to adjustment is more a function of cultural learning than the result of traversing a linear process. Other critics maintained the time duration of phases can also vary considerably (Bhaskar-Shrinavas et al., 2005).

3.3.2 Anticipatory Adjustment

In the adjustment literature, several scholars (Church, 1982; Black et al., 1991; Martin et al., 1995; Selmer, Lauring, Normann & Kubovcikova, 2015) have examined the notion of anticipatory adjustment and how this translates into cultural adjustment outcomes, although there is some discrepancy in the findings.

3.3.2.1 Expectancy Theory

The literature suggests forming accurate expectations can reduce uncertainty and improve prospects for acculturation. "The more accurate expectations individuals can form, the more uncertainty they will reduce and the better their anticipatory adjustment will be" (Black et al., 1991:305). It is argued that where anticipatory adjustment is maximised, adjustment will be quicker and more effective with less surprises that can result in negative reactions, including culture shock (Black et al., 1991). International sojourners will anticipate general, work-related, study and relational adjustment, and therefore it is argued that the type of adjustment

expectation is also of significance (Black et al., 1991). According to expectancy theory, a previous study experience is likely to shape expectations for further study abroad.

Church's (1982) review of empirical studies found that an accurate previous cultural experience was linked to effective adjustment. When expectations are met or are even exceeded, it is hypothesised that sojourners will adjust well, although this can also be related to other factors (Martin et al., 1995; Hechanov-Alampay et al., 2002; Koveshnikov et al., 2014), including the possibility that those more travelled constitute a select group (Church, 1982).

A longitudinal study based on pre- and post-sojourn results measured expectations and found that in the case of a student sojourn where expectations were either met or positively violated, this was mostly related to the sojourn location (Martin et al., 1995). A study of Indonesian post-graduate student adjustment in Australia found that accurate expectations correlated with an easier and more positive transition, especially in the case of a previous sojourn experience (Hasanah & Brownlee, 1997; Kiley, 1999). Selmer (2002) argued that a culturally-relevant previous experience abroad could assist socio-cultural adjustment, with benefits mainly translating to work adjustment but less relevant in the case of general and relational adjustment, whereas Parker and McEvoy (1993) reported general living adjustment was linked to a prior sojourn.

Anticipatory adjustment depends on factors such as the accuracy of information and this can be achieved through training or a previous international experience (Black & Mendenhall, 1991). Whilst training and other forms of learning are aligned with culture-learning theory (discussed in Section 3.3.2.2), it also has significance in the way it shapes expectations about an adjustment experience. This can also be problematic where preconceived notions, especially in similar cultural contexts can give a false sense of security and anticipation of an easy adjustment (Jenkins & Mockaitis, 2010. Selmer (2002:197) states that "a previous successful foreign assignment in the same host country could be regarded as a perfect substitute for cross cultural training".

Finally, anticipatory adjustment is a phenomenon that has been widely examined in both the IS and EM literatures. The literature relating to anticipatory adjustment indicates that anticipated adjustment is likely to arise from a previous sojourn experience and ideally under similar conditions (Patron, 2006). Other scholars (Bochner, 1986) have sought to link effective adjustment to the potential for cultural learning, which may also link to a previous sojourn experience of learning (Black & Mendenhall, 1991).

3.3.2.2 Culture-learning Theory

Bochner (1986) argued that it is through the process of culture-learning of the salient features of the adjustment context that sojourners can learn to effectively negotiate a new cultural setting. Culture-learning is linked to social-learning theory (Bochner, 1986; Black & Mendenhall, 1991; Selmer, 2002; Zhou et al., 2008). This is a continuing theme of analysis throughout this study of cultural adjustment and reentry adjustment, because it helps to explain how sojourners can re-learn social and cultural skills when renegotiating home-country norms and behaviours during the time of reentry (Szkudlarek, 2010).

Culture-learning emphasises the significance of a previous sojourn experience in a similar way to expectancy theory, but the theory differs, because, where culture-learning is optimised, the acquiring of salient culture-specific skills that are needed to function well abroad occurs. Klineberg and Hull (1979) found that students who had completed a similar educational sojourn experienced a subsequent easy adjustment with fewer problems and had developed better coping skills. A previous successful experience abroad is also confounding because of the potential for those who did not cope well on a previous sojourn being unlikely to go again (Church, 1982; Kiley, 1999).

Culture learning assumes a learning model rather than an adjustment model that assumes adaptation to the host culture (Marginson & Sawir, 2011). “The adjustment model is rejected on the grounds that exposure to a second culture is essentially a learning process, in particular acquiring the social skills of the new culture” (Bochner, 1986:347). Furthermore, according to Bochner (1986:350), the focus on social skills acquisition

> avoids the ethnocentric trap of the adjustment model since learning a second culture does not necessarily imply abandoning or denigrating the earlier one. Nor does it stigmatize those unable to cope, since their problems are not due to some weakness in their make-up, but are the result of a lack of learning and training opportunities.

Church (1982) identified that culture-learning, including effective cross-cultural communication can assist adjustment. Learning culturally appropriate skills and behaviours through previous cross-cultural experiences and connections with host nationals embraces inherent adjustment strategies that can reduce anxiety associated with not knowing appropriate behaviours (Black & Mendenhall, 1991). Selmer's (2007) study of business expatriates is based on a socio-cultural notion of adjustment that is premised on behaviours and skills acquisition, underlying adjustment attitudes all implicit within culture-learning theory.

Culture-learning provides a framework of analysis in terms of interventions to prepare intending students and professional sojourners. Training as an intervention was also supported in Ward and Searle's (1991) study, which found that socio-cultural adjustment was related to cultural knowledge gained in informational settings to orientate sojourners to appropriate and salient cultural behaviours and skills (Bochner, 1986; Marginson & Sawir, 2011). "Training and experience enhance cultural knowledge, which in turn facilitates skills acquisition" (Wilson, Ward & Fischer, 2013:902). Culture-learning provides for IC competence (Bochner, 1986; Brown & Holloway, 2008) and according to Brown and Holloway (2008) offers an alternative to the 'U' curve proposition, because adjustment does not occur in stages but is instead based on learning about the norms and rules of the new cultural setting and provides for learning that is strategically aligned to the functional requirements of the culture context.

Those sojourners with previous international experience may learn the coping skills to prepare for adjustment in the host culture, including more positive and frequent encounters with host nationals (Hull, 1978; Martin, 1984; Kim & Ruben, 1988; Kealey, 1989; Searle & Ward, 1990; Black et al., 1992). According to Paige and Goode (2009:335), "prior intercultural experience provides the opportunity to acquire generalisable culture learning,

adaptation, and intercultural communication skills". This finding is supported empirically in two cases of Indonesian students studying abroad (Hasanah & Brownlee, 1997; Kiley, 1999), insofar as those with a prior study experience did not experience significant academic adjustment challenges because they were already familiar with Australian study demands. Kiley (2003) identified these students with a prior experience of study abroad as 'transformers', because they came with realistic expectations and strong motivations. In her study these 'transformers' were mostly employed at Indonesian universities, aged above 30 years, proficient in English and enrolled abroad in a PhD program. Kiley (1999) adds that culture-learning acted as an 'antidote' to overcome culture shock, since the appropriate and desirable social behaviours of a new culture can be learned.

3.3.3 General Adjustment Issues – Challenges and Support

This section examines general adjustment themes of relevance to this study, mostly derived from the IS literature. Adjustment themes include the experience of initial adjustment, including culture shock and other forms of ongoing adjustment challenges and support mechanisms. Adjustment issues relate to psychological and socio-cultural adjustment (Ward & Kennedy, 1993a; Berry, 2005; Selmer, 2007). Psychological adjustment is understood and interpreted within a stress and coping model, whilst socio-cultural adjustment can be interpreted according to a social or culture-learning framework because it is about learning to 'fit in' and socially adjust within a different culture (Ward & Rana-Deuba, 1999). This section also explores acculturation themes on IC relations.

3.3.3.1 Initial Cultural Adjustment, including Culture Shock

During the initial cultural adjustment sojourners typically encounter culture shock (Oberg, 1960; Church, 1982; Ward et al., 2001). Culture shock is described as the broad range of emotions occurring when people are absent from their familiar cultural structure (Westwood, Lawrence & Paul, 1986; Ward et al., 2001; Cox, 2006). Early adjustment experiences in a foreign and unfamiliar culture can be overwhelming, and entail changes in cognition, attitudes and behaviour (Adler, 1975; Patron, 2006). Oberg's (1960) research on 'culture

shock' highlighted how individuals moving into a different culture can experience fears, stress and anxiety associated with the loss of familiar cultural markers and cues. It is claimed that culture shock can stimulate personal growth, through stress and subsequent adaptation (Berry, 2002; Kim, 2003; Zhou et al., 2008). Predictors of acculturative stress include such factors as age, length of sojourn (Sahin, 1990; Isogai, Matsumoto, Akiyama, Moriyoshi, Furuiye, Ishii & Franklin, 2002), gender, culture-distance (Ward et al., 2001; Roskell, 2013), marital and/or family status (Berry, 2002; Brown & Brown, 2009). The notion of 'reverse culture shock' is explored in Section 3.4.2.1, where it is argued that adjustment stress related to the reentry phase presents the greater challenge.

The stress-adaptation-growth framework (Kim, 2003) forms part of a psychological response that is also linked to shaping IC identity (the topic of Section 3.3.6.1). "Each disequilibrium experience leaves the individual with an experiential lesson, leaving one less stressed and more flexible in subsequent similar encounters because of greater cognitive, behavioural, and affective capacity from the mastered stressful encounter" (Milstein, 2005:221). Culture shock provides an opportunity for personal growth and can also be a catalyst to transform the cultural identity of sojourners (Kim, 2003; Patron, 2006). It is often a critical adjustment step, since it incites the development of coping mechanisms (Westwood et al., 1986) and stimulates the acquisition of culture-specific skills that can help in overcoming culture shock (Kiley, 1999; Zhou, Snape, Topping & John, 2012).

The ability to deal with psychological stress is a key dimension for acculturation effectiveness (Hammer, Gudykunst & Wiseman, 1978) and is rated highly in terms of the way in which ISs adapt to cultural change and learn (Gholamrezaei, 1995). In-depth interviews with students from Universitas Indonesia about their coping mechanisms abroad highlighted that self-esteem was important in strengthening the capacity to deal with stress (Gholamrezaei, 1995). In the study by Everts and Sodjakusumah (1996), all Indonesian students reported experiencing culture shock abroad in New Zealand, and this tended to coincide with a lack of social support from co-nationals and low satisfaction with host national interactions.

3.3.3.2 Family Adjustment

The issue of family adjustment is widely reported in the EM literature (Brewster et al., 2014) but less so in the IS literature, probably because most ISs come to Australia without dependants (Norton, 2014). Research on families in the EM literature, generally agrees that spouses or family members can mitigate stress by way of social support and companionship (Eustace, 1994; Hedges, 2003), although family adjustment can also be a cause of additional adjustment stress which can negatively impact on the intention to stay abroad and lead to early repatriation (Black & Stephens, 1989).

Families have an important role to play in the overall cultural adjustment experience (Froese, 2012; McNulty, 2012; Mäkelä & Suutari, 2015). Family life offers social support and mitigation of stress (Black et al., 1991; Eustace, 1994; Gholamrezaei, 1995; Hedges, 2003; Poyrazli & Kavanaugh, 2006; Marginson et al., 2010; Mäkelä and Suutari, 2015). In the case of family-accompanied corporate sojourns, trailing spouses were found to assist adjustment outcomes (Black & Stephens, 1989; Gregersen & Stroh, 1997; Hammer et al., 1998; Caligiuri & Lazarova, 2002; Lazarova et al., 2010; Cho, Hutchings & Marchant, 2012; McNulty, 2012; Murniati, 2012) by offering emotional as well as practical support, such as care for children and establishing social friendships abroad (Caliguiri & Lazrova, 2002; Lazarova et al., 2010).

3.3.3.3 Adjustment and Discrimination Challenges

According to the IS literature, discrimination can present additional adjustment challenges, although this is not always reported as a major challenge, with findings varied as to how ISs experience discrimination. Issues of discrimination and adjustment were raised by Kiley (1999) with respect to Indonesian post-graduates in Australia, who reported that they had experienced racism during study abroad in Australia. Similar findings were reported by Marginson et al. (2010) and Forbes-Mewett, McCulloch & Nyland (2015), especially related to racial discrimination and Muslim female students in Australia. Similarly, other studies that

considered adjustment issues outside of Australia (Lee & Rice, 2007; Smith & Khawaja, 2011) documented issues of racism.

In contrast, several studies of Indonesian student adjustment in Australia (Hasanah & Brownlee, 1997; Novera, 2004; Chalid, 2015), New Zealand (Evert & Sodjakusumah, 1996) and the USA (Mukminin & McMahon, 2013) highlighted that racism was not perceived as an issue of concern, although this could be due to buffering effects of social support received from HCNs (Mukminin, 2012) and also indicative of the relative maturity of the students (Chalid, 2015).

3.3.4 Interaction Adjustment

In the acculturation literature, the nature of the IC relations with host-country nationals (HCNs), co-nationals (CNs) and third-country nationals (TCNs) is commonly deemed of critical interest in terms of socio-cultural adjustment outcomes (Church, 1982; Cox, 2004), including IC competencies (Lu et al., 2012 and cultural identity change (Gullahorn & Gullahorn, 1963; Black et al., 1991; Sussman, 2002). Socio-cultural adjustment relates to the ability to fit in or interact with members of the host culture, which involves the relational competences of individuals (Selmer, 2007; De Araujo, 2011; Marginson & Sawir, 2011). This is distinguished from psychological adjustment, which refers to subjective well-being in the new cultural environment and is linked more closely to emotions (Ward & Rana-Deuba, 1999; Selmer, 2007).

This section explores empirical studies that have examined IC relations involving HCNs, CNs and TCNs. Interaction adjustment is examined in the context of the adjustment literature, conceptualised as a related facet of general adjustment, yet conceptually distinct (Waxin, 2004). In the acculturation literature, interaction adjustment has tended to focus on how sojourners mix and socialise with HCNs, the assumption being that this interaction will optimise adjustment. In contrast, several studies have examined interactions with CNs and TCNs as offering adjustment support. In general, the research highlights varied results in terms of interaction with CNs, HCNs and TCNs as effective support mechanisms and this is

discussed in Chapter 5, Section 5.5.4. Empirical studies are varied in terms of findings and methodologies and this presents a further challenge to comparing interaction adjustment, because of the varied conceptual, theoretical and procedural approaches adopted across a wide spectrum of studies (Ward & Masogoret, 2004; Li & Gasser, 2005).

3.3.4.1 Interaction Adjustment - Co-nationals (CNs)

Many scholars assert that adjustment support is best achieved by interacting with CNs (Lee, Park & Kim, 2009; Wilson et al., 2013). Ward et al. (2013:912) state that "transitioning individuals may initially find it easier and helpful to initiate contact with co-nationals, especially because co-nationals with appropriate cultural knowledge would be able to provide culture learning assistance". According to some scholars (Goodwin & Giles, 2003; Kim & Gudykunst, 2003; Gonzales, 2010), when members of collectivist societies encounter like groups, even as strangers, they are inclined to offer support.

A study of ISs in Melbourne (Rosenthal et al., 2007) found that Asian students mixed more with those of similar cultural background and mixed less with Australians than non-Asian students. Networks with CNs, particularly CN ISs were found to assist culture-learning and provide a common reference group (Kim & Gudykunst, 2003) to discuss matters of cultural adjustment. For example, Kiley (1999) highlighted that Indonesian post-graduate students found it much easier to make friends with CNs because they shared a similar language, culture and often religious ties. Kiley's study (1999) also reported that students typically rely on other Asian students and almost never on HCNs for support. She termed these students 'conservers' (Kiley, 2003) based on their maintenance of Indonesian identity and religious and cultural values. This cohort maintained friendships mostly with other Indonesians and reported little social, emotional or academic change as a result of their study program in Australia and tended to be aged in their late thirties, with poorer English.

In functional terms, adjustment is often facilitated through interactions with CNs, because they have gained enough experience of living and studying abroad and hence are well positioned to become a resource for adjustment (Wilson et al., 2013), reduce expectation

gaps (Pitts, 2009) and form a community of practice to share information and experience with other CNs (Montgomery & McDowell, 2009). CNs provide a support base in the case of discrimination (Lee & Rice 2007; Smith & Khawaja, 2011) and practical assistance such as advice on housing and other needs (Marginson, 2014). Furnham and Bochner (1989) add that, through interactions with CNs, the rehearsal and expression of ethnic and cultural values takes place, which provides for the practice and maintenance of cultural and religious ties.

Ward and Rana-Deuba's (2000) investigation of a multinational sample of mostly Western sojourners based in Nepal highlighted that strong identification with CNs was associated with greater psychological wellbeing and identification, whereas HCN interactions had less effect on adjustment outcome. In terms of religion, several studies have documented how convergence in terms of religious practice also forms a source of adjustment support which is likely to involve engagement with other CNs (Rosenthal et al., 2007; Gonzales, 2010; Ward, 2013).

Such insights as these contrast with findings from other scholars, who have argued that extensive relationships with CNs inhibit culture-learning because HCNs offer a better possibility for functional adjustment including language proficiency and understanding of host-country values and customs (Church, 1982). It is also argued that close relationships with CNs can often be at the expense of culture-learning, which happens more effectively through associations with HCNs who provide cues and feedback for sojourners to learn culturally appropriate behaviours (Church, 1982).

3.3.4.2 Interaction Adjustment with Host Country Nationals

Studies of acculturation have argued that effective adjustment involves connecting with and establishing rapport with HCNs. Many empirical studies find evidence of a positive acculturation experience that coincides with the social engagement of sojourners with HCNs, with less emphasis accorded to the role of CNs in terms of adjustment outcomes (Brabant et al., 1990; Rohrlich & Martin, 1991). It is argued that ties with HCNs enhance culture-learning opportunities, socio-cultural support and functional adjustment (Church, 1982;

Searle & Ward, 1990; Ward & Searle, 1991; Black et al., 1991; Ward & Kennedy, 1994; Mukminin & McMahon, 2013; Wilson et al., 2013) and foreshadow that these interactions can evolve into meaningful and genuine friendships that can facilitate cultural adjustment.

Ward and her colleagues (Ward & Kennedy, 1993a; Ward & Rana-Deuba, 1999) found that strong identification with HCNs was associated with better socio-cultural adaptation, because close cultural ties with HCNs provided for a positive socio-cultural adjustment that mitigated against 'culture shock' (Church, 1982; Cox, 2004). Accordingly, HCNs are believed to be a source of positive as well as negative feedback to sojourners, enabling them to adjust behaviours to meet the requirements of the host cultural context and develop local networks and acquire social skills, although association with CNs was found to assist psychological wellbeing (Ward & Rana-Deuba, 2000). In contrast, Li and Gasser's (2005) study only found partial support that contact with HCNs would mediate the relationships between cross-cultural self-efficacy and socio-cultural adjustment, in a case that examined educational sojourner adjustment in the USA involving 117 Asian students. According to this study, social support from CNs was also found to assist social and cultural adjustment.

Friendship patterns have been the subject of acculturation studies (Parker & McEvoy, 1993; Furnham & Alibhai, 1985; Hotta & Ting-Toomey, 2013), with most friendships between ISs and HCNs found to be more functional in nature (Furnham & Alibhai, 1985). For example, the study of international adjustment by Zhou et al. (2012) found that interactions with HCN students, teaching and counselling staff provided a means of learning culturally relevant skills to facilitate academic success. Hedges (2003) contested this claim, asserting that typically ISs were expected to assimilate, rather than integrate, when engaged in interactions with HCNs.

A further challenge in terms of interaction adjustment involving HCNs pertains to the unmet desire for ISs to form social connections with HCNs (Kiley, 1999; Pritchard & Skinner, 2002; McGrath & Butcher, 2004; Cushner & Karim, 2004; Patron, 2006; Sawir, Marginson, Deumert, Nyland & Ramia, 2008; Shaw, 2014; Gribble, 2014). This situation is exacerbated, given that access to local Australian post-graduate students is somewhat restricted, because

they tend to spend less time on campus (Hedges, 2003). In the case of PhD students, the independent nature of the study program results in further isolation between international and HCN PhD students (Gholamrezaei, 1995; Marginson et al., 2010). In contrast, ISs and their supervisors experienced closer ties and frequency of interaction, although the quality and effectiveness of supervision was of concern (Harman, 2003). This is further exemplified in the study by Kiley (1999) of post-graduate Indonesian research students that indicated a high regard for the supervisor relationship, described as central to IS learning outcomes.

3.3.4.3 Interaction Adjustment and Third Country Nationals

Rather than CN or HCN, it is the ties between sojourners and TCNs that greatly influence the acculturation process (Kashima & Loh, 2006; Montgomery & McDowell, 2009). It is argued that bonds with TCNs as well as CNs with experience living in the host country are valued in terms of the acculturation process and IC relations. Sojourners and TCNs learn from each other in a new cultural context and provide mutual adjustment support (Kashima & Loh, 2006). According to Montgomery and McDowell (2009), ISs with TCNs comprise a strong international ‘community of practice’ that supports adjustment. Currently the interaction adjustment literature relating to TCNs is under-studied in the acculturation literature (Kashima & Loh, 2006).

Data collected for a study on IS friendship networks (Furnham & Alibhai, 1985) found little evidence of friendships with HCNs and instead ranked first the preference for friendships with CNs, followed by TCNs. In a further study of academic expatriation adjustment, Froese (2012) identified that foreign professors who expatriated to Korea were socially adjusting in association with other international faculty members or other foreigners and this was reported as more socially satisfying by the study sample. Friendship ties with TCNs were also deemed integral to adjustment in Kiley’s (1999) longitudinal study on Indonesian postgraduate students in Australia. Findings showed that students strategically relied on friends, who tended to be TCNs, often Asian students with less evidence of friendship ties with local Australian students.

3.3.5 Academic Adjustment

Research related to Indonesian postgraduate students in South Australia (Hasanah & Brownlee, 1997) highlighted that Australian and Indonesian education systems differ substantially. Marked differences include learning styles, particularly the emphasis on critical thinking and two-way communication. For example, it is claimed that many Asian students will approach the learning task in a different (quiet, passive-receptive, reflective) way, although the willingness to ask or answer questions in class or to make oral presentations can also be related to language competency issues. Doherty and Singh (2005) observed that higher education practices have continued to 'Orientalise' (Said, 2003) ISs in this way. A Western learning culture emphasises a 'Socratic' dialogical practice that features questioning, criticising, refuting, arguing, debating and persuading, which may result in additional challenges for ISs.

In some studies, Indonesian students were overwhelmed by these academic differences (Hasanah & Brownlee, 1997) and at times were deemed as passive and lacking critical thinking skills. Kiley (1999) refuted the stereotype of the rote-learning Asian students, noting that Indonesians struggled with being critical of supervisors and other academics, as this conflicted with their moral sense of duty to respect the views of academics. In Kiley's (1999) view this so-called 'deficit model' was not indicative of Indonesian learning capacity but rather related to language issues and learning conventions that differed significantly from those in Indonesia.

Academically, ISs are 'problematised', with some educators terming this a 'deficit' in learning terms (Kiley, 1999; Kinnell, 1990; Tran, 2007; Turner & Robson, 2008) because they are seen to lack independent and critical thinking skills, opting instead to rote learn and plagiarise with poor English (Carroll & Ryan, 2005) and defer to teachers. A number of scholars have challenged the notion that ISs are in 'deficit'. They argue the 'deficit' is wrongly ascribed according to cultural and learning differences and English language ability that are not indicative of a student's ability to learn and achieve academically (Kinnell, 1990;

Renshaw & Volet, 1995; Chalmers & Volet, 1997; Carroll & Ryan, 2005; Koehne, 2005; Tran, 2007).

Several empirical studies have documented the academic challenges faced by international PhD students. Academic acculturation involves differences in practice, identity orientation and level of language proficiency (Jiang, Di Napoli, Borg, Maunder, Fry & Walsh, 2010). Academic stress for doctoral students is related to academic cultural differences, including learning styles, language proficiency, and compressed timelines to meet PhD completion requirements (Kiley, 1999).

Ryan's (2012) study of international doctoral students from China and Hong Kong studying in Australian or English higher education settings found that Western-style academies sought conformance with Western notions of scholarship and learning that tended to ignore diversity, within as well as between cultures. Fotovatian and Miller (2014) found the PhD experience in Australia was characterised by highly individualised and diverse ISs, yet heterogeneity of the student experience was underplayed in spite of social, cultural and language diversity.

Sato and Hodge (2009) examined the sojourn experience of six international doctoral students in the US and identified key academic challenges relating to language and limited opportunities for social interaction outside of the doctoral program, especially with HCNs. Language issues proved a significant academic adjustment challenge in the case of two Indonesian studies of ISs (Everts & Sodjakusumah, 1996; Mukminin & McMahon, 2013), one of which was on Indonesian doctoral students in the USA (Mukminin & McMahon, 2013), also identified stress factors, including the academic workload and changes in cultural values. Language was also cited as one of the most problematic issues for ISs more generally (Goold, 1989; Novera, 2004; Marginson et al., 2010; Sawir et al., 2012) with Mukminin and McMahon's study noting associated losses of confidence related to poor English capacity.

Tran (2007) argued that it is misguided to attribute learning styles to cultural backgrounds and common stereotypes. Rather she argues that the capacity to respond to diversity and

inclusion are amongst the key challenges for educational institutes that seek to internationalise teaching, learning pedagogic practices and content. Leask (2008) stressed that IC learning within the curriculum alongside the development of cultural skills and cross-cultural understanding for academic staff should be emphasised to assist a positive acculturation experience. Internationalisation of the curriculum should give rise to values, including openness, tolerance and culturally-inclusive behaviour in order to ensure that cultural differences are heard and explored. IC education challenges the prevailing 'West knows best' (Brown et al., 2008) model with inherent assumptions that Western concepts and theories can be imitated and successfully applied in an intercultural context (Alatas, 1972).

Successful academic acculturation may require diversion of university funds from competing demands. Forbes-Mewett and Nyland (2013) documented the risks arising from compromising IS support, which they argue is detrimental to the student and is likely to result in reputational damage to Australia's international education industry. Hence, the argument arises for dedicated resources to be availed to assist ISs to foster IC learning and mitigate against potential risks from 'mainstreaming' international higher education (Leask, 2008; Forbes-Mewett & Nyland, 2013). In addition, academic programs should adopt more IC and inclusive learning processes involving academic supervisors and students (Silfver & Berge, 2015) that require further IC sensitivities on the part of the supervisor and heightened agency on the part of the student (Soong et al., 2015). IC learning creates the space for ISs to discover internal strengths and gain further personal agency.

3.3.6 Acculturation and Identity Change

This section examines the adjustment literature and aspects of IC identity, taking into account IC relations (discussed in Section 3.3.4). Cultural identity issues are understood variously across the IC literature, starting with the notion that identity categorises people relative to others (Rizvi, 2008; Hofstede et al., 2010) and is transferred by succeeding generations. Rizvi (2008:33) identified that "epistemologically, all cultural understanding is comparative because no understanding of others is possible without self-understanding", and hence the

very concept of culture presupposes inter-culturality (Marginson & Sawir, 2011). In other words, cultural identity is contingent on an encounter with another culture (Storti, 2007).

Many psychological, sociological, situational and contextual factors influence and shape the identities of ISs (Hannigan, 1990; Rohrlich & Martin, 1991; Crossley & Jarvis, 2001). Factors broadly pertain to individual and societal values (Ghosh & Wang, 2003) and this is subject to change. “Students cross over into borders of meaning, maps of knowledge, social relations, and values that are increasingly being negotiated and rewritten” (Giroux & Robbins, 2006:51).

Factors that influence identity include individual personality differences (Kealey, 1989), cultural distance between home and host countries (Klineberg & Hull, 1979; Furnham & Bochner, 1989; Searle & Ward, 1990; Ward et al., 2001; Hedges, 2003; Pedersen, 2008), interactions with family and social networks at home and abroad (Gama & Pedersen, 1977; Black et al., 1991; Sussman, 2000; 2002; Hechanova et al., 2003; Gezentsvey & Ward, 2008), previous cross-cultural exposure (Martin, 1984; Rohrlich & Martin, 1991; Ward et al., 2001), class, religion, social groups (Sussman, 2000; Gezentsvey & Ward, 2008), nationality, sexuality, gender (Brabant, 1990), language (Giroux, 1992), occupational identity (Jazvac-Martek, 2009) and the nature of and length of sojourn (Sahin, 1990; Sussman, 2002). Identities are also shaped by history and power dynamics sustained by existing cultural institutions (Larrain, 1994; Gupta & Ferguson, 1997; Powell, 1999; Giroux & Robbins, 2006) and may be transformed by processes associated with adaptation, transformation and re-acculturation.

“Cultural identity links an individual to a membership group that encompasses emotional ties, frameworks of thinking, and ways of behaving” (Sussman, 2011:52) and this identity can also evolve (Berry & Segall, 2002; Phinney, 2003). Marginson et al. (2010) liken identity to a cloak that is worn but may be changed later. According to Hall & Du Gay (1996), identity constantly changes as it is shaped and reshaped by history, culture and the power dynamics associated with class, social groups and cultural institutions. Identity is shaped by mobility, transition and formal learning, and this in turn influences the emergent global-level

as well as individual-level culture (Rizvi, 2005a). According to Marginson and Sawir (2011:159), “International students live in a world in which change is continuous, far reaching, open ended, and unpredictable. There is no point of rest for their human identity (or for the identity of any other person)”.

Cultural identity presupposes the notion of ‘the other’, which invokes a distinction in values and ways of understanding the world (Larrain, 1984; Marginson & Sawir, 2011). It is subjective and constructed through difference yet often shaped by shared experience and sameness (Koehne, 2005). For example, ISs often relate to each other as a group, based on their shared experiences and partly because they are made to feel ‘other’ to Australian students (Koehne, 2005).

The acculturation of educational sojourners can be shaped by power relations as well as the degree of agency held by the sojourner (Koehne, 2005). According to Tran (2011) and Koehne (2005), the non-dominant group does not always have power to decide how they want to acculturate and the dominant group is also limited in its capacity to impose the form of acculturation it desires. Since the nature of culture is shaped by power relations (Gupta & Ferguson, 2007), this manifests in the implicit social rules and roles that govern behaviour, which are often accepted without conscious reflection and become apparent on moving to another cultural environment (Searle & Ward, 1990; Gholamrezaei, 1995).

During and following the international sojourn, students are exposed to new systems of belief, attitudes and values that give rise to the re-shaping of their identities as they engage with HCN, CNs and TCNs. “International education is very fertile in its transformative educational experiences: learning a new language more fully, learning a different set of rules, learning to behave in new ways in every situation, learning how to learn in new ways. Educational transitions are always associated with a measure of identity change” (Marginson & Sawir, 2011:142).

Successful cultural adjustment involves reconciling the old culture with the new, which can manifest in a loss of the non-dominant culture but subsequent feelings of being at home

within the new cultural environment (Hannigan, 1990). Scholars (Kim, 2003; Berry, 2005; Sussman, 2011b) extended the notion of a dual cultural identity, asserting that an IC identity maximises the potential for a successful and sustained cultural adjustment.

3.3.6.1 Becoming Intercultural – Models of Stress and Growth

A number of models assist further understanding of cultural identity change, including typologies that explain how cultural identity is transformed as the result of stress-coping-growth (Berry, 1994; 2002; 2009; Kim, 2003; 2015a), including the concept of 'IC personhood' (Kim, 2015a) that is shaped by effective IC communication. This section examines Berry's (2002) Acculturation Strategy Framework and Kim's (2003) 'Stress-Adaptation-Growth' Model.

3.3.6.1.1 Berry's Acculturation Framework

The taxonomy identified by Berry (1994; 2002; 2005; 2009) suggests four typologies that tend to either align with one's own cultural group and the maintenance of home cultural identity or are more oriented towards the new cultural environment. This cultural identity taxonomy was labelled by Berry (Berry, 1994; 2002; 2009) as integration, assimilation, separation and marginalisation.

'Assimilation' is host-favoured and involves discarding home-favoured cultural identity and absorbing and accepting aspects of the host culture. Berry (2005) argued that assimilation occurs when individuals do not seek to maintain their home cultural identity and elect for an assimilation strategy that will enable their cultural identity to become more absorbed into the dominant society (Cox, 2006). This is sometimes described as a 'melting pot'. Bochner (1986) identified that the feeling of being an 'outsider' and needing to assimilate with the dominant culture can also exacerbate problems of re-adjustment at the time of reentry.

Biculturalism extends the Berry model, drawing on ideas that combine notions of assimilation and integration. Biculturalism maintains that acculturation can be two-dimensional and simultaneously value the host and home culture but with a preferred cultural

identity that is associated with the dominant group (Padilla, 1980; LaFromboise, Coleman & Gerton, 1993). An alternation model explains how individuals are able to alternate their behaviour in a 'chameleon-like' way to fit the culture-specific context and successfully function between the two cultures (LaFromboise et al., 1993; Berry, 2003; Moore & Barker, 2012).

In Berry's model of acculturation strategies (2002; 2009), separation was nominated as a further acculturation strategy aligned with home cultural identity and associated with high levels of stress. 'Separation' maintains and favours home cultural identity with no desire to engage or identify with the host culture, which is deemed unimportant and not valued. Marginalisation involves cultural disintegration and alienation from both the home and host culture, including a lack of interest in identifying with either culture. Berry argues that marginalisation can also be imposed by the dominant cultural group but is then termed exclusion.

Integration is when acculturating individuals seek to maintain their home cultural identity while merging with and valuing the host culture. In this way, a degree of cultural integrity is maintained alongside a blending, or integration of the two cultures (Cox, 2006). This is generally associated with a more positive adjustment experience, when compared to the other typologies, as it provides for cultural identity congruence with both the home and host country (Berry, 1984; 2005; 2009; Ward & Kennedy, 1993; Li & Gasser, 2005; Leong & Ward, 2000; Kim, 2008; Tran, 2011; Ward, 2013). Berry (2002) adds that conditions of minimal culture-distance will optimise adjustment when combined with an integration strategy for adjustment.

Tran (2011) notes that integration is only possible under conditions of positive IC relations in a host society that is multicultural and relatively free from prejudice and a sense of cultural attachment coincides within the acculturating group. In other words, integration is also dependent on the openness and inclusivity of the dominant society (Berry, 2002), although this should not condone the notion that any one group has the right to decide how others from different cultures should acculturate or identify (Medica, 2013).

3.3.6.1.2 Kim's Stress-Adaptation-Growth Model

Kim (2003) explored the relationship between cross-cultural adaptation and the subsequent development of cultural identity and outlined a communication-centred and systems approach, based on the notion of a stress-adaptation-growth cycle. Such a cycle facilitates functional and psychological wellbeing that shapes IC identity with possibilities for transcending home cultural identity (Rohrlich & Martin, 1991). Kim's integrative concept of adaptation is framed through communication and the building of social support networks, as well as host language fluency (Sobre-Denton, 2011). The stress-adaptation-growth model cycle is premised on communications with members of the host culture to cope with stresses, including culture shock and this is facilitative of emotional and social support and can re-orient identity to assist cultural adjustment. Kim's 'stress-adaptation-growth' paradigm posits that the evolving cultural identity of sojourners has both negative and positive consequences. In other words for some ISs stress can manifest negatively as a source of great anxiety, whereas for others it can stimulate, motivate and enhance functioning.

Extending the cultural identity concept, Kim (2008) emphasised identity adaptation and evolution. Kim (2015a:4) states that the "experiences of interactional incongruity and accompanying stress inherent in intercultural encounters" can spearhead new learning and adaptive change, including new cultural patterns and practices. According to Kim, it is the experience of stress that prompts adaptation and growth leading to the emergent of an intercultural identity and a 'third culture' perspective. Kim proposed that an IC personhood provides for greater psychological and functional fitness in a globalising world. IC competence is an increasingly important attribute and prepares students for a global economy and society, facilitating the way for both personal and professional transformations. An IC mindset involves awareness of operating in a cultural context and conscious knowledge of one's own culture, cultural contrasts (Turner & Robson, 2008) and the conditions for mutual transformation and continual change (Marginson & Sawir, 2011). An IC personhood provides a further frame of reference that links home cultural perspective with that of another culture (Hammer et al., 1978).

The IC experience is open-ended, adaptive and transformative, insofar as the notion of an emerging 'inter-cultural personhood' (Kim, 2003; 2015) involving acquisition of a different identity orientation associated with a sense of self-change and different ways of seeing and perceiving the world (Gill, 2010). Martin and Harrell (2004) argued that Kim's (2005) integrative theory of communication and cross-cultural adaptation was comprehensive, insofar as it incorporates environmental and contextual factors as well as affective, cognitive and behavioural dimensions, including psychological health, IC identity and culture-learning for functional fitness. Martin and Harrell extended Kim's analysis into a systems theory of IC learning that incorporated sojourner home and host environment characteristics, communication dynamics and re-adaptation outcomes. Barker (2015) likened this to having the 'best of both worlds', because an IC person elects to adopt elements of both cultural orientations and does not simply trade their home cultural identity for another.

In summary, with respect to stress and adaptation, the models proposed by Berry and Kim are related to the stress-adaptation-growth paradigm and selected coping and communication mechanisms available to the sojourner. Both frameworks indicate the potential for stress to act as a catalyst for personal growth and development with implications for adjustment, re-adjustment and IC identity change.

3.3.7 Summary - Acculturation

The review of the literature on acculturation above has included an examination of the pre-sojourn context and the salient adjustment factors. The review has addressed different phases of acculturation, drawing on the IS, EM and IC scholarly literature. Theories examined include expectancy theory, culture-learning, and the review of the literature has identified theoretical assumptions related to group and individual experience of acculturation, acknowledging there are multiple perspectives. The thesis has examined how each of these perspectives are used to understand issues of cultural adjustment. Culture shock is a further aspect of cultural adjustment examined in the literature and is linked to models that emphasise how the experience of stress and coping with stress can lead to personal growth (Berry, 2002; Kim, 2003; Zhou et al., 2008).

The section on acculturation identified numerous adjustment challenges, including but not limited to language difficulties, IC communication barriers, family adjustment, unfamiliar norms and conventions, inadequate support, difficulties for families, loneliness and longing to befriend HCNs (Kiley, 1999; Gudykunst & Kim, 2003). Highly relevant to the context of the study is the issue of academic adjustment, with the ISs claiming culture-distance challenges, in terms of learning styles, with assertions that ISs are 'problematised' (Leask, 2008; Tran, 2007). This raises the potential for further IC efforts engaging both IS and higher education institutions.

Noteworthy are the dynamics related to interaction adjustment, with issues highly contested by scholars with respect to the relative adjustment benefits of interacting with CNs, HCNs or TCNs. The literature provides evidence that adjustment of educational sojourners is mostly experienced in collaboration with CNs and TCNs, a contrary position to those scholars who attest that culture-learning and adjustment is best facilitated in collaboration with HCNs (Church, 1982). Finally, strategies of adjustment, outlining typologies of cultural identity, as depicted in Berry's (2005) and Kim's (2003) acculturation framework, show integration as the preferred strategy to optimise adjustment outcomes.

3.4 The Re-acculturation Literature

The scholarly literature attests that reentry adjustment is experienced in a more challenging way than the initial phase of the acculturation cycle (Adler, 1981; Black et al., 1992; Sussman, 2000; 2002; Patron, 2006; Szkudlarek, 2010) and in many cases this is unexpected (Gullahorn & Gullahorn, 1963; Searle & Ward, 1990; Sussman, 2000). This section reviews the literature commencing with the initial reentry adjustment challenges, including the experience of reverse culture shock. Expectations regarding the reentry experience and the relevance of learning to reintegrate will be examined in terms of general and work-related adjustment. A subsequent review of the literature looks at *Third Culture* transitions, building on the notions of multiple IC identities (Cannon, 2000; Berry, 2002; Sussman, 2002; Kim, 2008), including academic identities. The review of the re-acculturation literature also takes

into account theoretical assumptions relating to group and individual experience of cultural adjustment (Berry, 2005).

3.4.1 Anticipating Reentry

In similar ways to anticipating an initial adjustment, the scholarly literature on anticipating reentry is informed by expectancy theory (Black & Mendenhall, 1991; Black et al., 1992) and culture-learning theory (Bochner, 1986; Martin & Harrell, 2004), again with contested findings related to what is of greater value in terms of the re-adjustment outcome. Moreover, a distinguishing aspect of reentry adjustment is that it is unexpected (Martin & Harell, 2004). Expectation and preparedness are widely cited as factors that can influence both the acculturation and reentry process, but with greater significance for reentry (Gullahorn & Gullahorn, 1963; Martin, 1984; Black et al., 1991; Ward & Searle, 1991; Ward & Kennedy, 1993; Hammer et al., 1998; Sussman, 2001; 2002; Cox, 2004; Patron, 2006; Szkudlarek, 2010), which is often anticipated in a less realistic way and with less effort overall to prepare sojourners for their repatriation and subsequent reintegration experience.

3.4.1.1 Reentry and Expectancy Theory

It is argued that the main distinction between acculturation and re-acculturation (sometimes referred to as ‘reverse culture shock’) involves expectations, wherein re-adjustment to the home culture is frequently unexpected, and this compounds repatriation problems or may even cause a reentry crisis (Gullahorn & Gullahorn, 1963; Gama & Pedersen, 1977; Martin, 1984; Westwood et al., 1986; Black et al., 1991; Hammer et al., 1998; Sussman, 2001; 2002; Cox, 2004; Patron, 2006; Szkudlarek, 2010). This is because individuals tend to expect and prepare accordingly for change at the time of initial transition. Whilst it may be the case that some sojourners return relatively unchanged, many do change and reentry is often experienced negatively, due to false expectations that they will return to an unchanged home and as unchanged individuals (Gullahorn & Gullahorn, 1963; Searle & Ward, 1990; Sussman, 2000).

In a study by Hammer et al. (1998), a key variable relating to reentry was related to expectations. They noted that, whereas an expatriate goes abroad and expects change, and, similarly, host nationals expect them to be different, a repatriate does not expect to find changes at home and CNs expect them to be unchanged. Furthermore, in general, people have a need to reduce uncertainty, and therefore a model for repatriation adjustment should focus on anticipating changes that reduce uncertainties (Black et al., 1991; Black, 1992). In contrast, Bochner's (1980) study of returning students did anticipate role conflict with peers and professional colleagues, but in the absence of follow-up research the actual repatriation experience remains unknown.

Adjustment theorists examining work-related repatriation (Black & Mendenhall, 1990) tend to argue that repatriates with accurate or met expectations are likely to experience higher levels of re-adjustment and job performance than those returned workers with either under-met or over-met expectations (Andreason & Kineer, 2005; Storti, 2007; Bielsa, Casella & Verger, 2014). Furthermore, Black et al. (1992) proposed that those individuals who have been away from their home country for some time would be expected to have less accurate expectations and therefore a more difficult adjustment. Length of sojourn and its relationship to a successful reentry were also found of significance in the Hammer et al. (1998) study of American corporate managers and their spouses.

The experience of reentry is often at odds with the returning student's expectations of personal fulfilment and success and the desire for them to use their newly acquired expertise at home. "The actual experience, particularly if the event is negative, is less disturbing to the individual than if they had not anticipated it at all" (Westwood et al., 1986:226). Furthermore, issues relating to expectation also extend to the expectations raised by families, friends and professional colleagues which can compound reentry adjustment issues, because these groups tend not to expect the returnee to have changed as a result of their sojourn experience (Martin, 1984; Hammer et al., 1998).

Successful adaptation is related to the meeting of expectations but also to the expectations that are positively violated (as opposed to negatively violated). In other words, when

expectations are over-met, they can translate into a positive cultural adjustment experience (Martin et al., 1995). According to Weick, Sutcliffe and Obstfeld (2005:418), “expectations hold people hostage to their relationships in the sense that each expectancy can be violated and generates a discrepancy, an emotion, and a valanced interpretation”. At any rate, the failure to reintegrate successfully seems to be related to discrepancies between reentry expectations and the reality that is encountered upon return (Andreason & Kinneer, 2005).

Home visits can facilitate a positive re-adjustment, especially in terms of developing accurate expectations and maintaining contact (Brabant et al., 1990; Black et al., 1992; Andreason & Kineer, 2005). According to Adler (1981:350), “communication between the overseas employees and the home office can affect the level of awareness regarding organisational changes. Employees who were kept informed regularly while overseas had fewer reentry surprises and few unmet expectations”.

In summary, both the EM and IS literatures show that the experience of reentry adjustment is often met with surprise related to unmet expectations, even in spite of a previous sojourn experience. This has implications for reverse culture shock and other forms of repatriation distress.

3.4.1.2 Reentry and Culture-learning Theory

Scholars assert that reentry expectations can be informed by a previous reentry experience (Rohrlich & Martin, 1991; Black et al., 1992; Sussman, 2002) relating to a prior IC experience. Culture-learning emphasises behavioural aspects that facilitate functional fitness to resume social and professional activities in the reentry environment (Martin & Harrell, 2004). Efforts that focus on re-learning (Martin, 1984) social and cultural skills are more commonly attributed to training and other less formal mechanisms as a means to re-learn the requisite social skills and cultural norms required to adjust.

Preparedness is associated with less psychological distress at the time of repatriation (Gregersen & Stroh; 1997; Sussman, 2001). In spite of this, preparation for reentry has not kept pace with efforts to prepare for sojourning (Gill, 2010; Andreason & Kineer, 2005;

Jassawalla, Connelly & Slojkowski, 2004), yet training and less formal efforts can lay the groundwork for a positive return experience. The shaping of accurate expectations for repatriates prior to reentry can also be assisted by way of targeted training and reentry assistance programs, with these activities related to the notion of culture-learning. The general assumption is that the sojourner experiences stress in the reentry environment and learns to adapt and relieve stress.

Within the EM literature, reentry training and coaching are commonly recommended strategies that shape the expectations of returnees (Szkudlarek, 2008). Reentry programs can provide a forum to consider reentry challenges, minimise reverse culture shock, reduce uncertainties and mitigate against issues associated with reverse culture shock (Martin, 1984; Westwood et al., 1986; Marks, 1987; Black et al., 1991; Martin et al., 1995; Gregersen & Stroh, 1997; Hammer et al., 1998; Butcher, 2002; Szkudlarek, 2008), as well as provide a conduit to promote relational ties with home nationals (Cox, 2004). Trailing spouses should also be privy to reintegration initiatives prior to reentry (Hammer et al., 1998).

Westwood et al. (1986) noted that reentry programs could provide a degree of insurance to protect the large amounts of money typically expended on international placements of students and business professionals. Sussman (2000) identified that student exchange programs, service organisations, diplomatic initiatives and international businesses may be well-placed to run programs that can address issues of reverse culture shock at the time of reentry.

Maintaining contact with work colleagues whilst abroad can provide information to keep those abroad abreast of events at home and assist in identifying mentors who can support reentry adjustment and learning (Black et al., 1992; Andreason & Kineer, 2005; MacDonald & Arthur, 2005; Lii & Wong, 2008; Pritchard, 2011). A study of returned ni-Vanuatuan NZAID scholarship holders (Strachan, Samuel & Takaro, 2007) confirmed that reentry is assisted by regular visits home during summer breaks as a ‘practice-run’ for reentry. Similarly, Brabant et al. (1990) found ongoing interaction with home country nationals prior to repatriation could alleviate reverse culture shock. In contrast to these findings, Loh (2003)

suggests caution because of the ‘vacation-like unreality’ for returned sojourners that often precedes reverse culture shock associated with the reality of being home but not gaining accurate information.

3.4.2 General Re-adjustment Issues: Challenges and Support

Scholars (Sussman, 2000, 2002; Black et al., 1992) who have examined the phenomenon of reentry tend to concur that this latter stage of cultural adaptation is generally regarded as the most challenging. Repatriation is multi-faceted (Andreason & Kineer, 2005), with the adjustment literature tending to divide the study of reentry adjustment into three areas. These are general (including personal), work-related and relational issues, including reintegration with peers, family and work colleagues.

3.4.2.1 Initial Re-adjustment, including Reverse Culture Shock

Gaw (2000:83-4) defined reverse culture shock, the phenomenon that gained prominence in an early study of reentry (Gullahorn & Gullahorn, 1963), as a “process of re-adjusting, re-acculturating and re-assimilating into one’s own home culture after living in a different culture for a significant period of time”. A model that emphasises affective (psychological wellbeing), behavioural (functional fitness) and cognitive (IC identity), the ‘ABC’ model (Ward et al., 2001), is used by scholars to study the issue of reverse culture shock. Scholars (Martin, 1986; Bielsa et al., 2014) have linked the experience of reverse culture shock to the gaining of new attitudes and behaviours with implications for re-adjustment, including the mediation of behaviour, often for instrumental purposes. Many studies (Gullahorn & Gullahorn, 1963; Gholamrezaei, 1995; Loh, 2003; Patron, 2006) assert that stress factors related to reentry adjustment present a more formidable challenge to sojourners in terms of their overall experience of cultural adjustment.

Research on reverse culture shock has reported that it occurs in stages (Gullahorn & Gullahorn, 1963), usually at the time of initial reentry, although scholars caution analysis of adjustment in stages because of the potential to over-generalise what is a complex process (Adler, 1981; Church, 1982; Kiley, 1999; Sussman, 2001; Berry, 2002;). Reverse culture

shock can result in feelings of frustration, disappointment, anger, confusion, melancholy and fear (Patron, 2006). In addition personal issues such as reintegration and conformity with family and social networks, cultural values and patterns of behaviour can culminate in significant stress during the time of reentry, and lead to 'reverse culture shock' (Paige, 1990).

A significant feature that distinguishes reverse culture shock is that it is often unforeseen (Gullahorn & Gullahorn, 1963; Searle & Ward, 1990; Sussman, 2000), which compounds the challenge. Loh's (2003) grounded study of Canadian returned students argued that a critical difference that distinguishes reverse culture shock is that returnees tend not to expect to encounter culture shock when returning home. This analysis links the experience of reverse culture shock with expectancy violation (Martin et al., 1995; Steyn & Grant, 2007), which is discussed in Section 3.4.1.1 above.

Empirical evidence of reverse culture shock was found in the Daroesman and Daroesman's (1992) tracer study of returned Indonesian scholars, with practical challenges arising from the reported lack of appreciation from locally-trained colleagues, the imposition of having to resume household duties, issues related to children's schooling on return and more generally the need to help with family readjustment to life in Indonesia. Cannon's (2000) interviews with 19 former Australian-educated graduates also revealed reverse culture shock related to workplace relations, reporting that graduates were likely to feel like they were "strangers in their own country" (Cannon, 2000:360). The issue of work place reintegration is discussed further in Section 3.4.3.

Butcher's study of former New Zealand tertiary students who had returned to East Asia and experienced reverse culture shock highlighted issues of grief encountered during the reentry process. Butcher called this 'disenfranchised grief', involving the longing for belonging (Butcher, 2002:354). Bochner's study noted students return home with a selective memory, comparing their home country with the country of sojourn. "Although the grass may have been greener on the other side it is unlikely that it was as green as many of the returnees remembered it to be" (2002:363). This insight is also offered by Andreason and Kineer (2005) with regard to general re-adjustment: "Repatriates and their family members

frequently report experiencing a comedown upon return because of having developed inaccurate expectations in the form of fond memories and myths about the general environment and culture of their home country while abroad" (2005:114).

Butcher's study considered the complexity of reentry adjustment expectations, noting significant changes to self-image, individuality and freedom, the nature and importance of relationships with peers and colleagues, views of family, values relating to integrity, ethics, environment, materialism and religious beliefs. According to Butcher (2002), students' reentry may place family ties under great strain. In contrast, results from an earlier study on the readjustment of Brazilian graduate sojourners returning from the US indicated few re-adjustment difficulties relating to family, other than some value conflicts and access to privacy issues, although these issues were reported as of greater significance to women (Gama & Pedersen, 1977).

Butcher (2002) argued that changing expectations are related to changes in the worldview of returned IS sojourners. The surprise of reverse culture shock can be pernicious, because it can reinforce a sense of non-belonging. "They did not belong in their host country and now, they find that they no longer belong in their country of origin" (Loh, 2003:13). Patron (2006) claims that the familiarity with the home culture led to a false sense of security for returned French students, insofar as they expected personal relationships to have remained unchanged. According to Sussman (2009:203):

> A fundamental aspect for sojourners to observe in the preparation for their return home concerns the dysfunctional interpersonal relationships that are a critical source of concern for returnees. They should prepare themselves for the fact that their friends may have moved on and that they no longer have anything in common. If they are aware of this soul-destroying and disappointing feature of the return, they should cope better rather than becoming implacably resigned to endure this difficult phase of reverse culture shock and suffer in silence.

In a study of returning social scientists, Bielsa et al. (2014) argued that homecoming involved a dislocation and displacement left the returnees feeling like strangers in their home country. This analysis of adjustment highlights that home can become a strange and unfamiliar place.

“Home comers face difficulties and ruptures, not merely because they need to adapt to a place that has been transformed as much as they have changed themselves in their absence, a place which is familiar and yet strangely foreign, but also because they encounter explicit resistance, or ambivalence at the very least, towards the newness which they represent” (Bielsa et al., 2014:66). Similarly, the study of reentry of ISs (Butcher, 2002) reported accounts from returnees as feeling like ‘strangers at home’.

3.4.2.2 Family Re-adjustment

Reentry adjustment is co-produced in social interactions, particularly with significant others, including spouses, partners, children and other family members (Chang, 2009). The literature on family re-adjustment highlights issues for trailing spouses and issues of children’s re-adjustment which seems to be significantly under-researched, yet highly relevant for this study given the family status of ADS awardees.

Whilst the literature on family re-adjustment highlights that marital status offers social support that can mitigate repatriation stress (Cox, 2004), according to a study of repatriation and family re-adjustment (Andreason & Kineer, 2005), trailing spouses experience several adjustment hurdles and in the main these are related to careers. In the case of dual-career families, the career path of the trailing spouse is often suspended abroad, with implications for post-entry training programs to address issues of reduced job status and undermining of self-worth for trailing spouses or partners (Hammer et al., 1998; Andreason & Kineer, 2005).

Reentry support identified friends and colleagues sharing a similar sojourn experience and Kartoshkina (2015) identified this as most effective, based on the potential for shared understanding of the international sojourn experience. Support from family and friends for re-adjustment was more broadly identified (Gardiner & Hirst, 1990; Cox, 2004), although the reconstituting of friendships was also found to be problematic (Martin, 1986; Uehara, 1986; Brabant et al., 1990), mainly due to the inherent potential for change on both the part of the repatriate and their compatriots in their home country.

In terms of gender and family reentry adjustment, it was reported by Brabant et al. (1990) that women experienced greater reentry challenges relating to family members and friends in the home country setting and this was linked to their adoption abroad of western values. On the positive side, women's relative advantage in terms of relationship-orientation was found to facilitate social support for re-adjustment (Caliguiri & Lazrova, 2002). In contrast studies of reentry (Gama & Pederson, 1977; Brabant et al., 1990) found females experienced additional re-adjustment problems related to fitting in with families at home.

Whilst limited studies focus on children's reentry adjustment several scholars noted the links between children's and family reentry adjustment (Kidder, 1992; Cho et al., 2012). In terms of children's reentry adjustment, McNair's (2014) study of repatriation found the burden of assisting children fell more heavily on females. Cho et al. (2012) found that decisions relating to repatriation were often guided by children's education needs, in the case of Korean families. This concurred with Kiley's (1999) empirical study findings that children's educational re-adjustment presented a major issue for Indonesian returned post-graduates, with children often unwilling to resume schooling in Indonesia. This naturally impacted on the overall re-adjustment of the returnee families. Issues of culture-distance were not easily understood or managed in the case of returnee children (Kidder, 1992). For example, Butcher (2002) argued that expectations of familial piety with children raised in a Western context made it difficult for these children to reconcile or understand fully traditional family expectations in the repatriation context. International schooling was identified as a strategy to facilitate children straddling a 'third space' culture (Grimshaw & Sears, 2008) with alternative education programs purpose-built for IC learning (Heyward, 2002; Sussman, 2011).

The following section on work place reintegration is mostly informed from the EM literature, but with some empirical and relevant studies from reviews of how Indonesian IS have faced reintegration following study abroad.

3.4.3 Academic Repatriation and Workplace Reintegration

Work place reentry is highlighted as an important factor of reentry adjustment, along with other key general and interactional challenges. In spite of research interest in expatriate academics (Selmer & Lauring, 2001; 2013; Richardson & McKenna, 2002; 2003; Froese, 2012), repatriation issues for academics have not been a focal study theme, although some studies have considered aspects of repatriation issues relating to academics who return from study sojourns abroad (Gama & Pedersen, 1977; Chur-Hansen, 2004; Gardiner & Hirst, 2008; Leong & Leung, 2004). Understanding of the reentry challenges related to employment is highly relevant, given that awardees are required to return home and expected to function well in their academic working environment. Reentry adjustment assumes a functional enabling environment to deal with employment-related issues, including job clarity (Black & Gregersen, 1991), employment relevance, fair conditions and provision for knowledge transfer.

The issue of an enabling environment for knowledge transfer is highlighted in the EM literature (Lazarova & Tarique, 2005; Ford, 2012; Bailey et al., 2013; Burmeister, Deller, Osland, Szkudlarek, Oddou & Blakeney, 2015). A study of the extant literature on repatriated knowledge transfer (RKT) underscored the importance of motivation to transfer knowledge, including more tacit forms of knowledge, such as attitudes (Burmeister et al., 2015). The study of RKT also highlighted implications for career and repatriation support and the need to integrate the needs of repatriates, knowledge recipients and work place supervisors. Findings underscore two interlinking cycles, the quality supply of knowledge and the demand to use it. Connecting with colleagues who had undergone a similar transition was found to assist work place reentry (Andreason & Kineer, 2005; Guerin et al., 2014).

Similarly, the research on RKT by Lazarova and Tarique (2005) argued that effective knowledge transfer (both tacit and explicit forms of knowledge) assumes a fit between individual willingness to transfer knowledge, including cultural capital and organisational receptivity. The valuable contribution from these studies is that knowledge transfer relies on a fit between individual and organisation (Lazarova & Tarique, 2005; Burmeister et al.,

2015). Capability to transfer knowledge is predicated on social integration within an organisational setting (Björkman, Stahl & Vaara, 2007; Ford, 2012; Burmeister et al., 2015) for knowledge transfer.

To date, higher education aid-assisted initiatives to build capacity have relied on a sufficient enabling environment, broadly defined here as the organisational culture, incorporative of legal, political and cultural dynamics. According to Bochner (1986), it cannot be assumed that returnees trained in their field will be able to apply the knowledge gained abroad when they return home.

The issue of staff retention is raised in the EM literature, with some studies documenting attrition rates of returned workers that are as high as 50 per cent for repatriated employees who leave their jobs within one year of returning home (Adler, 1981; Black et al., 1992). Reasons stated in the EM literature relate to role dissatisfaction, career prospects, including lack of promotional opportunities and barriers to using repatriated international knowledge (Hammer et al., 1998; Andreason & Kinneer, 2005). Additional concern related to the enabling environment, and highlighted in the previous chapter, is the reliance of academics on private contracts to supplement salaries with implications for research outputs (Ford, 2012).

Given the low retention rates of repatriated workers reported in the EM literature (Adler, 1981; Black et al., 1992; Yeaton & Hall, 2008), attention to ensuring an effective enabling environment for RKT is warranted in the case of repatriated academic workers returning from an education sojourn. To date, retention of the Indonesian cohort is reported as high (Daroesman & Daroesman, 1992; Serong et al., 2013), yet the previous chapter raised concerns relating to the state of the enabling environment for RKT, which could undermine retention as well as reintegration objectives, in the context of the higher education sector in Indonesia (Ford, 2012; Hill & Wie, 2012; 2013).

Whilst repatriation is more widely reported in the EM literature, studies of returning ISs have considered this issue more broadly. Gama and Pedersen (1977) found returned Brazilian

graduate academics experienced mainly employment-related issues on repatriation to their former universities, with expectations of return unmet. Problems included lack of intellectual stimulation, access to facilities and resources, excessive bureaucracy and lack of time for pursuit of research activities. Chur-Hansen's (2004) study of Malaysian medical students in Australia, revealed a skills incompatibility and mismatch of training whereby training received abroad was found not to suit local work place needs.

According to Nilan (2002), there is anecdotal evidence from returning ADS awardees that indicates many of the postgraduate courses completed in Australia were largely irrelevant to the work situation in Indonesia. Tracer studies (Keats[18], 1969; Daroesman & Daroesman, 1992) followed the career paths and reported outcomes of returned Indonesian scholarship awardees, most of whom returned to government sector Ministries. These earlier studies highlighted problems of relevance regarding the utility of Australian training and education at home. For example, Keats (1969) found that the Indonesian respondents in her study frequently reported little opportunity to use their education and training in their work place, pointing to a further mismatch between the education provided in Australia and local conditions (Cuthbert et al., 2008).

Daroesman and Daroesman's (1992) tracer study of 251 returned scholarship awardees from Indonesia over a period of 18 years (1970-1989) found many reporting their careers were dependent on departmental policies and bureaucratic control, rather than on their individual qualifications or expertise (Cuthbert et al., 2008). At the time of reentry, many government staff or university teachers were not re-absorbed immediately into their work on return to Indonesia and were required to wait some time to resume work activities. In contrast, surveyed respondents for the study reported many advantages that were related to the Australian sojourn, including improved confidence, better performance in seminars and

[18] Keats' (1969) study of over 500 Australian-educated Colombo Plan students included Indonesian returned students.

enhanced English language skills. Returned civil servants reported promotions, pay rises and outside work opportunities that they believed resulted from their overseas training. In contrast to poor retention results found in the EM literature, the Daroesman and Daroesman (1992) study identified only six returned awardees from the total 251 who had not remained in the same employment, with these six mostly employed in international organisations or other Indonesian government agencies. The authors summarised this as a clear indication of the cultural and political attachment to the home institution of the awardee.

Disadvantages identified by Cannon's (2000) study of 89 returned Indonesian professionals (including 19 Australian educated graduates) included limited opportunities to practise professional skills and language, delayed or impeded career progression and financial issues and peer jealousies. Careers were impeded because of promotions that favoured those who stayed at home. Many skills and knowledge gained abroad were not implementable in the Indonesian context, often constrained as a result of less democratic work practices and non-acceptance of ideas from local work colleagues. Cannon also found that skills and knowledge gained abroad were not easily implementable in the work environment, due to the difference in local working conditions. For example, his study reported frustration amongst returned graduates who encountered less democratic work practices and non-acceptance of ideas by local work colleagues.

Many of the findings above are echoed in Australian government program reviews (AusAID, 2006; DFAT, 2015a). A recent case study on organisational development and effectiveness of the ADS program (Chalid, 2015) also identified similar constraints relating to repatriated ADS awardees returning to a government ministry. Chalid (2015) raised constraint issues in terms of the potential to apply skills and utilise knowledge. Returned Indonesian bureaucrats expressed frustration and reverse culture shock due to the under-utilisation of the knowledge, skills and attitudes gained on the ADS program that were related to the rigidity of the Indonesian bureaucracy, including outmoded HRD practices which value progression through time-serving and seniority rather than merit. This study highlights the significant need for bureaucratic reform to assist effectiveness and optimise the benefits for the ADS program.

3.4.4 Re-acculturation and Identity Change

Given that the endpoint of the cultural transition cycle for the sojourner is reentry adjustment, the study of cultural identity issues at this juncture is critical to the research problem, especially given that ADS awardees are mandated to return home and expected to re-adjust. Cultural identity change can become apparent on entry to a foreign cultural environment (Searle & Ward, 1990; Sussman, 2000; 2002), but it is most salient at the time of return to the home country (Sussman, 2000; 2002; Cox, 2006). Hence research on identity change at both the acculturation and re-acculturation phase is relevant to understanding the research problem. Whilst both are stages involving adjustment and transition, they are experienced differently and the literature asserts that the greatest challenge takes place at the latter reentry phase.

There are differences in findings pertaining to the value of CN and HCN relations and how this influences cultural identity, with implications for cultural adjustment as well as successful reentry adjustment to the home culture. Dissent in the findings is found between those scholars who assert a positive acculturation and re-acculturation experience that coincides with the social engagement of sojourners with HCNs[19] (Brabant et al., 1990; Rohrlich & Martin, 1991; Li & Gasser, 2005), whereas other scholars argue that the more fundamental predictor for successful repatriation is related to support from CNs (Ward & Searle, 1991; Ward & Kennedy, 1993a; Sussman, 2002), although aspects of this are also contested, with empirical findings inconsistent. One line of argument is that those sojourners who adapt well to the host culture experience changes in their values, attitudes, behaviours, ideas and perceptions that are then difficult to reconcile at the time of reentry (Christofi & Thompson, 2007). Ward and Searle (1991) argue that sojourners with a strong cultural

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[19] In spite of a wish to form friendships with host country nationals, empirical studies report most bonds with IS sojourners involve co-nationals or other ISs (Ward et al., 2001).

identity with CNs are less willing to adapt and therefore encounter greater difficulty, in addressing the challenges of an international experience. Sussman (2002) argues that where cultural identity is affirmed by CNs this will impact positively in terms of reentry. Other scholars report fewer problems where there is strengthened IC identity (Kim, 2008), that is where cultural identity is shaped by a mix of cultures.

3.4.4.1 Sussman's Cultural Identity Model

Research on cultural identity and re-adjustment by Sussman (2000; 2002) examined the nature of the sojourn, describing it as a series of processes involving the movement from home to a new country and back home, adjustment and the outcome of adaptation, culture shock and culminating in reverse culture shock at the time of reentry. The utility of the cultural identity model (CIM) put forward by Sussman (2000, 2002) lies in its emphasis on reentry and IC relations. The CIM offered by Sussman is also mirrored in the work of Cox (2004) and both studies depict four typologies of cultural identity.

In Sussman's reentry adjustment studies of American managers (2001) and American teachers (2002), the transition process is linked to identity salience, socio-cultural adaptation and cultural identity change. Sussman (2002; 2011) proposed four types of cultural identity change. These are affirmative, subtractive, additive, and global/IC and each change is related to the nature of IC relations and the social adaptation that takes place in the host country and becomes apparent when the sojourner returns home. In addition, Sussman's (2002) CIM also placed emphasis on individual personality differences, length of the sojourn, English language proficiency and prior cultural experience factors. In short, her CIM proposed that cultural identity change was a mediator of the relationship between the initial adjustment to the host culture as well as subsequent repatriation adjustment (Ovrebo, 2009).

Following the Sussman (2011) model outlined below, the directional analysis of cultural identity change highlights subtractive and additive identity shifts. The model also shows that individuals who have an affirmative (strengthened common bonds with compatriots and positive feelings toward their home country identity) cultural identity report a more positive

reentry than do others who undergo a subtractive (weakened identity with the home country) or additive (strengthened identity based on links with the host country) cultural identity experience. A number of re-acculturation studies have as their main focus for analysis the interactions with home and host nationals (Martin, 1986; Sussman, 2002; Cox, 2006). The CIM predictions held true for Overbo's (2009) empirical study of repatriation and how this was moderated by an affirmative cultural identity. The CIM predicts that that those who affirm an identity with the home culture are more likely to experience low adaptation to the host country, although the return home is likely to be positive, based on an affiliation with the home culture and CNs.

Affirmative cultural identity is associated with 'grateful repatriates', who experience repatriation as a welcome relief after a poor adaptation abroad and in addition their cultural identity is usually re-affirmed by CNs on return. Ovrebo (2009) notes that ISs' desire to return home may be an important mediator of repatriation distress. Whereas the CIM predicted that affirmative identifiers would have low adaptation to the host country, in contrast Rohrlich and Martin (1991) found US students with an affirmed cultural identity were likely to experience common bonds with their compatriots and this manifested in positive feelings toward their home country identity while abroad.

Sussman (2011) observed two points of distinction regarding the centrality of one's culture. She stated that, where there is low home culture centrality, sojourners are likely to form a subtractive identity, and where centrality is moderate to high, an additive cultural identity is likely. In other words, where there is a weaker home country identity, there is usually more repatriation distress and conversely, where there is a strong home culture identity this is usually related to low repatriation distress. Both these categories of sojourners are likely to experience high repatriation distress but for different reasons, related to the newly found affiliation with the host culture (Rohrlich & Martin, 1991). Subtractive identifiers are likely to experience feelings of alienation or estrangement from home and believe that compatriots perceive them as somewhat alien. Additive identifiers experience cultural similarity within the host culture whereby they begin to resemble these cultural norms and behaviours. Those whose identity is described as either additive or subtractive are associated with a positive

socio-cultural adjustment to the host country but are predicted to experience a more difficult repatriation relative to those with a low adaptation experience. High repatriation distress experienced by additive cultural identifiers is related to their identity gain which involves the adoption of host cultural values and customs. Sahin (1990) noted in a study of Turkish secondary school returnees that the length of time abroad could manifest in an over-identification with host culture and associated disassociation from the home culture, which was likely to manifest in a negative reentry experience, including significant clinical levels of depression and anxiety. This finding is consistent with Sussman's CIM, insofar as the prediction that those with an additive cultural identity will be likely to experience repatriation difficulties.

Subtractive identifiers experience repatriation distress as a result of feelings of alienation or estrangement from their home country. A subtractive identity is likely to result in repatriates feeling less comfortable with their home cultural values and norms and somewhat alienated from their compatriots (Sussman, 2011). Subtractive identifiers are also more likely to encounter depression, anxiety and displacement and experience distress related to the unexpected nature of their identity response (Sussman, 2011). Their distress can also be exacerbated by the unexpectedness of the identity response at the time of reentry.

Sojourners who experienced less reentry distress and fewer problems with adjusting to the home culture were reported to have a strengthened IC identity. Sussman (2010) recorded that empirically this group enjoyed positive emotional responses and little repatriation distress. They tended to seek and develop friendships with many cultural others and engage with books, movies and other cultural mediums that were aligned more internationally. Those with an IC identity hold multiple cultural scripts simultaneously and their adjustment is facilitated by low cultural centrality and high cultural flexibility, resulting in high adaptation (Sussman, 2011). Sussman noted IC identifiers expressed a form of additive cultural identity, but this could also be interpreted as a bicultural identity.

Until recently, Sussman's studies were based on movements to and from a Western culture. In the 2011 study of "Return Migration and Identity" Sussman applied her CIM to study re-

migrant workers and the trajectory of their acculturation from Australia or Canada back to Hong Kong. This so-called Hong Kong Remigration Project was developed to document the psycho-social experience of these re-migrants, using the CIM as the theoretical lens to analyse findings from a series of qualitative interviews, shifting her new emphasis from what was previously more quantitative in terms of methodology. Whilst the cohort for this study was not educational sojourners or repatriates, the study demonstrates the broader utility of the CIM.

In her study of returned sojourning teachers, Sussman (2002) found that the relationship between overseas adaptation and repatriation was insignificant, as opposed to the strength or centrality of cultural identity and the impact of this on both the acculturation and the repatriation experience. In addition, the repatriation experience was influenced according to the type of cultural identity change, which Sussman outlined in her CIM, discussed above. Sussman observed neither "a positive relationship, in which a deep and meaningful adaptation to a host country is associated with a positive return to one's home country, nor an inverse relationship, in which a meaningful and successful adaptation to a host country is associated with a distressing and painful repatriation experience" (Sussman, 2002:403). The CIM did propose, however, that cultural identity would change as a consequence of the sojourn experience, and this identity change would in turn affect the repatriation response. In an early exploratory study on IC communication. Martin (1986) identified that student sojourners experienced multi-dimensional IC experiences on reentry, wherein the same relationship was reported as simultaneously negative and positive.

3.4.4.2 Building on the Cultural Identity Model

A similar model to Sussman's CIM was proposed by Cox to study the cultural identity of business repatriates (2004) and US missionaries (2006). It identified four patterns of cultural identity formation, including home-favoured, host-favoured, integrated and disintegrated (Cox, 2004), also showing some similarity to Berry's (2005) earlier model of acculturation strategies. According to Cox and also coherent with the Sussman's CIM, the reentry process is best negotiated where there is 'integrated', that is, both home- and host-favoured cultural

identity. Like Sussman, Cox (2004) emphasised the importance of sustaining bonds with the home-culture, whilst simultaneously building new cultural paradigms that assist adjustment within the host country setting. These findings are also consistent with other research on cultural adaptation, insofar as the results posit that an IC identity is more likely to yield a successful re-acculturation experience for the sojourner.

A further framework proposed by Kiley (2003) was used to denote the post-graduate sojourn experience, drawing on her empirical longitudinal study of Indonesian post-graduates adjusting to and returning from study abroad in Australia. Kiley identified emerging characteristics clustered as conserver, strategist or transformer. Kiley states that transformers undergo the more significant change, strategists adopt skills and attitudes to succeed according to the context, and conservers will increase knowledge and skills but not seek to change.

The dissertation completed by Patron (2006) examined the sojourn of French undergraduate students, examining their experience of culture shock, reverse culture shock and cultural identity issues. Importance was given to understanding how these sojourners perceived themselves in relation to their home country and host country (Australian) identity. In her study, Patron (2006) draws upon the CIM proposed by Sussman to understand the modification to cultural identity that takes place upon reentry that is influenced by IC relations. “Juxtaposition between the two cultures then takes place, often resulting in a negative outcome for repatriation, as returnees find they can no longer fit in and cannot reconcile the discrepancy between their remodelled cultural identity and that of their home culture” (Patron, 2006:57). Patron suggested that negative repatriation could be directly linked to the degree of acceptance by compatriots of the remodelled cultural identity of the returnee, along with their newly gained cultural learning and foreign language acquisition.

Patron’s (2006) study proposed that a successful reentry can be contingent on the home culture valuing the changes in cultural identity that manifest in the returnee as well as validating their experience abroad. Patron highlighted that the nature of IC relations can yield problems for repatriates, where their re-shaped cultural identity, embracing an IC experience,

is often devalued at home. This was also found to be the case in the Andreason and Kinneer (2005) study of returned expatriates. In a French context, Patron observed xenophobic attitudes and intolerance when returned sojourners added new behaviours, including language acquisition to their cultural repertoire. These findings build on the work of other scholars (Ward & Searle, 1992; Sussman, 2002) who reported that the readjustment could be moderated by the home country response as well as by culture learning and foreign language acquisition. Similarly, a study of American returned corporate managers observed xenophobia faced by repatriating executives who experienced pressure to assimilate back into the home environment and were unable to incorporate their experiences and lessons learnt overseas (Hammer et al., 1978).

A further contribution from Patron's dissertation builds on the work of Ward and Kennedy (1993), noting that sojourners typically retain a stronger identity with their culture of origin and a weaker identity with the culture of contact. Extending this idea, Patron put forward the notion that sojourners become comfortable with IC interaction, without compromising their cultural identity and this occurs through their negotiation of a 'third place' cultural identity.

3.4.4.3 Towards a 'Third Culture'

Drawing from the IC scholarly literature, the thesis examines emerging ideas about how multiple and contextually contingent identities (Collier, 2009) are negotiated (Ting-Toomey, 2005). The thesis considers several ideas, including cultural hybridity (Koehne, 2005), cosmopolitanism (Rizvi, 2008) and third place cultures (Cannon, 2000; Butcher, 2009) to further understand how sojourners suture collective and individual subjectivities, develop multiple frames of reference and cultural identities that transcend the national identity to span global and local contexts (Giroux, 2006). According to Hall, Held and McGrew (1992:277), "Identity becomes a 'moveable' feast formed and transformed continuously in relation to the ways we are represented or addressed in the cultural systems which surrounds us".

ISs have been referred to as being "place polygamous" (Beck, 2000), highly heterogeneous and mobile, maintaining of extensive diasporic links across the globe, able to straddle global

and local cultures and demonstrate cosmopolitanism (Rizvi, 2005a). Sobre-Denton's (2011:80) study of ISs in the USA described this as a state of identity "without borders". Research on cultural identity indicates that sojourners with multiple international experiences generally exhibit a sense of belonging to a global community and are found to adapt and repatriate positively (Rohrlich & Martin, 1991; Cannon, 2000; Sussman, 2002; Kim, 2008). IS identities are self-directed and self-formed, intersecting across multiple and evolving identities (Marginson, 2009).

A 'third-culture' perspective develops as individuals move into another culture (Koehne, 2005) and facilitates interactions with host culture nationals and increases the sojourner's attitudinal satisfaction with living in a foreign culture. "The constant movement in and out of language and of cultural ways of being is something that ISs experience and talk about as part of who they are as international students" (Koehne, 2005:114).

Rizvi (2005a) reported that research on ISs had failed to articulate the way in which culture is dynamic and how identities are subject to change during transnational educational sojourns. In his study of cosmopolitanism, Rizvi (2005a) found that IS perceptions of cultural identity were subject to change and shaped by mobility, transition and formal learning, which influenced their perception of their own culture and that of the emergent global culture. His proposition agrees with that of Doherty and Singh (2005), whose research on IS subjectivities supports they demonstrate global imaginings, with emphasis on notions of mobility, trans-culturalism and diaspora. Doherty and Singh's metaphor of 'liquid modernity' described the environment for sojourners as a more flexible or fluid social condition that implies the melting of previously 'solid bonds' of collective identity associated with how students position their careers within global flows of finance, ideology, migration and opportunity.

Cannon (1999, 2000) and Butcher's (2009) reentry studies of student sojourners described how ISs occupy a "third place". Concepts of 'third place' or 'home' describe the place where educational sojourners make accommodations with family and friends, are comfortable in the lifestyle of the home community, have integrated their world view change, and are able to adjust to the home and work environment.

Cannon (2000) found that, as a result of the rich cultural and educational experiences, Indonesian graduates form a distinct IC group in professional life and occupy a 'third place'. A 'third culture' person has membership of a distinct and continually evolving IC group that coincides within global society. Cannon's assertion was that returnees belonging to such a 'third place' culture could claim a distinctive and advantageous outcome, particularly in the context of globalisation and the assumption of institutional policies and practices in place to facilitate global practices. According to Cannon (2000), a third culture person can bridge the gap between their home and host cultural identities. In an international higher education setting, he argued this may represent a source of cultural advantage (Cannon, 2000).

Butcher, McGrath and Stock (2003) used the term 'home' to describe the way that the self-identity of ISs is reintegrated around their home country along with their place of study. Both maintain that a 'third place' (Cannon, 2000) or 'home' (Butcher et al., 2003) can be of significant influence, because ISs become equipped to work cross-culturally, with personal experience and understanding of both their home culture and that of their place of study, with established networks and demonstrated capacity to negotiate a successful adjustment back into their country of origin.

Often third culture sojourners are those students who have had multiple international experiences that extend their sense of belonging to a global community and are well placed to experience a moderate to positive acculturation and re-acculturation experience. Patron (2006) noted a third place culture is "dynamic, negotiable and not fixed, representing an intersection of self and others with each new culturally interactive situation that presents itself". According to Patron (2006:83), a "third culture is more than the sum total of the parts of home and host cultures, but rather creates a third culture".

3.4.5 Academic Identities

Achievement of the PhD marks the transition from student to independent researcher and this coincides with the formation of an academic identity as a scholar (Gardner, 2008). The experience of doctoral students and how this aligns with an emerging academic identity

provides a discreet area for further research, building on a small number of studies (McAlpine, Jazvac-Martek & Hopwood, 2005; Clegg, 2008; Gardner, 2008; Jazvac-Martek, 2008; Rizvi, 2010; Ennals, Fortune, Williams & D'Cruz, 2015).

Given that doctoral students and early career academics engage in multiple and diverse tasks, this translates into an identity with multiple perspectives (McAlpine & Jazvac-Martek, 2005; Clegg, 2008; Ennals et al., 2015). Drawing on the accounts from her interviews with academics in a United Kingdom setting, Clegg revealed academic identities were also highly personal and multifaceted:

> Identity is understood not as a fixed property, but as part of the lived complexity of a person's project and their ways of being in those sites which are constituted as being part of the academic. In this sense the space itself is multiply constituted, since for any particular individual, the site of the academic may include relationships with other colleagues globally, be a particular fragment of a department, and may include a range of activities, some of which are experienced as being academic and others of which are not. Moreover, in so far as individuals conceptualise themselves as having an identity as an academic, this multiple and shifting term exists alongside other aspects of how people understand their personhood and ways of being in the world. (Clegg, 2008:329)

A study of international doctoral students (Rizvi, 2010) highlighted transnational spaces as an optic for understanding the doctoral experience, along with associated cultural and relational issues. Rizvi argued that doctoral studies take place within transnational spaces that provide for social formations across borders and global belonging. A contribution of his study was to compare the experience of doctoral students with undergraduate students, underscoring their exercise of agency, especially related to transnationalism and the building of professional academic identities. Rizvi noted constraints and opportunities framed the transnational living and working space of international doctoral students, including their encounter with Western traditions of learning and the forging of social networks that incorporate home and host relationships.

Jazvak-Martek's (2009) study of doctoral students in a Canadian higher education setting highlighted PhD students as holding multiple identities according to roles. Findings

underscored the importance of student agency with respect to doctoral study and found academic identities oscillated in accordance with role or tasks assigned as student or teacher. Such identities were also predicated on validation by faculty staff, professors and academic colleagues. According to Jazvac-Martek (2009), individual academic roles are legitimised through role performance, or acting and enacting the idealised role of how a good doctoral student and academics are expected to be. Since the doctoral experience does not assume teaching in Australia[20], the role identities of these students could be expected to differ.

Ghosh and Wang's (2003) reflexive study on identity change and transnationalism deemed the identity change arising from doctoral studies in Canada as prolonged, with each part of the hybrid self simultaneously developed to create several hybrid identities that could switch positions in accordance with demands from place and time.

Leong and Leung's (2004) study of academic careers in Asia identified a number of repatriation typologies matched with the type of acculturation orientation abroad, drawing on Berry's acculturation strategies (see Section 3.3.6.1.1) to identify an optimal academic repatriation outcome that included the possibility for international research and publication output. Leong and Leung (2004) also identified that Asian sojourners who return home after study abroad may return with a highly Westernised identity or alternatively return to their traditional Asian cultural identity which may no longer match up to the strategy of the home university.

3.5 Mengubah Identitas antar-budaya

Given the phenomenon of globalisation, along with the plethora of ideas about IC identity change and the specific nature of this study, a new adjustment framework that combines insights from several perspectives is proposed. Identity has several layers, each penetrable

[20] ISs may garner teaching experience, usually at the discretion of the supervisor, but teaching is not assumed as part of an Australian doctoral experience.

and inclusive of the personal, enacted, relational and communal aspects of identity (Hecht, Warren, Jung & Krieger, 2005). In the spirit of Collier's (2009) endeavours to advance critical scholarship relating to inter-culturalism, a synthesis of core ideas follows that distils ideas about identity in order to guide and interpret study findings that integrate IC concepts expanded in the above discussions of third culture identities and underscoring of academic identities. To advance notions of inter-culturalism, cosmopolitanism and 'third place' culture and integrate these ideas in the context of emergent academic identities, the following abstraction of ideas is offered to guide the study and will be broadly defined as *'mengubah identitas antar-budaya'*, translated as changing IC identity.

The following 'fit for-context' inventory of key ideas from the across the IC literature incorporates and interprets understanding of changing IC identities. Features of *Mengubah identitas antar-budaya* include the following salient aspects:

- It is emergent and enduring.
- It is fused with individual, group, relational and academic meaning.
- It incorporates motivation adjustment, expectation adjustment and self-efficacy to adjust.
- It manifests in affective, behavioural or cognitive ways.
- It assumes a sense of global and local belonging, with meaning both subjective and ascribed (Hecht et al., 2005).

Mengubah Identitas antar-budaya is a feature of the CAF, presented in Section 3.7 and assists articulating in one framework the key features of the model in reference to the other salient features discussed in the adjustment literature.

3.6 Summary of the Literature - shaping the Cultural Adjustment Framework

The review of the cultural adjustment literature has examined themes pertaining to acculturation and re-acculturation. The literature highlights conceptual frameworks and

theoretical models and factors relating to cultural adjustment which are informed by the scholarly IS, EM and IC literature.

As previously emphasised, reentry is not an isolated phenomenon and must be seen in the context of a continuous process that culminates in return to the home country (Adler, 1975; Westwood et al., 1986; Martin, 1984). Though both phases are crucial to the cultural adjustment experience, the re-acculturation experience is less researched and often understood in isolation from the initial adjustment experience. Moreover, the literature reflects that reentry adjustment is considered more difficult than the initial experience of adjustment (Martin, 1986; Sussman, 2000; Black et al., 2002; Patron, 2006) and often associated with reverse culture shock (Gaw, 2000; Loh, 2003). The literature review indicates reentry is often unexpected, and in many instances negatively violated in such a way that compounds adjustment difficulties, even in spite of preparation to return (Black et al., 1992; Hammer et al., 1998; Martin et al., 2004; Li & Gasser, 2005).

The literature underscores adjustment motivation, highlighting that the motivation to study abroad is often triggered by extrinsic career-related factors. Motivation repatriation is found to be under-researched. Other adjustment factors examined highlight the importance of agency in enabling sojourners to cope with and believe in their ability to adjust and achieve acculturative goals. A significant challenge in both a general and academic adjustment sense is related to the notion of culture distance. Language is a factor that marks identity and most scholars are in accord that language proficiency positively influences socio-cultural adjustment and is facilitative of IC relations. Religion is associated with social and psychological support; however, to date research on religion and cultural adjustment has been minimal. Gender was emphasised as a further adjustment factor and an important policy issue, with findings from the literature indicating the experience of cultural adjustment is likely to vary according to gender.

The literature reveals that there are similarities between the adjustment of the individual to the host culture and re-adjustment to the home culture following reentry, with both processes characterised by challenges to IC identity induced by a sense of loss of the familiar (Butcher,

2002). In spite of some similar challenges experienced during the trajectory of acculturation to re-acculturation, no simple relationship between expatriation and repatriation is evident from the literature (Sussman, 2002). Nevertheless, scholars have assumed that both ends of the transition cycle are related as well as predictive (Sussman, 2002; Ovrebo, 2009).

In terms of similarity, the research on culture learning forms the basis of the prediction that a successful overseas adaptation and/or reentry will be based on cultural learning skills of the sojourner, including coping skills for adjustment. In terms of difference between acculturation and re-acculturation, it is argued that the defining difference relates to the returnee's expectations about family, friends, transferability of skills learned and careers and the mismatch between their expectations and actual experience of reentry (Westwood et al., 1986; Butcher, 2002). According to the literature, expectation represents the main distinction between the processes of acculturation and re-acculturation and the associated stress that occurs. This is because individuals tend to expect and prepare accordingly for change at the time of initial transition; however, their reentry is often experienced negatively due to false expectations that they will return to an unchanged home and as unchanged individuals (Gullahorn & Gullahorn, 1963; Martin, 1984; Searle & Ward, 1990; Sussman, 2000). Furthermore, non-acceptance of or not valuing changes in returnees can also exacerbate reentry challenges, especially when sojourners place great value on their re-modelled identities (Patron, 2006). Adjustment and repatriation, whilst sharing some common features, are significantly different, and this may be related to the lack of anticipatory control regarding expectations encountered during reentry, which in turn are likely to inhibit re-adjustment (Black et al., 1991).

Challenging re-adjustment issues highlighted from the literature include family re-adjustment and work place re-integration. Re-adjusting to the work place raises a series of challenges that the literature identifies as relating more broadly to the enabling environment, especially insofar as repatriated knowledge transfer and transmission of skills. Contentions within the socio-cultural reentry literature incorporate the debates over affiliations with CNs and HCNs and how this influences cultural identity strength and the impact on reentry to the home country. The literature reveals dissent between those scholars who assert a positive re-

acculturation experience that coincides with the social engagement of sojourners with HCNs (Brabant et al., 1990; Rohrlich & Martin, 1991; Li & Gasser, 2005; Kashima & Loh, 2006) and other scholars who argue that the more fundamental predictor for successful repatriation is related to support from CNs (Church, 1982; Ward & Searle, 1991; Ward & Kennedy, 1993; Sussman, 2002; Patron, 2006; Strachan et al., 2007).

The IC scholarly literature, identifies that identity is multiple as well as contextually contingent on identity features such as occupational roles and other multiple frames of reference. IC identity change is understood as a complex sequence with findings that are both differentiated as well as highly contested. The identity of academics is a discerning feature of the literature review that is reflected in a proposed new adjustment framework that combines insights from personal, enacted, relational and communal aspects of identity (Hecht et al., 2005). The synthesis of this development is the *mengubah identitas antar-budaya* that incorporates an inventory of key concepts from across the IC literature.

In summary, this investigation of cultural adjustment during the period of acculturation or re-acculturation concludes that the phenomena cannot be explained simply, nor understood as coinciding between the adaptation and reentry phase. In general there are problems due to the isolation of different research streams, contested empirical findings, the ethno-specific nature of IC research, theoretical tensions relating to psychological and socio-cultural assumptions (Berry, 2005) and over-reliance on quantitative methods to reach conclusions about the procedure of acculturation and re-acculturation (Szkudlarek, 2010).

3.7 The Cultural Adjustment Framework (CAF)

Having examined the literature pertaining to acculturation and re-acculturation challenges and the nature of these challenges and how they give rise to IC identity change, the final endeavour is to present the CAF. The CAF is proposed as a heuristic tool for managing the complexity of ideas in understanding cultural adjustment. The CAF builds understanding and provides a working framework to guide this study and identify challenges and changes experienced by aid-funded educational sojourners from Indonesia.

To assist in summarising the key adjustment factors identified in the literature, the CAF (Fig. 3) provides an integrative, multi-dimensional model to advance understanding of cultural adjustment in the context of the PhD aid-funded scholarship, drawing on the IS, EM and IC literature. The framework depicts that cultural adjustment is related to psychological and socio-cultural factors (Ward & Kennedy, 1993a; Berry, 2002; Selmer, 2007) and can differ by temporal stages (Oberg, 1960; Gullahorn and Gullahorn, 1963; Adler 1981).

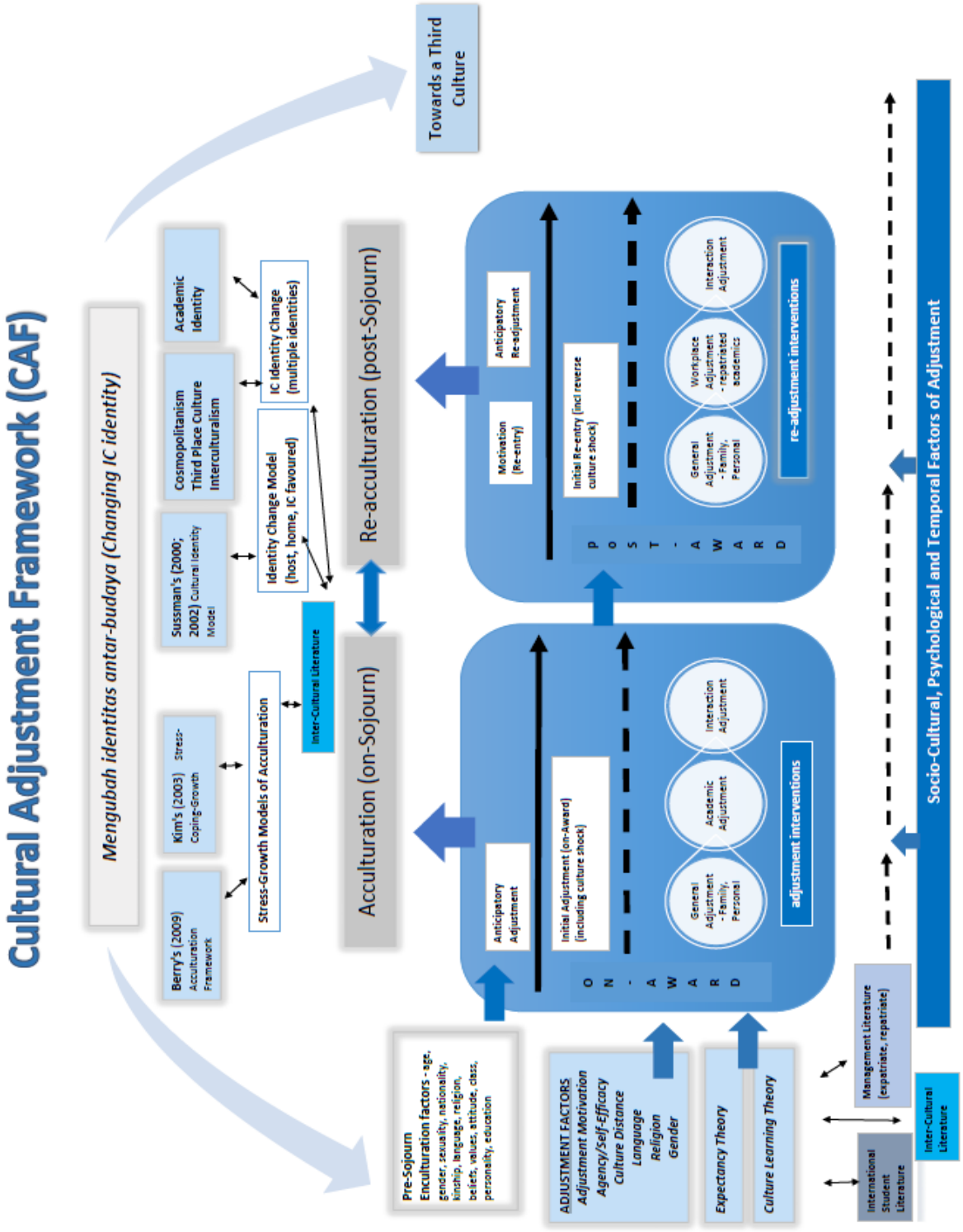

Figure 3. Cultural Adjustment Framework

As shown in Fig 3, the CAF depicts how enculturation underpins the pre-sojourn context and the salient adjustment factors of relevance. Such factors elaborated in the above Section 3.2 include adjustment motivation (Bochner, 1986; Kiley, 1999; Richardson & McKenna, 2003; Chirkov et al., 2007 Gezentsvey & Ward, 2008; Selmer & Lauring, 2013; Firth et al., 2014; Altbach & Engberg, 2014; Guerin et al., 2014), agency or self-efficacy (Gholamrezaei, 1995; Harrison et al., 1996; Hechanova et al., 2003; Hedges, 2003; Kettle, 2005; Gezentsvey & Ward, 2008; Yamazaki, 2010), culture-distance (Black et al., 1991; Ward et al., 2001; Selmer, 2007; Berry, 2011; Hofstede et al., 2010; Roskell, 2013), language (Kim & Gudykunst, 1988; Triandis, 1994; Gholamrezaei, 1995; Hedges, 2003; Trice, 2003; Novera, 2004; Bhaskar-Shrinivas & Harrison, 2005; Olivas & Li, 2006; Patron, 2006; Yang et al., 2006; Hartshorne & Baucom, 2007; Marginson et al., 2010; De Araujo, 2011; Larimer & Lee, 2011; Pedersen et al., 2011; Smith & Khawaja, 2011; Froese, 2012; Lu et al., 2012), religion (Gholamrezaei, 1995; Sadrossadat, 1995; Rosenthal et al., 2007; Gonzales, 2010; Ward, 2013) and gender (Gama & Pedersen, 1977; Brabant et al., 1990; Caligiuri & Lazarova, 2002; Nilan, 2005; Wild, 2007; Brown & Brown, 2009; Lazarova et al., 2010; Boey, 2014; Koveshnikov et al., 2014; McNair, 2014; Valk et al., 2014; Wechtler & Dejoux, 2014). These factors have been shown to variously influence the acculturation and/or the reentry adjustment experience.

Adjustment motivation is related to extrinsic and intrinsic aspects, and in the case of ISs, academic career is found to be an important motivator, both in terms of acculturation and re-acculturation (see above Sections 3.2.1). Related to motivation is the notion of agency, which is found to underpin a person's belief in their ability to adjust and succeed on-Award and when returning home (see Section 3.2.2). The literature highlights that issues such as language and culture-distance can moderate the experience of academic adjustment, presenting additional challenges in the case of the ADS PhD awardees facing significant differences in terms of language and academic culture and conventions (see Sections 3.2.3 and 3.2.4). Religion provides an important function in Indonesian culture and provides for social and cultural connectedness, usually with other CNs (see above Section 3.2.6). Finally, the disaggregation of data by gender illustrates the importance of identifying issues of

adjustment that may differ by gender, such as the challenge that many female awardees find with balancing work and family responsibilities (see above Section 3.2.5).

The CAF identifies the acculturation phases, noting the relevance of how adjustment is anticipated and associated with expectancy theory (Black, 1992; Martin, Bradford & Rohrlich, 1995; Stroh, Gregersen & Black, 1998), and culture-learning (Bochner, 1986; Church, 1982; Black & Mendenhall, 1991) as different perspectives that help to explain a sojourn experience (see above Section 3.3.2). Findings on acculturation and re-acculturation link unmet or negatively violated expectations with poorer adjustment, with the study showing that the experience of reentry is more likely to result in a negative expectancy violation. Interaction adjustment is found to facilitate culture-learning (Church, 1982; Cox, 2004; Waxin, 2004; Marginson & Sawir, 2011; Lu et al., 2012), which in turn can be instrumental in terms of cultural adjustment (see above Section 3.3.2.2).

The CAF denotes culture shock (Oberg, 1960; Church, 1982; Westwood et al., 1986; Ward et al., 2001 Cox, 2006).as part of the initial acculturation phase which can be mitigated by opportunities to learn about and accurately expect cultural change (see above Section 3.3.3.1). In turn, culture shock can be influenced by other factors, such as motivation adjustment, or other adjustment-related issues, such as culture-distance, for example, highlighting the salience of adjustment factors in terms of influence on acculturation or re-acculturation. The CAF distinguishes three important aspects of adjustment: the general nature of adjustment, academic nature of adjustment and interaction adjustment (see Sections 3.3.3, 3.3.4 and 3.3.5 above). The CAF references acculturation identity strategies and typologies (see Section 3.3.6 above) identified by Berry (2002; 2005; 2009) and Kim (2003; 2005; 2015b).

The CAF illustrates that re-acculturation, is not isolated from the overall context of adjustment, depicting adjustment as a continuous process (Adler, 1975; Westwood et al., 1986; Martin, 1984). The CAF highlights that the initial re-adjustment phase can be associated with reverse culture shock (Adler, 1975; Westwood et al., 1986; Martin, 1984), and this is found to be also related to expectancy violations (Loh, 2003), when sojourners

return home, not expecting to find significant change (see Section 3.4.1.1). Similar to the acculturation phase, the CAF shows the breakdown of general re-adjustment, work place re-adjustment for repatriated academics and interaction re-adjustment (see above Sections 3.4.2 and 3.4.3). In terms of interaction adjustment, the CAF identifies different typologies of home-favoured, host-favoured or IC identity, drawing on insights from Sussman's (2000; 2002) cultural identity model, which considers IC identity shifts during the adjustment process, including reentry phase (see above Section 3.4.4).

The CAF identifies that adjustment interventions (Adler, 1981; Martin, 1984; Bochner, 1986; Westwood et al., 1986; Marks, 1987; Brabant et al., 1990; Black & Mendenhall, 1991; Ward & Searle, 1991; Cox, 2004; Andreason & Kineer, 2005; Martin et al., 1995; Gregersen & Stroh, 1997; Hammer et al., 1998; Sussman, 2000; Butcher, 2002; Brown & Holloway, 2008; Szkudlarek, 2008; Wilson et al., 2013) can assist either acculturation or re-acculturation in various ways that are likely to be optimised when preparing to either sojourn or return home (see above Sections 3.3.3 and 3 4.2). Such interventions may extend to orientation workshops, language training, work experience, reintegration programs, with provision for family attendance, promotion of ongoing networks with colleagues at home and Alumni programs.

The final contribution of the CAF is to propose a *Mengubah identitas antar-budaya* that integrates key ideas from across the IC literature (Hannigan, 1990; Rohrlich & Martin, 1991; Hall et al., 1992; Berry, 1994; 2002; 2009; Crossley & Jarvis, 2001; Hall & Du Gay, 1996; Cannon, 2000; Berry & Segall, 2002; Butcher et al., 2003; Kim, 2003; 2015b; Phinney, 2003; Cox, 2004; Martin and Harrell, 2004; Koehne, 2005; Rizvi, 2005a; Ting-Toomey, 2005; Giroux & Robbins, 2006: Patron, 2006; Rizvi, 2008; Butcher, 2009; Collier, 2009; Marginson & Sawir, 2011; Sussman, 2011) relating to the changing nature of IC identities (see Section 3.4.4 and 3.4.5 above). The notion of *Mengubah identitas antar-budaya* emphasises that there is a corpus of meaning associated with the idea of IC change and that these ideas are interrelated, with IC change and multiple identities emerging, including global, local and, in the context of this study, an emerging academic identity (McAlpine, Jazvac-Martek & Hopwood, 2005; Clegg, 2008; Gardner, 2008; Jazvac-Martek, 2008; Rizvi,

2010; Ennals, Fortune, Williams & D'Cruz, 2015). *Mengubah identitas antar-budaya* is also incorporative of an amalgam of adjustment perspectives, such as motivation adjustment, expectation adjustment and agency to adjust.

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Chapter Four:

Research Design and Methods

Chapter 4 – Research Design and Methods

4.1 Introduction

The purpose of the chapter is threefold. The first objective is to position the study in terms of its ontological and epistemological assumptions, and the interpretive research perspective that flows from these assumptions and underlies the research. The second objective is to outline and justify the research approach, which is an exploratory, qualitative case study, that examines how a specific cohort of doctoral-level awardees of an aid-funded program, experience cultural adjustment. An exploratory case study has scope to generate propositions to build cultural adjustment theory (Tharenou, Donohue & Cooper, 2007). The third objective of this chapter is to document the procedures and steps taken to implement the research project. Such steps include the process for gathering qualitative data and the analysis of those data using a grounded approach that fits with the interpretive orientation of the study. The research perspective, approach and methods are linked to answering the key and higher-order, research questions to build understanding of the acculturation and re-acculturation process. Issues of credibility (Miles & Huberman, 1994) and trustworthiness (Lincoln & Guba, 1985; Denzin & Lincoln, 2005) are also addressed in the chapter, along with methodological limitations.

4.2 Research Perspective

The research paradigm is constructivist and emphasises that there are multiple understandings of reality (Denzin & Lincoln, 2005) and such understandings are constructed within an essentially social context (Crotty, 1988; Patton, 2002; Eisenhardt & Graebner, 2007). In a research context, this involves the interaction of study participants and the researcher as they interact in the research process (Lincoln & Guba, 1985; Crotty, 1998; Ennals et al., 2015). Such realities are constructed, as well as interpreted during the course of human interaction. The above features of the research paradigm are aptly described by Denzin & Lincoln (2005:22):

> The net that contains the researcher's epistemological, ontological, and methodological premises may be termed a paradigm or an interpretive framework, a basic set of beliefs that guide action. All research is interpretive; it is guided by the researcher's set of beliefs and feelings about the world and how it should be understood and studied.

Accordingly, a constructivist perspective holds that there is a "plurality of truths associated with different constructions of reality" (Blaikie, 2007:25). Lincoln and Guba (1985:101) state that "interactions between investigator and respondents cannot be eliminated from the research questions even if one wishes to do so". This chapter positions the methodology within this overall research perspective, whilst noting that approaches to social enquiry are varied, with terms often conflated and interpreted variously across the literature.

With research literature highly nuanced, including its research lexicon, establishing an agreed research convention is problematic: "Although some researchers have explicitly attempted to define and categorise various approaches of qualitative research … the literature is replete with confounding use of jargon. (This, in turn, contributes to its complexity, especially for the neophyte researcher)" (Agostinho, 2005:2). The interpretive approach for this study, along with its assumptions concurs with that articulated by Rowlands (2005:81).

> The foundation assumption for interpretive research is that knowledge is gained, or at least filtered, through social constructions such as language, consciousness, and shared meanings. In addition to the emphasis on the socially constructed nature of reality, interpretive research acknowledges the intimate relationship between the researcher and what is being explored, and the situational constraints shaping this process.

The interpretive nature of the enquiry also takes into account reflexive features related to the experience of the researcher, as a research participant. According to Geertz (1973), an inherent feature of reflexive research processes, is the embedding of the researcher into the process.

> Although we retain objectivity as an ideal, we do not regard the presence of the researcher as a form of contamination. We regard interviews as a form of social interaction in which the researcher and the participant collaborate in the production of accounts. It is important to remember that what we call our data is really our own constructions of other people's conversations of what they and their compatriots are up to. (Quoted in Grimshaw & Sears, 2008:274).

Researchers are never neutral, just as interviewees are never neutral, when it comes to the collection and interpreting of data. Given the integral role of the researcher in an interpretivist study of this nature, the approach takes into account the background, positionality and experience of the researcher (Lincoln & Guba, 1985; Crotty, 1998; Tracey, 2010; Ennals et al., 2015). Reflexivity also elucidates research biases that may arise from prior experiences, including perceptions about the study phenomenon.

The aim to understand the lived experience of the Indonesian ADS awardee's account of cultural adjustment can be advanced using an instrumental case study approach (Stake, 1994) that incorporates an interpretive framework. This approach is selected for several key reasons. The approach fits with what Lincoln and Guba (1985) argue is a naturalistic form of research enquiry that claims realities are whole and cannot be understood in isolation from their contexts, involving also the researcher and the object of inquiry, both interdependent and influencing one another. The approach is suited to a project that essentially aims to build understanding of the lived experience of acculturating and re-acculturating sojourners. It allows for the awardee's perspective but recognises that such perspectives are interpreted and given meaning by the awardees, as well as the researcher (Blaikie, 2007), with experience in the aid sector, including the ADS program.

4.2.1 The role of the researcher – positionality

An interpretivist research project emphasises the role of the researcher as an authentic participant in the study. As an existing PhD student, in receipt of an Australian scholarship award, it is likely this helped the researcher to establish rapport with many of the Informants, especially those currently completing their doctoral studies. Additional rapport with the participants was attained because of having previously lived and worked in Indonesia. Time spent in the field setting can be instrumental in terms of gaining tacit knowledge about the research setting or phenomenon under study (Tracey, 2010). According to Lincoln and Guba (1985), tacit knowledge can contribute depth and meaning to the exploration of phenomenon,

enabling the researcher to identify with participants and describe their experiences with an insider view (Patton, 1990).

In addition, having been on several occasions an expatriate abroad and a repatriate, there were grounds to establish empathy between study participants, including the researcher, especially in terms of shared understandings about cultural adjustment issues. Even in spite of the researcher's status as an 'outsider' (Creswell, 2008), as a fellow PhD student and having familiarity of living and working in Indonesia, this afforded a degree of empathy across the study participants. Furthermore, the potential for the researcher to detect discrepancies in information rendered by the awardees is likely to be heightened due to the cited features of the researcher's positionality. Further information about the researcher's background is included at Section 4.11.

4.3 Case study Approach

The nature of the study is well-suited to a case study approach which can focus on insights and interpretation to build theory (Eisenhardt & Graebner, 2007), using exploratory techniques and drawing from a complexity and variety of sources and approaches, including multiple methods which are flexibly accommodated within this research approach (Stake, 1994; Yazan, 2015). The case study provides for a bounded system that emphasises interpretation and knowledge of the particular (Stake, 1994; Yazan, 2015) which pertains to the ADS doctoral-level program to Indonesia. The case study approach resists reductionism, with findings unique and non-comparative about the phenomenon under study that is the experience of cultural adjustment, under particular conditions (Stake, 1995).

The case study approach accommodates the bounded nature of the study and is able to provide for flexibility as well as the interactions between researcher and respondents, an inherent feature of this enquiry (Stake, 1995). The study demonstrates coherence in terms of the interconnections between research design, data collection, analysis and theoretical or conceptual frameworks (Tracey, 2010). The case study approach is aligned to the interpretive methodology to address the research questions. The methodology was also used in

developing the CAF, which was presented in Chapter 3. The CAF emerged, in part from the broader corpus of scholarly literature (IS, EM and IC studies), including theories, *a priori* concepts and factors relating to cultural adjustment, later supported by the study findings (Miles & Huberman, 1994; Maxwell, 2009; Ravitch & Riggan, 2012). According to Eisenhardt (1989:544), "an essential feature of theory building is comparison of the emergent concepts, theory, or hypotheses with the extant literature".

As a research method, the case study has been used to investigate given research topics from a quantitative, qualitative or mixed methods approach. According to Yin (2009), the case study approach is relevant for research that puts forward 'how' or 'what' questions which align directly to the way the key research questions are expressed in this study. The case study approach aligns well to the interpretivist perspective, which seeks to understand how people make sense of the world (Stake, 1995; Balogun & Johnson, 2005; Weick et al, 2005).

This case study of the ADS program contributes to knowledge and theory building, emphasising interpretation and contextual richness and complexity of data (Yin, 2009; Stake, 1994). The case study approach is used to interpret findings drawn from semi-structured interviews, as the primary data that explores the diversity of the individual awardee's experience of cultural adjustment, including intended and unintended impacts on the program. Further data are sourced from focus group discussions (FGDs), direct observation and reviews of relevant government documentation, tracer studies and other 'grey' literature. Interviews and FGDs were all conducted in English, because all informants were competent English speakers.

As previously stated, the case study focus is on the ADS doctoral-level program to Indonesia, an aid-funded higher education initiative which provides the setting for exploring the nature of cultural adjustment experienced by its awardees as they undertake an educational sojourn and reintegration experience. In spite of case study limitations in terms of wider generalisation (Stake, 1995), information compiled from this case can resonate in other research contexts (Tracey, 2010), and more generally for policy and program decision-makers who seek to better understand issues of cultural adjustment and the implications for

aid-funded higher education. In addition, findings from this case study can be used more broadly to inform higher education programs to deal with adjustment issues and prepare students for repatriation.

Given that an aim of this study is to understand the lived experience of cultural adjustment of the ADS doctoral awardees and the challenges they face, the use of case study, including its emphasis on qualitative methods is selected to gather, analyse and interpret data.

4.4 Qualitative methods

Whilst there are strengths and weaknesses evident in both the qualitative and quantitative research traditions, the qualitative approach offers the best prospect to capture the rich and detailed accounts of the lived experiences of educational sojourners and repatriated academics, as they experience cultural adjustment (Morgan & Smircich, 1980; Miles & Huberman, 1994; Denzin & Lincoln, 2005). Whereas a quantitative approach focuses on enumeration, measurement and objectivity to identify causal relationships and test theory (Lincoln & Guba, 1985; Denzin & Lincoln, 2005), a qualitative approach allows for a deeper, contextual understanding of the participants' perspective about cultural adjustment, which is the actual phenomenon under investigation (Roskell, 2013). Hence the use of qualitative methods is well-matched to the aims of this study. The choice of a qualitative approach also addresses a research gap, as cultural adjustment issues are the subject of many surveys and quantitative studies, but the phenomenon is found to be less researched in qualitative terms (Smith & Khawaja, 2011).

4.5 Research questions

The culmination of past, own experiences and review of the cultural adjustment literature and related empirical studies led to the identification of the research problem, which addresses gaps in understanding the experience of cultural adjustment. Chapter 1 identifies gaps, including the tendency to examine acculturation and re-acculturation in isolation and the focus on either ISs or EMs, leaving hybrid groups under-researched, such as those in this study; these constitute a mixed identity of student and repatriated academics. In terms of

public policy, the study of cultural adjustment raises implications in terms of effectiveness of foreign aid education programs.

The interview questions were initially derived from the literature, including theoretical and conceptual ideas about cultural adjustment and cultural identity. The questions were open-ended, to solicit the views of the awardees more broadly on themes, related to cultural adjustment and related implications for the ADS program. In response to the research problem, an overarching research question, that takes into account the on-Award, acculturative (Chapter 5) and post-Award, re-acculturative (Chapter 6) nature of cultural adjustment is posed and then mapped to two subsidiary research themes, as depicted in Fig. 4 and illustrate that understanding of cultural adjustment, should not be isolation from related areas of acculturation and re-acculturation. Specific sub-research questions relating to each research theme are shown as follows:

Acculturation Sub-Questions

1. What are the salient factors that can influence the on-Award acculturation experience of the ADS PhD awardees?

2. What program interventions can assist the on-Award acculturation experience of the ADS PhD awardees?

Re-acculturation Sub-Questions

3. What are the salient factors that can influence the post-Award re-acculturation experience of the ADS PhD awardees?

4. What program interventions can assist the post-Award re-acculturation experience of the ADS PhD awardees?

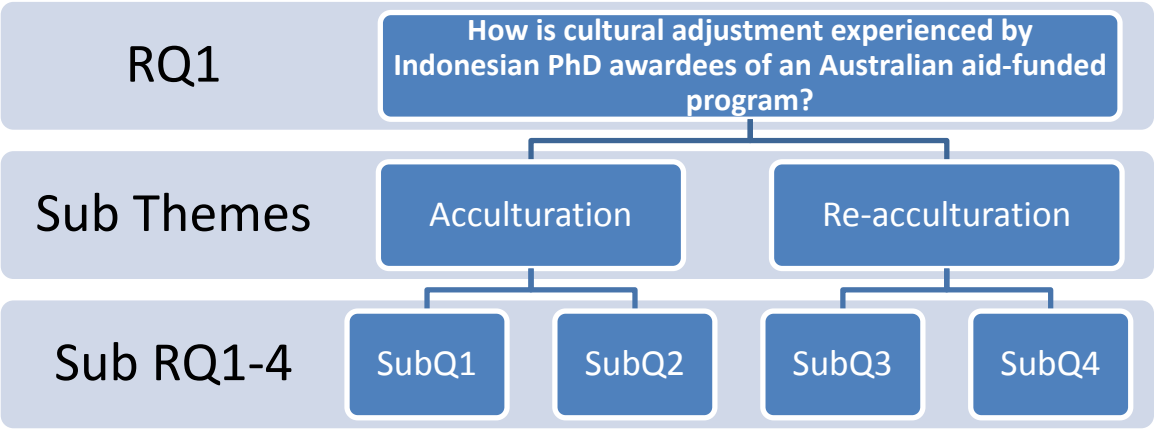

Figure 4. Research Question and subsidiary research themes

The literature, the CAF and the research questions had flow-on effects in terms of guiding the research procedures, particularly the choice of research participants and preparation for data collection and analysis.

4.6 Research Process

The steps in the research process were congruent with the research design and appropriate for exploring the lived experiences of cultural adjustment. The research process is outlined below. It includes provision for ethics, the study's reference group, and development of the interview guide and recruitment of informants. The research setting is discussed next, along with the data collection methods and information about the study participants, concluding with the role of the researcher.

4.6.1 Ethics

Approval was sought from the University Ethics Committee to proceed with the study, based on prepared documentation, including an explanatory statement outlining the aims and purpose of the research. A cover letter was forwarded to prospective research participants, with proposed arrangements for participation, including provision for confidentiality,

proposed use of the data, and a mechanism to withdraw from the study as well as a complaints process. Consent forms were provided to participants, signed and stored. In order to protect the anonymity of informants and encourage candour, information from interviews and focus groups was secured.

4.6.2 Study Reference Group

According to Corbin and Strauss (2008), access to local advisers can assist understanding and sensitivity for cross-cultural studies. This is also a fundamental principle of working in a foreign aid setting. Following completion of the literature review, to confirm research gaps and key themes, a Study Reference Group (SRG) was convened, consisting of three Indonesian HDR students and one ADS program adviser. All student members of the SRG were the recipient of scholarships, although not the ADS award, and all were students at Monash University. An additional member of the SRG was able to offer practical advice relating to program-related and cultural issues, based on his longstanding experience of working on this specific program. The purpose of the SRG was to advise about the research plan and identify data needed for the case study and where this could be sourced from.

The SRG was able to assist in the framing of interview questions, along with prompts to assist the interviews. The SRG was a critical force, in terms of the identification of informants for the case study, and SRG members were happy for initial communications to prospective informants to help establish rapport with participants, prior to interviews. The SRG also helped with 'fine-tuning' of the interview questions in English, to maximise understanding in the Indonesian context, given that English was a second language for the Indonesian awardees.

4.6.3 Recruitment of Informants

Three initial strategies were used simultaneously to recruit case study participants. Participants included completing (acculturating) or completed (re-acculturating) ADS doctoral-level awardees, and others with direct experience of the ADS program, typically Indonesian and Australian academics and program administrators. The strategy of involving

the SRG proved most effective in terms of recruitment. The first strategy was to advertise in the Monash University newsletter, an on-line publication widely read by students. Whilst Monash has been a university of choice for many ADS awardees from Indonesia, the strategy did not yield any participants. Similarly, an advertisement placed simultaneously on-line was delivered to ADS Alumni through the ADS program office in Jakarta. Once again, this strategy did not result in participants for the study.

The strategy that was highly successful used a personal approach to recruit participants and allowed this then to 'snowball' (Miles & Huberman, 1994). The 'snowball' approach, simply involved one participant identifying additional informants. This was successfully used in the Kiley (1999) study to recruit Indonesian post-graduate students. Participants were also identified from existing Indonesian and Australian networks known to the researcher, and via the study supervisors. Established professional connections in the aid sector assisted access to informants, with a working knowledge of the Indonesian ADS program. This offered practical insights in terms of the research project, as well as links to other program informants, who could yield rich data about the ADS program.

The combined effect of the 'snowball' approach, and referrals to participants from the SRG, along with existing personal and professional networks, resulted in access that well exceeded an initial estimate of 20 informants. In addition, the researcher's placement as a volunteer in three Indonesian university settings over a period of three months in 2011 provided a 'window of opportunity' to identify repatriated ADS academics who had returned to Indonesia. Table 1 provides a break-down of the 60[21] participants and how they were sourced for this study. Since most participants, accessed using a snowball approach, were connected to participants initially sourced by the SRG, the role of this group in terms of sourcing participants was significant.

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[21] In addition to the 60 participants, a further 16 awardees and three informants were contacted, but due to time constraints or availability these interviews did not proceed.

Accessed by	Awardees (in progress)	Completed Awardees	Other Informants	Total
Researcher	2	2	9	13
Study Research Group	7	6	1	14
Supervisor(s)	0	1	1	2
Snow-ball	3	20	8	31
Totals (N = 60)	12	29	19	60

Table 1. Type of Informants according to recruitment source

4.6.4 The Study Participants

Participants discussed in the case study include the researcher and completing and completed doctoral awardees, in addition to other informants, in many cases academics or those with knowledge of the ADS program.

4.6.5 Study Informants

The case study informants were comprised mainly of the ADS awardees but also included other informants, generally academics or program advisers. ADS awardees were classified into three different temporal phases of the program, as presented in Table 2, showing each phase accounting for an interval of around five years, with 28 of the 41 ADS awardees having completed or still completing their doctoral program during Phase 2. In total there were 17 female awardees and 24 males. Demographic data reveal that most awardees were married and accompanied on award by their spouse and children. Awardees were typically middle-class (based on their father's occupation), highly educated and with varied but generally proficient English language skills. Most were employed in government higher education or research institutions, although some were attached to private universities in

Indonesia. Further information about each of the Awardee Informant groups is described in Sections 4.6.5.1 to 4.6.5.3. The bar chart at Fig 5 shows that the majority of doctoral awardees (18 of the 41) were concentrated in Arts and Business-related studies, although study ranged across disciplinary areas. An over-representation of men in business studies and women in pharmacy is also evident.

Program Phase	**Period**	**Male Awardees**		**Female Awardees**	
		Completed	Completing	Completed	Completing
ADS1	1998-2003	5	0	2	0
ADS2	2003-8	12	5	10	1
ADS3	2009-2014	0	2	0	4
Totals (N = 41)		17	7	12	5

Table 2. Awardee numbers - by program phase, state of completion and gender

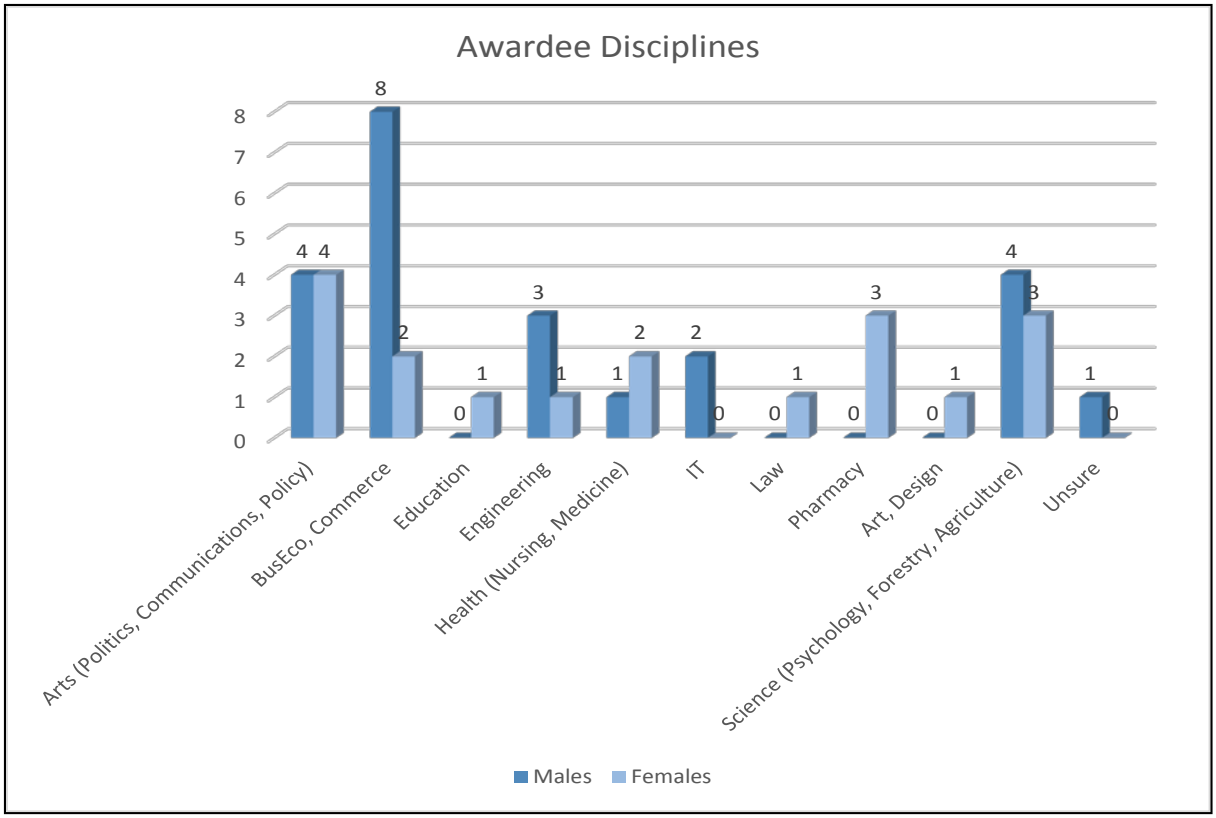

Figure 5. Disciplinary areas of Doctoral studies

4.6.5.1 Completing Doctoral Awardees

Table 3 shows that of the total 12 completing awardees, there were five females and seven males. Six awardees commenced during ADS Phase 2 (2003-6), with the remaining awardees commencing during ADS Phase 3A (2009-2012). The average age of awardees was 35 years and most were accompanied by family members, including children. Of the 12 completing awardees, 10 had completed their masters-level degree in an OECD country. For many the masters was completed in Australia, funded by AusAID under the ADS program. Only two completing awardees had completed their masters-level study in Indonesia. Most completing awardees were of Muslim faith; there was one Hindu and one Christian. Except for one

Skype[22] and one telephone Interview, all interviews were conducted face-to-face. All awardees reported receiving a stipend from their employer in Indonesia in addition to the AusAID allowances.

Pseudym	Gender	Age	Interview	Stipend	ADS	Accompanied Spouse	Accompanied Children	Religion	Masters
Bagus	M	40	F2F	Yes	3	Yes	No	Muslim	ADS
Dimas	M	31	F2F	Yes	2	Yes	No	Christ	OECD
Kartika	F	35	F2F	Unsure	3	Yes	Yes	Muslim	ADS
Mawar	F	36	Skype	Yes	2	Yes	Yes	Muslim	Indon
Wani	M	33	Phone	Yes	2	No	No	Hindu	Indon
Ndari	F	32	F2F	Yes	3	No	No	Muslim	OECD
Aini	F	37	F2F	Yes	3	No	Yes	Muslim	ADS
Ardhi	M	38	F2F	Yes	2	Yes	Yes	Muslim	OECD
Waluyo	M	37	F2F	Unsure	2	Yes	Yes	Muslim	ADS
Harto	M	35	F2F	Yes	2	Yes	Yes	Muslim	OECD
Harum	F	32	F2F	Yes	3	Yes	Yes	Muslim	ADS
Wijaya	M	35	F2F	Yes	3	Yes	Yes	Muslim	OECD
Total (N = 12)									

Table 2. Completing Awardees - demographic data

[22] Skype is a computer application that specialises in video chat and voice calls. The service is mostly free to the user and popular with groups that travel, such as students, academics and aid program workers.

4.6.5.2 Completed Awardees

Table 4 includes 29 completed awardees. All but two male awardees met the PhD requirement and had graduated from Australian universities. The average time elapsed since the return of the completed awardees was just over three years. Times varied between one to eight years. Of the 29 completed awardees, 17 were males and 12 females. There were seven awardees from ADS1 (1998-2002) and 22 had commenced their award program during ADS2 (2003-6). The average age of awardees at the time of the interview was 40 years. Of the 29 completing awardees, 23 completed their masters-level degree in either an OECD country (six awardees) or in Australia, under the ADS Program (18). The remaining five awardees completed their master's degree in Indonesia. Eighteen awardees were Muslim and 11 were Christian. Other than four interviews conducted by Skype, all interviews were conducted face-to-face. Most awardees received a stipend from their employer in Indonesia, in addition to the AusAID allowances. Only two of the awardees were not accompanied by family members, and over the course of the PhD program in Australia the average time spent visiting home, typically to conduct field work, was 4.5 months.

Pseudym	G	Age	Interview Mode	Stipend	ADS	Accompanied Spouse	Accompanied Child'n	Religion	Masters	Visits Home (mths)	Years completed
Eka	F	51	F2F	No	1	Yes	Yes	Muslim	ADS	0	8
Langgeng	M	43	F2F	Yes	2	Yes	Yes	Muslim	ADS	6	5
Ari	M	42	F2F	Yes	2	Yes	Yes	Muslim	OECD	7	2
Sarwendah	F	35	F2F	TBC	2	Yes	Yes	Muslim	ADS	7	1
Cahaya	F	38	F2F	Yes	2	Yes	Yes	Christ	ADS	0.75	6
Banyu	M	41	Skype	Yes	2	Yes	No	Christ	ADS	9	3
Dewi	F	39	F2F	Yes	2	Yes	Yes	Muslim	ADS	6	0.75
Agustina	F	43	F2F	Yes	2	MIL	Yes	Muslim	OECD		1
Wira	M		F2F	Yes	2	Yes	Yes	Muslim	Indon		?
Fajar	M	37	F2F	Yes	2	Yes	Yes	Muslim	Indon	0.5	1
Dumadi	M	42	Skype	No	1	Yes	Yes	Christ	OECD	1	6
Argo	M	41	Skype	No	1	Yes	Yes	Muslim	ADS	12	8
Melati	F	42	F2F	Yes	2	Yes	Yes	Muslim	ADS	5	2
Mega	F	41	Skype	Yes	2	Yes	Yes	Christ	ADS	3	4
Wibawa	M	38	F2F	TBC	2	Yes	Yes	Christ	ADS	1	4
Satya	M	37	F2F	Yes	2	Yes	Yes	Muslim	ADS	0.5	3
Galang	M	37	F2F	Yes	2	Yes	Yes	Christ	Indon	12	3
Agung	M	48	F2F	Yes	1	Yes	Yes	Muslim	ADS	8	6
Indah	F	40	F2F	Yes	2	No	Yes	Muslim	Indon		1
Georgie	F	39	F2F	No	2	No	No	Christ	ADS	4	1
Netro	M	37	F2F	Yes	2	Yes	Yes	Muslim	ADS	8	0
Sadewa	M	37	F2F	No	2	Yes	Yes	Christ	ADS	3	6
Peni	F	38	F2F	Yes	2	No	No	Muslim	ADS	3	1
Arief	M	36	F2F	Yes	2	Yes	Yes	Muslim	OECD	2	2
Elok	F	40	F2F	Yes	2	Yes	Yes	Christ	Indon	0	4
Geni*	M	41	F2F	Yes	2	Yes	Yes	Christ	ADS	8	5
Gathot	M	46	F2F	Yes	1	Yes	Yes	Muslim	OECD	1	5
Lemah*	M	42	F2F	TBC	1	Yes	Yes	Christ	Indon	2.5	3
Diah	F	46	F2F	No	1	Yes	Yes	Muslim	ADS	3	5
Total (N = 29)											

Table 3. Completed Awardees - demographic data

4.6.5.3 Key Informants (Program Advisers and Academics)

Table 4 details 19 Informants, comprising academics (from Australia and Indonesia) and program advisers. The purpose of interviewing these informants was to gain additional insights into cultural adjustment issues and other factors that could have implications for program effectiveness. In addition, interviews with these informants provided data for the purpose of triangulating information from interviews and the FGD. As stated, informants comprised Australians (seven) and Indonesians (nine) and the remaining three of mixed nationality. Academic informants were well-positioned to observe many ADS awardees embarking on the ADS program or returning to their respective home institutions.

Pseudym	Nationality	Gender	Interview Mode	Type of Informant
Steve	Australian	M	F2F	Program
Tim	Australian	M	Phone	Program
Ken	Australian	M	F2F	Program
Bill	Australian	M	Skype	Program
Darma	Indonesian/Australian	M	F2F	Academic
Steve	Singaporean/Australian	M	F2F	Academic
Sean	Australian	M	Skype	Program
Harta	Indonesian	M	F2F	Program
Nakula	Indonesian	M	F2F	Academic
Dian	Indonesian	F	F2F	Academic
Hamengku	Indonesian	M	F2F	Academic
Rahmat	Indonesian	M	F2F	Academic
Daksa	Indonesian	M	Skype	Program
Malcolm	Australian	M	F2F	Program
Dwi	Indonesian	M	F2F	Academic
Basuki	Indonesian	M	F2F	Academic
Panut	Indonesian	M	F2F	Academic
Jane	Australian	F	Skype	Program
Pani	Indonesian/Australian	M	F2F	Program
Total (N = 19)				

Table 4. Other informants - by type

4.6.6 Interview Guide and Questions to participants

An interview guide was prepared in consultation with the SRG and sent to each participant group (completing and completed awardees, academic and program-related informants), in advance of interviews. The Guide (see Appendix 1) was developed to assist understanding the purpose of the study, as well as foreshadowing questions in English prior to the interviews. Based on empirical findings that show low returns in Indonesia are the norm in the case of written feedback (Keats, 1969; Hasanah & Brownlee, 1997), it was decided to refrain from written questionnaires or surveys. The Guide was adjusted after piloting it with ADS doctoral candidates in Australia and subsequently plans and scheduling were made for subsequent interviews in Australia and in Indonesia (O'Leary, 2014). The advantage of commencing data collection in Australia related to the supported environment within the University and easy access to the SRG for advice.

Given the explicit aims of the ADS program, interviews also solicited information from awardees about their adjustment experience, in the context of any contribution or intended involvement in nation building, as well as ongoing linkages with the Australian and international research community. The questions also formed the basis for a focus group discussion with a group of repatriated academic awardees to discuss issues cultural adjustment issues, both on-Award and post-Award. In practice, questions were often adapted during interviews, to allow for open feedback from the awardees. Question themes included award motivation, identity issues, IC relations, adjustment issues (including culture shock), and any potential contributions to nation building.

4.7 The Research Setting

The research sites included Australia (mostly university settings in Victoria or Canberra, as shown in Fig 6), Indonesian universities located in Bandung (the capital city of West Java province), Jakarta (the Indonesian capital), Mataram (the capital city of Lombok province) and two research institutes located in Jakarta (see Fig 7). These research settings were chosen because of ease of access to informants, with the researcher co-located in several settings, including Australian and Indonesian universities. The research setting for the one FGD was at the public university in Mataram, Lombok Province.

Figure 6. Research setting in Australia

Figure 7. Research setting in Indonesia

4.8 Data Collection

Fig 8 shows that, in total, there were 60 interviews conducted, including interviews with 41 ADS awardees (24 males and 17 females) and 19 informants who were a mix of academics (from Indonesia or Australia) and ADS program advisers (current and former). As depicted in Fig 8, the perspectives of ADS awardees (those completed and those in progress), as well as other program informants, constituted the main source of data for the case study. Fig 8 also shows that data were acquired from a review of a highly relevant empirical studies (discussed in the literature review) and offer insights into how Indonesian post-graduate or international doctoral students experience and negotiate cultural adjustment issues. Data collection included data from FGDs, and incorporated a review of salient literature, including public policy documents. Data collected from interviews and FGDs were enhanced by the researcher's co-location with many awardees, both continuing and those repatriated to Indonesia, now working in an academic or research setting. The co-location arrangements

also facilitated observation of ADS doctoral awardees, either in Australia or in university institutes in Indonesia.

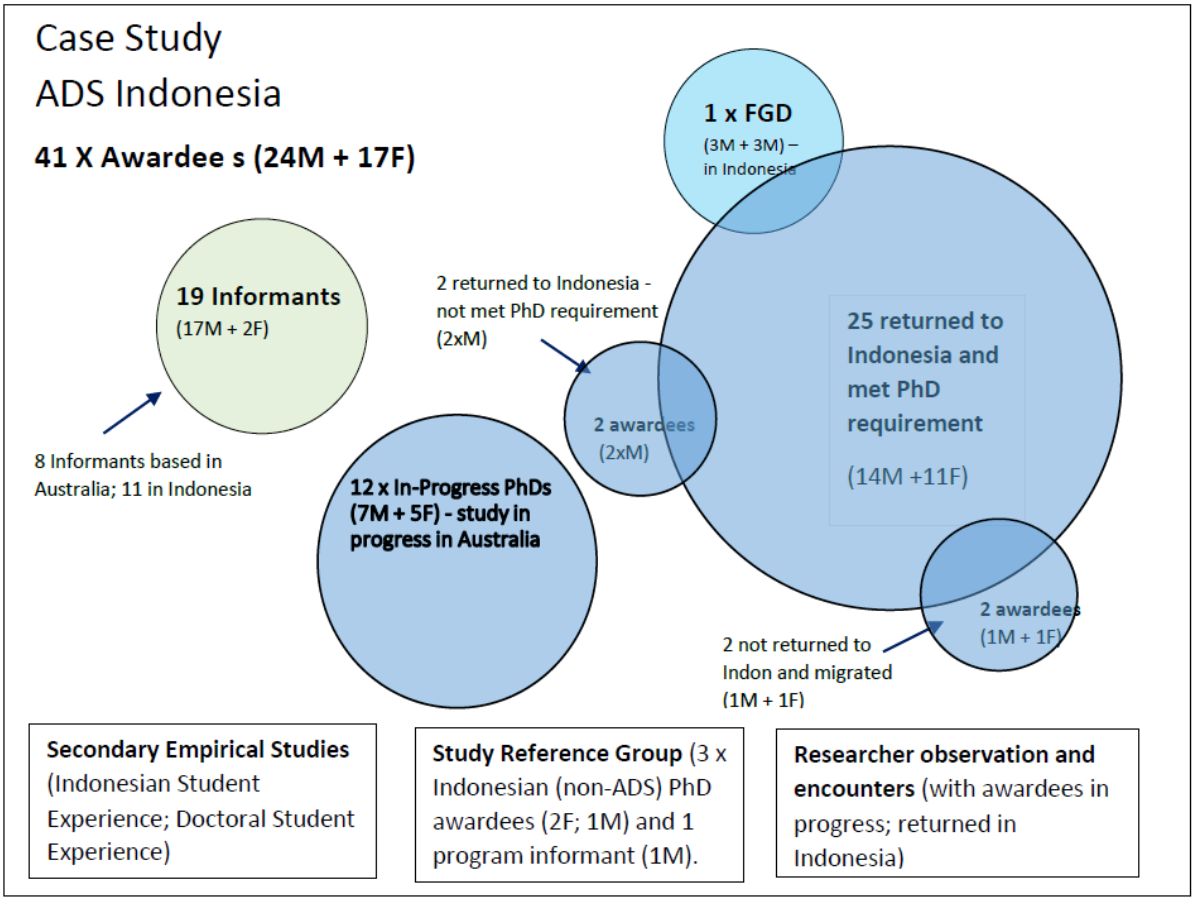

Figure 8. Case study ADS Indonesia

4.8.1 Focus Group Discussion

An opportunity arose to conduct one FGD with returned ADS academics from Lombok province, each with a personal experience of the research phenomenon (Tharenou et al., 2007). According to Silverman and Marvasti (2008:508), a focus group is a “group discussion, usually based upon stimuli provided by the researcher” and is distinguished from individual interviews (Patton, 2015). Initially requests for separate interviews were made; however, the local contact had misunderstood the intention to meet with individuals and instead took the liberty of arranging a meeting with participants attending, at the same time,

in a group setting. This was unexpected on the part of the researcher but it presented an opportunity to conduct a session, along the lines of a FGD.

At the outset it was important to explain the process, to ensure that everyone was clear about the goal of contributing data in a group setting and drawing out the opinions of the group (O'Leary, 2014), with all participant views treated as equally valid and taken into account. Participants shared the common experience of having completed doctoral studies in Australia on the ADS program and were now returned to higher education research or teaching settings in Indonesia. Permission was sought from the six participants (three men and three women) to digitally record the discussions and each participant was then asked to sign a consent form. Themes broadly discussed included the experience of acculturation and re-acculturation, including the key challenges and support mechanisms the group could recall. In this setting, participants tended to agree or add their own observations to the discussion initiated by others (Lindlof & Taylor, 2002). The duration of the FGD was 1 hr 11 mins. The data were later transcribed and formed part of the overall case study data.

4.8.2 The Interviews

Data to record the experience and perspective of ADS awardees were collected in a series of semi-structured interviews. There were two phases to collecting data, commencing with interviews in Australia from mid-2011, with all interviews completed in early 2012. All interviews were conducted over a period of eight months. The majority of data was collected in Indonesia. As previously stated, each participant received an interview pack, and, in addition, the topic and purpose of the research were further explained, prior to the commencement of each interview.

Most of the 60 interviews were conducted face-to-face but some were conducted using Skype or telephone. Interviews were reflexive and flexible in accordance with a constructionist standpoint. Fig 9 shows a total of nine interviews were conducted using Skype, usually when distance precluded a face-to-face meeting. Telephone interviews were conducted with two respondents, including one completing doctoral awardee with a visual impairment who had

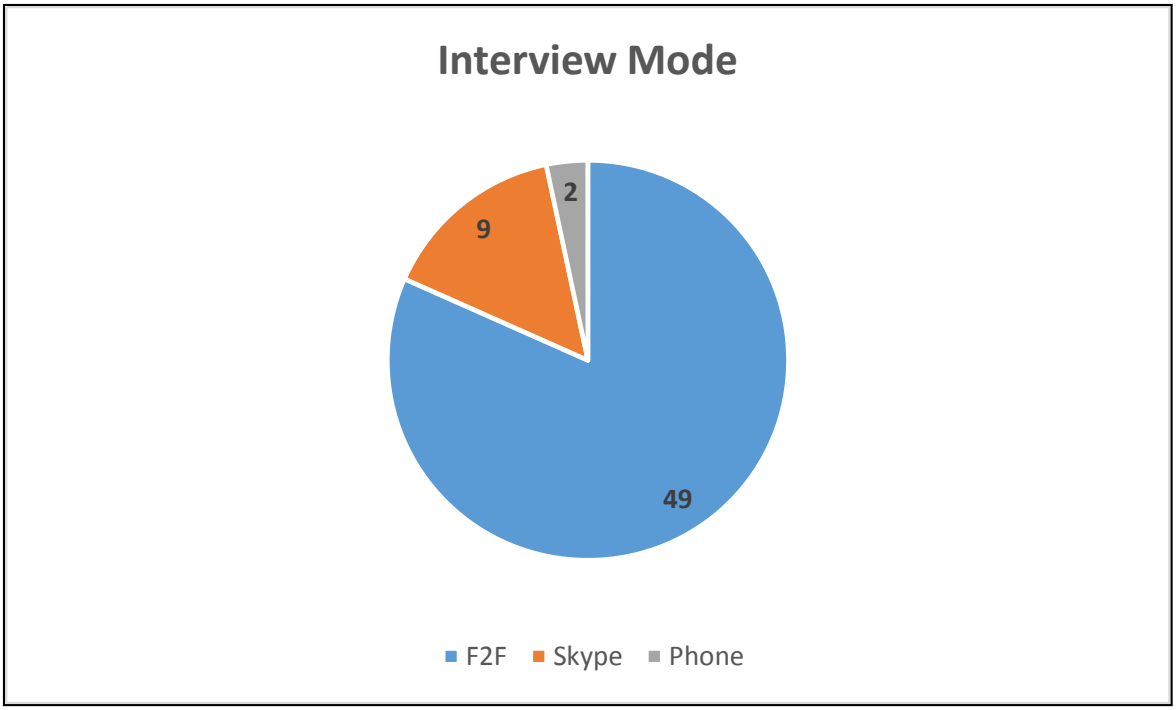

Figure 9 Mode of semi-structured interview

requested an interview by phone. The face-to-face interviews were conducted in Australia or in Indonesia. Interviews were arranged at a location and time chosen by the participants. The interviews were conducted in English; the length of each interview varied from around 30 mins to 2 hours. On average the length of interviews was 66 minutes. With the exception of five[23] interviews, all were recorded and transcribed.

4.9 Data Analysis

The data analysis process commenced with the initial collection of the raw data. Preparation for data analysis involved scanning and coding the data, whilst at the same time looking for themes and then relating these themes and descriptions across the case study (Creswell,

[23] Two interviews were conducted opportunistically, with access to a recording device and three interviews had requested notes only.

2014). Data analysis culminated in the interpretation of meanings relating to themes and concepts depicted in the CAF and guiding the analysis of findings (Chapter 5 – Acculturation; and Chapter 6 – Re-acculturation).

Following collection and initial coding of data, the analysis of the data involved interacting between stages of data analysis, especially relating to the codifying of data related to the key research questions (Miles & Huberman, 1994). The data analysis involved identifying key themes by moving between first and second-level coding, as well as comparing and contrasting across ADS phases, types of informants and by gender.

Most of the data were collected in semi-structured interviews and examined in reference to the scholarly literature as well as by comparing and contrasting data sources, including focus group discussions and other secondary documents. The aim was to convey both the emergent theory, alongside the rich empirical evidence supporting the theory (Eisenhardt & Graebner, 2007). Specific data analysis procedures are the topic of this section.

4.9.1 Organising and preparing raw data for analysis

Data from interviews with Informants, mostly ADS awardees (completing and completed), was assigned demographic attributes, with descriptive data assigned to nodes that would facilitate later comparing and contrasting of findings across different categories (Siccama & Penna, 2008). Demographic attributes, included age, sex, religion and family status of awardee, details of previous post-graduate study, including study abroad, and father's occupation. Further information denoted the mode of interview (mostly face-to-face), year of study and completion, research interests and academic standing in Indonesia.

As previously stated, the use of pseudonyms protected the confidentiality of informants (Maxwell, 2009), with provision for more stringent measures in the case of one awardee who had emphasised the need for confidentiality. In this case, an additional pseudonym was assigned with no additional demographic information. Interviews were recorded with the permission of the participants and later transcribed verbatim. For coherence and readability the English was corrected, taking care not to lose the essence of what was being said.

Following transcription of data, interviews were uploaded using NVivo[24] software. Transcribing interviews was extremely time-consuming, not only because of the total number of hours, nearing 40, but because many interviews required close and repeated listening, due to the Indonesian accents and diversity of English language proficiency. The challenge of qualitative analysis lies in managing massive data sets (Patton, 2015) and, whilst NVivo is merely a tool for data analysis, its value for this study was measured by its ability to manage large quantities of data (Tharenou et al., 2007).

4.9.2 Reading data

From the time of data collection and later transcription, data were closely listened to and following transcription, printed in hard copy and read and then re-read to make sense of what the participants were saying and get an overall 'feel' of the data (O'Leary, 2014). Themes and descriptions were arrived at by reading, underling and highlighting text, phrases and narrative accounts. Handwritten notes in the margins helped to allude to first-order coding, which was later re-visited when inputting the data from other completing awardees into NVivo. In addition, provisional codes were derived from the CAF, research questions, and key variables from the literature, whilst still maintaining the emphasis on coding inductively.

4.9.3 Coding the data

Coding involves the collection of raw data and, through a series of coding, the raising of such data to a conceptual level. Commencement of first order coding was done in reference to codes derived from the literature that at times were revised to fit the context of the study. First-order codes were foreshadowed during the building of the CAF and tentatively from the key research questions, whilst still maintaining the emphasis on coding inductively. The initial generation of copious micro codes, and the task of linking these with theoretical frameworks and findings, presented a surmountable challenge. The scaling back from over

[24] NVivo is a computer aided qualitative data analysis software (CAQDAS).

160 codes to around 35 later reduced coding into more manageable themes (Miles & Huberman, 1994).

During open-coding, NVivo memos captured initial interpretations relating to the data, from the vantage-point of the researcher. Recording of non-verbal cues, including interview tone, emphasis of meaning and satire are examples of how these memos captured richer 'thick' information (O'Leary, 2014). Open coding involved using chunks of text which were read and categorised to describe the phenomenon under study and infer categories (Krippendorff, 2013). First-level coding involved close reading of transcripts to select ideas and tentative first order codes (Lindlof & Taylor, 2002; Siccama & Penna, 2008). Annotations[25] and memos[26] provided clarity when reviewing the data from the transcripts.

In the main, data were analysed using a grounded approach (Strauss & Corbin, 1998), drawing inductively from qualitative data to build theory (Merriam, 1998; O'Leary, 2014). The later integration of themes arrived at inductively, but sometimes deductively, functioned to develop clusters of meaning (Patton, 2002). According to scholars (Eisenhardt & Graebner, 2007; Bansal & Corley, 2012; Graebner, Martin & Roundy, 2012), often grounded techniques can be influenced by a blend of inductive and deductive processes, whereby both logics mirror each other.

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[25] An example is the case of one awardee who spoke about his wife's reluctance to leave the home to shop. An annotation assisted reading the transcript, after coding, because at the earlier part of the interview the awardee had also commented on his wife's very poor English, which may have caused her to stay in the home

[26] For example, one extensive memo captured insights from observing a former ADS doctoral student on-Award as well as her post-Award reentry adjustment.

4.9.4 Themes and Descriptions

As patterns emerged, this inspired new codes, and in many cases the amalgamation or merging of existing codes was used to address issues of duplication or significant overlapping categories. The development of 'tree nodes', using NVivo, allowed for hierarchal coding, moving from general to more specific categories, or child nodes (Siccama & Penna, 2008). This coding revision helped to identify emergent themes, building a cognitive map and evolving schema, for later building into the CAF.

A summary account, emphasising key characteristics from each interview or focus group also offered an overview of each awardee's described adjustment experience, as an alternative to reading whole transcripts or trying to piece together data disaggregated by coding in NVivo. Data were disaggregated into meaning units (Miles & Huberman, 1994) or themes taking into account the context in which meaning was given.

4.9.5 Interrelating Themes and Concepts

Assigning of demographic attributes to each participant assisted comparing and contrasting categories of awardees, and interrogating the data more broadly (Siccama & Penna, 2008). Interrelating themes involved searching for connections between tree nodes, conducting text search queries in selected sources or nodes (Siccama & Penna, 2008).

The exploratory case study, aimed at dealing with the complexity of a variety of data, including secondary documents, interview and focus group data, was able to provide for analysis and identify specific concepts. In many instances, such concepts were found to relate to each other and these could be articulated using axial coding techniques that could disaggregate core themes, drawing on a combination of inductive and deductive analysis (Wicks, 2010).

The classification of data according to phases of the ADS program, gender of participant and category of student (completing or completed) was important to compare, contrast and disaggregate data. For example, the literature shows that there is a 'gendered-reality' that

underpins all social and cultural enquiry (Williams, Seed & Mwau, 1994), and therefore data analysis provided for the analysis of experience according to gender. In addition, analysis in some instances, involved a search for deviant or contrary cases that did not fit the pattern or could offer an alternative explanation (Corbin & Strauss, 2008; Barker, 2015). For example, discrepant or disconfirming cases could sometimes offer rival explanations (Patton, 2015).

Data analysis tended to convey a ‘mirroring’ effect, in terms of codes, but issues of commonalities or divergence (O’Leary, 2014) were distinguished in each sub-category of awardee (completing or completed). Rationalisation of nodes resulted in the amalgamation of over 120 nodes to 35 higher order themes with assigned sub-categories. For example, ADS program outcomes (related to current awardees) were disaggregated to five sub-categories and sub-categories associated with completed awardees showed six sub-categories. Further interrogation of data was made possible through the maintenance of lower-order themes. In addition, issues of data saturation started to emerge at around interview 47, with no new insights or ideas emerging from the grounded analysis of the data (Creswell, 2014).

Analysis was not done in isolation from sources or categories of data. For example, after establishing higher order nodes in NVivo, data were transferred to a table to classify content according to the meanings assigned by the researcher, working in tandem with concepts from the broader IS, EM and IC literature and the CAF. Fig 10 shows how data were disaggregated according to gender, ADS award phase and designation of informant, using colour-coding to distinguish findings in the data sets. This enabled comparison across units of analysis. The process also assisted triangulation of data from different sources or participant categories. Whilst NVivo software could run similar analysis, the researcher found it helpful to infer meaning using CAQDAS combined with more traditional tools.

List of Illustrative Quotations (disaggregated by sex and Designation of Respondent) and Acculturation Themes

Ref to Section	Interpretation	Sex	Award Status[1]	ADS Phase / Informant[2]	*Respondent Illustrative Quotation*
6.2.1	Motivation is related to career	M	Alumni	ADS2	*"Because I work as a lecturer doing a PhD will be essential for my career and you know in Indonesia if you don't have a PhD and you are a lecturer it's not good you know. So I try to find opportunities to get my PhD and there are some opportunities. One of them is ADS so I applied and then I got the scholarship" (Ardhi).*
	Motivated to improve English	M	Alumni	ADS2	*"I think I have the motivation to improve my English. That's the thing that I stated to myself before I start my study in Australia. I said that I wanted to improve my English and I wanted to learn as much as I can from the new international environment" (Wibawa).*
	Motivated to improve English	M	N/A	Informant	*"Those who finished their study abroad have a higher standing. One of the reasons is really simple and it is because of English, because for those who study domestically, they don't get training in English. They don't have experience in writing, those kinds of thing. Sometimes it's very simple" (Nakula).*
	Motivated by relative proximity of Australia to Indonesia	M	Alumni	ADS2	*"In the first place, being a researcher, you have to have a PhD, that's the most important thing to be a good researcher. That's what motivated me to undertake a PhD Program. There's a lot of scholarships in Indonesia but why I selected or chose the ADS is because I wanted to study in Australia, an English speaking country. The closest one [English speaking country] is Australia rather than England or New Zealand. Australia is the closest country from Indonesia, that's why I choose ADS, that's the first motivation" (Ari).*
	Motivated by job requirement	F	Alumni	ADS1	*"First as a lecturer we have to do our PhD, higher level of education. I did my Master degree and I wanted to continue to a PhD level to meet the job requirement. And then the opportunity came, for the AusAID scholarship. I competed, with I think thousands or hundreds. Motivation was first, because of the job requirement you know. The lecturer has to have higher degree. PhD level" (Eka, ADS1 female Alumni).*

Figure 10. Data analysis snapshot and interpretation

4.9.6 Interpreting meanings

Cycles of iterative data analysis led to new and interesting findings, many inter-related themes or concepts. Advancing meaning involved the 'knitting' of codes to form high-level constructs, to interpret findings. Often the interpreting of meanings would lead to retracing earlier research steps (O'Leary, 2014) to examine and analyse how themes and concepts were inducted and played out in different settings. Trawling the literature for supporting evidence of constructs and meanings were also integral to integrating the use of inductive and deductive methodologies, which also provides for a measure of triangulation (Denzin & Lincoln, 2005).

Extracts of data were identified as exemplars to illustrate findings to support interpretive claims (Lindlof & Taylor, 2002). Theory emergence entailed interpretive reading and reflection on the data, with reference to the CAF, underscoring key themes related to how cultural adjustment is experienced. Self-reflection and detailed accounts from the awardees about their experience of cultural adjustment identified emerging themes, in the first instance related to aspects of acculturation and re-acculturation. Additional categories were identified with theoretical significance, including themes about how the awardees were motivated to go on award or return, culture-learning and expectation violations and how this related to general, academic and interaction adjustment, drawing on findings from the IS and EM literature. Other interpreted meanings were derived from typologies of cultural adjustment, the phenomenon of culture shock, and factors of influence including expectancy, culture-learning, relevance of study, and factors including culture distance, agency, language, religion and gender.

The use of concept maps (Buzan & Buzan, 2003) further assisted in identifying themes across both the literature and empirical findings. Fig 11 shows motivation as a concept linked to exemplars from the interviews, including the context for findings noted in the map, along with relevant scholarly claims from the literature to draw theoretical meaning. Hence meanings from the data were interpreted, drawing on an array of tools, including CAQDAS and more traditional forms of note-taking and mind-mapping.

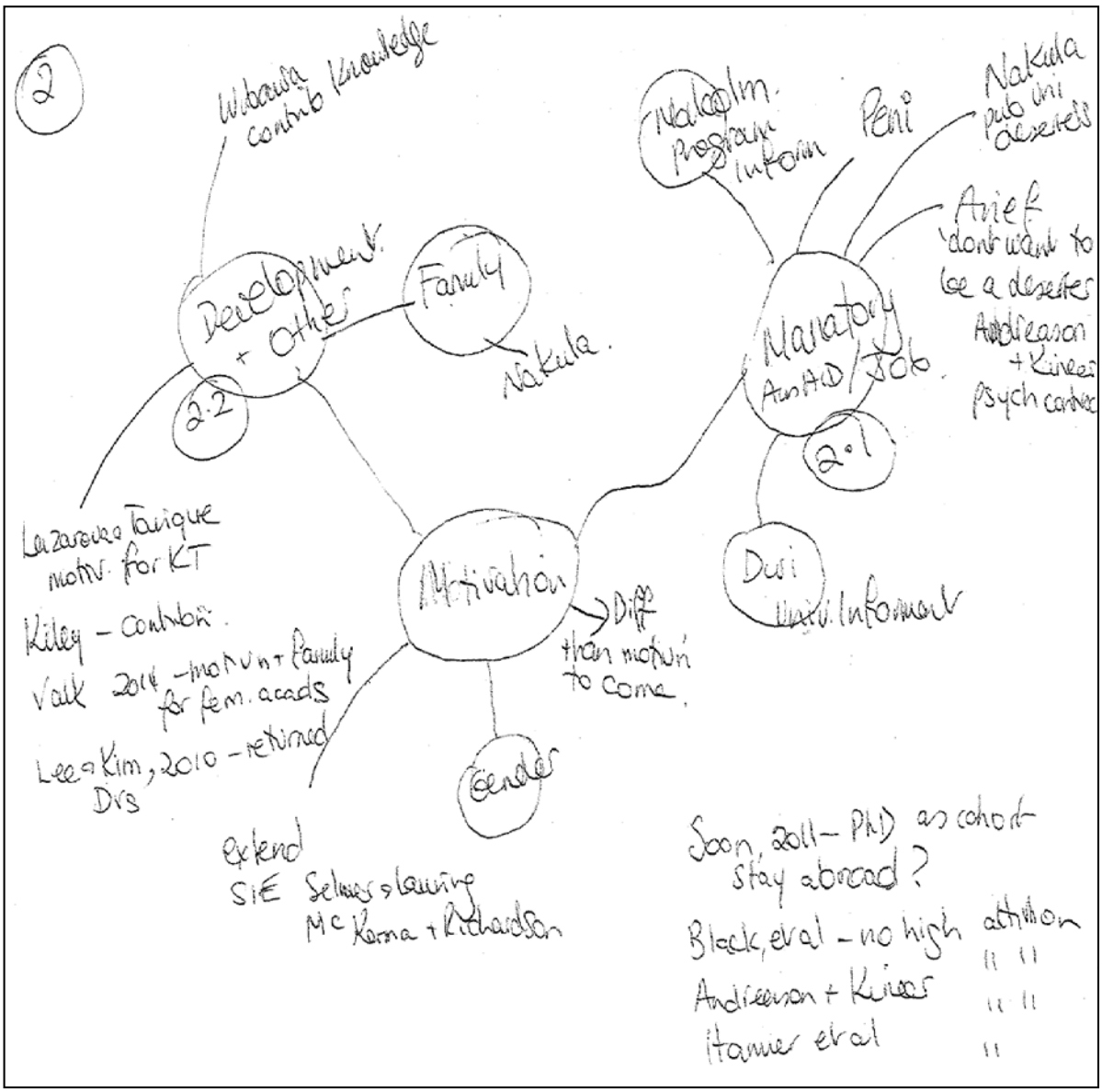

Figure 11. Data analysis by concept maps

The CAF assumed an even more prominent role during the interpretation phase, with analysis, dovetailing between findings from the broader corpus of the literature, helping to elevate the relevance of findings in other related contexts within the boundaries of IS, EM and IC studies (Eisenhardt, 1989). The CAF provides an integrated and relevant framework of concepts that assists understanding of the research problem, through the lens of the research participants. According to Ravitch & Riggan (2012), a conceptual framework can accommodate the complex nature of a phenomenon and integrate ideas and provide

generative insights. The CAF, presented in the previous chapter, depicts a pragmatic tool for exploring and connecting issues of cultural adjustment, related empirical findings, data collection and interpretation. The CAF integrates context with research questions and positionalities of research participants integrating theories and research methods (Ravitch & Riggan, 2012). According to Miles and Huberman (1994), frameworks can explain the main things to be studied, including key factors, constructs or variables and the presumed relationships among them.

4.10 Reliability and Credibility and Trustworthiness

According to Creswell and Miller (2000), there is a general consensus that qualitative researchers must demonstrate their studies are credible and trustworthy (Denzin & Lincoln, 2005), and qualitative research will typically engage in member checking, triangulation, thick description and peer reviews to demonstrate the credibility of their findings. Keeping in mind that realities are constructed as well as interpreted during interactions between participants and the researcher (Crotty, 1988; Stake, 2005; Blaikie, 2007), with inferences drawn from the data remaining dependent on the research interaction (Creswell & Miller, 2000), the techniques that were used in this study to advance credibility and trustworthiness of data and findings, involved member checking, triangulation of methods, use of ‘thick description’ and peer review.

Member checks were conducted, but only with respect to the transcript of recorded interviews. Such checks can be crucial in terms of establishing credibility, but in the main this occurs when informants can review the researcher’s interpretations (Lincoln & Guba, 1985; Creswell & Miller, 2000). On the other hand, member checks can be viewed as not consistent with an interpretivist approach, since knowledge is at any rate, socially constructed and involving of both the researcher and informant (Tracey, 2010). Notwithstanding this, the opportunity to review and amend transcripts did provide additional credibility, in terms of what was said at interview. In addition, this process provided the opportunity to check for clarity. Specific queries were later clarified by email with awardees, 18 of whom were able to respond to requests for additional information.

Triangulation refers to the application and combination of research methodologies in the study of the same phenomenon (Denzin & Lincoln, 2005). Triangulation was advanced using a variety of research methods, including interviews, FGD, with some observation of participants in the field setting (Denzin & Lincoln, 2005). This helped to expose areas of convergence or inconsistency, with each method discussed in Section 4.8.

Thick descriptions provide a realistic and holistic illustration that provides some scope for transferability, depending on the perceived similarity of research and other life contexts (Suddaby, 2006; Bloomberg & Volpe, 2012). Thick and rich descriptions are advanced in the detailed accounts of the awardees' experiences (Stake, 2010). In addition are memos and annotations providing further contextual information that, overall, could be considered for applicability in other study contexts or enhance greater credibility.

Peer review provided a further avenue to advance credibility, with the researcher involved in several peer review forums, including 'roundtables', colloquiums and conference presentations. First was the presentation of the proposed CAF at a UK Evaluation Conference, held in 2013, with feedback providing for revisions to the final framework. Secondly, preliminary findings about family issues and cultural adjustment were presented at a research 'roundtable' attended by DFAT representatives to discuss Australia's Public Diplomacy Strategy and the Australia Awards. A third opportunity, with scope for peer review, involved presenting of tentative findings about Australian foreign policy and aid-funded scholarships, to a university research conference in 2015. Other opportunities for peer review included several presentations to Doctoral Colloquiums[27] in 2013, 2014 and 2015.

Peer de-briefing involving a review of the data analysis chapter by a key informant with longstanding and continuing knowledge of the ADS program provides for further credibility, especially with respect to supporting, refuting or challenging findings based on the practical

[27] Doctoral Colloquiums included Monash-Melbourne University (two), Australia-New Zealand Academy of Management (one) and Monash Pre-Submission Seminar (one internal).

experience of this informant, in the context of the specific case study. Peer review of findings presented a further opportunity to review data in terms of its overall plausibility, from a practitioner perspective.

4.10.1 Research Bias

Self-disclosure related to personal experiences of the researcher offers possible points for bias that can challenge claims for credibility, particularly in terms of data analysis (Miles & Huberman, 1994; Merriam, 1998). In a similar way, biases can also emerge from the personal experiences of the awardees. The researcher is aware of several biases and was open to bracketing these biases. Biases involved perceptions about Indonesian students and Indonesian culture, based on past experiences abroad in Indonesia and from the PhD experience interaction with Indonesian students. For example, the researcher is of the belief that ADS awardees return home because they have strong cultural, family and community ties as well as privilege and status in their home country.

In interviews, a possible bias, related to positionality of the researcher, was raised. One informant shared that Indonesians do not treat their own as well as they treat foreigners: "I'm Indonesian and they did not treat me nicely, but they will treat *bules*[28] nicely. Somehow, it is our culture, we should respect our guest" (Georgie, ADS female Alumni). Several awardees raised this preferential treatment to foreigners, underscoring a further bias. For example, when in Indonesia, the researcher typically has easy access to senior administrators from governments and universities, yet this was not the experience of many Indonesian awardees.

A bias related to the academic nature of the award is that awardees will expand their worldview in an academic sense and in a student-centred way. Since they have the experience of being students again on-Award, they learn to be more supportive as lecturers and supervisors of students, because they have 'walked' in the shoes of a student.

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[28] 'Bule' is an Indonesian word commonly used to describe a foreigner, especially Caucasian.

An obvious bias, related to the recruitment of informants, is linked to finding those students who had returned to Indonesia and successfully gained the PhD credential. In fact, to confront this bias, the researcher intentionally sought out cases that deviated from the norm, such as sourcing informants who had not met the PhD standard[29] or other awardees who had not returned to Indonesia following completion of the award. A further bias involved the research settings, which were mostly restricted to large Javanese cities.

4.11 Self-Reflexivity

According to Tracey (2010), self-reflexivity, along with transparency, is a celebrated practice of qualitative researchers, linking honesty and authenticity to the researcher, the study and its wider audience (Chang, 2008; Tracey, 2010). "Self opens a door to an investigation but remains outside while others are in the spotlight, as the main characters or participants" (Chang, 2008:66). Reflexivity entails a willingness to acknowledge that factors, such as personal background and experience of the researcher are likely to have shaped the research project, as well as any potential biases (Creswell, 2008). In the case of cultural understanding which is comparative, "no understanding of others is possible without self-understanding" (Rizvi, 2009b:267). Since ideas are never formed in a 'vacuum', it is important to acknowledge relevant factors, including professional, academic, personal and opportunistic influences.

Previous postgraduate and undergraduate studies of the researcher in Public Policy and Management, Development Studies, Geography, Workplace Training and Career Development are influencing factors that are relevant to the emergence of this research project. These perspectives add a further 'lens' of interpretation, as well as disciplinary orientation (Merriam, 1998), to the study and provides for greater research transparency. It is

[29] There were two awardees who completed studies in Australia and after several years had still not met the requirements for the doctoral credential. In addition, two awardees did not complete their mandatory requirement to return to Indonesia and remained abroad.

therefore not coincidental that this research project is both a public policy and development aid-related problem, as well as an issue with relevance for the study of social geography and management issues.

The professional and personal experience of having lived and worked in Indonesia provided an opportunity for the researcher to be immersed, learn about and grow to appreciate the Indonesian culture and language. According to Corbin and Strauss (2008), professional experience provides a comparative base to optimise sensitivity to the research context. Experience assists understanding of significant research issues, based on having gained familiarity with the context or issues surrounding a research problem. The researcher's basic-level Indonesian language was also helpful in developing rapport with many of the Indonesian informants.

Travel to Jakarta presented an opportunity to engage in early discussions with AusAID about the research topic and learn that many awardees complete masters and later PhD-level studies in Australia and that the Indonesian program has the highest retention figures for returned awardees. The opportunity to live and work alongside returned awardees in Indonesia, during a volunteer placement, may have also served to diminish the obtrusiveness of the researcher, and provided the researcher with a further baseline of cultural orientation (Suddaby, 2006). Being positioned within a research site for a prolonged time and establishing deeper connections with HCNs can build trust and enhance rapport, as well as enable the comparison of observational and written data to assist building a valid case study (Creswell & Miller, 2000).

Enhancing this experience was time spent living, working and adjusting in other Asian cultures. These 'first-hand' encounters of cultural adjustment add a personal 'frame of reference' to the study, drawing somewhat from the ethnographic research tradition. Of further relevance are previous professional roles undertaken within Australian universities that presented opportunities to observe the challenges faced by ISs in Australia. Finally, the opportunity during candidature to take up several short-term, advisory roles assisting the selection of scholarship awardees, including doctoral-level awards, on five different

Australian Awards programs (Pacific regional, Bangladesh, Maldives, Mongolia, Endeavour Awards), involved appraising and ranking candidates against defined selection criteria. These advisory roles provided a further professional 'frame of reference' to understanding some of the procedural minutiae that precede the ultimate granting of international scholarships. Moreover, these advisory roles exposed the researcher to a number of policy tensions relating to merit-based selection, relevance of education, and program sustainability related to the successful reintegration of returned students. In addition, associated discussions with peers and collaborative reporting also assisted understanding of the program from both a policy and operational perspective.

Of note is the researcher's own status as the recipient of an Australian-based PhD scholarship and her study in a university setting[30], alongside many international doctoral students, including ADS awardees. At a much deeper level, the researcher has been made aware of identity issues associated with becoming an academic, through the doctoral student experience and employment as a university lecturer. The sheer magnitude of the PhD project is also understood and the researcher believes this assisted in establishing rapport with the ADS awardees. In addition, the status as doctoral candidate helped in emphasising the additional academic challenges faced from an 'insider' perspective, and, with an 'outsider's' standpoint, appreciation of the foreign academic and linguistic challenges that many international doctoral awardees face. The keeping of an electronic journal during the doctoral 'journey' helped to highlight some of the more salient personal and academic challenges and achievements encountered as a doctoral student.

In summary, a combination of personal, professional, academic and opportunistic factors and research interests provide a backdrop to this study. Finally, interest in identity change, a feature of this study of cultural adjustment, was sparked from being an adopted child of the

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[30]Understanding of IS issues was also enhanced as a result of mentoring 5 post-graduate IS students during the PhD candidature, in addition to house-sharing with five ISs (Chinese and Korean)

late 1950s. Learning of this adoptive identity in adulthood, and establishing new family connections, reinforced the innate importance of identity in its many forms, layers and guises, not limited to the personal but resonating in a deeper, personal sense.

4.12 Methodological Limitations

Qualitative researchers stress the socially constructed nature of reality, the intimate relationship between the researcher and what is studied, the specific processes through which reality is created and the situational constraints that shape inquiry (Morgan & Smircich, 1980). In contrast, "quantitative studies emphasize the measurement and analysis of causal relationships between variables, not processes" (Denzin & Lincoln, 2005:10). A quantitative approach promotes that there is objective knowledge that can be extracted using methods from the natural sciences (Morgan & Smircich, 1980:493). Hence this study of cultural adjustment, based on an interpretive and constructionist paradigm, is not designed to offer the same things as would a quantitative study. It cannot offer validity, measure changes, prove causality, test theory or provide for generalisability (Lee, Mitchell & Sablynski, 1999) to other countries or other cultural contexts.

Further limitations relate to data collection, time lapses and language challenges. Since the majority of data was collected whilst working in Indonesia, there was minimal time to complete analysis iteratively. Hence data collection was far ahead of analysis, in the case of the completed awardees and focus group discussion. This was not optimal, because questions that arise during analysis can then be difficult to follow up (Corbin & Strauss, 2008). Notwithstanding this, the use of 'Livescribe' technology to handwrite notes and convert to text helped in recalling details of the interview, during the time of reading the data and preparing for analysis. To assist in recalling each interview, transcribing was done in chronological order. In contrast, data collected in Australia from completing awardees was transcribed and entered in NVivo and simultaneously coded.

Issues of fallibility may also be associated with time lapse (Black, 1992), which can elevate the value of including data from multiple sources. Recall issues related to the questioning of

sojourners retrospectively raises issues of memory loss (Milstein, 2005). Finally, working with respondents with a diversity of English language proficiency, and with whom you do not share a first language, presented further challenges (O'Leary, 2014). This required close listening to interviews to discern Indonesian accents and later correction of grammar. Moreover, assumptions that English can sufficiently capture the nuance in language risks reducing the richness and complexity of ideas and views should not be overlooked (O'Leary, 2014).

4.13 Conclusion

This chapter outlined the research design and methodology, underscoring the inductive approach and grounded theory techniques for data analysis. The relevance of the interpretivist approach is articulated, together with a corresponding methodology, with strategic links to both the research design and research questions. The combination of research paradigm, methodology and methods that are incorporated in this study, offer an alternative and qualitative approach to the mainstream quantitative understanding of cultural adjustment and identity issues that have dominated empirical studies.

Characteristics of this qualitative study are given, taking into account the given context, data collection methods and modes of analysis. The case study approach documents that a sufficient and appropriate means was used to collect and analyse data from a variety of sources, including semi-structured interviews, focus group discussions, observations and secondary data. The chapter has highlighted the significance of the CAF, as a tool to interpret meanings in a way that integrates related theory, literature and findings related to cultural adjustment, taking into account the context for the study. Issues of credibility and trustworthiness are acknowledged, together with methodological limitations.

Chapter Five:

Acculturation

Chapter 5 – Acculturation

5.1 Acculturation Findings - Introduction

This chapter examines the empirical data arising from a series of semi-structured interviews and a focus group discussion (FGD) that focus on Indonesian PhD awardees' acculturation experience whilst on-Award in Australia. The chapter interprets the findings, mapped against key themes that emerged during the data analysis, many of which are reflected in the literature review and Cultural Adjustment Framework (CAF) (Chapter 3).

In this chapter the following constituent research questions are addressed:

i. What are the salient factors that can influence the on-Award acculturation experience of the ADS PhD awardees?

ii. What program interventions can assist the on-Award acculturation experience of the ADS PhD awardees?

These questions address aspects of cultural adjustment as experienced on-Award. Findings will add to the IS, EM and IC literature and are context-specific to understanding how sojourners experience acculturation, the salient factors that influence this process and the implications for dealing with adjustment challenges, including identity change. The constituent research questions above cover the trajectory of the sojourn, commencing with the initial motivation to apply for and join the program in Australia. The chapter is primarily informed by semi-structured interviews with 60 informants. Of these informants, 29 are completed (Alumni) awardees, 12 completing. A detailed breakdown of the informants is provided in Chapter 4, Section 4.6.5. Acculturation refers to the adjustment of an individual to a foreign culture (Martin, 1984) and can extend to changes in behaviour, values, attitude and identity of members of one culture as a result of contact with another culture (Gholamrezaei, 1995).

The purpose of this chapter is to assist in answering the following primary research question:

- How is cultural adjustment experienced by Indonesian PhD awardees of an Australian aid-funded program?

Doing so will necessitate examining and interpreting the findings pertaining to the acculturation stage of the sojourn, in order to understand how the acculturation phase of the sojourn is experienced; and then to consider what the implications are for the ADS program.

A number of key themes pertaining to the experience of acculturation are identified inductively from the participants' responses. Such themes are also well-aligned with the research questions and subsequently confirmed by the Cultural Adjustment Framework (CAF) presented in Chapter 3. In addition, other salient themes emerged from the data that are considered both relevant to the acculturation phase and also related to the extant literature. Findings follow the acculturation path, commencing with the initial motivation to take up the doctoral award program, the expectations of the awardees, their preparation, the acculturation challenges they face and the nature of the IC relations they foster on-Award. These themes represent the important facets that emerged from the findings and that were evident in shaping the experience of cultural adjustment for the awardees during the acculturation phase of their sojourn.

Section 5.2 provides a brief synthesis of the scholarly literature on acculturation that was further elaborated in Chapter 3. Section 5.3 examines the key factors that motivated awardees to apply for and join the ADS doctoral-level program and Section 5.4 examines some of their expectations along with preparation to join the program. Section 5.5 is the substantive sections of this chapter and explores the awardees' on-Award experience of acculturation in Australia. Section 5.5.1 reports findings related to the initial adjustment phase, including the encounter of culture shock, subsequent challenges faced, both academic and non-academic. Section 5.4 examines the nature of the awardees' IC relationships on-Award to further understand the socio-cultural dimension of their adjustment experience and relates this to the CAF presented in Chapter 3, Section 3.7. Finally Section 5 restates the main assertions arising from the context-specific exploratory study of acculturation and the implications for building knowledge about cultural adjustment. Findings reported in each section address the

constituent research questions, with findings re-stated in the concluding section about the acculturation experience of cultural adjustment.

5.2 Acculturation - Synthesis from the Literature

Chapter 3, Section 3.3 provided an account of the dynamics of cultural adjustment drawing on the literature relating to acculturation which entails the adjustment of an individual to a foreign culture and likely changes in behaviour, values and attitude as a result of cross-cultural contact. Two inter-related areas distinguish acculturation: the psychological (emotional/affective) and socio-cultural (behavioural) domains (Yang et al., 2006; Ward & Rana-Deuba, 1999).

As identified in Chapter 3, the literature highlights that the nature of acculturation is sometimes reported in stages (Lysgaard, 1955; Oberg, 1960; Gullahorn & Gullahorn, 1963; Furnham & Bochner, 1989), including the encounter of and recovery from culture shock. A number of acculturation strategies were presented that either align with one's own cultural group and the maintenance of home cultural identity or are more oriented towards the new cultural environment (Berry, 1994; 2002; 2009). The literature also highlights the experience of acculturation is associated with the development of coping mechanisms, associated with the stress-adaptation paradigm (Kim, 2008; Hotta & Ting-Toomey, 2013). Effective acculturation, often distinguished by a sense of belonging, is likely to be associated with personal agency that also underpins motivation and capacity to meet acculturation challenges (Gezentsvey & Ward, 2008; Tran, 2011; Marginson, 2014), as well as access to support mechanisms, including culture-learning opportunities (Oberg, 1960; Furnham & Bochner, 1987).

In the acculturation literature, effective IC transition involving the establishment of rapport with members of the host culture has been linked to positive cultural adjustment (Church, 1982; Ward & Kennedy, 1994); however; this is also contested by scholars (Pitts, 2009) who argue a positive adjustment experience is consistent with support from co-nationals (CNs) (Pitts, 2009) or TCNs (Kashima & Loh, 2006). Findings from the EM (Church, 1982; Black

et al., 1991), IS (Marginson & Sawir, 2011) and IC (Kim, 2008) literature identified that an IC orientation provides for an optimal acculturation experience.

Having briefly recounted the key acculturation themes from the literature, this chapter reviews, analyses and interprets the empirical findings as reported by the study informants. The first theme relates to the motivation of the awardees to apply for the ADS PhD Program. According to Gezentsvey and Ward (2008), a positive motivation is the most robust predictor in terms of successful cultural adaption. Hence we begin by examining the data relating to the awardees' motivation to complete the program.

5.3 Adjustment Motivation

Awardees were interviewed and asked what had motivated them to apply for the ADS PhD program in Australia. The rationale for asking about their motivation was primarily based on insights from the work of scholars who have linked motivation to acculturation outcomes (Chirkov et al., 2007; Gezentsvey & Ward, 2008; Tran, 2011; Firth et al., 2014, Altbach & Engberg, 2014; Marginson, 2014). Accounts from awardees about what had inspired them to apply to study abroad provides elaborative material to extend acculturation research and the importance of motivation as a factor related to adaptation (Gezentsvey et al., 2008; Tran, 2011).

5.3.1 Academic Career Motivation

Academic occupation was clearly a major driving force in terms of motivation to complete the ADS program for the overall majority of the doctoral awardees. Thirty-five awardees noted that career was a factor that had motivated them to apply for the award. The attainment of a foreign qualification weighed highly in terms of motivating many of the awardees. According to Altbach and Engberg's (2014) study on student mobility, motivation is related primarily to the prospect of gaining knowledge and credentials that are unavailable in the home country, enhanced English language and the associated prestige of a foreign qualification in a Western setting, where quality is generally ranked more highly. Shaw (2014) and Azmat, Osborne, Rossignol, Jogulu, Rentschler, Robottom and Malathy (2013)

identified such drivers to obtain a foreign degree as key ‘push’ factors that encourage ISs to leave home.

Ardhi, and other male and female awardees (Eka, Dumadi, Dewi, Aini, Harto, Ari, Waluyo), were motivated to have a doctoral degree because it is an expected qualification for a government university lecturer in Indonesia. In his account of what had motivated him to apply for the award, Ardhi highlights that the PhD was critical to his career. Similarly Eka was motivated to meet the expectations of her job as an academic:

> *Because I work as a lecturer, doing a PhD will be essential for my career and you know in Indonesia, if you don’t have a PhD and you are a lecturer, it’s not good you know. So I try to find opportunities to get my PhD and there are some opportunities. One of them is ADS so I applied and then I got the scholarship.* (Ardhi, male completing awardee)

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> *First as a lecturer we have to do our PhD, higher level of education. I did my master degree and I wanted to continue to a PhD level to meet the job requirement. And then the opportunity came, for the AusAID scholarship. I competed with, I think, thousands or hundreds. Motivation was first, because of the job requirement you know. The lecturer has to have higher degree. PhD level.* (Eka, ADS1 female Alumni)

The prospect of enhancing English language competency was a further motivating influence, linked to the academic nature of the ADS program. This was emphasised by several awardees (Ari, Bagus, Argo, Peni, Lemah, Wibawa, Fajar, Ardhi, Harto) and also substantiated by informants (Nakula, Malcolm), as well as several studies on student mobility (Altbach & Engberg, 2014; Fotovatian & Miller, 2014; Shaw, 2014). The majority of ISs study in English-speaking countries, as English is the most widely used second language in the world, as well as the predominant medium for academic research, including publishing (Altbach, 2004). Wibawa was highly motivated to join the ADS program and improve his

English. Similarly, Nakula, a Dean in a well-ranked Indonesian University, confirmed the academic standing that comes with foreign credentials, including English:

> *I think I have the motivation to improve my English. That's the thing that I stated to myself before I start my study in Australia. I said that I wanted to improve my English and I wanted to learn as much as I can from the new international environment.* (Wibawa, ADS2 male Alumni)
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> ~
>
> *Those who finished their study abroad have a higher standing. One of the reasons is really simple and it is because of English, because for those who study domestically, they don't get training in English. They don't have experience in writing, those kinds of thing. Sometimes it's very simple.* (Nakula, ADS Informant)

The perception of geographical closeness was a further motivating factor to study in Australia, which could be related to the familiarity with the longstanding Australian aid scholarship program[31]. Geographic proximity is a key motivator in terms of destination choice for Indonesian students, which is said to add to Australia's comparative advantage, in terms of supply of education from Australia to the Asian region (Mazzarol & Souter, 2002). In terms of distance, Australia as an English-speaking nation is more closely located with Indonesia than other countries, with the exception of Singapore, which currently does not offer PhD-level award government scholarships and may be perceived as less Western in terms of its cultural orientation. Like Ari, several awardees (Bagus, Fajar, Wibawa, Ardhi, Harto) wanted to complete PhD studies in an English-speaking country relatively near to Indonesia:

[31] Approximately 5000 ADS scholarships have been awarded to Indonesia since 1998 (DFAT, 2015a).

> *In the first place, being a researcher, you have to have a PhD, that's the most important thing to be a good researcher. That's what motivated me to undertake a PhD Program. There's a lot of scholarships in Indonesia but why I selected or chose the ADS is because I wanted to study in Australia, an English speaking country. The closest one [English speaking country] is Australia rather than England or New Zealand. Australia is the closest country from Indonesia, that's why I choose ADS, that's the first motivation.* (Ari, ADS2 male Alumni)

With respect to the completed ADS awardees, all returned to work in an academic capacity, with most employed in higher education and usually within university institutions. This is consistent with employment trends as well as occupational role identity (Jazvac-Martek, 2009), for new doctoral graduates in newly emerging knowledge economies (Pedersen, 2014). Since academic career paths are inherently tied to educational credentials, as emphasised by many of the respondents, this is likely to reinforce the occupational aspect of the awardees' cultural identity. Occupation represents a strong identity marker for academics (McAlpine et al., 2005), linked to the obtaining of international research credentials and also related to the desire to pursue further research and learning (Gardner, 2008). Harta, an Indonesian academic informant, shared his own insight into the nature of scholarly identity markers and the associated prestige of an international PhD award for Indonesian academics:

> *They want to have that identity to become a scholar, to have this title, I know it is. It's just because they are so much captured by it in the past, that they say, 'I want to have this degree, because it will elevate my identity in this society because it's a big deal'. I think up to now, still the identity of becoming a scholar, to have that education or qualification, is still considered probably the most important identity, the one we have in traditional context of being successful.* (Harta, ADS Informant)

In short, awardees were highly motivated to obtain a PhD credential and this was linked to their identity as academics with career paths firmly embedded in research and teaching

institutions. Harman's (2003) research on international PhD students in Australia also found high proportions of international PhD students anticipate a research career that will be enhanced by gaining the PhD qualification. The career imperative linked to the gaining of qualifications in a relevant field was also a key finding in Kiley's (1999) study of Indonesian post-graduate scholarship awardees in Australia.

As 'life-long learners', academics are well renowned for retaining a passion for learning and the pursuit of knowledge, which was emphasised by several respondents (Fajar, Agustina, Hamengku). The passion for teaching and learning and the imperative to gain and master knowledge was emphasised by a further Indonesian academic informant, who spoke of the awardees' motivation to gain and master knowledge and join the knowledge community as scientists and educators:

> *The big motivation is to be a better person than before, and then to master knowledge related to their interest because they have to exist in their knowledge community, because they are scientists, they are lecturers, they are educators.* (Hamengku, University Informant)

To reiterate, 35 awardees, from a total of 41, reported career as the major motivating factor to apply for the award. It is therefore apparent that, for the majority of male, female, past and current awardees, occupational identity provides a primary career-oriented motivator, to embark on the ADS PhD award program.

5.3.2 Motivation and Agency

The interviews reveal that, whilst many of the awardees were motivated by external workplace expectations (Harto, Eka, Dumadi, Ardhi, Ari), this was also consistent with more intrinsic self-development goals and demonstration of personal agency. In their review of agency as a motivational concept Gezentsvey et al. (2008) found this provided for the active engagement of individuals in the acculturation process. This view is supported by other scholars (Bandura, 1977; Tran, 2011; Marginson, 2014), who argued that agency not only involves an individual's belief in their ability to achieve acculturative goals, it is also "is the sum of a

person's capacity to act on her/his own behalf" (Marginson, 2014:10) and an element that is underplayed in the cultural adjustment paradigm.

Waluyo, a completing awardee, shared that his motivation was inspired by his intrinsic quest for knowledge and further exposure to international research. Waluyo's intrinsic career goals also align with findings from a Finnish study (Suutari & Mäkelä, 2007) that identified motivation of expatriate workers with internal career goals, strong career identities and high levels of self-understanding and self-confidence. Given his later account of a successful adjustment experience, Waluyo's narrative suggests that agency was a key motivating factor linked to his acculturation success:

> *Who motivated me is myself only. Because I'm a lecturer, then I think that I have to open my mind. I have to know a lot of things, have to know different people, have to learn about education in one country and how they teach or how they do research. I was motivated because I wanted to improve myself, and I believed that having the experience studying overseas will give me a lot of new knowledge and confidence for my future career and I believe then that I can contribute more to my students.* (Waluyo, ADS2, completing male awardee)

Related to agency was the desire to achieve the status associated with completing the PhD award. Twenty of the awardees, both past and present, associated this award with prestige, reporting feelings of pride from having been chosen for such a coveted, highly competitive award. Mega, now returned to Indonesia, shared that she was proud to have competed successfully to gain such a coveted government program. Program informants, including Pani, also confirmed that pride and achievement were underlying factors of motivation:

> *Oh, I am very proud because I know that being an AusAID awardee is not that easy. We have been selected among a lot of applicants and also we are very supported by the government to enjoy all the experiences in Australia they offer to us. So for me I'm very proud of my status as Australian awardee.* (Mega, ADS2 Female Alumni)

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> *And you know they are proud to be an AusAID awardees. In a country like Indonesia where you have millions and millions they do recognise that they are one of thirty that actually get selected to do something. This is in fact quite a significant achievement.* (Pani, ADS Male Informant)

Given the 'strike' rate across all ADS scholarship programs of one to 15 applications and then a further culling to arrive at 10 to 15 per cent[32] for PhD awards, the perception of elitism is plausible and helps to explain why awardees experienced a sense of personal pride in being selected for an award so highly contested. This motivation is related to a desire to achieve and concurs with Kiley's (1999) findings about motivation and Indonesian post-graduate students in Australia.

As expected from the extant literature, personal agency was found to coincide with self-belief in achieving higher professional standards for Indonesian academics, as well as deeper self-development goals, including passion for learning and motivation to achieve. These findings elaborate on contemporary acculturation research that examines the nature of agency and motivation to predict acculturation outcomes (Kiley, 1999; Chirkov et al., 2007; Gezentsvey et al., 2008; Tran, 2011; Firth et al., 2014; Altbach & Engberg, 2014; Marginson, 2014).

5.3.3 Family Motivation

Family membership is an important social marker for most awardees. This was unsurprising because the overwhelming majority of both current and completed awardees were family-accompanied on-Award, usually involving a spouse and dependent children. Ties with family led many awardees to take up the option for family accompaniment, to ensure they were not separated from their family over the three to four years in Australia. The ADS award up until

[32] The percentage of PhD awards has changed over time. In the ADS3 program, the 10 per cent quota was raised to 15 per cent in 2014.

2010[33] provided for family entitlements, which may also explain the strong motivation to bring family on award.

Feedback from a FGD in Lombok emphasised that Indonesian culture is family-oriented, in contrast to more individualist societies. In a highly collectivist society, such as Indonesia (Hofstede et al., 2010; Ralston, Egri, Reynaud, Srinivasan, Furrer, Brock et al, 2011), people often live in extended family groups (Novera, 2004; Gonzales, 2010), although this can also vary, especially in urban settings. Both Indonesian and Australian values are culture-specific (Pekerti & Sendjaya, 2010) and ascribed through different lenses in a way that can be easily misconstrued and subject to cultural interpretation in terms of its authenticity.

Claims that culture-specific influences can lead to different interpretations in the social world (Triandis, 1994; Pekerti & Sendjaya, 2010) assist understanding of the way in which the notion of family might be perceived as congruent with a collectivist cultural orientation. Hofstede et al. (2010) link the extended family notion to a collectivist orientation, whereas the idea of a nuclear family is said to align with an individualistic society, although critics (Ralston et al., 2011; House, 2004) have raised that binary distinctions between collectivism and individualism are simplistic, applied to a specific organisational context and do not extend to all cultural values and measures. Such frameworks draw heavily on Western-centric models that make sense of others through an imperial and colonial gaze (Holmes, 2015). A FGD in Lombok perceived that differences between Indonesians and 'bules' were mainly related to the nature of a collectivist or individualist orientation:

> *The main difference between Indonesian and 'bule' culture is individual oriented or family oriented. We are like a family. It is related to being together in terms of feeling, in terms of social opinion as well. It is*

[33] DFAT (then AusAID) revised the award entitlements in 2010 and no longer included special provision for family accompaniment. This change did not affect most of the respondents in this study who had commenced PhD studies prior to the changes.

> *important in Indonesian culture to be more family oriented and maybe in the 'bule' culture not more individual but maybe more independent.* (Focus group, Lombok)

Several awardees spoke of the importance of family accompaniment on-Award and how this was linked to their motivation to apply for the program. McAlpine's (2012) longitudinal study of doctoral experience and identity trajectories articulated that broader personal intentions dovetail with academic purposes, a similar finding to Valk et al's (2014) research on female academics and international career motives. Family is a powerful influence on the mobility decisions of expatriating academics (Richardson & McKenna, 2003; Froese, 2012) and IS (Mazzarol & Souter, 2002; Singaravelu, White & Bringaze, 2005; Takeuchi, 2008; Tran, 2011), including those undertaking doctoral studies (Guerin et al., 2014) and is often related to the provision of broader life experiences for children. Diah's motivation underscored the comparative advantage of the ADS award, in terms of family entitlements, that could not be met by other prestigious awards. Similarly, Agustina, like many other female awardees (Wani, Mega, Agustina, Langgeng, Dewi, Melati) was also motivated to study abroad where she could be joined by her children:

> *Some of my friends back there [in Indonesia] asked me why I went to Australia and not to England or to the USA, for more prestigious reasons. I didn't care because my family is more important than me. I think also because ADS allowed me to bring the family while I'm studying, whereas other scholarships in the USA or England did not give me that chance.* (Diah, ADS1 female Alumni)

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> *My choice of taking ADS was first and foremost because it enabled me to take the children with me. I think ADS enabled me to be a mother and at the same time I could fulfil my dream of taking further study. So that's important, I think that's the most important thing about ADS.* (Agustina, ADS2 female Alumni)

These accounts highlight that the ongoing care of children was a paramount issue, with the ADS award program comparing well in terms of meeting family needs, as opposed to other similar programs offered in other countries. As for most countries, women are the primary caregivers and therefore it is not surprising that the need to be with family was a sentiment expressed more strongly by female awardees. Similarly, Wild (2007) finds women's participation in a New Zealand aid-funded award accentuated the award experience alongside their family role. Whilst many of the male awardees were later to comment on how their acculturation experience was shared with family members, family accompaniment was not reported as a key motivating factor for these awardees to undertake the program.

With the revised scholarship entitlements now excluding family support, DFAT might consider if there are implications in terms of gender equality to ensure, as far as possible, that the program can continue to meet the needs of women on-Award in Australia. For example, reduced entitlements could inadvertently bias those candidates who are comparatively well-off and can self-fund family accompaniment. A review of the new arrangements could assist further understanding of the impact of changes, especially on men and women who may be relatively disadvantaged in socio-economic terms. Further matters relating to family adjustment are explored further in Section 3.3.3.2.

5.3.4 Motivated by Economic Entitlements

The stipend arrangement for the ADS award was a further motivator, especially when comparative Australian programs proved less generous in terms of entitlements[34]. ADS

[34] The Endeavour Doctoral scholarship is similar in terms of its financial scope, but it does not provide for the English language and cross-cultural support that the ADS Program use to assist incoming awardees. The value of the ADS Program at AUD$272,249 (DFAT, 2015a) ranks comparatively higher against other programs funded by universities or state governments, which typically are valued at around $30,000 annually up to three and a half years.

entitlements include international travel, visas, accommodation, stipend, living expenses, overseas health insurance, language and cultural training, university fees and other miscellaneous expenses such as a thesis allowance. Netro and others (Dimas, Wani) confided that the financial entitlements were clearly of paramount importance in motivating him to undertake the ADS. This also extended to the provision to work part-time on-Award, perceived by Bagus as a point of difference from other jurisdictions abroad, to access additional income support. Findings show that awardees compared entitlements across programs and made choices based on optimal economic conditions. Malcolm, an ADS Informant, confirmed that award entitlements are compared with other programs and represent an important motivator to accept an ADS award, but proximity factors and knowledge of the program also motivate candidates to apply:

> *When I applied to the ADS, I thought that this program was the most generous program of all because if you compare ADS to the Fulbright scheme for example, there was a joke that it's not a Fulbright but a 'Half-bright' or 'Quarter-bright', because you don't have much money to support your life in the United States, compared to in Australia. So the ADS provided a lot of funding, tuition fees, family funding, insurance, health insurance, and so on. I think that is why I applied for the ADS.* (Netro, ADS2 male Alumni)

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> *One thing that's different from the other [scholarship conditions abroad] is that the Australian government gives the opportunity for international students getting scholarship from AusAID to work. That's very important because when we compare to New Zealand, Europe or the United States, I don't think we can work. Many students with a family get a job to have*

additional money for their family, because the money is only enough for themselves and provides only for basic things. (Bagus, ADS3 male completing awardee)

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Well, I guess you'd like to think that they are applying for an Australian development scholarship program, as opposed to applying for a Fulbright or the Dutch Program because they want to study in Australia. I think there's a general curiosity about life in Australia given its proximity to Indonesia. I think in spite of the concern about the family allowance getting taken out, there is a perception out there that the Australian scholarship is generous, compared to other scholarship programs. I think from a very practical perspective that's a great motivator, as well. And of course it is widely understood that ADS is the longest running and most plentiful scholarship program in Indonesia - so people think they have got a better chance with the ADS than with other programs. (Malcolm, ADS Informant)

5.3.5 Motivating Forces - Conclusions

This section has considered the feedback from past and completing awardees about the nature of adjustment motivation. The findings highlight the complex nature of motivation and add evidence to the findings of other scholars who have broadly documented how both extrinsic as well as intrinsic motivators are linked to acculturation outcomes. With respect to primary motivators to complete the ADS award in Australia, these findings show that career is the most significant driver for the majority of awardees. Underpinning this is the finding that occupation represents a strong identity marker (Jazvek-Martek, 2009), linked to the obtaining of international research credentials to meet the growing demand for English-trained doctorates (Pedersen, 2014), but also related to the desire of the awardees to pursue further research and learning. Relative proximity to Indonesia, personal agency and its associated demonstration of intrinsic self-confidence and associated feelings of personal

pride were further factors of motivation, along with economic entitlement and family opportunity, especially in the case of female awardees (Wild, 2007; Boey, 2014).

Only scant evidence was found that motivation was linked to the national development of Indonesia. The allegation that scholarships serve personal gain was previously raised by Goold (1989) in the case of Indonesian scholarships, whereas Kiley (1999) found most Indonesian awardees sought to contribute to nation building. The implication for the ADS program is that revisions to existing selection process could improve the alignment of awardee motivation with legitimate development commitments, since there is a discrepancy that exists between student motivation and the foreign policy objectives that assume development will be addressed well by the sponsoring of foreign students (Bochner, 1986). Since selection criteria are linked to development outcomes[35], weighted at around 40 per cent for some programs, it is important to note that the study finds only one awardee motivated by a national development aim:

> *As a young academic it is my desire to do study to contribute to the development of Indonesian studies. This is my first and my idealistic reason.* (Wani, ADS2 male completing awardee)

As found by Furnham and Bochner (1997), the findings of this study challenge the authenticity of development-related motivation and raise the possibility that the selection process could be undermined because, 'on paper' only, motivation is linked to a stated program aim.

[35] The author of this study has been contracted to select and shortlist candidates for a number of DFAT/AusAID Development Scholarships.

5.4 Anticipating Cultural Adjustment

This section will examine how awardees anticipate their sojourn. Anticipatory adjustment is a phenomenon that has been widely examined in both the IS and EM literature. Anticipated adjustment or expectation has been cited as a moderator of the acculturation experience and can prepare sojourners for change (Kim, 1988; Black & Mendenhall, 1991; Black et al., 1991; Black et al., 1992; Martin et al., 1995;).

Given the attention by scholars regarding how expectations of a sojourn can transmute and influence the acculturation experience, it is warranted to examine the reports of awardees about their own expectations of the sojourn and how this maps against the reality of their subsequent acculturation experience. The relevance of this was noted by Ken, an informant with a longstanding involvement in the program and familiarity with many past awardees. Ken emphasised the need to understand how the acculturation experience for these awardees is influenced through expectations gained during a previous and similar study experience abroad:

> *So what I'm saying is that they've experienced cultural adjustment before. So your research has to look at the way these people experienced living in a Western environment previously, as distinct from now, to know how they used that first experience to prevent the difficulties or issues they had.*
> (Ken, ADS Male Informant)

Ken's insights reinforce how valuable it was to have captured demographic information in the interviews about prior study, including study abroad. The data shows the majority of awardees interviewed had studied in Australia on an ADS award prior to embarking on the

PhD program[36] or completed post-graduate studies in another developed country[37]. Ken's prediction about past experience of cultural adjustment shaping subsequent international sojourns proved correct, as the following accounts from awardees confirm.

5.4.1 Expectations of Cultural Adjustment

The value of prior experience, in terms of shaping expectations was evident from many awardees who had previously studied in Australia. For example, Argo's previous ADS experience in Australia was an important learning experience for him, insofar as forming his expectations for the later PhD sojourn:

> *I was already in Australia for three years before so I knew exactly what to expect but when I did my masters I had never been abroad before and at that time it is hard. For example when the interpreter would say that in Australia you would see this, this and this - it's hard and you cannot imagine at all what you are going to face. But when I did my PhD I already knew and it is only two years after I finished my masters and then I went again for my PhD, so I knew exactly what I would face.* (Argo, ADS1 Male Alumni)

Similarly, expectations of those awardees who had studied in Western settings outside of Australia also shaped adjustment, with these respondents sharing that they could well

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[36] In total, 21 awardees, more than half those interviewed, had completed the ADS masters, with many studying even at the same institution as for their PhD study. For the remaining 20, ten had completed a masters abroad in a developed country such as Canada, Sweden, Singapore and Japan. The ADS Program Manager in Jakarta informed that around 65 per cent of total PhD awardees across the Indonesian program had completed masters in Australia.

[37] Thirty-one of the total 41 awardees interviewed for this study demonstrated a prior post-graduate experience in either Australia or an OECD country.

anticipate their adjustment experience in Australia, drawing parallels between both Western settings. In the literature on adjustment and expectations, the key is in the accuracy of the expectation (Black & Mendenhall, 1991; Selmer, 2002), in terms of facilitating an easy transition to a further experience of acculturation and removal of ambiguity (Kiley, 1999). Notwithstanding the importance of accurate expectations, Jenkins and Mockaitis (2010) proposed that adjustment can be problematic because of preconceived notions, especially in similar cultural contexts, which can lead to less preparation and anticipation of an easy adjustment. According to Black and Mendenhall (1991) anticipatory adjustment depends on factors such as the accuracy of information, training or a previous international experience. For example, Dimas had studied his master's degree in Canada and expected to find similar conditions in Australia, which for him proved correct:

> *When I first came to Australia, I expected the place to be similar to Canada, in terms of how it's run and how the government works and the living conditions and things like that. So since I've been in Canada for more than four years I didn't have any trouble adjusting to Australian life. Coming here I didn't prepare anything because I thought it's going to be similar to Canada and turns out that it is so. I think the experience living in Canada helped a lot.* (Dimas, ADS2 male Alumni)

The accounts above are consonant with assertions that a previous expatriation experience will positively influence adjustment (Koveshnikov et al., 2014). Reasons for this are that 'practice makes perfect' (Selmer, 2002) and an accurate expectation of adjustment is more likely to reduce uncertainty and provide the way for a better adjustment (Hechanov-Alampay et al., 2002; Black et al., 1991; Ward & Searle, 1991). According to Black et al. (1991:305), "the better the anticipatory adjustment, the fewer surprises and negative affective reactions or less culture shock individuals will experience, the more appropriate behaviours and attitudes they will exhibit, and the smoother and quicker their adjustment will be".

When expectations are met or are even exceeded, it is hypothesised that sojourners will adjust well (Martin et al., 1995). In spite of the many awardees' reports that a previous

acculturation experience in another Western setting had sufficiently foreshadowed their ADS experience, a mismatch between expectations and the reality of a subsequent acculturation experience is still possible. Over-met expectations can translate into a positive cultural adjustment experience (Martin et al., 1995) and such expectancy violations are also examined in repatriation studies (Black, Gregersen, Mendenhall, 1992; Black et al., 1991). In the case of ADS awardee Waluyo, his cultural adjustment expectation was over-met on settling in Australia, as measured against his former experience in Japan:

> *Actually, to be honest what I encountered here is far better than what I expected. It just feels like home here, to be honest. Because maybe I have the experience of staying in Japan and that's totally different compared to here because I think Japan is a closed culture to live in and I had a difficult time there, when I started adjusting. Then when I came to Australia, I said to myself 'just prepare for the worst, rather than hoping for something good'. Then when I came here I said, 'Oh, it's not as bad as I thought it will be, it's very easy to find food and I think it is multicultural with people that come from all over the world. I don't quite feel such a stranger here compared to in Japan.* (Waluyo, ADS2 completing)

Evidence from the reports of awardees about their expectations of study in Australia provides support for the cultural learning paradigm (Black & Mendenhall, 1991; Selmer, 2002; Bochner, 2007). Awardees (Melati, Agung, Harto) referred to how their expectations from a previous sojourn provided a platform for learning about cultural adjustment. Melati referred to her experiences and lessons learned whilst studying on the ADS master's program and how she subsequently made provision for an adequate work-life balance that would assist her to maintain her health and wellbeing on the PhD program:

> *I learnt a valuable lesson when I was doing my master's degree. I got very sick with pneumonia during Winter because I was pushing myself too hard, not eating well, too much study and sometimes just slept for two or three hours a day. I had to go to hospital for about one month. Based on that*

> *experience, when I was doing my PhD I remembered that I have to balance my life, look after myself and have free time during weekends. It helped me a lot and I never got sick during my PhD.* (Melati, ADS2 female Alumni)

Whilst the awardees above discussed the more general nature of their adjustment expectations, others (Argo, Kartika, Harum) focused on the academic-specific aspects of adjustment and what they anticipated. Harum, a previous ADS awardee, used his experience to help prepare him for the PhD program, sharing his expectations of and readiness for the hard work ahead:

> *Regarding the academic culture, I expected as a PhD student that I have to be able to adapt with PhD expectations. I expected this will require a lot of hard work from me and I'm ready for that, so that's why it is so much fun. I'm just ready to do that. I made preparations even before I came here to sharpen my ideas about what I want to do during my PhD.* (Harum, ADS3 male completing awardee)

These findings also highlight the variations in the accounts of reported actual experience of acculturation and how this was matched with expectations. This was also evident from the Hasanah and Brownlee (1997) study of Indonesian post-graduate students. Overall findings show that anticipated adjustment is likely to arise from a previous IC experience and optimal acculturation, is likely under similar conditions (Church, 1982; Kim, 1988; Kinnell, 1990; Rohrlich & Martin, 1991; Black et al., 1991; Martin et al., 1995; Selmer, 2002; Sussman, 2002; Li & Gasser, 2005; Patron, 2006; Mukminim, 2012). In terms of forming correct expectations about the ADS PhD program, the account from awardees with prior experience of cultural adjustment in either Australia or another Western setting was instrumental in forming an accurate expectations and a subsequent easy acculturation experience. The account from Waluyo illustrated that sojourners adjust well when expectations are exceeded (Martin et al., 1995).

Whilst expectations were experienced in variant ways amongst respondents, a consistent narrative around cultural learning is apparent from the accounts above, linked decisively to a

prior international sojourn in a comparable cultural context. Bochner (1986) argued that it is through the process of cultural learning that sojourners are enabled to negotiate within a new cultural setting. Culture learning is a continuing theme of the next section that looks at how the awardees prepared to come to Australia to complete their PhD award.

5.4.2 Preparations for the Award Program

Black et al. (1991) proposed that pre-departure, cross-cultural training provides relevant information that can be positively related to shaping accurate expectations about cultural adjustment. This section reports on preparations for the Award program, including formal interventions to prepare the awardees and other informal strategies to build their understanding and raise competency in readiness for their PhD study in Australia. Chirkov et al. (2007) highlighted that preparation for an IC experience is likely to inspire motivation, as well as confidence about entering a new culture, and this typically arises from accessing information about host country history and culture and attending to language skills prior to departure.

As discussed in Section 5.4.1, most awardees had formed expectations from previous studies abroad, but, for those who had not, the formal pre-departure training incorporating English for Academic Purposes (EAP) provided formal preparation for cultural and academic adjustment. The ADS program incorporates English preparation and language training in general is positively associated with sociocultural adaptation, in the case of ISs (Gholamrezaei, 1995; Cannon, 2001; Harman, 2003; Novera, 2004; Yang et al., 2006; Marginson & Sawir, 2011; Pedersen et al., 2011; Smith & Khawaja, 2012) and expatriates (Lu, 2012). Mawar shared that the program assisted her to upgrade her English language skills, as well as address academic and cross-cultural communications skills, and in doing so develop further expectations of the sojourn, prior to departure:

> *During the six months preparation they gave us a lot of information about how to communicate. For example if we are invited to a party, what does the term 'BYO' mean? And they prepared and taught us that if we are approached by people the first time, don't ask their age. It's very simple*

> *things but very important. I found this very helpful because it makes us anticipate what we found here to be true.* (Mawar, ADS2 female completing awardee)

Poor language ability is cited as an acculturation stressor, especially in terms of academic writing and speaking, whereas competent use is said to predict good adjustment outcomes (Patron, 2006; Smith & Khawaja, 2011). Surprisingly, respondents conveyed less focus on the English preparation under the award program, according greater emphasis to the cultural aspects of the program. This concurs somewhat with Storti's (2007) assertion that, although local language is an important variable in negotiating an IC sojourn, it does not equate to an essential skill for crossing cultures. Bagus valued the cultural aspect of the EAP over the English language training; Indah shared her story of attending the EAP program, which she stated helped to avoid culture shock because of gaining IC competencies that would prepare her to interact with host country nationals (HCNs):

> *I've been learning English for a very long time, English is not influential for culture, but we learned about Australian culture as well from quizzes or film or discussion. This is really helpful, especially for people who have never been to Australia or people who want to understand more about Australia.* (Bagus, ADS3 male completing awardee)
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> ~
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> *Before we studied in Australia, ADS already prepared us with multi-cultural discussions in Denpasar, so we don't feel shocked when arriving in Australia because we already knew everything about how to cope with the culture in Australia.* (Indah, ADS2 female Alumni)

Further insights came from an ADS Informant, one Alumni and one completing awardee about the importance of peers (Guerin et al., 2014), especially in terms of preparing those with no previous overseas experience. Ken highlighted that most awardees had studied in the highly ranked Indonesian higher education institutes or colleges and were subsequently well-

placed to engage with peers who had studied overseas and could motivate and prepare them informally for the ADS experience. Ken's observations were corroborated by Dimas, who reflected on home institution in Indonesia, likening it to similar institutions in Australia or Canada, in terms staff mobility abroad:

> *Amongst the Indonesian PhDs two thirds of them have studied overseas before or done their master's degree in Australia. The other third come from about three or four sources in Indonesia - Universitas Indonesia, Universitas Gadjah Mada and Bandung and these institutions comprise people who have studied abroad. AusAID would occasionally get one person who came out of Mataram[38] University to do a PhD but they are the exception.* (Ken, ADS male Informant)

> *If I go back to Semeru[39] or to the World Bank [in Indonesia], I don't think there will be much difference compared to Australia or Canada. This is because most of Semeru's staff has lived abroad and it's basically not run like an Indonesian company. I mean it's similar to here, working at the ANU.* (Dimas, ADS2 male completing awardee)

ADS Informant Pani also reflected on how awardees use social media, networks and other information to form impressions of Australian culture in preparation for the award program. Pani's account concurs with findings from Nardon, Aten and Gulanowski (2015) that on-line digital technologies and capacities such as 'blogging' provide additional social support for expatriate adjustment:

> *Now I think it is very much easier in part because there's good Internet, Facebook and Google maps, so you can easily access knowledge about the*

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[38] University of Mataram is one of many smaller Provincial universities in Indonesia.

[39] Semeru is a research institute that conducts public policy-related studies, based in Jakarta.

> *university you are going to, lifestyle and things of that sort. They can find Indonesians on Facebook who live in Australia and connect with them to find out what it is actually like. So that prepares them.* (Pani, ADS Informant)

Support for the cultural learning paradigm (Furnham & Bochner, 1987; Selmer, 2002; Yamazaki, 2010; Wilson et al., 2013) is evident from the accounts of pre-departure training. According to Wilson et al. (2013:902), "training and experience enhance cultural knowledge, which in turn facilitates skills acquisition". In the case of the ADS Program, awardees are given access to extensive pre-departure training, including EAP, designed to enhance English in readiness for study in Australia. The findings show that the training focused on IC competency was more highly valued by the awardees, lending support for Storti's (2007) claim that language competency, although important, does not necessarily equate to building cross-cultural competency. A final edge in preparing for the program involved informal measures, including access to colleagues with international experience and utility of social networking as a further informal information channel.

5.4.3 Anticipating Cultural Adjustment - Conclusions

According to Black et al. (1991:305), "the more accurate expectations individuals can form, the more uncertainty they will reduce and the better their anticipatory adjustment will be. The better the anticipatory adjustment, the fewer surprises and negative affective reactions or less culture shock individuals will experience, the more appropriate behaviours and attitudes they will exhibit, and the smoother and quicker their adjustment will be". Findings in this study show that anticipating cultural adjustment is linked to the forming of accurate expectations, usually related to a previous sojourn in a similar cultural setting or associated with formal preparation training that incorporates cross-cultural modules along with language training. The study finds other forms of assistance that helped anticipate cultural adjustment, include access to peers, including colleagues with experience across cultures, in addition to information accessed from social media.

5.5 Experience of Acculturation on-Award

The purpose of this section is to understand the acculturation phase of the sojourn, which addresses the primary research question. Findings arise from the account of both completed and current awardees who were asked to reflect on their encounter of academic and general adjustment related issues, including culture shock and their experience of IC relationships on-Award. The section considers acculturation strategies (Berry, 2002; 2003), coping and personal growth (Kim, 2003; 2005). Interwoven throughout the discussion is the identification of interventions that are deemed from these findings to support the adjustment of the awardees and their families. Other salient factors seen to influence acculturation outcomes, such as gender (Koveshnikov et al., 2014), religion and culture-distance (Berry, 2002) are integrated into the analysis.

Findings are linked to theoretical explanations and empirical studies from both the EM and IS literature, including relevant conceptual models (Berry, 2002; 2003; Kim, 2003, 2005). This substantive section considers the accounts from interviews and FGD. Having examined the pre-sojourn accounts, this section considers the on-Award accounts of initial adjustment and general adjustment. This is followed by a further investigation of the academic and interaction experience of adjustment.

5.5.1 Initial Cultural Adjustment

In support of prior research on anticipated adjustment (Martin, 1987), the study shows that those who studied previously in Australia reported a successful cultural transition during their subsequent sojourn to complete the PhD. This concurs with other studies that found multiple international experiences enhance cultural adjustment (Rohrlich & Martin, 1991; Cannon, 2000; Sussman, 2002; Kim, 2008). Typically those awardees who had a prior IC experience in Australia (Cahaya, Wibawa, Mega, Peni, Banyu, Aini), reported familiar cues, with either ‘fast tracking’ of their subsequent acculturation, an easy adjustment, or both. Mega’s report of acculturation on her PhD program emphasised the relative ease and speed of adjustment, compared to her previous masters study in Australia:

> *I think it's quite easy. For the first time when I was in my master's program it takes a longer time to adjust, but for my PhD program it's much easier than before, and that makes sense if you have the experience of living already there. I didn't have any culture shock and the family adjusted well.* (Mega, ADS2 female Alumni)

According to a study on Indonesian ISs in Australia (Gonzales, 2010), stress was experienced more intensely at the time of initial cultural adjustment. Adjustment experiences in a foreign culture can be overwhelming and unsettling, whereby unfamiliarity with the culture entails changes in cognition, attitudes and behaviour (Patron, 2006). Notwithstanding this, the study finds that most awardees reported an effective and functional adjustment, which was related to their previous sojourn experience. Whilst this is highly consistent with the research on anticipatory adjustment, feedback from those who had not studied previously in Australia or another Western setting suggests that other factors influence adjustment outcomes. For many of the respondents, including the cohort with no previous experience of living or studying abroad (Fajar, Wani, Wira, Elok, Lemah), the opportunity to learn assimilation strategies (Berry, 2002; 2003) by attending the pre-departure and English programs was reported as highly supportive of cultural adjustment:

> *I think it's not that difficult because we had the preparation program as well as the language program to teach us about the Australian customs, so it was easy to adjust.* (Elok, ADS2 female Alumni)

It has been argued that, when collectivist societies encounter members of their in-group, even when strangers, they will be inclined to help (Goodwin & Giles, 2003; Gudykunst & Kim, 2003; Gonzales, 2010). Indonesians already in Australia provide practical support and living skills to their compatriots. The Indonesian Student Association of Australia's (PPIA[40]) representative confirmed the association has around 80 branches in Australian universities, to

[40] The researcher is formerly an associate member of PPIA, which was first established in 1981.

support newly arrived awardees. As a newly-arrived student, Darma (an academic but former AusAID awardee) learnt the rules and norms (Berry, 2002; 2003) of Australian culture from his extended Indonesian family who taught him the cultural idioms, dress and ritual. Darma's experience is commensurate with the culture learning approach, emphasising that significant social skills, norms and conventions can be learned:

> *I had a relative living here who I stayed with for a couple of months before I found my own accommodation and that is where the transition and assimilation process began. They educated me and the family about all the rules and cultural norms. They have lived here for more than fifteen years, so they are Australianised in a way, so from them I started to learn the ritual, and even started to include the fashion. For me there was learning, it's not a shock but there was a learning. Language is very important as well and I started to learn some idioms, some phrases.* (Darma, ADS male Informant)

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> *So they come here and then they know how to find accommodation and they know how to catch a bus, they know how to order a ticket online, and that's through PPIA, the Indonesian Student Association of Australia. Most students get support from this organisation and we try to build support for new arrivals. We provide information on stuff that they really need to know about living and adjusting in Australia and other things that once they settle in they can do.* (Sanjaya, ADS PPIA male Informant)

These accounts show that the Indonesian community is an important resource especially during the time of initial adjustment. These findings concur with other empirically based accounts of how ISs (Bailey & Dua, 1999; Novera, 2004; Lee et al., 2009), including Indonesian doctoral students (Mukminim, 2012), adjust. Wilson et al. (2013:912) state that "transitioning individuals may initially find it easier and helpful to initiate contact with co-

nationals, especially because co-nationals with appropriate cultural knowledge would be able to provide culture learning assistance".

5.5.1.1 Coping with Culture shock

Culture shock is described as a broad range of emotions occurring when one is absent from their familiar culture, including familiar markers and cues (Westwood et al., 1986; Cox, 2006). Scholars distinguish aspects of culture shock as affective, behavioural and cognitive (Furnham & Bochner, 1987; Zhou et al., 2008). Reverse culture shock includes similar patterns; however, this is experienced on reentry to the home country, which is examined in the following Chapter.

Studies of culture shock have observed transitions from periods of euphoria to return home (Oberg, 1960; Gullahorn & Gullahorn, 1963), but in this study the accounts from awardees were not really indicative of defined stages, or the 'U' curve pattern proposed by Lysgaard (1955) to represent the sequence of adjustment phases. Critics of the adjustment curve (Church, 1982; Furnham & Bochner, 1997; Bhaskar-Shrinivas, Harrison, Shaffer & Luk, 2005; Hotta & Ting-Toomey, 2013) have assessed it as weak in terms of how it predicts acculturation and inconclusive as well as over-generalised. Contrary to the notion of the 'U' curve, awardees mostly experienced an easy adjustment, attributed to their previous sojourn in Australia or abroad in a Western country.

Culture shock can be related to family separation and changes to the 'status quo', especially for awardees with better living conditions at home (Brown & Brown, 2009). In the EM literature, such non-work conditions are identified as significant factors of adjustment (Black, 1988; Stroh et al., 1998), but the pattern is reversed in the case of expatriates, often reporting better housing and living conditions abroad than for ISs (Black et al., 1992). Wibawa's culture shock, which he did not report as a significant issue, was linked to having to become independent and no longer having access to maids and other domestic supports. A similar account was also raised by Satya, although not linked specifically to culture shock:

> *It's not easy because it was my first experience to stay far from my family. That was a kind of culture shock but not significant. I think that I had to be independent there [in Australia] and do everything by myself. We don't have a maid. In Indonesia everybody can easily find a maid to wash your dishes and your clothes. In Australia I have to start to be independent, do everything by myself, try to be well organised. That's a kind of culture shock for me.* (Wibawa, ADS2 Alumni)

In Wibawa's case, his encounter of less privileged living conditions forced him to acquire independent living skills. According to Patron (2006:28), "culture shock is the crisis that provides the opportunity for personal growth and can be perceived as the catalyst that transforms the cultural identity" of sojourners. Kim and Ruben (1988) contested the 'problem-oriented' approach to culture shock, instead underscoring that people adapt and become more IC, by learning to cope with stress (Adler, 1975). Milstein (2005) adds that this is because the experience of culture shock leads to new experiential knowledge, as well as self-understanding about ethnocentrism, leading to new cultural perspectives: "Each disequilibrium experience leaves the individual with an experiential lesson, leaving one less stressed and more flexible in subsequent similar encounters because of greater cognitive, behavioral, and affective capacity from the mastered stressful encounter" (Milstein, 2005:221).

Culture shock involves the loss of familiar cultural markers, including food (Oberg, 1960; Westwood et al., 1986; Cox, 2006). Wani, an awardee with vision impairment, encountered 'food shock' on-Award, but was ultimately able to overcome this problem and learn in a practical way to adjust. Cheerfully and in a self-deprecating way, Wani recalled his initial encounter of the student food hall and learning to adapt to using Western cutlery. His account concurs with other studies of food adjustment issues and Indonesian students (Gholamrezaei, 1995; Everts & Sodjakusumah, 1996) and highlights how even the mundane aspects of cultural adjustment, can confront and challenge sojourners:

> *I came to the dining hall in the morning and I did not know what to eat because it was continental breakfast food. I did not know how to make food, how to eat cereals or why milk was there. I was confused and at that time I ate cereal without milk and this happened for one week. Secondly, I was not familiar with eating bread with butter. I used a spoon and it was so difficult. People came to the hall and they used knifes and I knew then they make bread with butter, using a knife. But I don't know how to use a knife and fork. It was one thing that I forgot to learn, when I was in Indonesia. So my experience was more about food shock, not culture shock!* (Wani, ADS2 male completing awardee)

5.5.1.2 Initial Cultural Adjustment - Conclusions

The data generate additional empirical material that supports the findings of those scholars who discovered that a relatively easy initial adjustment corresponds with a previous and similar educational sojourn (Klineberg & Hull, 1979). Findings highlight that opportunities for cultural learning are instrumental in assisting awardees to adjust effectively. Initial adjustment was found to be mitigated by social support from compatriots (Everts & Sodjakusumah 1996; Hasanah & Brownlee, 1997; Kiley, 1999). A previous successful experience abroad is, however, likely to coincide with a subsequent study abroad experience, leaving those who did not cope well on a previous sojourn unlikely to go again (Church, 1982; Kiley, 1999). Such confound was not explored in this study, but it does raise a potential research bias and area for further research.

5.5.2 General Adjustment – Challenges and Support

Scholars (Adler, 1975; Patron, 2006) have described early adjustment experiences in a foreign culture as overwhelming and unsettling, where unfamiliarity with the culture entails changes in cognition, attitudes and behaviour. The following section considers the general adjustment challenges and then examines separately the key aspects of academic-related adjustment and interaction adjustment.

5.5.2.1 General Adjustment and the Family

According to a recent study of international careers, work and family issues (Mäkelä & Suutari, 2015), families are affected by expatriation, as a result of relocation and related adjustment issues. Since family adjustment plays an important part of the experience on-award it is therefore important to examine family-related cultural adjustment issues with respect to the ADS program. The vast majority of awardees (38 of the 41) were family-accompanied on award and a minority left loved ones behind. As previously stated in Section 5.3.3, awardees identify closely with their roles as family members. Wani's statement about his own identity is illustrative of this:

> *The important aspects of my culture and how I see myself, is as a family man. Yeah, I'm just, really close with family, especially my wife and children.* (Wani, ADS2 male completing awardee)

Consideration of family issues has long featured in the EM literature (Ward, 1993; Eustace, 1994; Gonzales, 2001; Hechanova et al., 2003; Bhaskar-Shrinivas et al., 2005; Poyrazli & Kavanaugh, 2006) but is under-researched in the IS literature. This is likely to be because the majority of ISs are under 25 years of age and likely to be single or without dependants (Institute of Social Science, 2010), whereas expatriate workers mostly travel with their families (Brewster et al., 2014). According to Black et al. (1991:363), "Family adaptability to the international assignment frequently is viewed as an important influence on the worker abroad" and family-related problems, including spousal maladjustment, are linked to accounts of expatriate failure. Since the ADS awardees represent a hybrid cohort in terms of their student and professional status, family matters are relevant to their educational sojourn.

Up until 2010, the award conditions included financial assistance for family accompaniment, but since then awardees choosing family accompaniment must cope with additional costs that may inadvertently bias those awardees who can access additional financial resources. Such changes to award conditions were viewed with concern by both current and former awardees (Harto, Wira, Arief, Lemah), who said that leaving their spouse and children behind in Indonesia for up to four years was not an option in terms of family stability. Family unity

was perceived by some awardees to be compromised since the advent of changes to scholarship entitlements. If this true, it has implications in terms of broader issues of IS security, mitigation of stress, lower anxiety and social support (Black et al., 1991; Eustace, 1994; Gholamrezaei, 1995; Caligiuri & Lazarova, 2002; Poyrazli and Kavanaugh, 2006; Chirkov, et al., 2007; Mäkelä and Suutari, 2007; Marginson et al., 2010; Murniati, 2012). On a personal level, Arief argued that it would be 'dangerous' to isolate himself from his family, especially given the long period of the doctoral award:

> *In my mind I don't want there to be a gap between me and my family, or my wife – a four year gap, while I'm in Australia with my wife still in Jogjakarta. It's too dangerous. The ADS program is not just a study experience, it's a living experience and I learned about family life in Australia to be honest. The PhD award is for my family not only for me, to be honest. That's what I feel because without the support from my wife I can't do that. Being away from my family and that daily support for living in Australia would be terrible.* (Arief, ADS2 male Alumni)

Even after his family's arrival and settling in to Australia, Waluyo still recounted that family adjustment was the main problem that he needed to manage. His experience concurs with findings from the EM literature, including dedicated research on the adjustment of spouses (Black et al., 1989; Black et al., 1991; Caligiuri & Lazarova, 2002; Lazarova et al., 2010; McNulty, 2012):

> *In my case it was difficult because I was in Australia by myself and my family was still in Indonesia, for the first year. When I started thinking to bring my family here, I had to think about my son and how my wife will get by if she gets lonely here. Then I had to find the most suitable option for us in terms of where we will stay, which school our son will attend. I think that if my wife and family are not happy here that influences me as well. So if you ask me about cultural problems here, the first is the family, then*

> *study and the problems are less about us adapting, finding food, friends, jobs*. (Waluyo, ADS2 male completing awardee)

Since a number of awardees highlight the importance of family accompaniment, it may be prudent for the program to undertake a review of the policy changes to identify what is the impact of the changes to the family accompaniment. This would be in keeping with the government principle of 'Do No Harm', which seeks to achieve outcomes by assessing relevant risks and avoiding harm to beneficiaries (Medica, 'roundtable' presentation, 2014). In addition, family accompaniment has the potential to leverage soft diplomacy outcomes for Australia, drawing on the capacity of the Indonesian Alumni with their families. Feedback from ADS program informant, Ken, highlighted the links to soft diplomacy, especially the potential for married awardees with children and the opportunities they find to link in with Australians, or other foreigners on a non-academic basis:

> *I came across a couple of families where relationships between Indonesia and Australia had been maintained through the children who had gone to school here and they would talk and Skype with their former teacher and classmates. It became an opportunity for the teachers at the Australian schools to offer the children in the Australian classrooms the opportunity to keep in contact with an international student. Certainly on return to Indonesia you see the flow on from the experience amongst the Indonesian families. For example, at social events the spouses and the children seemed far more comfortable with expatriates.* (Ken, ADS male Informant)

For Agustina, the shock of her marital breakdown and the ongoing needs to care for her two young sons whilst completing her PhD studies was the cause of great personal stress. When Agustina's husband arrived in the third year of her program, he announced to her that he wanted a divorce. Not unsurprisingly, Agustina wasn't able to focus on her academic tasks as she was quite distressed during this time, although she has now successfully completed her PhD and is happily remarried after returning to Indonesia:

> *My husband came to Australia in 2008 to start his PhD, three days after our twelve year wedding anniversary. I'd been waiting for him to come, so that we could be together. He suddenly became a monster and said to me, 'I don't want to be with you anymore, I'm not happy with you anymore'. I said we need to go to a psychologist. We went to psych counselling together and he said to the counsellor, 'I'm not happy with her anymore, I don't want to live with her anymore, and in my religion that means divorce'. Then I said 'That means divorce, so fine, that's your divorce, mate'. For a month we lived together and then I kicked him out. At first we pretended as if we were still husband and wife to his friends and that wasn't very nice but I'm happy now because I don't have to deal with this person anymore. I asked for an extension because there was no way I could work in such a situation. I mean my husband dumped me in the middle of my PhD, and I have two children with me, I am lucky not to commit suicide, I was in the middle of nowhere there, nobody was there, and I was just alone with the children.* (Agustina, ADS2 female Alumni)

Agustina's example brings to the fore the significance of the non-academic experience, stress, coping and personal growth (Kim & Ruben, 1998) and also self-efficacy that can influence adjustment. For example, Agustina showed both conscientiousness and resolve to meet her goals in the face of personal adversity. Conscientiousness is one of the so-called 'Big Five' personality traits that has been identified in the cultural adjustment literature and is linked to both psychological well-being and socio-cultural adaptation in sojourning ISs (Ward, Leong & Low, 2004). This example also echoes the strategic (Kiley, 1999) capacity of some ISs, in terms of having the skills and attitude to succeed. Agustina believed she was strong enough to get by during this time and meet her academic goals:

> *I'm strong and I know that if I set a goal, I will achieve that goal, no matter how hard. This is because I'm a 'swimmer', so if I see the end of the pool and I say I will swim to it without taking a breath, I will do that, no matter*

> *what. So I set a goal to finish in four years and no matter what, I was always going to do that.* (Agustina, ADS2 female Alumni)

Of the 41 awardees interviewed for this study, 34 (67 per cent) were accompanied by their children. Harto was pleased to report his children found adjustment in a school with Indonesian children to be easy:

> *They easily adjusted because, in the school where my children study, currently there are 22 Indonesian students, yes, so it's about 10 per cent of the student population at that school. My son has a lot of friends in Australia, so it's not a problem for him and I think children adjust fairly quickly.* (Harto, ADS2 completing)

The PhD respondents for this study are generally in their mid-thirties and some have to contend with ageing parents or ailing family members at home. The award conditions, whilst not providing for any financial assistance, in the event of a death in the family do allow for access to counselling services for awardees and accompanying family members and, if required, will provide for a reunion airfare to travel home. The death of a family member is a time of great stress, and also under-researched in both the IS and EM literature. Two ADS awardees (Diah, Sadewa) experienced a death in the family whilst on-Award and both reported this was the most stressful time for them. Not long after the birth of her daughter in Australia, Diah lost her mother and was extremely distressed, because she wasn't able to see her before she passed away:

> *The most stressful time was after my daughter was born and she was about one and a half months and my Mum passed away. I couldn't see her for the last time, that was very, very, very difficult and it took me years to get over it. I can still feel it up until now, but I try to get over it. That was the hardest day and all the stress about the PhD is nothing compared to that.* (Diah, ADS1 female Alumni)

Hedges (2003) raised the importance of treating the spouse as part of a team and argued that families should enjoy adequate support for their own cultural adjustment, including assistance with language training and sponsored opportunities to engage further with HCNs. Treating the family as a team also recognises that in many cases 'trailing' spouses become the primary caregiver for children and can forgo a career at home, as well as financial independence and domestic support (Lazarova et al., 2010). A review of Group of Eight[41] university websites finds minimal information to support the families of ISs on award, with the exception of one university[42] that provides a dedicated program, including social support and English language training. Given that these findings highlight the importance of family adjustment and the way this intersects closely with the adjustment of the sojourner, evidenced from the EM literature (Caligiuri & Lazarova, 2002; Lazarova et al., 2010; Froese, 2012; Murniati, 2012), there may be a case to replicate such a program in other Australian university contexts.

5.5.2.2 General Adjustment and Part-time Work

Continuing the theme of general adjustment, many ISs work part-time, including ADS awardees. ADS awardees who enter Australia can apply for a visa that grants them permission to work for up to 40 hours per fortnight, as part of their student visa conditions. No work limits apply during university-recognised periods of vacation and in the event of accompanying family members they can be granted permission to work (Department of Immigration and Border Protection, 2015). Hedge's (2003) dissertation, drawing on both the IS and EM literature, identified that student work can impact on adjustment outcomes in

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[41] The Group of Eight is a coalition of research-intensive Australian universities.

[42] The University of Melbourne conducts a Language Support and Professional Development program for the spouses of ISs (http://services.unimelb.edu.au/international/life-and-study/family#languagesupport, sighted 16 December 2015).

good and bad ways. Related to this is the challenge of managing dual careers (McNulty, 2012), involving trailing spouses who accompany ADS awardees in Australia.

Whilst the literature on EM is rich in terms of work-related cultural adjustment, it is deficient in the IS literature (Marginson et al., 2010), most probably because paid work is not offered as part of study programs and data on ISs' work may be withheld due to work visa conditions (Marginson et al., 2010). In addition, although working rights are assumed for ADS awardees, this cannot be assumed for similar programs in other jurisdictions[43] outside of Australia (Pedersen, 2014). Marginson et al. (2010:120) states that "in contrast with the abundant research on domestic student workers, few studies investigate international student work".

The experience of casual work on-Award provided a further opportunity for interaction and cultural learning from HCNs. Interaction with HCNs is discussed further in Section 5.5.4.2. Black et al. (1991) identified that adjustment to work is influenced by HCNs and social support from co-workers was found to have a positive impact on expatriate work adjustment (Church, 1982; Bhaskar-Shrinivas et al., 2005). Although research on ISs underscores issues of work place discrimination, menial jobs and wage disparity with domestic students (Marginson et al., 2014), accounts from awardees (Bagus, Harto) paint a positive picture of Australian work experience and how it assisted adjustment.

Harto enjoyed the opportunity to take up an academic role soon after arriving in Australia that was followed by a casual job as a kitchen hand. Both experiences were well regarded by him and provided for positive social interactions with HCNs, as predicted in the scholarly literature. Harto's accounts also demonstrate his cultural self-efficacy (Herchanov-Alampay

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[43] The Fulbright program only allows for academic-related 'assistantships', which offer paid work on award with restrictions on other casual or part-time work.

et al., 2002; Firth et al., 2014) to competently complete tasks. “Individuals high in self efficacy are more willing to learn new behaviours and tend to persist in exhibiting new behaviours and they therefore have greater opportunity for receiving feedback about their acquired skills than people low in self-efficacy” (Hechanov-Alampay et al., 2002:461). Given his relative isolation from other students as a PhD student, Harto’s experience of working with HCNs enabled him to gain important insights into the Australian work place culture:

> *The PhD program doesn’t require a lot of contact with other students except the students in my centre, so working helped me in adjusting to the way of life here. In the second week after my arrival I was accepted as a research assistant because at that time the professor needed an assistant to process data from Indonesia and I applied and was accepted. I didn't need to submit a detailed time sheet because the system is based on honesty and respect and the Professor told me just to submit a general timesheet with days worked and for how long and type of job. In many parts of Indonesia we cannot implement that kind of system. So a nice surprise and a good thing that I learned about the Australian culture, is that we are trusted in the work place.* (Harto, ADS2 male completing awardee)
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> *The working culture here is also very good. I used to work in a kitchen and this taught me about the Australian working culture. I learnt that in Australia it is really appreciated at work if we show initiative and are responsible for our jobs. The salary was also good. It’s better than in Indonesia.* (Harto, ADS2 completing male awardee)

As a PhD student, the researcher has been privy to ‘tearoom’ conversations (Fotovatian & Miller, 2014) with PhD ISs who expressed that international doctoral students are given minimal professional exposure to academic teaching and research programs. A university-led intervention to assist in building their capacity for teaching could raise teaching skills in

preparation for their return home. Pedersen's (2014) research on doctoral education examined how career opportunities for new doctoral graduates can lead to the gaining of tacit knowledge, including 'soft' skills that are accrued and transferable in the workplace. ADS Informant Sanjaya, representing PPIA members, argued that the award program should provide for professional, academic-related work experiences. Sanjaya identified the important link between work and the development of networks, also related to the explicit aim of the ADS program to build people-to-people linkages. This is also a current topic of policy reform in the Australian IS education sector (Gribble, 2014):

> *I think everyone should be given the opportunity to deal with professional organisations or professional activities here while in Australia, while doing their study. But in fact I see so many Indonesian students and they're doing cleaning jobs which is very much unrelated. Once the ADS awardees are here in Australia the life begins and preparations need to be made so that the student experience in Australia can be most rewarding. I've been dealing with Indonesian students for years and I know exactly what my peers, my fellows need and that's one of their needs and it's very significant*. (Sanjaya, ADS male Informant)

5.5.2.3 General Adjustment and Discrimination

Whilst discrimination and racism can be hard to pinpoint because it is often subtle, findings show few allegations of discrimination against awardees by HCNs. This concurs with findings from Chalid's (2015) study of the ADS program, in the broader context of organisational development. Notwithstanding this, two awardees (Argo, Langgeng) reported on more subtle fears relating to reprisals after the September 11 (known as '9/11[44]') attacks in the United States, but surprisingly no first-hand accounts of racism related to the 2002 Bali

[44] Tensions experienced around the '9/11' and subsequent Bali bombing are more likely to have affected the adjustment of the ADS1 awardees, a minority cohort in terms of the study respondents.

bombings. The first account coincides with the '9/11' events and the response from Australian police to flush out potential terrorist and fundamentalist groups in Australia. At that time, ADS awardee Argo recalled fears within the Indonesian community in Australia, because they believed they were targeted for arrest by the Australian Police. Argo also feared a 'backlash' against Muslim women, who were easily identified by the wearing of the hijab,[45] and many Muslim female students in Australia were reported not to wear the traditional head covering around this time, for fear of attracting attention (Ward, 2013; Forbes-Mewett et al., 2015):

> *I was in Australia when the '9/11' happened and my Muslim wife was wearing a jilbab*[46]*. I watched on the news people with Indonesian connections being arrested by the police because they might be connected with the terrorism. The students at that time were so worried that the police might arrest anyone who has relationships or connections with Indonesians. It didn't happen but we were worried.* (Argo, ADS1 Alumni).

Prior to '9/11', reports of racism were not apparent from studies of Indonesian students in Australia (Novera, 2004; Hasanah & Brownlee, 1997) and New Zealand (Evert & Sodjakusumah, 1996). Mukminin's (2012) dissertation about the Indonesian post-graduate student experience in the US also reported there was no apparent sense of cultural or religious discrimination, with Indonesians feeling accepted in the new culture. In contrast, Kiley's (1999) study found that 61 per cent of her study respondents reported explicit racism in Australia, but under-reporting was also likely because students may not want to disclose negative reports about Australians. In the study of IS security (Marginson et al., 2010) half the study respondents perceived some hostility or prejudice while studying in Australia.

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[45] A hijab is a head covering worn by some Muslim women.

[46] A jilbab is a loose fitting garment worn by some Muslim women.

Contrary to accounts from two awardees (Argo and Langgeng), Harto reported that his wife who worked in a Jewish childcare centre in Melbourne was given a lot of support in terms of her continuing and daily practises of Islam, including the wearing of the hijab. This might be indicative of broader respect amongst non-secular groups as well as related to the more recent timing of his on-Award experience:

> *People in Indonesia maybe think that it's not possible to work in hijab here but my wife has an opportunity to do prayer in the child care centre where she works and she is not discriminated against by the management. We really appreciated this type of respect for other religions and non-discrimination*. (Harto, ADS2 male completing awardee)

Whilst there was little evidence of explicit racism from this study, what was surprising was the reports of discrimination against the awardees from other Muslim groups. This is in contrast with Ward's (2013) study, which identified a protective effect that coincided with Muslim identity and positive socio-cultural adjustment that in turn buffered perceived discrimination. Ndari shared her story of feeling excluded from the prayer room by other non-Indonesian Muslim students, because she was not wearing the hijab. Similarly, Ardhi spoke about how his non-Indonesian Muslim peers at the mosque had discriminated against his less traditional style of Islam:

> *I have a problem with Muslims in Melbourne. When I entered the University praying room the Muslim students were talking to each other and then suddenly when I entered the room it became silent and then they just looked at me, probably because I'm different and not wearing the hijab like them. Probably they are thinking, 'who the hell is this and why is she praying'? Also the University praying room has a password to get in but no one would give it to me but I know an Indonesian Muslim woman who wears the hijab and she was able to get the password. So I am discriminated against by my own Muslim people and we don't have this*

problem in Indonesia but here, yeah. (Ndari, ADS3 female completing awardee)

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If you define Muslim as Islam in Australia I would say that I'm not Muslim, I don't think I belong to the mainstream Islam in Australia. I always dress the way I like to but the high profile Muslim leaders in Australia said to me, 'you are not a good Muslim because you dress like that'. I pray, I read Qur'an better than them but I was always labelled as not being a good Muslim and I am tired of hearing, 'Oh, you have to grow your beard'. So that's what I found is difficult but I have no problem with the Indonesian Muslims. (Ardhi, ADS2 male completing awardee)

Ardhi expressed his other feelings of discomfort related to living in a neighbourhood with other cultures, where multi-cultural tensions occurred. This was unexpected, since he had assumed that, in Australia, Australian Caucasians would represent the dominant group:

I don't find it difficult to adjust to Australian culture and society but I did find it very difficult and have problems dealing with other cultures within Australian society and living in a neighbourhood that's tough and with a lot of different cultures. I learned that there is no dominant culture here because in Indonesia when you say Australian, oh it's Caucasian, western Caucasian, but it's not here. So this changed my perception on racism because racism in Australia, I think, is not from the dominant to the minority, not from the 'bule' to Indonesians, no. It's very different from what I expected. (Ardhi, ADS2 male completing awardee).

It is well documented that, within Indonesian society, the Chinese Indonesians form an ethnic minority group that has experienced discrimination (Purdey, 2006) in spite of legal and

institutional barriers to public life being dismantled in the post-Suharto New Order[47]. According to Syuan-yuan (2007:265), the ethnic Chinese form a minority group in Indonesia that has long been regarded as "an alien segment of the indigenous Indonesian culture". Tensions around race were emphasised in the account from Banyu, himself a Chinese-Indonesian but culturally identifying as an Indonesian. For Banyu his experience in Australia of not being treated like a 'second class Indonesian citizen' was joyful, because he felt like an Indonesian, and his Indonesian cultural identity was recognised:

> *I'm from Chinese descent, so all my life, I have been discriminated against because I'm 'Chinese'. My hometown is an extremely racist city and at University I was always discriminated against because I was Catholic. I didn't really belong because there was this stigma around me because I'm Chinese and I'm Catholic. We refer to that as having two 'original sins' because we are not Muslim and we are Chinese. But when I'm in Australia all of a sudden everybody just asked me where I was from. I would tell them I'm from Indonesia and they treated me as an Indonesian. They don't care if I'm not a pure blood Malay which is a big deal back home in Indonesia but not in Australia. Funnily enough, here in someone else's land [Australia], my identity as an Indonesian is very much emphasised and I love it.* (Banyu, ADS2 male Alumni)

Similarly, Wani who had a visual impairment known as corneal dystrophy, reported that he too experienced prejudice and discrimination at home related to his disability. He was grateful to arrive in Australia and find support services to help him pursue his research goals:

> *Australians are helpful and they treated me as really a human who has the same potential. They do not think about people's disability but about their personality and capacity to progress or to reach a better life. This is not*

[47] The term 'New Order' is synonymous with the Suharto years (1965–1998) (Vatikiotis, 1998)

> *something that I experienced at home. In Indonesia I used to experience tremendous discrimination since I was at school. People with a disability cannot be a government official or tenured lecturer because they [the Indonesian government] do not recognise disability. I believe that AusAID gave me the chance because they think I'm capable, not because I'm disabled. Here I receive better treatment in a society where people are equal and this is unforgettable for me.* (Wani, ADS2 male completing awardee)

It is surprising that the more explicit accounts of discrimination in Australia do not emanate from the host culture, as the dominant and hegemonic group. Whilst the interview questions did not enquire specifically about issues of racism, nonetheless this was a topic of some discussion. Given the findings are rather weak, in terms of supporting that racism is a phenomenon inflicted by the dominant culture (Lee & Rice, 2007; Smith & Khawaja, 2011; Marginson et al., 2010; Forbes-Mewett et al., 2015), this presents an interesting area for future research.

5.5.2.4 General Adjustment – Conclusions

The section above has highlighted several general adjustment challenges and support mechanisms, including family-related adjustment issues, work-related adjustment issues, including opportunities to interact with HCNs and aspects of discrimination that were found to be mostly non-related to interactions with host nationals. Having looked at many of the salient non-academic adjustment themes, significant academic adjustment matters raised by the study respondents are now examined.

5.5.3 Academic Experience of Adjustment

Several studies have documented the academic challenges faced by ISs (Hasanah & Brownlee, 1997; Novera, 2004; Kaye, 2006; Brown, 2008; Kiley, 1999; Tran, 2011; Marginson et al., 2010; Mukminim & McMahon, 2013). According to Brown's (2009) findings on international post-graduate students adaptation in a UK setting, academic stress

was directly related to academic cultural differences (Ryan, 2012), including learning styles, participation in class and language proficiency. Of relevance is the research conducted by Mukminin and McMahon (2013) that explored the academic engagement of Indonesian doctoral students in the USA and, similar to Brown's findings (2009), identified stress factors, including academic workload, relationships with other academics and linguistic barriers. Dewi had just submitted her thesis and was preparing to return to Indonesia; she shared the challenge of having to theoretically locate her study and build a conceptual framework; ADS Informant Sanjaya, also spoke about the academic challenges that awardees encounter in Australia:

> *Studying again is a challenge – especially here (in Australia). In my country if we do something we don't really look at the theory and here you have to build a conceptual framework and you must have a theoretical foundation and that's the difficult part. So I had to find what sort of theory is suitable to my research topic.* (Dewi, ADS2 female Alumni)
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> *I think study life is most stressful for Indonesian students. In Indonesia we are not accustomed to developing our cultural thinking and the way we see the world theories and perspectives critically. We used to listen to our teachers or lecturers and accept what they say as just the way it is, without necessarily questioning the truth behind it, or examining or investigating other ways or options. We don't see knowledge as a thing that could further improve us. Here in Australia most Australian students are very critical and that critical thinking is bought to the classroom and then we have this kind of cultural shock when we have to think critically and try to see different options in the way we understand theories in books, etc., and that's very hard.* (Sanjaya, male Informant)

Language is cited as one of the most problematic issues for ISs (Goold, 1989; Novera, 2004; Marginson et al., 2010; Sawir et al., 2012). Many awardees spoke of language hurdles, in

particular their encounter with the Australian accent (Wani, Argo, Galang, Ari, Dewi, Diah) and speed of talking. Dealing with learning and language conventions presented a further challenge with implications for academic adjustment:

> *I think first and foremost going to Australia there is no denying that good English skills add to their ability to socialise. It's obvious when you think about it but I think we see this when you look at the differences in the cohort between a group, that's got IELTS*[48] *6.5 or above and you look at the interaction between them and their teacher, compared to a group that comes with IELTS 5. We generally found those with better English have found a more global perspective and they read international newspapers, watch international television and just have a better understanding of what's happening in other parts of the world, compared to those with poorer English. That might be a very obvious statement, but it really it is something that we can notice. So going to Australia and being able to feel comfortable with communicating in English, I think is hugely beneficial in terms of feeling part of the place.* (Malcolm, ADS Informant)

In spite of some claims that Asian students are passive learners, the demonstration of personal agency in addressing language adjustment is evident from two accounts (Galang and Dewi) of how these awardees were able to devise different strategies (Kiley, 1999) to overcome academic challenges, including enhancement of English language proficiency. In Galang's case, a job on a bus helped him improve his English and in Dewi's case, teaming up with an Australian student gave her additional opportunities to build rapport with a HCN and improve her English at the same time. Accounts from both these awardees also show personal initiative and enterprise, consistent with the demonstration of agency to deal with academic adjustment issues, such as language:

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[48] International English Language Testing System (IELTS).

I found it took quite a long time, around half a year for me to me adjust to the way Australians speak, the pronunciation is quite different. The best way for me to improve my Australian-English was to work and speak with the people who come from the countryside. So I decided to work at the bus station so I can talk to the drivers. (Galang, ADS2 male Alumni)

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In the seminars sometimes we want to contribute but then we are afraid to start to give our opinion because of our English, but this could be different if we know the topic. Sometimes the Australians speak very fast and I couldn't pick up what they're saying. So I joined with an Australian student who learnt Indonesian language. We met every two weeks. It is important to learn English because I'm aware that as a PhD student we don't have as much interaction with local students compared to masters, so joining that kind of activity is helpful. (Dewi, ADS2 female Alumni)

5.5.3.1 Academic Adjustment and the Supervisor Relationship

Academic relationships with supervisors shape the experience of academic acculturation for many ISs (Harman, 2003; Soong et al., 2015), including the ADS awardees. According to Harman (2003), around 12 per cent of international PhD students ranked the quality and effectiveness of supervision as unsatisfactory or very unsatisfactory, and for many awardees in this study the supervisor relationship proved testing (Galang, Banyu, Waluyo, Diah), with mixed reviews. For example, Diah perceived a lack of support from her supervisor's input, which caused her great stress, but it could also be inferred that her supervisor's strategy was to empower her to take the initiative, rather than rely on instruction. According to Soong et al. (2015), supervisors should empower doctoral students and place agency at the heart of the relationship. In contrast, two awardees (Georgie, Waluyo) conveyed their appreciation in having their supervisor treat them more independently, which is consistent with Gardner's (2008) notion that a distinguishing feature of doctoral study is the focus on independent research skills:

> *I was left alone and basically I didn't get any sort of advice, so I had to find out by myself. It took me about six months before I understood what to do and I worked it out, in the end, by myself. These experiences I found the most stressful.* (Diah, ADS1 Alumni)

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> *In the first year I kept asking my supervisor to really show me the way. He finally told me, 'Georgie this is your PhD; you cannot always rely on somebody. Just believe in yourself and what you want to know'.* (Georgie, ADS2 female Alumni)

In contrast to Georgie and Waluyo, Ardhi was made to feel like an undergraduate student by his co-supervisors. He shared the challenge of dismissing his co-supervisors for failing to review several drafts of his written work:

> *Having three supervisors was the biggest mistake. Because I've been teaching for ten years and I've been supervising students, I know if the supervisor has read my draft and I found that they didn't. I told the main supervisor and went to the department and said if they didn't help me with this problem, I would go to the International Student Ombudsman. Then my main supervisor agreed to meet me in Jakarta on his way to London and I showed him the drafts with no comments. He was shocked too and agreed to get rid of the two co-supervisors. You know it's one of the biggest issues in PhD study and those two co-supervisors treated me like I was an undergraduate student.* (Ardhi, ADS2 male Alumni)

Harman (2003) observed that international full-time PhD students interact more frequently with their supervisors, when compared to full-time Australian PhD students. Kiley (1999) found that post-graduate Indonesian research students regarded the supervisor relationship as central to their learning and development outcomes. Kiley's findings concur with Fotovatian's (2015) study of international doctoral students and their negotiation and

legitimation of institutional identities which are constructed in interaction with other institutional members, including academic staff. For example, Harto aspired to be like his supervisor in Australia when he returned to Indonesia. His supervisor's friendliness, refraining from deference and engagement on a more egalitarian basis really impressed Harto.

> *I learned a lot from my supervisor. He is very busy but still has time for his students. He's a model for me when I return to Indonesia. He never gets angry even when I fail to do something by the due time. He makes me feel respected and treats his students with equal respect, as if they are friends.* (Harto, ADS2 male completing awardee)

In Bima's situation, the close support of his supervisor, both professionally as well as on a personal basis, was emphasised as a great support to him, especially 'coming out' as a gay doctoral student in Australia and experiencing some low times:

> *The one person I have to mention most of all is my supervisor. She is one of the best supervisors I could ever possibly dream of. I told her everything and she was my supervisor during my master's as well so we became extremely good friends. She plays 'mother' to me sometimes, particularly when I'm down, so she's been a very, very close support to me.* (Bima, ADS2 male Alumni)

5.5.3.2 Academic Experience of Adjustment – Conclusions

The accounts above examine some of the academic adjustment issues faced by the ADS awardees. Challenges are study-related and compounded by language and academic cultural difference. In most cases, these highly motivated awardees were resourceful and their accounts demonstrate personal agency in achieving their academic program requirements. The stress of not finishing on time, or, worse still, not finishing at all and coming home 'empty-handed' weighs heavily, given that up to 20 per cent (AusAID, 2011b) do not

complete the award in Australia and return home, still hoping to meet the requirements[49]. These accounts emphasise the importance of the supervisor relationship and highlight that in many cases the supervisor facilitates the pathway for doctoral students to transition from student to independent researcher (Gardner, 2008). The supervisor relationship was also found to extend beyond a mere academic relationship in some cases, which is indicative of the intersection between personal and cross-cultural academic life (Soong et al., 2015).

5.5.4 Interaction Adjustment

As previously stated in the literature review, the nature of IC relations is of scholarly interest in the field of adjustment studies, particularly the focus on socio-cultural adjustment (Searle & Ward, 1990; Ward & Kennedy, 1994; Black et al., 1991; Furnham & Bochner, 1989). This section examines the social relationships of the ADS awardees, especially their experience on-award relating to co-nationals (CNs), host country nationals (HCNs) and third country nationals (TCNs). A positive relationship between marital status and cultural adjustment is reported in the scholarly literature (Chirkov et al., 2007; Caliguiri & Lazarova, 2002); however, for the purpose of examining CN relationships, this study has not examined spousal relationships[50] other than where this is linked more broadly to acculturation matters.

The awardees were asked about their experience of IC relations, since this area is linked to the study of socio-cultural adjustment. As indicated in the literature (see Chapter 3), findings are contested by scholars insofar as the relative advantages of different socio-cultural relationships and the implications for acculturation are concerned (Chapter 3, Section 3.3.4). Nevertheless the area of socio-cultural relations is seen to be of significant influence in terms

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[49] Two interviews were with returned awardees who had not met the PhD requirement but expressed their intention to complete at home.

[50] Demographic information on the respondents included the marital status of the awardees, but no interviews were conducted with spouses of awardees.

of shaping acculturation outcomes, including psycho-social support and mitigating against culture shock (Church, 1982; Cox, 2004).

Scholars are divided when it comes to assessing the role of CNs, HCNs and TCNs in shaping acculturation outcomes. Empirical studies are varied in terms of their findings and methodologies, but research has been distinguished by well-cited scholars from the IS (Ward & Kennedy, 1993; Furnham & Bochner, 1989) and the EM (Black et al., 1992) literature, each faction having conducted prolific research on cultural adjustment with respective cohorts. Furnham and Alibhai (1985) surmised interactional ties serve a series of separate functions for ISs, including the expression of cultural values, serving of instrumental functions, including academic support, and other social and recreational functions. To gain a further understanding of how the awardees experienced socio-cultural relationships on-Award and the implications for cultural adjustment, this section will examine their accounts of interacting with CNs, HCNs and TCNs.

5.5.4.1 Conationals (CNs)

A study of ISs in Melbourne (Rosenthal et al., 2007) found that Asian students mix more with those of similar cultural background and mix less with Australians than non-Asian students. Networks with Indonesian CNs, particularly ISs, are valued for assisting cultural learning and providing a common reference group to discuss matters of cultural adjustment. This insight contrasts with other scholars who have argued that extensive relationships with CNs inhibit cultural learning from HCNs about language, values and customs of the new culture (Church, 1982). “Same culture enclosures can be so engaging as to reduce cross-cultural contact and English immersion time” (Marginson et al., 2010:413).

Several ADS Informants (Pani, Darma and Harta) reported their perception was that ADS awardees mostly foster CN relationships. These observations concur with findings about the social connectedness of ISs in Australia (Kiley, 1999; Rosenthal et al., 2007). According to Kiley (1999:168), “students found it much easier to make friends with fellow nationals due to similar language, culture and religion and the provision of social organisations”. ADS

Informant, Pani, elaborated that this was for reasons of social support, language identity and religion. Pani's concern that host country relationships could be forfeited in the case of preferencing contact with CNs was shared by two academic informants (Darma, Harta). Scholars have also identified that close relationships with CNs can be at the expense of cultural learning from HCNs (Church, 1982):

> *Indonesians are their major support group. This gives them a sort of comfort zone and it's something that happens across disciplines. The chances are they will sacrifice their international relationships in favour of these Indonesian relationships, whereas if there are no other Indonesians in their field of study, they are forced to interact differently. It's also a linguistic thing as well and for Indonesia, specifically a religious aspect as well, because they get together at the mosque or the prayer room.* (Pani, ADS male Informant)

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> *These PhD students always find their community from the same ethnics. So Indonesians are going be based in with Indonesian colleagues who are also PhD students based in here. And if I go a little bit deeper, they also find their colleagues are almost the same, not just ethnically but also from the same religious background. That makes them really feel at home on a positive side. But on the other side it makes them a little bit less engaging with the Australian culture.* (Darma, ADS Informant)

Although these ADS Informants affirmed the importance of interacting with HCNs in terms of cultural adjustment, especially to assist cultural learning, many awardees reported their primary source of adjustment support came from CNs. In some cases, these CNs had gained enough experience of living and studying in Australia to be a resource for adjustment. This is quite conceivable, given some CNs demonstrate knowledge and experience of the host culture which can assist culture learning (Rizvi, 2005c; Wilson et al., 2013). For example, a strong diaspora can offer support and assist mobility issues for CNs (Rizvi, 2005c). Support

from CNs can also lead to a more positive adjustment because it can reduce expectation gaps (Pitts, 2009). A similar phenomenon was observed in the study of IS networks, whereby CNs were deemed to form a community of practice to disseminate information and experience of the host culture to newly arrived ISs (Montgomery & McDowell, 2009. These ideas challenge the findings of those scholars who argue that extensive relationships with CNs inhibit cultural learning (Church, 1982).

Mega's account of her social support networks in Australia agrees with the above observations, insofar as CNs with experience of acculturating in the host country can be a tremendous source of local knowledge. In Mega's case, friendships with Indonesian permanent residents in Australia and other Indonesians from her Church group assisted cultural adjustment:

> *"We have a lot of friends with PR*[51] *from Indonesia and also I blended in well with the church community. When we went to Australia for my PhD, I think that the main social network to help us adjust is the Indonesian church community, Indonesian student community and also my husband's network at work. This helped us to adjust for the second time.* (Mega, ADS2 female Alumni)

As foreshadowed in the literature on acculturation, many awardees were drawn to their CN network (Ward & Kennedy, 1994; Wilson et al., 2013), which accentuated functional, practical support (Waluyo, Langgeng, Fajar, Kartika, Bagus, Eka, Lombok Focus Group), such as assistance with housing and jobs. Research by Furnham and Bochner (1986) discerned that friendships with CNs were mainly for the purpose of rehearsing and expressing ethnic and cultural values, leaving secondary networks with HCNs to facilitate practical support related to academic and professional adjustment. The findings from this study partially support that assessment, with many awardees accentuating cultural ties and

[51] Permanent Residency status.

values with CNs, but highlighting the value of those interactions, in terms of functional and practical support, including study support.

In the main, Kartika seemed to emphasise that CN ties were to share cultural bonds, including food, dancing, singing and festivals, but this group was also a source of functional support, to share the student experience with others. Kartika's ties to Makassar (a capital city in the province of Sulawesi) were also the basis of her friendship bonds. According to Marginson et al. (2010:362), "it is essential to disaggregate the large IS populations in English-language countries not only by nationality but also by cultural background, language and religion". FGDs in Lombok also revealed that networks with CNs perform a social and practical function. For example, the FGD records that CNs provide a cultural forum to share food and meet together like a family, but the salience of the network is also very functional, even in financial and academic terms. The Lombok FGD noted that ISs were often well placed to academically assist other CNs, especially in the case of a shared academic interest. ISs seek to succeed personally and academically on sojourn, but at times can lack confidence and may be unwilling to seek guidance from outside their CN support groups (Constantine, Anderson, Berkel, Calwell & Utsey, 2005; Gonzales, 2010). The researcher has observed first-hand the demonstration and maintenance of Indonesian cultural ties in Australia amongst families of ISs, including the camaraderie within this community who share common academic ties and provide practical support to each other:

> *Our usual network was with the Muslim Indonesian student group. I also connect with students from Makassar, so if I feel homesick or want nice Indonesian food we get together at one another's house to cook and talk. I have a good friend here from Bandung, and her mother is from Makassar and we are both involved with the Makassar Student Association. I think this group helps a lot. For example, when my husband was looking for a job, we got information from the other Indonesian students.* (Kartika, ADS 2 female Alumni)

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> *We still fit with our Indonesian community together. We have an organisation called PPIA (Indonesian Student Association of Australia), so we keep together. We share food at barbeques together and have regular monthly meetings and family gatherings because we feel we are family. In Indonesia we call it 'arisan[52]', which is when you put a small amount of money together and then whoever needs the money can use it first and then next time you have to use the money collectively, together. In terms of academic, some people with the similar academic background will help each other.* (Lombok Focus Group)

Langgeng was concerned that Indonesians represent a minority group in Australia and felt that he could find security from within his Indonesian Muslim network. The value of social networks to counter perceived discrimination, including feelings of inferiority is also reported in two studies that explored issues of IS acculturation and discrimination (Lee & Rice, 2007; Smith & Khawaja, 2011):

> *Our main support is from other Indonesians because we feel that we are in the same condition and we are far away from our home. We share the similar or the same culture so it is easy to interact with other Indonesians in Australia. Because we feel like a minority group in Australia, we have to maintain good relationships with other Indonesians, just in case there is a problem.* (Langgeng, ADS2 male Alumni)

Religion forms an important part of the framework of Indonesian culture and provides for social connectedness at a deeper cultural level. An Australian study by Rosenthal et al. (2007:78) found that "Indonesian students have the highest ratings on social mixing through the practice of religion". Once again, the researcher has observed first-hand Indonesian

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[52] An 'arisan' is a form of Rotating Savings and Credit Association in Indonesian culture, a form of Microfinance.

Muslim students daily practice of prayer, attending mosque, the prohibition on alcohol, food restrictions and times of fasting. This provides scope for a common practice of religion and is possibly an effective coping strategy to deal with adjustment issues (Gonzales, 2010; Ward, 2013). It is argued that religion can impact positively in terms of acculturation by offering protection in terms of psychological wellbeing and in the case of Muslims offer 'tightness' that can regulate social behaviour (Ward, 2013). ADS Informants (Darma and Ken) emphasised this point, identifying Islam as a common faith that binds most Indonesians and gives them stability; Ken emphasised Islam is a faith that holds Indonesians together, whether they are at home or in Australia:

> *I think if you're dealing with Muslims, the Islamic faith is the thing that holds them together. It doesn't matter whether you're in Jakarta or Melbourne, if you're a Muslim your faith gives you a great deal of stability. It's consistent and I don't think you can underestimate the importance of Islam, in the way in which these people deal with the changes in their lives. Also around 95 per cent of the population in Indonesia is Muslim.* (Ken, ADS male Informant)

Other identity dynamics can influence socio-cultural patterns with CNs, but in a negative way. Bima, a gay awardee, was careful to conceal his sexual identity from compatriots in Australia because he believed Indonesians were not accepting of homosexuality. He shared his difficulties in keeping this secret and chose to only retain superficial relations with CNs, who he described as 'nosey':

> *"I really don't have friends from Indonesia because I don't want any of them to know I'm gay. Being on the PhD program was the first time I decided to 'come out' and as a consequence I didn't get too close to my Indonesian friends because they might find out. I don't want them to get to know me that closely because Indonesians are 'nosey'. So I fitted in with them but only on the surface and tried to keep my distance.* (Bima, ADS male Alumni)

A subsequent interview with another awardee, Langgeng, seems to reinforce Bima's concerns about needing to conceal his sexual identity for fear of retribution from other Indonesians. Langgeng shared that his most stressful time in Australia was seeing two men kissing in the park. His shock and subsequent disclosure to his family and wider Indonesian circle seem to confirm that Bima's concern about homophobia was not unfounded. Langgeng's reaction was most likely in keeping with Indonesian social and cultural mores about homosexuality and the values discrepancy may have caused him discomfort. "When interacting with new cultures, clashes may become apparent if there are deviations in cultural practices or behavioural modes and values which do not correspond to the accepted codes of that individual's country" (Patron, 2006:108):

> *My most stressful experience in Australia was when I went to the campus park and there are two guys, I mean 'man-and-man' kissing. That made me feel a little bit stressed. I tried not to see that and when my family came to Australia, I told them not to come across that park. I was morally shocked and told other Indonesians what I saw.* (Langgeng, ADS2 male)

The issue of privacy and keeping distance from CNs was also raised by Georgie. Similar to Bima, Georgie maintained her personal space away from other CNs. She regarded her relationship with an Australian as private business. Georgie was keen to maintain her privacy and independence from other Indonesians and felt she could improve her English by maintaining separation. Even in spite of her efforts to maintain privacy, CNs were quick to comment about her Australian boyfriend. Although she somehow managed to keep smiling, Georgie shared that she was really offended by her CNs' comments and found them interfering:

> *I prefer to stay in the place where there not many Indonesians. I did not like to hang around with Indonesians because I know what will happen. It's too cosy and I won't have any independence. Sometimes we need our own time and my business is my business. Even when I had a boyfriend, I never told them. I don't know how but when I attended a gathering everybody*

> *knew about my boyfriend and especially that I lived together with him. Then they would tell me that I don't need an AusAID scholarship because I had an Australian boyfriend and I don't have to spend much money. It was really offensive but I just smiled. So I did not really like to hang out with them. I also needed to improve my English, during the PhD program and in the Indonesian community people tend to speak Indonesian and I would be considered arrogant if I spoke to them in English.* (Georgie, ADS2 female Alumni)

Overall, these findings provide accounts from those awardees whose preference was to retain Indonesians as their primary friendship and support group, although some maintained separation from CNs for reasons of privacy. The accounts show that Indonesian CNs are an effective support functionally for the practice and maintenance of cultural, religious and academic ties. This is supportive of the findings from Furnham and Alibhai's (1985), insofar as CNs support emotional and functional needs, including those related to academic performance.

5.5.4.2 Host Country Nationals (HCNs)

Findings show that awardees foster ties with HCNs on-Award, and in most cases this has been deliberate in terms of enhancing cultural learning or for other instrumental means. It is argued that strong identification with HCNs will lead to better socio-cultural adjustment (Searle & Ward, 1990; Ward & Kennedy, 1994; Wilson et al., 2013), whereas association with CNs leads to psychological wellbeing (Ward & Rana-Deuba, 2000). According to Wilson et al. (2013), interactions with HCNs offer the most reliable means for cultural learning, whereby sojourners can acquire and improve IC competence to perform across cultures. HCNs are well placed to provide both positive as well as negative feedback to sojourners, enabling them to modify their behaviour to meet the demands of a new cultural context. Such contact provides the opportunity for instrumental support, including access to information pertaining to the host culture and academic support functions (Furnham & Alibhai, 1985).

For some awardees (Bagus, Melati, Galang), building up and maintaining a social support group comprising of HCNs was instrumental, particularly in terms of their academic adjustment outcomes. Furnham and Alibhai's (1985) study of functional networks of foreign students found that friendships with HCNs were mostly for reasons of functionality. For example, Bagus deliberately sustained a number of relationships with academic professors who were able to guide him with his research project:

> *I maintain relationships with Professors from Australia and these friendships really continue to inspire me to study better and get new information about study and research.* (Bagus, ADS3 male completing awardee)

Bagus also engaged with other Australians, on a more IC and less functional basis, by attending local sporting events. Sporting culture as for other countries is also embraced in Australia. Bagus welcomed an overture to attend a football game and develop new friendships outside the university. He reported that, since he was quite open-minded, he found it easy to welcome new friendships. According to the EM and IS literature (Leong, 2007; Yakunina, Weigold, Weigold, Hercegovac & Elsayed, 2012; Awais Bhatti, Mohamed Battour, Rageh Ismail & Pandiyan Sundram, 2014), personality variables, such as open-mindedness, are predictors of effective socio-cultural adjustment:

> *I'm open-minded, so it's easy to welcome anybody. Regularly I go to Monash library and I met lots of Australian students doing Indonesian studies, and they sometimes invite me to go to MCG*[53] *or to watch cricket or AFL*[54]*. That really makes me feel like I'm part of the culture here. Now I watch AFL regularly. It's very Australian going to the football and I think*

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[53] Melbourne Cricket Ground (MCG).

[54] Australian Rules Football (AFL).

> *that if you are really Australian, you should support one of the teams, so I put a Collingwood sticker on my car.* (Bagus, ADS3 male completing awardee)

Awardees befriend HCNs for different reasons. Melati was initially hesitant to befriend HCNs on-Award, but on campus, at the university, she was able to establish friendships with Australians and she believed this improved her English as well as learning about the host culture, two aspects linked to the achievement of her PhD studies. In Mega's case, whilst she maintained connections with CNs in Australia, including IS and those who had obtained permanent residency (PR), she also spoke of several friendships with Australians:

> *Sometimes I feel a bit hesitant to make friends with them [Australians] but then, along the way we meet often, have discussions and class. We became closer and then I don't have such a problem with being friends with them. I want to maintain my English and I want to have a new experience and learn about other cultures as well. If I just dwell on friendships with Indonesians, it won't help me to learn another culture, so I think having a balance of friends from Australia and Indonesia is good* (Melati, ADS2 female Alumni)

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> *At university we have a lot of international student friends, but we also have several friends from Australia, real Australians who are not from other countries, so we made a lot of good friends. Australians are really nice from my point of view. I have close friendships with Australians and I find them open and happy to be friends.* (Mega, ADS2 female Alumni).

Mega's account of her Australian friendships appears to be contrary to other findings in the literature on IS adjustment that documents an unmet desire for ISs to form social connections with HCNs (Kiley, 1999; Pritchard & Skinner, 2002; McGrath & Butcher, 2004; Cushner & Karim, 2004; Pakoa, 2005; Patron, 2006; Sawir et al., 2008; Shaw, 2014; Gribble, 2014.

Some awardees (Netro, Waluyo, Argo) recounted that the research nature of the doctoral program made it difficult to access HCNs on campus. In the case of post-graduate study, this is possibly exacerbated because Australians tend to spend less time on campus than ISs (Hedges, 2003), which is likely to enhance feelings of isolation between HCNs and awardees (Gholamrezaei, 1995). Waluyo's account of unrequited friendships with Australians on campus somewhat corroborates these findings, insofar as less engagement with HCNs is inevitable in a research setting. According to Marginson et al. (2010), doctoral students without family members in Australia can find themselves isolated because their study program has minimal requirements to attend class with other students. Although Waluyo reports he had adjusted well to living in Australia, it seems from his account that a successful IC adjustment would also extend to the attainment of friendships with Australians. Waluyo seemed to have tried hard to befriend Australians, but he felt these overtures of friendship were rebuffed:

> *I want to find Australians friends but I think it's too difficult. I don't know any because I don't attend class and just do research. master's degree students join a class and have friends, but PhD students are just alone. The more I want to be friends with them the more they don't want to be friends. Maybe they feel we are too intrusive. Even though I have adjusted well to life here [in Australia] if I ask myself whether I have made a lot of friends with Australians, I would say I'm not successful.* (Waluyo, ADS2 male completing awardee)

A further insight into the issue of forming friendships with HCNs that is not adequately raised in the literature is the possibility that locals could feel snubbed or ignored by international sojourners who, for cultural or other reasons, may be reluctant to engage with HCNs. For example, Langgeng has already shared that around the time of 9/11, he avoided social engagement with Australians outside the university campus. He also shared that he avoided Australian social events, because as a practising Muslim he felt compromised around alcohol, particularly on a Friday, which is prayer day for Muslims. Australian drinking culture also presented a social barrier in a study of Indonesian students sojourning in New

Zealand (Everts & Sodjakusumah, 1996). When a primary cultural value discrepancy occurs, such as the drinking of alcohol, a separation strategy is predicted (Wang & Hannes, 2014). ADS Informant, Malcolm, also shared his concerns about the Australian drinking culture:

> *To fit in with Australians, it is a little bit difficult, because maybe Australia is their home and our culture is also a little bit different. For example, when they [Australians] asked me to be involved in their swimming group, it was difficult because they gather on Friday afternoons and have a drink. So this is a little difficult for me to get in that condition.* (Langgeng, ADS2 male Alumni)

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> *One of the things that concerns me a bit, with students going to Australia, is the culture of alcohol in Australia. I think this is a very big difference between societies and I think in Australia it seems to be getting worse. The more I stay out of Australia, and then go home, the more I notice, it's so pervasive in Australia. I often think how on earth Indonesians, in a predominantly non-drinking society, cope with this.* (Malcolm, ADS male Informant)

In contrast, Satya, another practising ADS Muslim awardee was far more open to Australian social conventions, but only insofar as he did not compromise his own values, as a practising Muslim. Satya's attendance at Australian social events demonstrated his willingness to integrate (Berry, 2002) with HCNs and in fact he was even quite critical of his compatriots who chose separatism as an adjustment strategy (Berry, 2002). Satya was keen to expose his family to new IC ideas but in doing so felt he no longer fitted well with some of his more traditional Indonesian friends:

> *As Muslims we usually do not come to a party that serves alcohol, but we always said to our Australian friends that we are Muslim and we do not eat pork, and we do not consume alcohol, so that they can provide food and*

> *drink that is not prohibited for Muslims. Our Muslim-Indonesian friends cannot accept that idea, so I found it difficult to fit in with my Indonesian friends because I identify myself and my family as quite different from them. They really like to stay in their comfort zone and my family and I didn't like that idea, because if we decided to go to Australia then we have to be exposed to how Australians live.* (Satya, ADS2 male Alumni)

Aspects of friendship patterns have been the subject of many acculturation studies (Parker et al., 1993; Furnham & Alibhai, 1985; Poyrazli et al., 2006; Hotta & Ting-Toomey, 2013), including studies of ISs. Networking with HCNs in some cases was easily facilitated by virtue of family networks, particularly those awardees with spouses and/or young families actively engaging with HCNs (Satya, Harto, Langgeng, Ari, Cahaya, Harto). Partners of expatriates are well placed to initiate adjustment with HCNs because of their day-to-day interactions. According to Haslberger, (2015:58), "many 'school gate' acquaintances have become good friends helping the partner and their children, and through them the expatriate, to integrate into the local community". In Harto's case, the development of friendships that he and his wife shared with Australians was generated by his wife's work connections in Australia. Whilst the links between spouse and expatriate adjustment are well established in the EM literature (Black & Stephens, 1989; Parker & McEvoy, 1993; Caliguiri & Lazarova, 2002; Lazarova et al., 2010; McNulty, 2012), findings that examine the building of relationships with HCNs through children are not apparent from either the EM or IS literature. Yet in several cases (Langgeng, Ari, Cahaya) awardees reported that relationships with HCNs were established through their children. For example, Ari became friends with the parents of his son, and as a result had the opportunity to engage with HCNs at social events:

> *My son has a best friend who is Australian and I am friends with the parents. Sometimes the parents invite me to have lunch or to their son's birthday. My wife has very good communications and relations with other Australians.* (Ari, ADS2 male Alumni)

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> *Because my wife is working in Australia we developed friendships with many Australians. For example, our friendship with an Australian family who is close to us started with my wife. My wife's closest friends would be Australian.* (Harto, ADS2 male completing awardee)

As Darma previously observed, sharing the same religious background helped awardees to feel at home in Australia. Whilst the predominant religion in Indonesia is overwhelmingly Islam, other religions, including Hinduism, Buddhism and Christianity, are widely practiced. The Church community provided a connection to Australians and offered an important friendship group for practicing Christian awardees (Dumadi, Elok, Bima). The Church community enabled initial friendships with HCNs soon after arriving in Australia for two practicing Christian awardees, neither of who had studied previously in Australia:

> *Our main friendship group was not Indonesian in the beginning but later we got to know the Indonesian community, including many students as well. The first step was the friendship with people in the church. For me it's the community from the church that provided social support to help us adjust.* (Dumadi, ADS1 male Alumni)

Bima's link with a Church group was crucial for his cultural adjustment, because it addressed both his spiritual needs and a desire to belong within a community. Initially singing in the choir provided him with a surrogate church 'family'. He later joined a 'gay' Church group where he felt he could be more open about his sexual orientation and feel a sense of belonging:

> *My social life with other Australians are mainly at the Church because I'm a practising Christian. When I got to Australia I was very involved with singing in the church choir which became my family, away from home. Six months into my PhD, I started involving myself in a gay Church group and*

that's when I made friends with other Australians. I'm still involved in this group and I feel like I belong there, actually. (Bima, ADS2 male awardee)

This account of how awardees experienced relationships with HCNs highlights the significance of functional as well as meaningful and genuine friendships with HCNs that can also facilitate cultural and academic adjustment and the provision of culture-learning opportunities for this cohort of doctoral students.

5.5.4.3 Third Country Nationals (TCNs)

Relationships between sojourners and third country nationals (TCNs) are relatively under-researched in the acculturation literature, compared to the analysis of home-favoured or host-favoured relations (Kashima & Loh, 2006). Yet for some scholars it is the ties between sojourners and TCNs, rather than the networks with either CNs or HCNs that are of greater influence in terms of the acculturation process (Kashima & Loh, 2006; Montgomery & McDowell, 2009; Froese, 2012). The aim of this section is to examine the relationships of ADS awardees with TCNS and the nature of these ties in terms of cultural adjustment.

There is evidence that ADS awardees form close bonds with TCN students while on-award (Furnham & Alibhai, 1985). A further study of academic expatriates finds TCNs comprised a social preference for foreign professors, assigned as expatriate academics to work in Korean universities. Although CNs seem to offer the primary social network for most ADS awardees, ADS Informant, Malcolm, observed that CNs and TCNs together constitute the main friendship groups for awardees . Malcolm noted that awardees seem to have nothing in common with Australians, yet share a similar experience with TCN students, as well as their compatriots:

I think one of the issues that Indonesian or international students have is that they have nothing in common to talk about with Australians when they get there. This is why all of the research shows that their main friends are other international students [including Indonesian]. When we think about this, it is absolutely obvious. They have all been through a similar

> *experience, so they get to Australia and they can talk about their accommodation, how they are coping with the food, how they cope with Australians. It's something that they have to talk about together. It's very hard to initiate conversation with Australians. I think there's a real gulf there, and I think universities work hard to bridge it, with the ubiquitous sausage sizzle, but it needs something more.* (Malcolm, ADS male Informant)

As emphasised by Malcolm, friendship ties with TCNs are linked by similarities, particularly in the case where groups share similar conditions (Tajfel, 1982; Kashima & Loh, 2006). Findings from the Kiley (1999) study also showed that Indonesian students strategically rely on friends, who tend to be other Asian students and were almost never local Australian students. Wira found Australians have their own friendship groups and it was easy to get on with and find support from TCNs who shared the same IC experience:

> *I don't really have that many friends from Australia and I don't know why. I do have friends from other countries. Maybe people from other countries feel the same with us. They don't live here, so it's easier to be close with them. And usually with Australians they have their own groups. Study groups usually work for us because the participants usually come from foreign countries. It's different to study here and usually they teach you to do this and that and you have to do it by yourself. So when we face something like this, it's really helpful if we can get on with another person with the same experience.* (Wira, ADS2 male Alumni)

Similarly, Satya fitted in well with TCNs, especially those from developing countries. He found similar interests emerged amongst this network in terms of using the outcome of research for the development of their respective countries. In terms of the aims of the ADS program there is a focus on soft diplomacy and the building of networks between Indonesia and Australia, so it was interesting to learn that the value of soft diplomacy can also be extended amongst other students with similar aims:

> *I have a study group starting from the first semester in my PhD with participants from Vietnam, China, Thailand. So I fitted well with them because I think we share a similar experience coming from the emerging countries which is different compared to Australia. We also have the similar interest in developing our country with our research, so I fit well with them.* (Satya, ADS2 male Alumni)

TCN students form a significant and IC community in a university setting and this is easily observed, as well as confirmed by several awardees' (Wibawa, Galang, Banyu) interviews. Newcomers of different cultural backgrounds help each other to adjust in a multi-cultural setting (Kashima & Loh, 2006) and can form a strong international 'community of practice' that supports academic achievement as well as IC learning (Montgomery & McDowell, 2009). Moreover, the strength of this 'community of practice' provides for a more positive and active IS experience and challenges the view that ISs optimise their adjustment through HCN networks. In the interests of learning about international culture, Wibawa elected not to mingle with CNs, choosing instead to harvest his friendships amongst TCN students. Similarly, Galang chose not to mix with Indonesians on-Award, mainly to improve his English but also to internationalise his friendship circles. Banyu's focus was to learn about food and culture by attending international dinners with TCN doctoral students:

> *I don't like to mingle with Indonesians in Australia. Most of my friends come from other countries like Sri Lanka, India, Thailand, Malaysia, Singapore and of course Australia. I think if you want to learn the culture you should try to merge with the community and my intention at that time was to learn about international culture. I thought by making a lot of international student friends that I would encounter more foreign, international experience because I like to learn about the culture of people from other Asian countries.* (Wibawa, ADS2 male Alumni*)*

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I actually try to avoid Indonesians because I go to study and live in Australia, so the way of thinking, the way of life should be Australian. I want to taste the benefit of being in Australia and at a practical level I want to improve my English and if I associate on a daily basis with my Indonesian fellows then I will lose that chance, so I try to avoid them, as far is possible. I have quite a lot of friends from Australia and I have close friends from Germany, India, Japan, Namibia, Laos. (Galang, ADS2 Alumni)

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I had a very nice bunch of PhD colleagues, both Australian and international at my school. It's just amazing, we get along really well, we actually arrange to have an international dinner every six weeks. Each of us in turn host it by choosing a restaurant from our country and then selecting the menu. During that dinner we will explain about the food, about the culture, about everything, so we learn so much about each other's culture and tradition which is really good. I have to say that was the highlight of my social life on campus. (Banyu, ADS2 male Alumni)

In the study by Kashima and Loh on IS networks (2006), CNs with experience of living in the host country were found to be instrumental, in terms of culture-learning. To date, the potential for TCNs to contribute in a similar way has been overlooked in the acculturation literature, in spite of TCNs being well placed to facilitate culture-learning, given their IC ties to other international sojourners and insights from their own experience of cultural and academic adjustment. Further research on the role of TCNs is warranted to fill a current gap in the acculturation literature.

Religion forms a further dimension in which ties with TCNs provides awardees with further opportunities to identify with groups that share similar conditions. In previous sections, several awardees have noted these connections with good and bad reviews. For example, TCN church group members have supported adjustment for some awardees (Dumadi, Mega),

whereas concerns were expressed from other awardees (Ardhi, Ndari, Bagus) regarding TCN Muslim groups, particularly the more conservative element.

This section has presented findings from the awardees about their relationships with TCNs. With the exception of religious groups, the composition of TCNs is predominantly comprised of students who share together a common need related to academic adjustment. Further research in this area would be desirable to address the current gap in the literature, especially with respect to further understand the scope for TCNs who have settled in a host country to assist other newly arrived sojourners, including ISs, EMs.

5.5.4.4 Interaction Adjustment – Conclusions

The above findings illustrate the complexity of the interaction adjustment and the different ways relationships are formed and maintained on-Award, including those with CNs, HCNs and TCNs. The findings concur with key scholars (Church, 1982; Furnham & Alibhai, 1985; Ward & Searle, 1990; Black et al., 1991) insofar as interaction adjustment forms an important psycho-social support function during the sojourn, but the findings show that the adjustment endeavour is approached and optimised in different ways. The findings emphasise the nature of interaction adjustment is often functional and likely to involve interactions with other ISs who share similar academic experiences and personal goals (Furnham & Alibhai, 1985).

Findings illustrate ties with HCNs on-award which is mainly for the purpose of enhancing culture-learning (Searle & Ward, 1990; Ward & Kennedy, 1994; Wilson, et al., 2013). Whereas ties to CNs are found to constitute the predominant friendships for most awardees, bonds together with CNs and TCNs, especially those with experience living in the host country, were highly valued, in terms of the acculturation process. Religious affiliations were found to be significant for adjustment but with varied and mixed results. The theme of culture-learning (Bochner, 1986; Black & Mendenhall, 1991) is strong through the findings on social relationships and adjustment and demonstrates that relationships are often formed around functional needs, such as English language proficiency, practical support and other

recreational and social aims. An important area for further research is the study of cultural adjustment and TCNs.

5.5.5 On-Award acculturation experience - Conclusions

This substantive section has reviewed the on-Award experience of acculturation, commencing with the initial cultural adjustment phase and considered issues of culture shock that has underscored the relationship between stress, coping and personal development outcomes (Kim, 2003) for the awardees. Accounts from awardees examine both the general and academic experience of cultural adjustment, examining family and casual work adjustment. Concerns about discrimination, mostly from either CNs or TCNs were raised. Related to academic success, but also to general as well as interaction adjustment, is the challenge to become proficient in English. Engagement with supervisors showed mixed but generally positive outcomes that highlight the importance of this relationship for international doctoral students. Finally, this section has examined the experience of interaction adjustment to assess how socio-cultural adjustment is linked variously to ties between CNs, HCNs and TCNs. Findings highlight that awardees have opted for different approaches in terms of their adjustment strategies (Berry, 2002).

5.6 Intercultural Identity Change

The IC literature depicts identity change in various ways. Cultural identity changes categories people relative to others and comes to the fore when engaging with another culture (Rizvi, 2008; Storti, 2007). Given the diversity of Indonesian culture, both in the individual and group sense, it is not possible to generalise about culture. The focus on identity change is mostly reserved for discussion in the following chapter on reentry, as it was only a focus of discussion with completed ADS awardees. Notwithstanding this, scope for open-ended discussions, allowed for the eliciting of initial ideas about IC identity change, mostly in consultation with ADS informants.

The different accounts from Informants (Sanjaya, Darma), underscore the alignment with home country or host country identity (Berry, 2002). Sanjaya, who has worked closely with

many Indonesian ISs and awardees claims awardees tend to fall into two categories – those who identity with their home culture and those who are open to the host and other cultures. Sanjaya claimed that those awardees, who are less rigid in their beliefs, are the ones who will ultimately be more accepting and open to other cultures. His view is consistent with Berry's (2002) acculturation strategies in terms of alignment with home or host country orientation. Sanjaya reflected on the nature of becoming IC, linked to traits such as open-mindedness and tolerance of difference:

> *I would like to divide the awardees into two different kinds of groups. First are the ones who have been relentless in maintaining their cultural and religious beliefs and do not want to assimilate or accept differences in terms of cultural beliefs or perspectives. They normally have no kind of culture shock when they come here or when they go back to Indonesia because what they believe is right. So they come to Australia and it doesn't really change their attitude and then they go back to Indonesia and it doesn't really change their attitude either. On the other hand, are those who don't have such strong, fundamentalist beliefs, especially religious beliefs. They are more open minded and then when they come to Australia, they find so many differences and then change slightly, a bit. They come here with a more open-minded way of thinking or perspective and would like to embrace the differences that come from other cultures and then they express it by interacting with them [host nationals] and making friends with them, hanging out with them, watching movies together watching sports or playing sports together. When these people go back to Indonesia, I think they are the ones who become more adaptable and flexible. They have their beliefs but are more accepting of other's beliefs, so they don't have that prejudice or hatred towards people from different cultures or towards people from different religions.* (Sanjaya, ADS Informant)

ADS Informant, Darma, has observed changes over time. Unlike Sanjaya, he claims awardees are more likely to adopt a separatist approach. Darma's claim is that those who

interact with HCNs do so from a less authentic motivation, whilst at a deeper level choosing to maintain CN networks:

> *In general I do not see significant changes in terms of their attitude and the way they behave and the customs. Well, perhaps, the only thing is of course I see that their English is improved. But in terms of their cultural element in their life, I don't see much changes and I guess this is because these PhD students, they always found community from the same ethnics. If I go a little bit deeper, they also find their colleagues are almost the same not just ethnically but also from religious background. That makes them really feel at home, on the positive side. But on the other side it makes them a little bit less engaging with the Australian culture. So I saw that they tried to go out and mingle with other people, but then that's only for a socialization purpose, but internally and privately, if I can comment, they just do what they do in Indonesia, of course in a different situation, but their lifestyle and their habits and ritual, if I can use that word are the same. If I can say, this 'it is the failure to assimilate to the Australian culture, because they always find a home here. They always find their home community. And they always come back to this home community.* (Darma, ADS male Informant)

Notwithstanding Darma's claim, reports on the interactions of awardees, along with Sanjaya's previous reflection, raises the possibility of an emerging IC identity for many of the doctoral awardees who attend the ADS program in Australia. The accounts from Sanjaya and Darma, whilst different in orientation, also concur with Berry's, (2002; 2009) typologies, insofar as the home or host favoured distinction.

5.7 Acculturation – Summary of findings and concluding comments

In response to the research questions pertaining to the acculturation phase of the sojourn and how this is experienced by the ADS doctoral awardees, this chapter has reviewed the on-

Award experience and considered key factors that were found to influence adjustment (RQ1 – What are the salient factors that can influence the on-Award acculturation experience of the ADS PhD awardees?). The chapter is informed in close reference to the IS, EM and IC literature to explore themes related to the acculturation experience of the awardees. Findings also identify program interventions that can assist on-Award acculturation (RQ2 – What program interventions can assist the Indonesian PhD awardees to acculturate effectively?).

The finding on adjustment motivation underscores deeper motivations with respect to completing the doctoral award in Australia. Whilst motivation is also linked to family influence and financial gain, the findings contend that advancing their career by attaining a doctoral qualification in an English-speaking country is the main driver for completing the ADS program. In addition, the lack of demonstrated development-related motivation challenges the authenticity of the current ADS selection process (Furnham & Bochner, 1989), based on the program weighting for development outcomes.

The study finds ADS awardees show agency, in setting and achieving their educational and personal goals (Gezentsvey, et al., 2008; Wilson, et al., 2013; Marginson, 2014; Soong et al, 2015), especially to overcome the array of adjustment challenges, drawing on their inner strength and cultural resilience.

This chapter has reflected on the anticipatory nature of the award, and findings concur with scholars (Black, et al., 1991) that the advantage held by these awardees relate to their previous experience of study abroad, and that corresponded with an accurate expectation of general and academic adjustment in Australia. Accounts confirm that, in the main, the expectations of awardees were generally met, and in some case even positively violated, which corresponds with a positive adjustment experience. Coupled with this, and consistent with theories of culture-learning, is the focus on preparing ADS awardees, mainly in pre-departure forums and in consultation with peers, usually those with an IC orientation, as a result of their own study abroad experience.

Previous study experience, coupled with preparation was found to assist awardees to adjust effectively in the initial phase of their sojourn. Social support from other Indonesians and access to support from the Indonesian Australian Association were found to assist and mitigate against culture shock during this time.

Examining the on-Award experience of cultural adjustment, the study finds that adjustment challenges pertain to both general and academic adjustment, whilst the catalyst for stress can provide the momentum for personal growth (Kim, 2003). General aspects of adjustment highlight the importance of family accompaniment, including spousal support. Casual work opportunities were linked to adjustment success. Empirical findings linking the experience of working in Australia to adjustment can support initiatives to review work and immigration policies in the interests of bolstering opportunities for ISs to gain course-related work experience on-Award. Discrimination issues were not linked with host nationals, and a new area of research includes the incidence of discrimination between CNs and TCNs, especially in the case of differing views across Muslim groups.

Academic adjustment issues, related to English language and cultural learning differences, are a focus of the adjustment experience, and feature the supervisor relationship, which is a crucial interaction for many awardees, given the nature of the doctoral award program. A number of cases emphasised the instrumental role of the supervisor, both in a personal and professional capacity, but underscoring the importance of empowering awardees (Soong et al., 2015) to emerge from the program as competent and independent researchers (Gardner, 2008).

Findings on interaction adjustment were varied, but for most awardees, their primary means of support is rendered by either CNs or a combination of CN and TCN support, especially in the case where these supports may be well placed to offer culture-learning (Furnham & Bochner, 1989) opportunities, and share common adjustment experiences. This is not to discount the adjustment interaction with HCNs, which for some awardees also proved to offer a means of learning about the host culture and ways to assimilate to general and academic adjustment demands. Findings link well to other empirical studies of ISs in

Australia (Rosenthal et al, 2007), including more specific research on Indonesian students (Kiley, 1999). Social relations with TCNs showed positive acculturation outcomes and are flagged as an important area for further research. To date, this research is lacking in both the EM and IS strategies of adjustment, including typologies of cultural identity outlined by Berry (2005) examined IC identity change, with two informants concurring that identity typologies fall in two ‘camps’, those that are host favoured and those that are home favoured. The subject for IC identity change is taken up further in the following chapter on re-acculturation (Section 6.5.3).

The following chapter examines the re-acculturation experience of ADS Alumni, as they anticipate and prepare to return. In addition the chapter considers aspects of their post-Award general, work place re-adjustment, along with changes to their identities, in both a general sense and as repatriated academics, most of whom returned to Indonesian teaching and research institutes.

Chapter Six:

Re-acculturation

Chapter 6 – Re-acculturation

6.1 Re-acculturation Findings - Introduction

Having reported findings relating to awardees' acculturation experience whilst on-Award in Australia, this chapter reports on their experience of reentry at the completion of the award program. In this study, all but two of the awardees completed studies in Australia and returned to Indonesia to complete the mandatory two-year return period. The specifics of the return period varied for each awardee at the time of interview and Chapter 4, Section 4.6.5.2 shows this ranges from less than one year to eight years. Whilst analysis of gender was not the primary focus of this study, data were disaggregated according to the sex of the awardee, to identify further nuanced understanding of re-acculturation issues that may accord with gender.

The terms re-acculturation, repatriation or reentry adjustment are used interchangeably in this study. As previously stated, re-acculturation is understood as inter-dependent with the initial acculturation phase of the sojourn and forms part of an overall cultural adjustment framework (Martin, 1986; Sussman, 2002; Steyn & Grant, 2007). Whilst there are similarities to acculturation, reentry adjustment is a significantly different phenomenon and therefore warrants separate study (Black et al., 1992). Re-acculturation encompasses the repatriation process and the transition to one's home culture following a sojourn abroad (Martin, 1984). In this study the focus on re-acculturation takes account of the general, professional and inter-personal relationship dynamics of the process, recalling that the ADS program is premised on the awardee's resumption of private, public and inter-cultural lives. Key thematic areas examined in this chapter arise inductively from the data but with connections to the extant literature and the conceptual model presented in Chapter 3.

Repatriation is regarded as a significantly under-researched dimension of cultural adjustment (Black et al., 1992; Sussman, 2002; Osman-Gani & Hyder, 2008). This chapter also aims to extend the IS, EM and IC literature, broadening these respective research fields with context-specific findings that take account of re-adjustment challenges and interventions to assist

repatriation. In addition, the study findings play an integral role in confirming the way in which key themes used to build the cultural adjustment framework (CAF) are well tailored to elucidate understanding of cultural adjustment for this specific cohort of knowledge workers.

The aim of the chapter is to interpret findings related to re-acculturation, since an explicit requirement of the ADS program is for the awardees who have met the PhD requirement as knowledge workers to return home. According to AusAID's *Guide to Re-integration* (2011a: 5), "most desired development or foreign policy outcomes of scholarships can only begin to be achieved after return". There are two research questions that are answered in this chapter and resonate with the questions from the previous chapter, once again highlighting that acculturation and re-acculturation processes are inter-dependent (Sussman, 2002; Ovrebo, 2009). Each of the following research questions is linked to the primary research question: How is cultural adjustment experienced by Indonesian PhD awardees of an Australian aid-funded program?

i. What are the salient factors that can influence the post-Award re-acculturation experience of the ADS PhD awardees?

ii. What program interventions can assist the post-Award re-acculturation experience of the ADS PhD awardees?

The chapter opens with a short review of the scholarly literature on re-acculturation (Section 6.2), initially discussed in Chapter 3, and foreshadows relevant theories and concepts that appear in the CAF as themes used to explain the cultural re-adjustment experience of returned sojourners. Section 6.3 examines the factors that motivated these knowledge workers to return home. Section 6.4 considers expectations of and preparations for repatriation. Section 6.5 explores the post-Award experience of returned awardees and elaborates on the initial repatriation phase, including accounts of reverse culture shock, adjustment experiences of a general and professional nature, including socio-cultural relations and cultural identity change, incorporative of an emerging academic identity. Section 6.5.3 and 6.5.5 identifies cultural identity issues encountered post-Award and the concluding Section 7.7 returns to the aims of the chapter and reviews the overall findings that

respond to the constituent research questions relating to the re-acculturation phase of the sojourn. This final section also highlights contributions to the existing scholarly literature on cultural adjustment and reentry.

6.2 Re-Acculturation - Synthesis from the Literature

The literature on re-acculturation is addressed in Chapter 3, Section 3.4 and is relatively under-researched, compared to that of acculturation (Osman-Gani & Hyder, 2008). The literature review illustrates the psychological and socio-cultural (Yang et al., 2006; Ward & Rana-Deuba, 1999) nature of re-acculturation that gives rise to behavioural, attitudinal and values change as depicted in both the EM literature (Church, 1982; Black et al., 1991) and the IS literature (Rogers & Ward, 1993; Martin et al., 1995) focusing on repatriation. The literature affirms that re-acculturation is multi-faceted (Andreason & Kineer, 2005), affected by multiple variables and incorporates general, professional and relational challenges that sometimes occur simultaneously (McNair, 2014).

As noted by Martin (1984), similarities between acculturation and re-acculturation are mirrored in the scholarly literature. Both phases focus on cultural adjustment and include similar aspects. Such aspects include motivation and reentry (Andreason & Kineer, 2005; Lazarova & Tarique, 2005; Valk et al., 2014), anticipatory adjustment (Gullahorn & Gullahorn, 1963; Martin, 1984; Westwood et al., 1986; Black et al., 1992; Hammer et al., 1998; Loh, 2003; Andreason & Kinneer, 2005), effective reentry preparations (Westwood et al., 1986; Gregersen & Stroh; 1997; Sussman, 2001; Strachan et al., 2007; Szkudlarek, 2010), the phenomenon of culture shock (Gullahorn & Gullahorn, 1963; Paige, 1990; Patron, 2006; Szkudlarek, 2010), with reverse culture shock reported as a more salient adjustment challenge (Martin, 1984), the need for coping mechanisms (Kim, 2008; Hotta & Ting-Toomey, 2013) and strategies, including culture learning (Martin, 1984; Szkudlarek 2000) to assist reentry adjustment (Adler, 1981; Church, 1982; Martin, 1984; Sussman, 2001). In addition, the literature highlights the contested nature of socio-cultural relations in terms of general and workplace adjustment. Other factors, including personality (Ward et al., 2004; Awais Bhatti et al., 2014), time abroad (Black et al., 1992; Hammer et al., 1998) and gender

(Brabant et al., 1990) are further salient features that are highlighted in both acculturation and re-acculturation studies.

Whilst both processes bear similar characteristics, repatriation represents an end point in terms of the cultural transition cycle (Gama & Pedersen, 1977; Adler, 1981; Westwood et al., 1986; Martin, 1984; Ovrebo, 2009). Repatriation adjustment is generally deemed more challenging by scholars than the initial experience of cultural adjustment (Sussman, 2000, 2002; Black et al., 1992). Understanding of re-acculturation also highlights changes for the returning sojourner and the home environment (Martin, 1984), which involves re-engagement with co-nationals that is contingent on acceptance of change (Hammer et al., 1978; Andreason & Kinneer, 2005). Re-acculturation is also informed by the cultural identity model (CIM) that proposed four typologies of cultural identity (Sussman, 2000; 2002) as mediating the cultural adjustment cycle. The literature review at Chapter 3 also contains findings from context-specific studies of returned Indonesian scholars (Daroesman & Daroesman, 1992; Cannon, 2000; Butcher, 2002; Chalid, 2015).

The first theme in this chapter relates to the motivation of the awardees to return home, including their commitment to stay for two years, a condition of the Award program.

6.3 Reentry Motivation

The topic of motivation and acculturation is addressed in a number of studies (Kiley, 1999; Mazzarol & Soutar, 2002; Richardson & McKenna, 2003; Singaravelu, White & Bringaze, 2005; Chirkov et al., 2007; Suutari & Mäkelä, 2007; Gezentsvey & Ward, 2008; Azmat et al., 2013; Altbach & Engberg, 2014; Firth et al., 2014; Fotovatian & Miller, 2014; Marginson, 2014; Shaw, 2014; Guerin et al., 2015); however, it is highly under-researched in the sense of re-acculturation (Lazarova & Tarique, 2005; Valk et al., 2014). This study finds motivation to re-acculturate and return home following the award program, is predominantly related to two reasons. First and foremost, awardees are motivated to return and re-adjust, because the award conditions prescribe that they must. Secondly, many returnees wish to disseminate their knowledge, as part of a societal contribution. Whereas career was reported

in the previous chapter as the key driver to undertake the award program, in the case of returned awardees this was less explicit.

6.3.1 Reentry Motivation – ADS awardees are mandated to return

Awardees report that they must return to Indonesia, given the mandatory requirement under their ADS contract. The stipulation following the end of the doctoral program is that awardees should repatriate and not return to Australia for at least two years[55]. Put simply by one of the returned Alumni and also representative of the commentary about reentry motivation:

> *Under the AusAID contract, I have to go home.* (Peni, ADS2 female Alumni)

If the mandatory conditions are broken, Alumni are liable to repay to the Australian government the value of the scholarship benefits, which can total hundreds of thousands of Australian dollars. Many male and female awardees (Sadewa, Banyu, Wibawa, Georgie, Elok, Peni, Geni, Lemah) reported that motivation to return was directly related to these conditions, along with a further requirement to return to their existing jobs (a further account of workplace re-adjustment can also be found at Section 6.5.4).

Malcolm is involved closely in the ADS program, and when asked what motivated awardees to return home, although he was adamant that nearly all return because of the award conditions, he also stated there have been some exceptions that may result in Alumni negotiating to stay in Australia or even migrate to a third country. There appear to be some contradictions in his account, since the ability of tracer studies to tally all movements of Alumni, including those that leave to go to a third country, is not assured. This is a limitation

[55] Immigration rules provide for short-term temporary visits, typically to attend graduation ceremonies.

noted by other donors (Mawer, 2014) that can threaten the integrity of reports, including tracer studies:

> *It's almost one hundred per cent that come back. Those that go back to Australia within two years, and there's a few of those emerging, have to get a 'letter of no objection' from AusAID to go back within that two year period. If they go to another country, we would never know, it's only if they go back to Australia within the two year period. So the policy has got a few holes in it but how can the Australian government monitor what happens in another country - it's just not possible. Other internal arrangements they have with their home organisation acknowledge that a place has been kept open for them and they receive a base salary for the period they are away. So if they are away for four years, in theory they should be getting back to their organisation for close on ten years. Only the longitudinal study that we have done shows there are some that may have got PR in other countries but the vast majority are here.* (Malcolm, ADS male Informant)

In addition to the AusAID conditions, most PhD awardees are employed by government or private sector higher education or research institutions and subject to conditions that appear to supersede those mandated by AusAID. Such conditions include provision for on-Award payment of basic salary to supplement the AusAID scholarship allowances based on return conditions. Dwi, a senior University Rector in a public university, confirmed the return conditions for awardees who have spent four years studying abroad. Based on a formula that involves multiplying the years overseas by two and adding one year, return conditions for PhD awardees are to return to previous employment for nine years:

> *At this University when they go for four years, they have to come back for nine years.* (Dwi, female ADS Informant)

According to Andreason and Kineer (2005), repatriation agreements can form a psychological contract in terms of reentry. In Arief's case, staying on in Australia was akin to becoming a 'deserter' and shirking what he perceived was his moral obligation to return

home. His response suggests that, in a collective society such as Indonesia, the imperative to contribute to the broader wellbeing of the group overrides individual needs. From Arief's comments, we can see how the mutual reciprocity aspect of the Award experience motivates returned awardees to fulfil their 'end of the bargain'. ADS Informant, Narkula, reinforces this message, believing that friends would regard awardees who do not return to their existing employment as disloyal. Such accounts from Arief and Nakula suggest there is a norm in place that espouses loyalty within the group and coerces awardees to return to their existing jobs:

> *I am a government employee and my institution also gave me support, so I it seems immoral for me to stay [in Australia]. I would feel like a deserter.* (Arief, ADS2 male Alumni)
>
> ~
>
> *If you work at a public university then you are a public servant. You cannot resign from being a civil servant and if you do then you are a deserter and I think it's very difficult because of the way everybody will treat you. All the people, like friends and colleagues wouldn't talk to you as a good person because you are not loyal.* (Narkula, ADS male Informant)

Whilst the researcher is aware of some instances where completed awardees were able to successfully negotiate with AusAID to stay on in Australia and extend their research experience without having to incur a debt to the government, this situation is not the norm. The study finds the vast majority of awardees return and remain in Indonesia. This is consistent with the former account from Malcolm and with AusAID, which estimated that around 97 per cent (AusAID, 2011b) repatriate to Indonesia and stay for at least two years. As stated above, some caution around retention statistics is warranted, given anecdotal reports that some awardees move to third countries, or even negotiate to stay on in Australia. This warrants further investigation outside the scope of this study, especially in lieu of research that finds PhD students are more likely to stay abroad than other students (Soon, 2012).

The high return rates for ADS awardees defy findings from the EM literature that report high attrition rates within one to two years of repatriation (Black et al., 1992; Hammer et al., 1998; O'Sullivan et al., 2002; Andreason & Kineer, 2005). Although the mandatory return conditions, as well as cultural loyalties to existing employers, may help to explain such a disparity, further research on the nature of reentry and motivation factors, a significantly under-researched area particularly for repatriated knowledge workers, could extend existing studies on academic expatriates (Richardson & McKenna, 2002; 2003; Selmer & Lauring, 2009; 2011; 2013a).

The findings above highlight that an awardee's motivation to return home was directly related to the mandatory conditions imposed by AusAID and Indonesian higher education and research institutions. In short, awardees were motivated to return home because they had to. Notwithstanding this, other Alumni shared that their motivation to return was linked to more altruistic aims.

6.3.2 Reentry Motivation and Development Aims

Many awardees (Dewi, Wira, Wibawa, Mega, Argo, Melati, Galang, Arief, Agung, Basuki, Peni), although mandated to leave Australia, reported they were primarily motivated to return to their respective institutions to contribute to nation building. This may indicate a genuine sincerity with respect to the stated intentions of awardees that is, indeed, in accordance with the ADS program aims. For example, Wibawa shared that in the absence of any rule to go home, he would still return to share what he had learned with others, for the benefit of his country:

> *The big motivator to return is that I want to contribute what I have learned, what I have experienced for my country. So if they didn't have the rule about going back, I think I would still come back to apply what I have learned.* (Wibawa, ADS2 male Alumni)

Whereas the previous chapter documented only one awardee reporting a motivation to complete the award that was aligned to the development of Indonesia, in contrast, motivation

to return was more aligned with the social and economic development aims of the award. Similarly, Kiley (1999) finds that most Indonesian post-graduates seek to contribute to nation building. Alternatively, given that most awardees emphasised the imperative to return home, their motivation could in fact be that returned awardees will 'make a virtue out of a necessity' because return is inevitable, but it presents the opportunity to reconstruct motivation around a more benevolent outcome that reconciles with the aims of the ADS award and what is expected from family, friends and employers.

Family values are also found to motivate repatriation. This is unsurprising, given reports of strong family connections in the previous chapter, especially in the case of females. This concurs with findings from two studies of female doctoral students and female academics (Lee & Kim, 2010; Valk et al., 2014), with both studies linking intention to return home with family reunion and career objectives. ADS Informant, Narkula, likened cultural bonding with friends and family to the 'glue' that motivates awardees to return home:

> *As Indonesians, we are motivated to come back to Indonesia. It's because of the cultural things, based on family values and we get emotional support from many people. You are home when you are in Indonesia, and home is where you want to stay. I think Indonesians have more cultural bonding. It is like 'glue' because of family and friends and that is why Indonesians have a strong motivation to come back.* (Nakula, ADS male Informant)

These accounts from returned awardees contrast with earlier accounts of motivation to join the program based on career objectives. Such a contrast may be indicative of a strengthening of purpose, along with reinforced community values and strengthening of cultural identity over the period of the Award program. Furthermore, at the time of award completion, awardees are likely to be more appreciative of their potential to contribute overall to the development of Indonesia.

6.3.3 Reentry Motivation - Conclusions

As stated in Chapter 3, Section 3.2.1, motivation is complex (Guerin et al., 2014) and varied. This section has considered feedback from returned awardees about their repatriation motivation. In the main, motivation was clearly associated with a contractual imperative to return home and to a lesser extent linked to the desire to repatriate knowledge and skills gained abroad in the university or research setting. These two imperatives are summed up well by Banyu:

> *I was motivated to come back because of the threat of having to pay back the scholarship money. To be brutally honest that's my main reason but at the same time I really didn't have any reason not to come back and my colleagues were expecting me to come back and bring something back home, so it was a natural thing for me.* (Banyu, ADS2 male Alumni)

As previously emphasised, the examination of repatriation motivation is currently under-researched. This case study highlights the contractual significance for repatriation motivation, as well as other factors including knowledge transfer and the desire to reconnect with family and friends. Findings can also form the basis of further research, building on existing studies of academic expatriation. The study also calls into question the integrity of existing tracer studies that currently lack rigor.

6.4 Anticipating Re-acculturation

The study finds that, in comparison to the acculturation phase of the sojourn, in general returning awardees did not anticipate the reentry process or prepare as adequately for repatriation to Indonesia. Expectations and preparation to re-acculturate are examined in this section, drawing on the accounts of returned awardees. This section also takes into account insights from relevant studies of reentry adjustment, highlighting the theoretical significance of culture-learning and expectation theory.

6.4.1 Expectations for re-acculturation

The EM (Adler, 1981; Black & Gregersen, 1991; Black et al., 1992; Gregersen & Stroh, 1997; Hammer et al., 1998; Andreason & Kineer, 2005; Steyn & Grant, 2007; Storti, 2007; Bielsa et al., 2014) literature, and to a lesser extent the IS (Martin, 1986) literature, finds expectations to have greater significance for reentry adjustment. According to Adler (1981), the implicit assumption for many repatriates is that they are returning to a familiar place in their home country, which should be easy, yet reentry is often more problematic than the initial entry transition. These insights reverberate in the accounts of returned awardees and indicate a mismatch between reentry expectations and reality. According to the EM literature, unmet expectations are often related with the subsequent intention to leave employment (Valk et al., 2014), so this is of concern. Satya had a previous experience of returning home after his ADS masters in Australia and thought he knew what to expect, but things were not as easy as he had predicted:

> *I didn't know about reverse culture shock before I came back to Indonesia from Australia. I think I experienced it and I underestimated it because I was thinking that as an Indonesian I would adjust very easily but it's not the way I found things when I came back to Indonesia. I didn't really think that Indonesia was going to be different from when I left to come to Australia. I thought it would be just the same, but when I went back, it's different.* (Satya, ADS2 male Alumni)

In the previous chapter on acculturation, findings showed evidence of expectancy violations. Although both stages can be explained in terms of expectancy value theory, where unmet expectations translate into a negative adjustment experience (Martin et al., 1995; Steyn & Grant, 2007), the experience of reentry is more likely to result in a negative expectancy violation. According to some scholars (Martin, 1984; Hammer et al., 1998), this is because returned sojourners are unlikely to expect difficulties reentering the home environment and this is compounded by friends and family who do not expect them to experience reentry difficulties or even to have changed. "As a result, 'reverse culture shock' is increased, as

neither the individual nor the social system is prepared for any readjustment difficulties" (Martin, 1984:123). The phenomenon of reverse culture shock is discussed in further detail at Section 6.5.1.

Storti (2007) argues that reentry shock is unexpected, as the sojourner is unprepared for the experience as well as more likely to have their expectations under-met. This is a form of expectancy violation and was experienced negatively in the case of Agustina. Although she expected people at home to be proud of her achievement and happy to see her back in Indonesia, Agustina was surprised that her expectations were both unfulfilled and fell well short of her expectations. Whereas, Agustina was 'let down' by her reentry experience, Mega expected things to be difficult on return and had low expectations, believing things would be less orderly and that she would miss her friends in Australia. When she returned home these expectations were negatively violated, because she found the situation to be worse, with no time to re-adjust to the crowds, systems, hot weather, traffic and work and family demands. Both accounts resonate with existing research on repatriate adjustment and the negative impact of either unmet or negatively violated expectations (Searle & Ward, 1990; Black et al., 1992; Gregersen & Stroh, 1997; Cox, 2004; Andreason & Kineer, 2005; Bielsa et al., 2014):

> *I didn't expect it be difficult, I thought people would be happy to see me and to see my achievements. I thought people would be supportive and yes, most were but some obviously were not. So this was a bit of a surprise for me.* (Agustina, ADS2 female Alumni)

~

> *I expected to feel disappointed and to have difficulties when I was back home but I found the situation is even harder than expected. When I went back my home had not been maintained. It was unclean, very bad and I felt stressed. I had to start work just three days after I returned which was unfair because we needed to adjust first. I couldn't believe it was so hard for the first six months, with limited resources and it's so stressful.*

> *Honestly, there were a lot of tears, a lot of stress and my son wanted to go back to Australia. I felt frustrated and I didn't have any particular strategy to cope, except to keep going. I was teaching from seven in the morning up to seven at night, so tiring and also doing a lot of administrative stuff.* (Mega, ADS2 female Alumni)

An interesting finding relates to the role of culture learning. Martin (1984) predicted that those with a previous experience of reentry would be well-placed to predict difficulties; however, this was not always supported by the study findings. On the one hand, many awardees reported that a previous and similar experience of cultural adjustment resulted in accurate expectations of acculturation. On the other, the same principle did not hold for reentry, given the reports on discrepancy between expectation and reality for the above three ADS Alumni, all with previous experiences of acculturation in a Western cultural setting. This anomaly between acculturation and re-acculturation could also be the result of unmet expectations that can arise when returnees idealise their home country while abroad, with resulting gaps between how it was and how they find it on return (Andreason & Kineer, 2005).

The findings above show convincing support that the experience of reentry adjustment is often met with surprise that is associated with unmet expectations. Such unmet expectations translate into a negative expectancy violation and this can compound repatriation challenges and supplant gains from a previous reentry experience. These findings not only help to distinguish the affective response between acculturation and reentry (Sussman, 2000) but also confirm the potential for a negative expectancy violation to intensify repatriation distress, as predicted in the EM and to a lesser extent in the IS literature.

Preparation for reentry can assist sojourners in gaining more accurate expectations about reentry. Examination of reintegration programs and other informal means of preparing for reentry is the subject of the next section.

6.4.2 Preparing for re-acculturation

Preparations to repatriate are often overlooked by comparison to the efforts to prepare for a sojourn (Gill, 2010; Jassawalla et al., 2004; Andreason & Kineer, 2005). According to AusAID (2011a:5), "too often, reintegration is first considered when a scholar returns home". Reentry preparations for the ADS program extend to formal reintegration programs (ADS, 2011a) and other informal arrangements to assist the awardees to settle back into their home-based organisations and adjust in both a personal and professional sense. Reintegration initiatives to assist reentry adjustment are examined here, drawing on accounts from returned awardees and other informants.

The conduct of formal workshops can provide opportunities for returning sojourners to reflect on the experience and networks gained abroad, develop realistic expectations about life on return (Martin et al., 1995; Butcher, 2002), reduce uncertainties (Gregersen & Stroh, 1997) and identify strategies to actively integrate skills and knowledge at work. Such activities were reported as helpful for some awardees, but not for all. Malcolm, an ADS Informant shared that ADS reintegration workshops were poorly attended and Steve, another Informant, added this was because most awardees do not believe things will have changed and therefore do not think they need to attend:

> *The question is how many actually show up. They don't think they need it but the ones who come find it very useful when they eventually get back. It's such an important service but the challenge is about how we actually convince them that going home is a challenge and they've changed in the three to four years they've been here.* (Steve, ADS male Informant)

A recent DFAT report (2015a) noted low attendances at reintegration workshops across a spectrum of countries for returned Alumni, but this has recently lifted. Increasing attendance was attributed to concerted efforts to promote workshops along with raised awareness of reintegration issues amongst awardees. AusAID reports and feedback from informants suggest that returnees are both under-prepared for reentry as well as oblivious to the likelihood that they have changed and home has changed too. Such issues relating to

unexpected change are raised by scholars in both the EM (MacDonald & Arthur, 2005; Osman-Gani & Hyder, 2008) and IS (Martin, 1986) literature.

Reintegration training can provide a forum to discuss usage of new skills and knowledge and return challenges such as unmet expectations, subtle changes at the inter-personal and societal level and the potential that friends, family and colleagues will not show interest in the sojourn experience (Cox 2004; Patron, 2006). For Galang a reflective activity helped him prepare to go home and reflect emotionally by preparing a personal video to remind him of his long journey to get the PhD and return to Indonesia where family and friends were waiting. A similar reflective exercise, but involving letter writing, helped Sarwendah to focus on the value of her ADS experience but also to anticipate that people at home may show little interest:

> *To prepare to come home they asked us to make a short video about the time since our arrival until submission of the PhD proposal. They used this technique to help us reflect on what has happened, but also to anticipate what will be ahead. That helped and especially made me more thankful to have passed this long journey and now prepare to come home. I cried at that moment, it's really a very sentimental, very emotional moment. Although you might enjoy the life and everything in Australia, now you have to come back. People are waiting for you, so many people - your family and others. It's really a good way of reminding us that we have to come back.* (Galang, ADS2 male Alumni)

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> *I remember the program prepared me to return. We discussed that people might not listen to you, people might not think that your story is interesting but we shouldn't worry too much about that. They also asked us to write something to ourselves and post it. So a few weeks after arriving home, I received the letter. It reminded me again what my purpose was and what I was there for.* (Sarwendah, ADS2 female Alumni)

Whilst evidence of a generalised pattern of re-adjustment, the so-called 'W' curve (Gullahorn & Gullahorn, 1966) is challenged by scholars (Black et al., 1992; Hammer et al., 1998; Pritchard, 2011), in order to mitigate against reentry challenges, ADS Informant, Ken proposed that the delivery of reintegration workshops should be optimally timed to correspond with the period after settling in at home:

> *I'm not sure about the value of the reentry activities prior to going back. I think it's better to have activities after they've been home a few months. Now you might say, this is 'after the horse has bolted' but timing can be important because they've had a period of settling back home and may be going through a bit of culture shock and bringing them together around two months after they're back can be helpful. Also the sessions can be more important for some individuals than others.* (Ken, ADS male Informant)

Involvement in reintegration activities did not meet the needs of all awardees. Langgeng believed the workshops were of little use to him, because he had had the experience of returning before and believed he had an accurate expectation of what it would be like. Langgeng later reported on several reentry difficulties, which he equated his being different from most of his friends and colleagues at home, which raises the possibility that his preconceptions about going home may have limited his learning outcomes from the workshops:

> *There is a formal program provided by ADS as well as a short course for three days or so about how to adapt to Indonesia. It wasn't so helpful because I already knew that the life on return to Indonesia would be very different from Australia. I knew that because I had been on the ADS program and had to go back before. So I already had an expectation about reentry from the previous time.* (Langgeng, ADS2 male Alumni)

Aside from more formal activities, AusAID reintegration guidelines recommended that awardees establish more regular contact with their employers three to six months before

returning. The literature finds such strategy can facilitate networking, provide information and advice to help repatriates keep abreast of events at home For example, Black et al. (1992) proposed that frequency of communication with the workplace at home and foreshadow accurate reentry expectations. (Black et al., 1992; Andreason & Kineer, 2005; MacDonald & Arthur, 2005; Lii & Wong, 2008; Pritchard, 2011). Whilst the subject of workplace re-adjustment is examined more fully in Section 6.5.4, Sarwendah's account highlights the mutual benefit to employers and employees of resuming contact prior to repatriation, to clarify job expectations and foreshadow any concerns that could limit reintegration:

> *To prepare for reentry, I intensified the communication with people at home to get more ideas of what people are doing, who is in what position, how they behave. That's the only thing I could do. I didn't have a job description and I didn't have any picture of what I had to do when I got home, with respect to work. I did talk to my boss about coming home and that I would still need to wait for my results and then revise my thesis. Fortunately my boss understood that and said I only need to teach two courses to re-attach myself to the university.* (Sarwendah, ADS2 female Alumni)

Frequency and visits home at intervals during a sojourn are also predicted to facilitate a positive re-adjustment, especially in terms of developing accurate expectations and staying in touch more generally (Brabant et al., 1990; Black et. al., 1992; Andreason & Kineer, 2005). With the exception of only two ADS Alumni, all had returned home during their sojourn, ranging from two weeks up to 12 months. Many returned several times, mostly to conduct fieldwork and/or visit family. For those who visited home whilst on-Award it is likely this would have assisted their reentry experience, although this was only raised by one awardee. Arief called his trip home a 'shock-breaker', because he was able to familiarise himself with the situation at home, including any social or environmental changes, and presumably the trip home provided an opportunity for others to pre-empt changes they could expect from him:

> *I got an opportunity one year before going home for a field trip, so it seemed to help me a lot. It was like a 'shock-breaker'.* (Arief, ADS male Alumni)

Although trips home during a sojourn are predicted to result in a more positive re-adjustment (Brabant et al., 1990; Black et al., 1992; Andreason & Kineer, 2005), ADS Informant Steve argued that short trips home during sojourn were more like a 'honeymoon' and did not prepare Alumni to re-adjust, because they were treated like a 'guest' at home. Loh (2003) notes a similar 'vacation-like unreality' for returned sojourners that often precedes reverse culture shock associated with the reality of being home:

> *A lot of students go back at least once a year while they are in Australia. I call it a 'one-honeymoon-a-year' because they go back for a holiday. They are like a returning-home tourist because they get treated like a guest in their own country for two or three weeks a year. It's when they are back for good and six months later still trying to tell people what to do that they need to stop and that's really different. When they go home permanently there's a different feel to it because the drudgeries of life catch up with them and they suddenly realise this is not how it works. They assume there is no problem fitting back in and everybody still loves them. But then they're back for good and it changes.* (Steve, ADS male Informant)

Steve's insights challenge predictions from the extant literature about the value of short trips home to prepare for reentry. Although short visits allow for the rekindling of friendships and catch up with family members and social events, this can be somewhat surreal compared to post-Award adjustment. Visits home usually occupy a short space of time in lieu of the inevitable parting. ADS Informant, Bill, recalled one returning awardee, who, in spite of visits home, was still ill-prepared to repatriate, because the reality of reentry was very different than what he expected:

> *I remember a PhD student at Adelaide University. He was a Batak*[56] *and very outspoken. He assured me that he understood Indonesia because he was very active in the Indonesian Islamic Students Association and he'd been home for holidays and knew everything that was going on there. But when he got home he had a really rough time with adjusting to the way things were - the traffic in Jakarta, the heat, the dirt, all sorts of things that 'bules' would complain about. It took him a long time to settle back and to be accepted by his peers.* (Bill, ADS male Informant)

The section above has reviewed the preparations for return home with varied findings. For those awardees cognitive of the need to prepare for reentry, attendance at ADS reintegration workshops provided opportunities to reflect on their overall experience and achievements. Designing activities to align with individual needs and optimal timing is also raised as a potential area for improvement to existing interventions such as reintegration workshops. Establishing regular communication channels with work colleagues offers a further strategy to prepare awardees to return, but short visits home may raise false expectations that do not meet the reality of repatriation adjustment.

6.4.3 Anticipating re-acculturation - Conclusion

In conclusion, an effective reentry experience is linked to accurate as well as met expectations, in a similar way to the initial cultural adjustment, but the findings on reentry highlight important differences. Key differences are related to expectations, insofar as those repatriated and their family and friends at home are less likely to expect issues of cultural adjustment. Furthermore, when adjustment difficulties are encountered, some Alumni were less prepared to deal with these challenges, even in spite of attending reintegration workshops or establishing communications at home prior to return. Overall, and as predicted

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[56] Bataks are an ethnic group usually found in North Sumatra who are known for being outspoken in comparison to other Indonesian ethnic groups.

by expectancy theory, a positive repatriation for returned ADS awardees is one in which re-adjustment expectations are met or positively violated. In contrast, accounts of negative re-adjustment were usually associated with negatively violated expectations.

6.5 Experience of Re-acculturation

Empirical findings on how the ADS Alumni experienced their return home is examined in this section. Repatriation is deemed multi-faceted in terms of its general, professional and relational dimensions (Andreason & Kineer, 2005), and therefore findings on how returned awardees experienced re-adjustment to the home culture are broadly distinguished by their accounts of general and workplace re-adjustment, including salient issues of reverse culture shock, cultural identity change and social re-integration with peers, family and professional colleagues. Reentry adjustment issues are also distinguished in the case of any marked differences that coincide with the gender of awardees.

Although the successful completion of the award program marked the transition from doctoral candidate to potential independent researcher (Gardner, 2008; Lovitts, 2008), an overwhelming majority of Alumni stated that their experience of reentry was more difficult, when compared to the acculturation phase of their sojourn. This accords closely with the extant literature that reports reentry as more problematic in terms of cultural adjustment (Adler, 1981; Black et al., 1992; Sussman, 2000; 2002; Patron, 2006; Szkudlarek, 2010). This section considers the recalled accounts of those Alumni who returned to Indonesia after study in Australia (27 of the total 29).

6.5.1 Initial Reentry, including reverse culture shock

In the literature, the phenomenon of culture shock is highlighted, because repatriated workers and IS have experienced this in a more challenging way than at the time of their initial cultural adjustment (Adler, 1981; Black et al., 1992; Sussman, 2000; 2002; Patron, 2006; Szkudlarek, 2010). Reverse culture shock involves difficulties in re-adjusting back to the home culture, which can involve re-assimilating into one’s own home culture (Gaw, 2000).

Loh (2003) cautioned against assuming reverse culture shock is merely culture shock in reverse to what occurs when entering a new and foreign culture, noting that returnees often do not expect to encounter culture shock when returning home. This concurs with the findings from Section 6.4.1, where a number of returned awardees (Satya, Agustina, Mega, Dimas) reported that reverse culture shock was unexpected for them as well as their families and social networks.

Whilst there were many reports of reverse culture shock, this was not always the case, with some awardees reporting an unproblematic experience of initial reentry (Gathot, Diah). In Diah's case she was able to form an accurate expectation from her previous repatriation experience, recalling that things would be different, particularly in terms of systems and services in Indonesia. Her account is consistent with insights from expectancy theory as well as from culture learning, because firstly she had accurately expected things to be different and hence experienced no surprise:

> *I was fine and didn't have reverse culture shock, maybe because it was my second time to come back. It wasn't that hard for me to come back to the academic context but in other ways I just noticed it's different. I had to remind myself that I'm in a different country so not to expect the same things. For example, not standing in a queue, slow service, those kind of things.* (Diah, ADS1 female Alumni)

Returning home can be disquieting, with some sojourners feeling like strangers at home. Insights from Bielsa et al. (2014) reveal that adjustment involves changes on the part of the sojourner, and as a consequence this can yield home as a strange and unfamiliar place: "Homecomers face difficulties and ruptures, not merely because they need to adapt to a place that has been transformed as much as they have changed themselves in their absence, a place which is familiar and yet strangely foreign, but also because they encounter explicit resistance, or ambivalence at the very least, towards the newness which they represent" (Bielsa et al., 2014:66). Georgie, a single female Alumni, experienced reverse culture shock. Aside from missing her Australian boyfriend, she became sick on returning home, and

grieved for the people and the life she had left behind in Australia. Her account resonates with findings from a New Zealand study (Butcher, 2002) that found tertiary students experienced feelings of grief returning home:

> *Even though I prepared to come home, things were just 'not right'. They already told me that I will experience reverse culture shock and I will feel that everything is not right and not part of my culture. It was like what I experienced the first time when I arrived in Australia to start my masters. I don't know whether this was reverse culture shock but I felt like I was a stranger here in my home, and I was sick. I cried when I left but I don't know whether this was because I was leaving Australia or leaving my boyfriend, maybe both. It was more challenging to go home than to come to Australia.* (Georgie, ADS2 female Alumni)

In response to her reentry distress, Georgie sought help from a counsellor when she returned, but she was aware of the stigma associated with mental health issues in Indonesia (Constantine et al., 2005; Gonzales, 2010) and was not assured about confidentiality. She felt others would say she was crazy if she met with a counsellor, so instead she visited a local doctor and received medication, which helped her during the first few months, although at the time of interview, she still struggled with fitting in at home:

> *When I returned home I was proud being a PhD student but it was difficult going home, even up until now [one year later]. In Australia it's OK to meet a counsellor but not in Indonesia because people will say I'm crazy. But yes, I am crazy, I am stressed and what's the problem with that? It's because in a collectivist society everything can be solved together whereas in Australia this is my problem. Also I don't have a counsellor here that I can trust because sometimes confidentiality means nothing and I don't want my university to know about my problem. So I went to see the doctor, not a psychologist, and was given some kind of medicine. After three months it helped me and now I'm fine.* (Georgie, ADS2 female Alumni)

Two accounts link the experience of reverse culture shock with expectancy violations (Martin et al., 1995; Steyn & Grant, 2007). In Section 6.4.1 Mega shared she was not expecting things to be easy on return but it was more difficult than she had predicted. Indonesian poor systems, disorder and over-crowded surrounds in comparison to the conditions in Australia were aspects of her experience that she attributed to reverse culture shock:

> *I expected to feel disappointed and to have difficulties when I was back home but I found the situation is even harder than expected ... What I liked about Australian life is that everything is very well structured and explained and we can logically understand the reason behind things. It is a different situation in Indonesia because things are not clearly explained or logically structured. When we came back to Indonesia we needed to adjust our expectations. This was hard for me and I experienced a lot of culture shock. For example it's very crowded in Indonesia and the traffic here is different than in Australia. In Australia if we need to organise something we have to queue but here it's not that situation.* (Mega, ADS2 female Alumni)

Others (Fajar, Arief, Bima, Sanjaya) shared that reverse culture shock was related to the loss of privacy and individual freedom in Australia, compared with the conditions at home. In Indonesia, the society is more communal and information is shared, at times inadvertently, because Indonesians tend to share homes with extended family and domestic helpers[57]. Issues of privacy are even highlighted in expatriate websites and foreshadow that respect for individual privacy in Indonesia is not upheld in the same way as for Western societies. In an early study of reentry, Gama and Pedersen (1977) documented how invasion of privacy

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[57] The matter of privacy and sharing of space with others, including domestic help, was experienced by the researcher when living and working in Indonesia over an extended period.

impacted negatively on returned graduates from Brazil who had studied in the US and had experienced value conflicts related to their perceived lack of privacy at home. Similarly, Fajar recounted that he and his wife missed the autonomy to lead their own lives in Australia, away from extended family and friends. ADS Informant, Sanjaya noted that people in Indonesia do not 'mind their own business' and this can intrude on personal lifestyle:

> *My wife and I experienced culture shock when we returned to Indonesia. In Australia we had our own life there,* whereas in Indonesia you can't have your own life because *your parents, friends and everyone are very involved in your life.* (Fajar, ADS2 male Alumni)
>
> ~
>
> *In Australia everything is very relaxed and people just mind their own business and don't really care about other people, so in comparison to Indonesia, there is no such kind of intrusion. I find this very intrusive when it comes to personal life, the way you behave and the way you interact with other people.* (Sanjaya, ADS male Informant)

Whilst a more general account of reentry workplace challenges is addressed in Section 6.5.4, the study finds evidence of reverse culture shock in the work context. This appears to be linked to non-appreciation of Indonesian returned students' experience and skills gained abroad (Daroesman & Daroesman, 1992; Cannon, 2000). ADS Informant Malcolm reported that many awardees found their skills and experience were not valued by supervisors, and this in turn, caused uneasiness both within the organisation and for the repatriated awardee:

> *I think where they have challenges is in the workplace. When Alumni go back and their skills are not recognised or appreciated by their managers and supervisor this can be very frustrating and disappointing. I think when they talk about culture shock in nine out of ten cases, it's probably the work culture they are referring to. They always talk about things like the heat and the traffic when they come back but I think the culture, they find*

the hardest to adjust to is the work culture. (Malcolm, ADS male Informant)

The findings related to reverse culture shock reveal that, for some returned awardees, no substantive adjustment challenges were reported. In contrast, others arrived home and their expectations of fitting in were not met, with subsequent feelings of grief for their former life in Australia, including the relationships they had left behind. In some cases awardees reported they felt like a 'stranger at home' (Cannon, 2000; Butcher, 2002; Ghosh & Wang, 2003; Bielsa et al., 2014). Others expressed unease regarding privacy concerns (Gama & Pedersen, 1977), as well as other work-related issues (Daroesman & Daroesman, 1992; Cannon, 2000). Aspects of reverse culture shock are also reflected in the following sections on general and workplace re-adjustment. Since the respondents did not label these experiences as 'reverse culture shock', for the purpose of this study the following sections refer more broadly to reentry adjustment issues.

6.5.2 General Re-adjustment – Challenges and Support

General re-adjustment includes adjustment to the home surrounds, living conditions and reconnecting with family members. This section examines awardees' accounts about their experience of personal re-adjustment, especially identification of key challenges and support mechanisms. Bochner, Lin and McLeod's (1980) study of Asian students identified that the most salient challenges associated with reentry adjustment related to interactions with family, peers, social and professional groups. Hence this section also considers re-connections with family and friends, along with social support structures and general living conditions at home.

6.5.2.1 Family Re-adjustment

Given the emphasis on family adjustment reported in the previous chapter on acculturation, it was unsurprising that findings related to re-acculturation also highlight family re-adjustment. As previously stated, most awardees were family accompanied on-Award and identified closely with their family role, particularly significant others, including spouses and children.

In terms of ‘significant others’, both Georgie and Bima had established relationships in Australia and leaving their loved ones behind was stressful. The issue of leaving his partner when he returned to Indonesia was distressing for Bima. In addition was the added complication of his sexual orientation as a ‘gay’ man seeking to reintegrate into what he perceived was a conservative Indonesian society. According to Bennett, Hill and Jones (2015), homosexuality is not always viewed as a stigma, but, in some contexts, it can be perceived more negatively. For Bima, his perception of needing to hide his ‘gay’ identity at home, and not having anyone to trust with his personal secret, presented a great reentry hurdle. Bima shared that, regardless of whether he stayed in Australia or returned to Indonesia, he just couldn’t ‘win’ because he would either have to be without family or without his partner:

> *When I left Australia it was really hard and a big part of that was leaving my partner because we had been together for two years. So we both weren’t sure if we could sustain the relationship because I had to stay in Indonesia for another two years. So that was the hardest part. And of course going back to Indonesia at the end of my PhD meant going straight back ‘into the closet’ and having to hide the fact that I am gay. So that was also hard. Leaving my partner is number one. And number two, having again to conceal my identity as a gay man that’s the second hardest thing. I don't have anyone who I can trust to talk about being gay at home. In Indonesia it’s different, and particularly in my case, I know I can never be myself totally back home, after tasting the freedom here. But I can’t really say that’s the reason I didn’t want to come back because I’m very close to my family and I miss them terribly, and I miss the very few friends that I have back home. I can’t win, I can’t win.* (Bima, ADS2 male Alumni)

The EM literature identifies that adjustment is co-produced in social interactions particularly with significant others, such as partners and family members (Chang, 2009) and ‘trailing spouses’ can face formidable adjustment hurdles on reentry, particularly related to career and job re-adjustment (Andreason & Kineer, 2005; Bielsa et al., 2014). In this study there was no

apparent evidence of serious spousal mal-adjustment, although the findings are limited, because direct feedback from spouses was not obtained and information is only inferred from awardees. It was not clear what preparation to return was undertaken by the spouses of awardees, although it is assumed they were unable to access formal reintegration workshops in the same way as the awardees. Findings from awardees (Arief, Wabawa) about the experience of their spouse's reentry, highlighted that their wives missed the freedom of living in Australia, although overall their reentry adjustment went smoothly. Reference to loss of freedom for Arief's wife could infer her adoption of more liberal Western values that did not reconcile well with family and other social and professional contacts in the home setting (Brabant et al., 1990):

> *For me it's easy and my wife is OK as well, but she complains a lot that she lost her freedom, because in Australia she can do whatever she wants.* (Arief, ADS2 male Alumni).

Other family-related issues involved the children of awardees. In terms of family re-adjustment, this was reported as by far the more problematic issue. Whereas McNair's (2014) study of corporate repatriates found women experienced more of the burden relating to their children's re-adjustment, in this study both male and female awardees reported this as a major concern in terms of reentry problems. Due to ethical and other practical issues of access, the accounts about children's reentry issues are confined to the feedback from family members and other informants.

The issue of children's re-acculturation appears to be significantly under-researched in both the EM and IS literature, in spite of scholarly attention to 'Third Culture Kids' (Pollock, Van Reken & Pollock, 2001) and a small number of peripheral studies (Kidder, 1992; Thanyalak, 2009; Cho et al., 2012). Kiley (1999) found that Indonesians studying in Australia and returning home reported considerable difficulties with respect to their children's educational adjustment with many reporting their children did not want to go to school. Kiley (1999) notes that children took around six months to overcome the reverse culture shock of returning home.

Overall, the issue of children's adjustment to schooling and associated language issues were emphasised by at least 12 returned Alumni, as well as confirmed as a significant adjustment issue in focus group discussion. Since the children of awardees had spent formative years in Australia, where they were schooled in English and in a Western culture, many accounts illustrated the difficulties of children re-adjusting. The following accounts are indicative of how pervasive this issue was in terms of reentry adjustment, and accounts highlight that, in many cases, Indonesians are not conscious of the need to allow time for readjustment when sojourners and their children return home:

> *After returning home it is difficult for the kids to adjust to school because they've been exposed mostly to Australian culture and Australian schools and here is very different. Some of the youngest ones need to adjust for more than one year because they can't speak Indonesian. Sometimes when the children can't communicate in Indonesian we need to explain and then people really get annoyed because of this problem. It's a bit difficult for Indonesian people to understand the situation of needing to adjust.* (Lombok Focus Group)

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> *I think my daughter who was six years old at the time had the most difficult time to adapt. It was especially hard for her because of the language issue especially because people at home laughed at her when she tried to speak in Bahasa [Indonesia]. She couldn't speak in Bahasa at all when she was in Australia and when she tried to she had a silly accent, and everyone laughed and she would stop talking. It happened as well when we went back home for a three week holiday, and after that time she said that she didn't want to go back to Indonesia because everyone laughed at her all the time. I think she had the most difficult time to adapt.* (Cahaya, ADS2 female Alumni)

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> *One the biggest problems I had back here was with my kids. The first day of school, they all cried actually. 'Mum, it's too hot, I'm depressed, why don't we go back to Australia'. Even now they ask me, 'Mum, when will you get another scholarship?' My kids didn't want to go home to Indonesia. It's hard for them to adjust especially because of the language. My eldest one was three and a half years old when I was doing my master's and later the PhD. The kids just grew up in Australia for eight years, so they are Australian kids actually and English is their language.* (Melati, ADS2 female Alumni)

Culture-distance factors were not easy for children to understand or to navigate. According to Austin (1986), children have less aptitude for dealing with issues of culture-distance, and where this varies between host and home countries adjustment difficulties are often exacerbated (Andreason & Kineer, 2005). A study of Japanese children returning from the US also found issues of culture-distance to impact negatively on repatriation (Kidder, 1992) and a further study of East Asian students returning from study in New Zealand (Butcher, 2002) found children struggled to reconcile culture-distance, especially in terms of familial piety. Issues of familial piety, the inevitable clash between traditional Indonesian family and religious values and new attitudes and behaviours gained abroad and the pressure to re-assimilate, were illustrated in several accounts:

> *My father in law told me that my sons were not afraid of their parents. That was because we discuss things with our children, like where we will go for breakfast and then we have a sort of argument. For us it's normal because we used to do this in Australia but for my parents-in-law it's not appropriate. Children should just say yes to the parents and do what they are told.* (Geni, ADS2 male awardee, returned but still to complete PhD requirement)

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> *In Indonesia children are expected to shake hands when they meet the elderly, so my children had to shake hands with my Mum and Dad every time we came to their home to show respect. My daughter didn't want to do that because she was born in Australia and she's not accustomed to shaking hands. My daughter said, 'no I don't want to shake hands with you, grandma'. My Mum and Dad were just shocked and my Mum took that very seriously and told my wife and I that we should teach our daughter to be an Indonesian not an Australian. It took one year to teach my daughter to shake hands with my Mum and Dad. It was much harder to go back because we are Indonesian but we are also Australian and we have Australian ways of thinking.* (Satya, ADS male Alumni)

A strategy to deal with the issue of reintegrating children in terms of language, culture and schooling was often to send these children to Indonesian international or private schools. According to Grimshaw and Sears (2008), international schools can create a 'third space', where staff and students can operate across cultural boundaries and where children can access alternative curricula to the national system. Heyward (2002) and Sussman (2011) add that reentry for children is assisted through the provision of international schooling because that can optimise intercultural learning. Lemah's son only spoke English when his family returned to Indonesia and schooling was a major problem until he was re-located to a bilingual school, at which time he was able to re-adjust quickly:

> *One of our children was only two years old and his childhood was spent in Australia so he spoke English fluently in an Australian way of course, so this created more trouble for us because we did not teach him Indonesian during our stay in Australia. When we came back here we had to find a bilingual school but when we returned we couldn't find him a place and so he had to attend an Indonesian school with no bilingual support. We had to accompany him in the class for at least one month until we could move him*

> *into another school that was bilingual. When we took him to the bilingual school, it took just fifteen minutes for him to adjust and then he instructed us to go away.* (Lemah, ADS1 non-completed returned).

Mega's interim strategy to deal with her son's distress at leaving Australia was to send him back to stay with her Australian friends. She shared that her son hopes to one day complete his secondary education in Australia. This raises the potential for inter-generational expatriation. To date, it appears that there is no research in this area and, given the emphasis on soft diplomacy aims of the ADS program, longitudinal studies documenting international sojourns for the children of awardees, especially where this occurs in Australia, should be of interest to both scholars and policy makers alike:

> *My son found it hard to adjust to Indonesia and even now wants to return to Australia. In 2010 when he was ten years old I allowed him to return to Australia by himself. He really wanted to come back and meet his friends so I made contact with my Australian friends and he went to Australia by himself and all my friends looked after him. He wants to go back to Australia when he is in High School.* (Mega, ADS2 female Alumni)

These findings on family re-adjustment emphasised that the overwhelming issue for both male and female Alumni was the re-adjustment of children. Findings show that issues are primarily related to schooling, language and cultural issues, including how to negotiate the apparent culture-distance, including expectations of familial piety and other behaviours. Strategies to address reintegration of children involved placement in either private or international schools. Spousal reentry was reportedly less stressful but findings are limited, because there were no direct accounts from spouses.

6.5.2.2 Living conditions – Re-adjustment

Re-adjustment to living conditions in Indonesia posed further challenges and stress, emphasised in the accounts of reentry from many returned awardees. Although it sounds trite, the chaos of Indonesian systems was of major concern and emphasised by over half the

returned awardees, as well as by several Informants. Expatriates living in large Indonesian cities will typically discuss the issue of traffic and the challenge of traversing the choked and polluted roads to go about their daily business. Similarly, nearly all returned awardees referred to the traffic issues that plague commuters but also referred to the custom of not queuing for goods and services, poor waste management and the incidence of bribery and corruption. Many awardees shared that these issues were things that had caused them the most reentry stress:

> *Honestly speaking, the first few months here I felt ashamed of the Indonesians. I hate the traffic. I hate the attitude of the people in the traffic. I hate the fact that people just toss rubbish everywhere. It's very frustrating to be in a situation where the traffic is going one way and people still go the other way. The first few months I would just scream at them, 'you stupid idiot what are you doing'. I fought with a lot with people who said 'what's your problem, this is common, this is usual here, where are you from?' I'd say, 'I live here but I hate people, stupid people like you doing this'.* (Agustina, ADS2 female Alumni)

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> *It's exactly the same experience when I came back from my masters. They don't want to queue when they pay for things in the shop. That makes me very cross.* (Dewi, ADS2 female Alumni)

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> *The most stressful thing was the bureaucracy and the bribery. For example, to get a driving license, I don't have time to do all those things for many hours so if the quickest way is to pay [a bribe] then I'll pay.* (Cahaya, ADS2 female Alumni)

These vignettes illustrate the stress of returning to Indonesia's chaotic, day-to-day living conditions. As a Westerner who has lived in Jakarta and other Indonesian cities, the

researcher is aware of the daily ‘gridlock’ of the traffic, but other issues raised are less apparent, perhaps because of the respect and privilege that comes with being a visitor. At any rate, the mundane issues of traffic congestion and other systems did permeate many of the stories from returned awardees and were important to document, given the numerous accounts from returnees about these matters.

6.5.2.3 Interactions and Re- adjustment

Returned awardees were asked about key social support for reentry. The nuclear family provided significant reentry support, especially for many male awardees (Banyu, Sadewa, Langgeng, Agung, Fajar, Wibawa, Lemah, Arief). Whereas many males had referred to reentry support from within the nuclear family, in contrast only a few female awardees (Mega, Peni, Cahaya) referred to family support, mostly in combination with friends as the main source of support for re-adjustment. Caliguiri and Lazarova’s (2002) study of social support and female adjustment found women tended to be more relationship-oriented and to have greater affiliating personality characteristics than for men, which helps to explain the contrasting approach to reentry support.

According to Cox (2004), marital status offers built-in social support that can lessen the effect of repatriation stress. Mega appreciated the help from her husband, as she was much stressed after returning home to work long hours and felt her family was just expected to re-adjust, without any offers of assistance. As previously identified, sojourners are often expected to re-assimilate when they return (Bielsa et al., 2014). Practical support from her husband was a key coping strategy that enabled Mega to return to the frenetic pace at work and somehow meet the family’s other re-adjustment needs:

> *When we came home people expected us to adjust ourselves because we are Indonesian but we didn't have much help and maybe this is one of the difficulties we faced. My husband helped me a lot, especially during the first six months he took care of everything. He knew that I felt stressed at that time, so he looked after and fixed up the house, completed administration requirements with the government, all the paperwork,*

everything. My husband took care of everything. (Mega, ADS2 female Alumni)

Kartoshkina's (2015) study of student returnees identified that reuniting with those who share a similar IC experience is more effective because of the shared understanding, as well as appreciation of the international sojourn experience and ability to communicate their IC experiences. Returned awardee support networks were often those with whom they shared similar experiences. Two accounts from Sarwendah and Satya support Kartoshkina's finding. Notwithstanding the support from her mother, father and husband, Sarwendah fitted in best with an old friend who ran an international business and could appreciate her international experience, whereas she was unable to connect well with other past friends. This example highlights how changed values and attitudes are likely to re-order friendships in such a way that returnees are drawn to others who can relate to their experience and understand their new ways. Research by Martin (1986a) found relationships with friends was more complex and varied than when compared to family relationships. According to Martin (1986a), friendships were more likely to show a negative change attributed to the IC experience but on a positive side, perceived as indicative of growth and transition by IS sojourners. Key social support networks for Lemah and Satya consisted of those with whom they could share the experience of study abroad in Australia and connect with through shared understanding:

Interestingly after I came back I got in touch with an old friend who has an international business and who understands me more than my other old friends. There are some parts of my old network that don't work anymore because they don't connect with what I want to talk about, I mean we don't connect that much anymore. (Sarwendah, ADS2 female Alumni)

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My main social support network that helped me to re-adjust to life at home was the other PhD students who studied overseas. We can talk and just share our experiences after going back to Indonesia. (Satya, ADS2 male Alumni)

ADS Informants Ken and Malcolm, both well-placed to comment on program support, agreed with findings from the literature (Gardiner & Hirst, 1990; Cox, 2004) that key reentry support comes from family and friends. Whilst this was consistent with many awardee accounts, it was not always the case, with several awardees stating that homecoming can prove difficult, especially in terms of fitting in with family and friends. This highlights the potential for some incongruity, in the case of accounts from third parties, including program Informants, who may observe or infer social support, but not experience it in a deeper way. For example, we already know from the findings that reunion with family and friends can be problematic, although Malcolm's account concludes this is trouble-free. Such divergence of views between awardees and program managers raises the importance of this study, because it seeks to understand the experience of cultural adjustment, from the perspective of the awardees:

> *I think in some respects it's easy for them coming back because they come back to their family, come back to their support network and the children have their grandparents and extended family to look after them.* (Malcolm, ADS male informant)

Re-constituting relations with friends can be problematic (Martin, 1986) and even at times negative (Uehara, 1986; Brabant et al., 1990), as was the case with a number of ADS awardees (Langgeng, Georgie, Elok, Arief). Difficulties in re-establishing friendships arose from changes in values as well as changing expectations relating to differing worldviews and misapprehensions that returnees, as well as those at home, will not have changed (Butcher, 2002). This was also a finding from Ghosh and Wang's (2003) study of international doctoral students that finds alienation from friends was experienced after reentry. According to Brabant et al.'s (1990) reentry study, changes in friendships were more widely reported by females than for males, with the study proposing that changes in the female returnees may be less acceptable to friends at home. The study highlights that gender can distinguish how ISs experience reentry and hence preparations for reentry should consider differences according to gender. Arief found it hard to share ideas gained in Australia because, in his view, this was negatively received by friends, as well as regarded as a form of boasting. Instead his ideas

were dismissed by friends and family as being too Australian, but he soon realised he would need to re-adjust to fit in at home:

> *My friends, colleagues and even my parents complained about me. They said I was so idealistic and were talking about me, in front of me and my friends. 'Let's look at Arief, he will change after three or six months'. It was hard and painful because when I had an idea they would say 'Oh no, that's an Australian idea'. But then I started to realise, OK I live in Jogjakarta, in Indonesia so I had to adapt again.* (Arief, ADS2 male Alumni)

6.5.2.4 General Adjustment - Conclusion

The accounts above provide some salient examples of general re-adjustment, particularly in response to family needs and the nature of social relations and living conditions encountered by returned awardees. Overall findings identified that family support was a paramount support mechanism for many of the returned awardees, and particularly the male cohort. For some, the mix of family support and friendships was key, in spite of implications for changes, particularly relating to values dissonance experienced amongst friends following reentry.

6.5.3 Intercultural Identity Change

Several scholars (Sussman, 2002; Kiley, 2003; Bielsa et al., 2014) emphasise that identity transformation takes place abroad and culminates at the point of reentry. It is claimed that typologies in terms of cultural identity strength (Berry, 2002; 2005; Cox, 2004; Sussman, 2002) are host-favoured (additive, subtractive), home favoured (affirmative) or IC (Kim, 2015). This section draws on comments from the awardees about changes to their cultural identity, arising from their award experience. Accounts are reflective of the IC scholarly literature in Chapter 3 (see Sections 3.3.6, 3.4.4., 3.4.5 and 3.5), in particular the analysis of cultural identity change articulated by Sussman (2000), Kim (2015b), and Kiley (2003).

Sussman's CIM predicted that negative feelings about returning home are likely to be associated with those who have subtracted from their home cultural identity, as a result of their sojourn experience, although this can co-exist with an additive identity that supplements the home identity with aspects of the host culture. ADS awardee, Georgie, was sad and upset to leave Australia and her reentry experience indicates she experienced reverse culture shock (see Section 6.5.1). She spoke at length about the prevailing cultural norms in Indonesia and reported that this was difficult to reconcile with her new values and behaviours. Georgie even stopped using her Indonesian 'nickname' in favour of a more Western-sounding name. Sussman's CIM identifies that those with a weak home cultural identity would be challenged at the time of return home. Drawing on Sussman's CIM, Georgie would be regarded as having a weakened home identity that resulted in a subtractive cultural identity, which would be associated with a negative repatriation experience:

> *I was angry about the way people drive here [in Indonesia], and they say 'no you are wrong'. When I was in the queue I said other people should also want to queue but then again my sister said 'no, you are wrong'. Like, why was I was wrong all the time? Why don't people even say thank you? And then when I gave way on the street, my sister became angry with me and told me not to do that because I will cause an accident. I started to get angry and conflicted with everybody. They say, 'Oh, Georgie now is different'. I called myself Georgie in Australia but in Indonesia they call me by my 'nickname'. So then people said I've changed because I used my bule name, which is for Western people. So I got frustrated about these small things. It's like I need to change from Georgie into my Indonesian name again but somehow I love being Georgie. So I found it difficult even until now and it's almost a year [since returning to Indonesia]. I found it difficult to adjust with the university culture and with my friends but with my family I am lucky because I don't have to live with my parents and live on my own, so my parents will never see my behaviour.* (Georgie, ADS2 female Alumni)

Georgie described herself as ‘Indonesian plus’ (indicative of an additive identity), because, whilst she was proud to affirm her Indonesian culture, she still chose to be engaged with Australian ways. Leong and Leung (2004) predict that people who assimilate with the host culture will not adjust well to the home culture and will experience problems at home, because traditional cultural values have shifted in favour of the host culture. Georgie, at the time of interview, had returned for over a year but still maintained a strong cultural connection to Australia. She regards her identity as Indonesian, but very much shaped by her experience in Australia. There are aspects of her account that are not fully explained by the Sussman CIM, in particular how her cultural identity is simultaneously affirmed, subtractive and additive:

> *I feel more proud to be Indonesian because I am Indonesian plus. Now I have a broader view. My former supervisor said that I am like a fish from the sea and I've come back into my small aquarium but have a lot of views. I'm proud being Indonesian but I'm also Australian so I even wonder when is the next election, subscribe to cable television so that I can get the up-to-date news about Australia, or even just the series that I used to watch there - you know the television program 'Master Chef'. So that's what shaped me a lot, the way I act and the way I think. But in a negative way my friend asked me whether I want to change my nationality to Australian and I said, no, I'm still Indonesian but if people asked me, I would say I'm an Indonesian, with experience in Australia.* (Georgie, ADS2 female Alumni)

According to Sussman (2000) those who affirm their home culture whilst abroad will be grateful or relieved to be finally returning home. Although the findings from returning ADS awardees did not highlight any reports of relief or gratitude to return home, several awardees (Ari, Netro, Sadewa) did report they were happy to be returning, although reasons given were linked to having met the PhD requirements.

A closer review of Ari's interview reveals that on-Award he struggled to establish friendships with Australians and that his primary support came from other Indonesian

Muslims and TCNs. Using the Sussman CIM, Ari might be regarded as having an affirmative cultural identity; however, this would also imply a difficult acculturation experience, and this was not evident from his interview. Instead, Ari reports feeling positive at both ends of the adjustment cycle, which indicates other factors, for example personality traits (O'Sullivan, 2002; Ward et al., 2004; Wilson et al., 2013) may have influenced his repatriation experience:

> *I'm feeling happy, because I have completed my study and it's time for me to contribute to my country.* (Ari, ADS2 male Alumni)

Satya shared that his views and opinions had changed a lot after being in Australia and this made it challenging to fit in with traditional Indonesian values. A review of his overall account indicates the likelihood that Satya had an additive identity. On-Award he reflected he had become more decisive and this was viewed unfavourably by his mother, who accused him of being outspoken and too rational. Only in interactions with others at home did Satya start to reflexively acknowledge issues of culture-distance issues and how he had changed. He still felt Indonesian but had adopted Australian ways. Satya might be also be regarded as a 'transformer' (Kiley, 2003) because his sojourn experience indicates significant personal changes. Similarly, Mega reported on personal change, and adding to her cultural identity (Sussman, 2000) to become a 'better Indonesian'. In her overall account of reentry, she reports it was difficult to return home and fit in, both at home and in the workplace:

> *I didn't know that I had changed my point of view a lot. So the first time I came back to Indonesia, I felt like an Australian and I saw Indonesia in a different way. The most challenging part is to fit in with my family. My parents and my in-laws saw us as a different kind of human coming back from Australia. My Mum says that I am too rational in making family decisions and too outspoken. So that's the very first time I realised that I've changed after five years in Australia. My family and I are Indonesian but we are also Australian so we have Australian ways of thinking that everything has to be on time and we deal with the people from our point of*

> *view in a very clear way. But here in Indonesia, people tend to please everyone and say OK they will help but eventually they don't.* (Satya, ADS2 male Alumni)

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> *I think I feel I am a better Indonesian but not less Indonesian. I know that there are strengths in Indonesian culture but also weaknesses. I think my experience in Australia has enhanced the good side of my Indonesian culture and changed my weaknesses in terms of Indonesian perspectives and culture. So I think I became a 'better Indonesian' after I finished my scholarship.* (Mega, ADS2 female Alumni)

Interculturalism occurs when individuals maintain their home cultural integrity, while merging with and valuing the host culture (Cox, 2006). Galang referred to how his identity was strengthened and enriched through his experience abroad, engaging with many cultures. Galang shared he felt stronger in his identity, as an Indonesian from Flores,[58] through his broader cultural experiences. An IC identity involves a more sutured home-host identity and is considered by scholars to be a preferred disposition, in terms of a relatively positive acculturation and re-acculturation experience (Sussman, 2002; Li & Gasser, 2005; Leong & Ward, 2007; Kim, 2008) which is evident from both his on-Award and post-Award experiences:

> *It's important that I learn from the way my Indonesian fellows behave and the way my Australian fellows behave and then try to identify myself. I feel that I've become more Indonesian but also more Flores in my own way. Even when I enjoyed the cultural differences experienced in Australia, I still felt that this strengthened my identity. Living in a country with so many differences was a privilege and studying in another culture and with other*

[58] Flores is one of the eastern Sunda islands in Indonesia.

people made me really understand myself. It's not the PhD degree that is most important but the under-side of studying with and learning from people from other cultures. I studied with people from Thailand, Laos, China, Japan, India and Australia but I'm still Indonesian even when I try to adopt another culture. So study abroad was enriching and I didn't lose my identity, I became more myself. (Galang, ADS2 male Alumni)

Some awardees referred to having two 'homes'. This is illustrative of an additive cultural identity (Sussman, 2002). Agustina described feeling 'torn' when she returned home, because initially she regarded both Australia and Indonesia as her home. At first she was quite ambivalent about returning home and even felt confused about the concept of what home really meant to her. One year on, she had settled back in with her family and calls Indonesia home again, suggesting that tensions between cultural orientations can be resolved over time. During a focus group discussion it was also commented that, for some awardees, Australia was like a having a second 'holiday' home, which implies it is secondary but viewed nonetheless as somewhere comfortable to be:

I had ambiguous feelings about going home. I felt happy because I will be reunited with my family and would somehow have a home because when I was in Australia I didn't know what home was. Every time I'd say I'm going home I didn't know what that means. In Australia when I say I am going home that means Bandung, but in Bandung when I say I'm going home that means Australia because I feel that Melbourne was my home as well. So I didn't want to leave but I knew I had to go and I had mixed feelings. But now Indonesia is where my family is and I feel its home and I'm quite comfortable. (Agustina, ADS2 female Alumni)

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I still feel Indonesian but if I go to Australia or New Zealand it feels like I'm coming back home, like a holiday place. That's the feeling but I still

> *feel Indonesian, even if I stay there. It's like a second home.* (Lombok Focus Group)

Bima retained a strong sense of his Indonesian cultural identity but this was also overlaid by his experience as a gay Indonesian man. Whilst a big part of his experience was retaining his home identity, Bima seemed compromised and unable to reconcile his sexual orientation with his Indonesian identity. He spoke about needing to 'be himself', which he could not do around Indonesians. This tension illustrates the way in which cultural identity is not shaped in isolation to other factors. The IC literature underscores there are multiple frames of reference (Hall et al., 1992) that are continuously transformed within the cultural systems in which we are surrounded. From an identity perspective, Bima's identification of himself as a family member, teacher and doctor are illustrative of the changing nature of IC identities:

> *I was thinking I can never be myself with Indonesians. I'm not like a screaming fag or anything like that but at the same time a very big part of me is being an Indonesian. At the very beginning when you asked me how do I identify myself, I wouldn't say that I'm gay first off. I would say first of all, I'm just a member of my family, then I'm a teacher, I'm a doctor. That's much more important to me than being gay.* (Bima, ADS2 male Alumni)

A bicultural strategy is likely to facilitate adjustment, since emphasis is on alternation and gaining competence in two cultures, without having to preference one or the other (LaFromboise et al., 1993; Phinney, 2003; Nguyen & Martinez, 2013). One student's adjustment strategy was described by ADS Informant, Ken, as chameleon-like (Nguyen & Martinez, 2013), in terms of behaviour. Ken described this extreme example of switching identities to accord with the context, as a strategic approach to both acculturation and re-acculturation; according to Kiley (2003), 'strategists' are able to pitch their behaviours and attitudes according to what is expected in a given cultural context:

> *He arrived in Australia wearing a western suit. Whereas most of the other males wore batik shirts, he wore a western shirt and tie. While he studied*

here he didn't live with other Indonesian students, he lived separately. He was married to an Indonesian who remained in Indonesia while he studied in Australia. While studying in Australia he had an affair with an Australian woman. He anglicised his Indonesian name whilst here along with so much of his persona. I saw that for myself and at the time thought 'wow this guy is really integrated, he's done his homework, he's thought about what he's coming into and making the most of his experience'. Later on when we did a follow up after his return to Indonesia I found out that this same guy when leaving Indonesia to come to Australia went to the airport with his family and got on the plane in a full Sudanese traditional costume. When he left Melbourne before landing in Jakarta he changed back into his Sudanese clothes and became the Indonesian persona again, resuming life as a Muslim family man in Indonesia. I met him a couple of times, and it was like meeting an entirely different person. How he did that personality switch I would never know but it was obviously something intended. He was a librarian and had obviously read and researched about the culture he was coming into but he was the most prepared person culturally both ways that I've ever, ever seen. His behaviour was totally 'chameleon'.(Ken, ADS male Informant)

Identity patterns were explored and align heuristically with frameworks proposed by Sussman, Kiley and other factors. The above findings show there was a range of affective responses from returning Alumni. In the case of some awardees (Georgie, Ari, Satya and Mega) there is support for Sussman's CIM, whereas other accounts are more readily explained by other aspects of identity. In addition, factors including personality traits, sexual orientation provide further explanations linked to identity changes. Issues of identity change related to academic orientation are examined in Section 6.5.5 and workplace re-adjustment is the subject of the following section.

6.5.4 Workplace Re-adjustment – Challenges and Support

The purpose of this section is to consider the experience of work-related reentry, especially challenges and support mechanisms and the subsequent transfer of knowledge from doctoral studies. Understanding this experience is highly relevant to this study, given these doctoral awardees are mandated to return home, expected to function well in their work environment and build on their academic potential and research linkages. In addition, earlier research on academic re-entrants found the most significant problem for returnees was adjusting to professional university jobs. After an overview of the repatriation status of the awardees, this section will examine the enabling environment to repatriate and transfer knowledge, workplace challenges, support mechanisms and emerging academic identities.

Whereas the vast majority of ADS Alumni return to previous employment in Indonesia and receive salary benefits while on-Award, in addition to the AusAID benefits, for most ISs in Australia career outcomes are generally unknown, as these students return home to look for work. Distinguishing features of the ADS program are that awardees do not have the stress of needing to find work at home, as in most cases they are contracted to return to existing jobs. In addition, this means the awardees are also distinguished from other ISs because of their hybrid status as knowledge workers and students. This is also a factor that necessitates examining repatriation in both the EM and IS literature. In addition, analysis of data is also assisted by reference to a very small number of studies that have examined repatriation issues specific to academics (Gama & Pedersen, 1977; Leong & Leung, 2004) and other more general literature on the doctoral experience (Gardner, 2008; Lovitts, 2008; Jazvac-Martek, 2009; Sato & Hodge, 2009; Lee & Kim, 2010; Rizvi, 2010; McAlpine, 2012; Nguyen, 2012; Ryan, 2012; Mukminin & McMahon, 2013; Fotovatian & Miller, 2012; Guerin et al., 2014).

The section commences with a short review of the status of workplace repatriation for the majority of returned awardees in this study.

6.5.4.1 Repatriation and return to work

With the exception of two ADS awardees, all returned home to resume existing employment in higher education or research institutes. The average period spent in Indonesia after reentry was around three years and a further breakdown is available in Chapter 4, Section 4.6.5.2. Although the transition to independent researcher marks the doctoral experience, most returned awardees resumed teaching responsibilities, with not many engaged in research activities. For several awardees, this also presented a relief because of the demands of PhD study, coupled with the sense of achievement in having met the requirements of the study program. For example, several awardees (Ari, Wibawa, Sadewa, Arief) referred pleasurably to having met the requirement for the PhD. Wibawa, whilst sad, on the one hand, to be leaving Australia, was relieved that his PhD study had come to an end and he could now leave the 'torture chamber':

> *I had mixed feelings about going home. I was happy because finally I finished the 'torturing' PhD program. I call the PhD a 'torture chamber'. On the other hand, I had to leave my good friends in Melbourne and all the things that I love about Australia.* (Wibawa, ADS2 male Alumni)

Notwithstanding return conditions of the program, ADS Informant Bill believed that Indonesians, more than other recipient nationalities for the Awards program, just want to go home when they finish the program – Indonesians are great returners:

> *'There is no question that Indonesians are great returners. They don't like to leave Indonesia. It's an astonishing difference between almost every other Asian country, where AusAID has a lot of trouble getting people to go back home. It's not that they don't like Australia – they just want to go home!* (Bill ADS male Informant)

In contrast to the overall high retention of ADS returned Alumni at around 97 per cent (AusAID, 2011b) are significantly poorer retention figures for repatriated corporate workers (Adler, 1981; Black et al., 1992). Whereas the vast majority of Alumni return and stay for

over two years, it is estimated that between 20 and 50 per cent of repatriated corporate employees leave their jobs within one year (Adler, 1981; Black et al., 1992). This is usually because of role dissatisfaction and limited career prospects compounded by absence abroad (Andreason & Kinneer, 2005). Notwithstanding this comparison, ADS retention outcomes are difficult to compare, given that return is mandatory, but this foreshadows that further research about the nature of repatriation and retention of knowledge workers has the potential to extend the relatively small and recent collection of EM studies that have examined self-initiated expatriation issues (Tharenou & Caulfield, 2010) in the context of academia (Richardson & McKenna, 2002; 2003; Selmer & Lauring, 2009; 2011; 2013a, b; Selmer et al., 2015; Doherty, Richardson & Thorn, 2013.

6.5.4.2 Problems in the enabling environment

Return to work presented a myriad of challenges. Of particular note was the poor enabling environment that precluded effective transfer of knowledge and skills in the workplace. Knowledge transfer incorporates a supply and demand aspect that can be thwarted by an insufficient enabling environment (Ford, 2012; Burmeister et al., 2015). Features of the enabling environment encountered by repatriated awardees included internal resistance to change, limited time for research activities due to competing priorities, including teaching, administration and contracting to external parties. In addition, limited access to resources created further obstacles and diminished research potential. Other challenges included internal workplace jealousies and office politics. These issues were also identified in a recent DFAT (2015b) proposal to implement a global tracer study of scholarship awardees. In addition, the overall relevance of their PhD experience was confirmed by returnees, but issues of application within the local context were also raised.

Indonesia's knowledge economy challenges extend to low quality supply and poor demand from government and the private sector. A program to address these challenges was implemented by AusAID in 2012 and identified low research quality as linked to lack of incentives, low capacity and lack of available resources for researchers. The program design identified that in 2011 Indonesia had the lowest number of international publications per one

million people, compared to other Asian countries, and identified broad reform issues. Reform issues included existing pay structures that included perverse incentives for academics to be paid according to their number of research projects resulting in over-reliance on high volume and short-term contracts, which was impeding research quality.

Scholars identify knowledge transfer as a key component of repatriate success (Lazarova & Tarique, 2005; Bailey & Dragoni, 2013; Burmeister et al., 2015), where willingness and incentives to share knowledge occur and colleagues are receptive and ready to receive and utilise knowledge. Hence capability to transfer knowledge is related to effective social integration within the organizational setting (Björkman et al., 2007). In this study, several returned awardees (Sadewa, Galang, Wira) reported that willingness to transfer ideas and knowledge was thwarted by factors, including internal resistance to change, workplace hierarchies, office politics and competing contract priorities.

According to Altbach (2004), norms and values of academic systems abroad are often in conflict with those in the home academic institution, and hence change is often unrealistic and unattained. When Wira proposed to internationalise the curriculum and research policy, support for his initiative was confined to one professor from the United Kingdom, presumably trained in OECD research methods and able to grasp his approach to scholarly research, unlike other colleagues and senior professors, who did not understand Wira's ideas. This experience concurs with Cannon's (2000) finding that the transfer of skills and knowledge gained abroad from returned Indonesian post-graduates did not easily translate to the working environment due to non-acceptance of ideas from colleagues. In addition Valk et al. (2014) found that where repatriates perceived their knowledge and skills were unrecognised, this led to intention to leave their employment. The problems described by Wira could be addressed by change management initiatives to optimise for the transfer and integration of skills and experience gained abroad:

> *Returning and fitting in at work has been difficult, because most of my colleagues here cannot understand what I am talking about as my research topic is very uncommon in Indonesia. When I talked about having a*

> *research plan or policy it seemed that nobody understood about strategy to develop research. I then proposed to change the curriculum for the masters and PhD but most of the professors here didn't agree with me, because it was too hard for the students but also for them because they would need to learn about and teach new topics in order to keep up internationally. When I came back here the Faculty wanted every program to become internationally recognised, so I proposed a program that would have international exposure but most of them didn't understand. Only one professor, the one from the Birmingham University was sympathetic to me and really understood what I was talking about.* (Wira, ADS2 male Alumni)

Internal resistance to change was a common problem for returned awardees, and, according to ADS Informant Malcolm, related to the bureaucratic and hierarchical nature of the Indonesian public sector. In Malcolm's view, returned awardees were also unrealistic about implementing change, given these organisational constraints:

> *I think some of them come back with unrealistic expectations about what they are going to achieve, and we try and temper this a bit before they go to Australia and say look, your organisation is going be pretty much the same when you come back as to how you left it, so your biggest challenge is going to be working within the system. It's not going to change when you are away. Many of them will talk about their lack of ability to influence others. Many of them come back and they are very low in terms of the 'pecking order', so their ability to influence change in their organisation is limited.* (Malcolm, ADS male Alumni)

In contrast to these accounts from Wira and Malcolm, Sadewa returned and in the face of resistance from staff led changes to improve student learning. Background aspects that distinguish his achievement include the private university setting, his position of power as the

head of the Computer Laboratory and the effect of these changes, which mostly stood to negatively impact on those less senior:

> *When I returned the Faculty appointed me as the head of the Computer Lab. I made a lot of changes that were not popular and some of the staff were resistant to change. I had to fire all the student staff that were not up to my standard. I adapted the computer lab system, based on the system in Australia, to create more computer time for students instead of boring tutorial classes. I restructured and gave absolute power to the lecturer to appoint tutors and teaching assistants, develop the tutorial material and have absolute control of the tutorials. I provided the space, the software and made sure the computers worked.* (Sadewa ADS2 male Alumni)

These accounts relating to resistance to change also highlight the challenge of workplace hierarchy in Indonesia. In Mega's case, those in higher positions treated her like a minion, instead of a peer with whom they should collaborate. With no particular strategy to cope, persistence prevailed, but Mega felt repressed and unable to contribute her ideas in a context that she perceived was so different to how she had experienced Australian universities; a similar finding was reported by Kiley (1999) and Ford (2012), insofar as the hierarchical work culture in Indonesia was not conducive for younger staff to work effectively with older colleagues, with junior staff unable to prioritise their work because of projects and contract work undertaken by their senior colleagues.

> *Honestly returning to my colleagues at work was a little bit hard in the beginning. In Australia everything runs well, we don't have to ask someone to do our job because everyone is aware of his or her responsibilities. But here in Indonesia people are divided into two different levels and working with people that think that they are in a higher level is not really good. I had to serve people from higher positions when I really wanted to show them that we are in the same situation and should be able to express and be ourselves, whereas my family and friends want to listen to me and know*

what I have learned in Australia and about the way of life there (Mega, ADS2 female Alumni)

Aside from issues of hierarchy at work, office politics and related jealousy in the workplace were issues that tested several female returned awardees (Dewi, Mega, Agustina, Melati). The issue of jealousy was also documented by Kiley (1999) in her longitudinal study of Indonesian awardees, including their return home, and by Gama and Pedersen (1977), in their study of returned Brazilian academics. Mega believed her colleagues expected her to work harder than others and were jealous and resentful of her experience abroad. Colleagues also seemed resentful of her relative standing as someone who had studied abroad and told her it was time to 'pay back' for all the easy times she had supposedly been privy to in Australia. Agustina felt constantly undermined in the workplace by a male colleague. The constant and underlying criticism eventually caused her to distance herself from the department and seek support from others outside of her university. According to ADS Informant Malcolm, jealousy stems from the competitive nature of the workplace in Indonesia and senior staff lacking offshore credentials are likely to be intimated by those with overseas qualifications. Accounts from Mega, Agustina and Malcolm follows:

> *So many Indonesians are jealous if people get a scholarship and an experience overseas that they don't really appreciate you in a positive way. Most likely this is because of jealousy because they think you enjoyed something good and you haven't experienced hard times, so now you should have a lot of burden and work to do. In my work situation I felt they were mostly jealous because they kept giving me a lot of things to do, really a lot. One of my colleagues told me I had to teach 22 credits [hours] a semester. And then there is a lot of administrative stuff. It's almost like teaching from seven in the morning up to seven at night, so tiring. Normally as a lecturer we have a maximum of 12 credit hours to teach, do public service and then do research and so on. My colleague told me that because I had enjoyed four years studying in Australia I now have to pay back for all the easiness that I experienced.* (Mega, ADS2 female Alumni)

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The politics at work can be very difficult to deal with. It seems that some people are not very comfortable with my success and are jealous. For example, some people just 'slammed' what I wrote, what I said and this makes me feel uncomfortable in my home department. It seemed to be personal and I felt really disappointed but this has been a longstanding issue between myself and another person from the department. There has been competition between us for a long time. So basically I'm keeping at a distance from my home department. I'm not comfortable there and I don't feel I get the support I'm supposed to although I do get support from other groups and even from other faculties and universities. (Agustina, ADS2 female Alumni)

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I think in some work environments there would be a degree of jealousy for those people who have come back with a post graduate qualification, others would be very supportive and would recognize the additional skills they bring back, but it's a very competitive work environment in Indonesia, there are huge numbers that are fighting for jobs and I think particularly bosses and supervisors without overseas qualifications are going to feel particularly threatened by the new cohort coming through with overseas qualifications. (Malcolm, ADS male Informant)

Given that government conditions for academics reward additional teaching through allocation of salary supplements, systemic bureaucratic reforms are integral to incentivise and mainstream a research culture at the institutional and individual level. Notwithstanding these reform issues, several Alumni (Mega, Dewi, Diah, Agustina, Mega, Sadewa, Sarwendah, Galang, Melati) spoke about the challenge of not having enough time for

research due to the burden of existing administration and teaching commitments[59]. In this study, it was mostly the female awardees who reported limited time for research activities. Dewi's research aspirations were hampered by workload as well as office politics. Netro's effort to publish was foiled due to administrative responsibilities. Galang was equally frustrated about his teaching and administration load, but at least in his role as Vice-Dean was finally able to lobby the university for the provision of basic facilities and time to assist ongoing research. Similar findings emerged from the Gama and Pedersen (1977) study, in terms of research constraints involving lack of time also exacerbated by other issues, including access to facilities and resources and excessive bureaucracy.

> *I don't really have time to do research. They give me so much to do, it's overwhelming. Like teaching eight classes and everything else, it's overwhelming. I have research tasks as well but it's not really in line with what I've done. If I could choose, it's better to become a researcher, so what I've done in four years is not just gone. But how can I do research when they assign tasks without asking whether you have time or not? They just put me in the schedule and I have to follow it. I really want to have a professorship but to do this I have to be doing research and having publications. How could I do that with all of these things – it's too much.* (Dewi, ADS2 female Alumni)

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> *There was a publisher from London who contacted me before I finished my PhD and they said that if I wished to publish they would be very happy to have my manuscript. I need to reconstruct part of my thesis and given my*

[59] In Australia, academic job functions also comprise teaching, research and administrative duties, but the relative emphasis on each can vary by institution and contract of tenure (Jepsen et al., 2014). In some Australian universities up to 12 hours teaching is the weekly norm, especially for second-tier institutions.

administrative tasks here, I think that's pretty hard to do. (Netro, ADS2 male Alumni)

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So effectively I had seven lectures to give, but then comes another and another. I felt that I had no time to really develop what I've studied. Trying to adjust to all this administrative stuff and having all of the extra lectures was very stressful. There was no time for research. I spent most of my time to prepare and do teaching and I almost forgot what I'd done with my research. This was not just my experience but also the experience of others. We had almost no rooms and no time to practice what we studied. Coming back to our institution involved simply continuing what we had done before our study. Nowadays as a Vice Dean for Research and Cooperation I advocate at the university policy level to give more rooms to the new PhD holders to continue doing their research but still I have to fight for this. (Galang, ADS2 male Alumni)

A number of ADS Informants (Darma, Daksa, Malcolm) commented on administrative constraints to research, noting this is often associated with promotion or higher duties, with implications for time allotted to research activities. Darma likened the PhD to a research apprenticeship and felt that, whilst some returned awardees achieved a promotion, their role became more administrative, and hence a missed opportunity for Indonesia to capitalise on the research skills gained abroad:

If they really fall in love with doing research they can feel disillusioned when they come back because the culture of research in Indonesia is not as strong as in Australia and they cannot channel that aspiration. It is normal for those that get the PhD to be considered as a high-profile person and be placed in a structural position as head of department, Dean or head of division. So they end up as university managers rather than researchers. I don't know to what extent they can transfer back their knowledge because

> *they are bogged down by administrative stuff. The PhD is really an apprenticeship for doing research so you can be an independent researcher. They should be put in a research-intensive division to really leverage that skill which will bring development and progress to the Indonesian country in terms of company practices or public policy.* (Darma, ADS male Informant)

The private contracting of academic services outside the university was a further obstacle that limited research capacity. It is commonplace for academics to combine teaching and private consulting and this was also identified as a constraint to building Indonesia's knowledge sector. According to Altbach, Reisberg and Pacheco (2012), many academic staff pursue consulting opportunities for additional income, with inevitable diminished quality of university work. Many Indonesian academics significantly rely on private contracts to supplement their salary and hence research outputs become confined to consulting reports (Ford, 2012). Ford (2012:25) states that "Indonesian universities do not function effectively as research institutions, leading to a situation where their academic research is undervalued and their contract research effectively privatised". In this study, three returned awardees (Sadewa, Wira, Wibawa) reported that private consulting work has become more of a priority than research[60]. Sadewa's account of working at a private university emphasised how research outcomes can be diluted because of teaching and the lure of more lucrative outside work contracts, but with some scope for limited research built into consulting work:

> *Our work is mostly teaching in the private universities. I teach five classes now with four different subjects so there is a lot of teaching rather than research, but I can teach whatever I want. I have total control about what I*

[60] The researcher has personally observed that the issue to supplement government income is endemic, particularly in the government sector. For example, it is commonplace for academic medical staff to leave the university setting to undertake routine shifts at private clinics, with considerable implications for time absent from their academic role.

> *do and nobody dares to tell me what to do. My focus is not currently on research because I'm teaching and also consulting. Right now, if I'm not teaching I'll be with my client. I work for them and they pay me a regular salary but if I'm not teaching I would be there with the client. I'd love to do research right now but I just don't have time with everything although I try to squish in a bit of research into my consulting work.* (Sadewa, ADS2 male)

According to Altbach (2004), universities in developing countries are mostly teaching institutions and lack facilities for research, access to journals and other databases. It was also the finding of this study that access to facilities and resources including library and equipment prohibited research potential and transfer of knowledge. Exceptions were in the case of two awardees (Wira, Wibawa), both completing contract work in a highly internationalised environment, with full access to equipment and other forms of assistance. According to Bochner & Wicks (1972:219), "even though the returnee is employed in the field he was trained for, it does not necessarily mean that he can apply the knowledge gained abroad". Earlier studies of returned Indonesian Alumni (Keats, 1969; Daroesman & Daroesman, 1992; Kiley, 1999) similarly reported disappointment and frustration in the case of scholarship returnees, due to lack of facilities and resources, and this was later documented in a survey of AusAID scholarship trends (2008-2012) (Orima Research, 2012). ADS Informant Daksa continues to engage closely with the ADS program assisting selection of PhD awardees, as well as working with Alumni Groups. He has observed first-hand and was privy to accounts from Alumni about workplace adjustment difficulties related to the lack of access to facilities and resources:

> *I think most Alumni find it quite difficult to re-adjust to their environment. I mean to work in Indonesia is different than in Australia. In Australia you get access to all the resources, the library is always there 24 hours and you have access to laboratory technicians, librarians, your supervisors. But here in Indonesia it's not always easy to re-adjust to our environment because the rewards of being someone with the masters or PhD is not*

always there in terms of incentives, facilities and financial support to continue research or to write a book or other things to fulfil your academic achievement. (Daksa, ADS male Informant)

6.5.4.3 Research outputs

According to Leong and Leung (2004), the primary task of academics is to conduct research and publish findings. Whilst most awardees commented on limited time available to conduct research and discussed problems of facilities and resources, in spite of these challenges many demonstrated publication achievements, with some publishing in internationally peer-reviewed journals and presenting at international and domestic conferences. ADS Informant Pani raised the issue of government incentives that reward academics for publishing in low-quality journals, usually produced on an individual basis to maximise salary supplements, along with a research culture in Indonesia that does not incorporate critique:

> *You need to look at the multilevel structure of Indonesian salaries. You start with a basic salary, then you receive increments for lectures and other components including publications and research output. The problem is that the incentives don't necessarily encourage participation in research and so you'll get a lot of research output but very, very poor quality. Whether it's very high quality or low quality makes no difference in terms of the incentives you get. Another problem we have here [in Indonesia] is that we don't have a view to criticising other academics or other researchers. So this also reduces the quality. Individual publications are paid a salary increment, there's no incentive to do combined research, it's all individual.* (Pani, ADS male Alumni)

Jane, a program informant working closely with Alumni, highlighted the lack of coordination as well as mismatch between supply and demand for research, noting a big gap that the program seeks to address. In addition, she identified publication hurdles that are a feature for many international researchers, including English language challenges; the ADS program continues to support publication efforts post-Award through its Alumni outreach program

and planned to integrate research outputs in concert with an AusAID-proposed program dedicated to the knowledge sector in Indonesia:

> *I know that a lot of Alumni are doing research but a lot of government institutions making public policies don't know about their research and are either doing their own research or not doing it at all. So there's a big gap there and one of the things we've been discussing with Alumni in workshops is how to publish academically and internationally. A lot of Alumni say they're struggling with the English and the time takes so long to submit an article before it is published. It can take up to a year or eighteen months from what I understand and then there's the issue of only being able to submit to one journal unless you are rejected. A lot of them seem to manage to get their paper accepted but I guess it depends on whether it's scientific or theoretical or if it's a hot topic.* (Jane, ADS female Informant)

Such constraints on publishing for returned awardees were again highlighted in an account from one recently completed awardee. Dimas had recently submitted his thesis for examination but negotiated with his employer in Indonesia and the Australian government to extend his visa to take up a time-limited post-doctoral role in Australia. Dimas was adamant that research productivity was far greater outside of Indonesia because of access to facilities and research expertise:

> *I think if the point of going back home is to do research on Indonesia then I can do this here in Australia where I can get a faster computer, bigger computer screen and better access to library resources and experts on Indonesia. I might as well do it here [in Australia]. I think what's important is the access to colleagues and peers here as the critical mass is not high in Indonesia, so when you do research on child labour for example, you may be one of just ten in the country who are doing research on Indonesia or on child labour. For example, if you do child labour*

research in the US then you're one of about 500,000 people. You can get a lot of feedback and get a lot of critical review, as well as talk to a lot of experts. (Dimas, ADS2 male awardee)

6.5.4.4 Relevance and application of the Award experience

Scholars (Nilan, 2002; Chur-Hansen, 2004; Cuthbert et al., 2008) have observed a mismatch between training abroad and local needs. Alumni were questioned about the relevance of skills and knowledge transferred to the Indonesian context. Many declared this to be a good match (Banyu, Sarwendah, Wira, Melati, Wibawa, Georgie), referring more broadly to the learning and exposure to different teaching styles, but with some reservation about the potential to transfer skills to the Indonesian setting. For example, Banyu regards the relevance of his education abroad highly, but he noted the lack of facilities to implement change. His analogy of a bird with its wings clipped described his frustration of knowing how to go about research but not being able to access the resources to do so. In contrast, Indah was able to find a meaningful way to add value to the local community in a poor area. She wanted to share her good fortune as a returned awardee:

There's a very good match of what I learned in Australia and its use in Indonesia but it would be much better if we had more opportunities and facilities to actually implement those skills. For example, I tried to teach my students how to surf the internet and to do a proper literature review but we don't have subscriptions to journals or access to full text articles. I felt like a bird with my wings clipped. I know how to fly but I cannot fly because my wings are clipped. If we had more facilities and access to everything then the skills would have been much better used. (Banyu, ADS2 male Alumni)

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I try to benefit the community and teach my neighbours without payment because I want them to enrol in education like me. I developed a small

> *library that I share with our community. It's like sharing your good fortune because we live in a poor area.* (Indah, ADS2 female Alumni)

Adjusting to the academic environment in a remote area is likely to further exacerbate issues of access to facilities and resources. According to Altbach (2004:12), "foreign students serve as carriers of an international academic culture - a culture that reflects the norms and values of the major metropolitan universities. In many ways this culture lacks relevance to the developing world". Both Keats (1969) and Cuthbert et al. (2008) reported on a mismatch between the scholarship education provided in Australia and local conditions. Problems relating to a mismatch between study and job demands are also likely to be compounded in the case of local resistance. According to a study of Asian academics (Leong & Leung, 2004:352), "blind importation of Western theories, concepts, and research tools may lead to biased results and the negligence of locally important concepts and phenomena". Similarly Nilan's (2002) examination of scholarship viability and the Indonesian public sector found postgraduate study in Australia was highly irrelevant because of little demonstrated impact on reducing poverty or achieving sustainable development, which are overarching aims of the scholarship award program.

A focus group held in Lombok, an Eastern island of Indonesia, emphasised the importance of applying knowledge to and understanding local needs in the community, in the spirit of the *Small is Beautiful* (Schumacher, 1973) movement that seeks to ensure the transfer of skills and technology befits local needs:

> *In terms of facilities we have a little bit less, because when we are in Australia whatever we need we can get it. But this is not really the case here and we have to adjust our research approach. For every Indonesian study abroad we need to understand about the situation, like the ability of our government to fulfil every research need that we want. We try to absorb as much as possible the technology that you can get from Australia but understand that we have to re-adjust to the local condition. Australian supervisors should teach students more conventional ways of doing*

> *research that are meaningful so it can apply to the community. We try to be more realistic and we just dare to dream. It's OK to learn about DNA for example but you have to understand that when you come back here it may be hard to find equipment, so you have to re-adjust to whatever available equipment is here. The most important thing is to be able to apply your knowledge to your community.* (Focus Group Discussion, Lombok)

ADS Informant Ken highlighted that returned Alumni can struggle against lack of resources which restrict implementation of their research programs, but on a positive note he maintained this was merely a stage of development, with Indonesia rapidly changing. Ken, in contrast to previous accounts from awardees, argued that returned awardees accept this reality and are well-positioned to leverage their knowledge as the country reaches a higher and more globalised level of development:

> *I think by and large there are people that bemoan the fact that they don't have the facilities at home but they accept the reality of the situation that Indonesia is at a certain level of development and its universities are different than what they've experienced in Australia. Whilst there is an argument for not having a study program that can't really be replicated and developed when people go home, on the other hand there should be people ready for the next stage of development. When these awardees go back they may not be able to use all of the skills or replicate or extend their research immediately but hopefully that will come, particularly as the globalisation of education hits Indonesia and it is already hitting.* (Ken, ADS male Informant)

6.5.4.5 Workplace re-adjustment support mechanisms

Awardees were asked about what support mechanisms were able to assist workplace reintegration. Accounts emphasised the importance of contact with others that could understand their experience of sojourn, usually by way of their own first-hand experience. A number of awardees spoke about how their previous reentry experience had assisted. Other

support mechanisms included access to resources found in jobs with access to international resources and staff. In addition personality traits were discussed in terms of supporting workplace reentry. Several awardees also spoke about being happy to return in relation to the completion of their PhD studies.

As previously reported in Section 6.4.2, reintegration at work was facilitated by way of contact with colleagues prior to return, a strategy that several EM scholars (Black et al., 1992; Andreason & Kineer, 2005; MacDonald & Arthur, 2005; Lii & Wong, 2008; Pritchard, 2011) have linked to positive re-adjustment, along with visits home to keep abreast of changes (Black et al., 1992). Related to this is the ongoing connection with colleagues who shared a similar study experience abroad.

Being able to connect awardees with those who shared a similar experience assisted workplace reentry (Elok, Satya, Sarwendah). Insights from social identity theory also identified that association with in-groups can assist adjustment outcomes (Gudykunst & Kim, 2003; Phinney, 2003). Returning home was easy for Sarwendah because of the familiarity with her former job and colleagues, especially those who had previously studied abroad. The study by Gama and Pedersen (1977) similarly found the formation of in-groups can assist repatriation in a university setting. As previously discussed, re-establishing contact with the university prior to return also helped prepare as well as pre-empt reentry issues. For example, in Sarwendah's case, colleagues who had previously returned from abroad were able to alert her to jealousy arising because of her study abroad experience and reinforce to her the importance of staying calm. Connecting with others who share similar experiences at work also offered a mentoring opportunity to assist repatriation adjustment (Andreason & Kineer, 2005):

> *Coming home was easy. I didn't have to start a new job so at least I came home to people I knew. Even though there are changes at my university and I had to adjust, this was quite easy. I felt I was able to fit-in really well at home and at work and with my friends. I think this was because at work we have so many colleagues that graduated from abroad and that made it*

> *easy for me but also for them too because we shared similar experiences compared to other departments in the university where there are fewer foreign graduates.*
>
> *My colleagues reminded me to cool down from time to time, so I won't create jealousy at work or be seen as too different from the others who didn't have the privilege to study abroad or others from the older generation.* (Sarwendah, ADS2 female Alumni)

Several Alumni reflected on a previous reentry experience (Banyu, Cahaya, Sadewa). Banyu shared that having the experience of returning after a masters degree helped prepare him and his colleagues. He shared that, after the masters experience abroad, he encountered jealousy at work, but after returning from the PhD his colleagues were eager to learn and more accepting of his new ideas. The issue of hierarchy was previously raised, and related to the way Indonesians respect seniority. Since completing his masters degree in 2001, Banyu had a further seven years' experience, and, having completed his PhD, was a more credible and senior entity. His account of events also suggests some nuanced behaviour that took into account his previous negative reentry experience; this is consistent with Bochner's (1986) assertion that culture learning can assist re-adjustment through learning to modify behaviour in accordance with the context:

> *When I returned from my master's it was really hard for everybody. Many of my work colleagues were a little bit envious and they looked at me with suspicion because I was still a junior but had got the scholarship. Fortunately quite a lot of them were able to accept the fact that I was bringing in new things that could be applied back home. So based on that experience from my master's, when I returned from my PhD, everybody was asking about what new things I had bought back and they were much more open to the fact that I had returned and more positive about accepting me back.* (Banyu, ADS2 male Alumni)

In contrast to others whose research goals suffered because resources were not available and additional teaching loads and administration hindered their research potential, two Alumni (Wira, Wibawa) worked with multilateral donors in a highly internationalised environment in Jakarta, where they were able to maintain English language and share in the benefits from international collaborations, with implications for knowledge transfer, research quality and soft diplomacy outcomes (Ford, 2012). Similarly, Georgie was able to maintain English language skills and feel connected through her work and associations with a Jakarta-based international Council. According to Leong and Leung (2004), institutes can strategically adopt a more internationalised identity which can link with the cultural identity of returned students, or, in this case, academics. This experience compared favourably to the more frustrating experience of working outside of Jakarta at a provincial university campus:

> *I've got a friend in Jakarta who graduated from Germany and he hired me on contract. I work with him in Jakarta as a senior expert in communications. He's the Director of an international business Council. Once a month I work in Jakarta for two to three days and we speak in English and the way we communicate makes me feel like there is no such Indonesian culture there, but not in daily life. In formal meetings sometimes we still speak in English and somehow it makes me feel connected, so it's a good environment. But when I came back to my campus [outside Jakarta], I felt frustrated.* (Georgie, ADS2 female Alumni)

Personality factors, including cross-cultural competence and adjustment, are the subject of several acculturation studies (Harrison et al., 1996; Ward et al., 2004; Wilson et al., 2013; Awais Bhatti et al., 2014). In this study, returned awardees and informants were asked about personal change and aspects of their personality that helped with re-adjustment. Confidence linked to self-efficacy, open-mindedness, resilience and independence were traits commonly reported on with implications for workplace re-adjustment. ADS Informant Sean confirmed that improved confidence was linked to work performance. In Banyu's case, feeling no less qualified or less important than others gave him confidence and also affirmed his pride in being Indonesian. During focus group discussions academic experience was linked to

working independently, having an open mind and being diligent. Steve, ADS Informant, linked their success to persevering and keeping a sense of humour in hard times. Similar insights were documented over time in three Indonesian studies (Daroesman & Daroesman, 1992; Kiley, 1999; Chalid, 2015). These studies found students more confident as a result of their scholarship experience in Australia, with acquired soft-skills (Chalid, 2015) that impacted positively on their post-Award professional as well as personal lives:

> *They are more confident for sure - much more confident. That really stands out in the surveys and the focus groups. They have confidence in themselves personally but also in their work ability and more confidence in social situations. They have more confidence in in their ability to perform.* (Sean, ADS male Informant)

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> *After the ADS master's and PhD, I'm more confident and more assertive when engaging with people. I realise that I have something to offer and a contribution to make. I also realise that people from all over the world, including the international and the local students are not that good, we all make mistakes so basically we are all in the same boat learning together. So I have more confidence in myself and I'm more proud to be an Indonesian because we are no less than anybody else really*. (Banyu, ADS2 male Alumni)

~

> *As academics the experience when studying overseas taught us to be hard working and also to like working independently. Also to be more open minded and to change our mindset to respect other people's opinions.* (Lombok Focus Group)

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> *I think the important things that help with success are resilience and perseverance, or having a 'thick skin' as I call it. The ones who are really*

> *successful keep trying to think from different perspectives. The thing that I think differentiates them is their sense of humour – they do take things very seriously but they almost have a resignation that this is how it is and can just laugh about things. I think this helps when they go back because they can laugh and just accept the way things are and then roll with it.* (Steve, ADS male Informant)

This section has identified several support mechanisms for reentry adjustment. Factors include access to others who share a similar experience, a previous reentry experience, advantages that come from working within an internationalised workplace and personality traits that were either sharpened or emerged from the Award experience.

6.5.4.6 Workplace re adjustment and gender

Analysis of the data relating to workplace reentry indicates that female awardees experienced a disproportionate burden across a number of areas. In terms of publications and conference outputs, female awardees were less represented. The impact of teaching overload and office politics largely fell on returned female awardees. This suggests workplace reentry may be linked to a gendered distribution of power between men and women, with female returned awardees more likely to face issues of balancing work and family responsibilities (Brown & Brown, 2009). According to Boey (2014), whereas men seem to have more time to pursue their career, women's traditional social and cultural norms present obstacles in terms of work and family tensions. These observations also concur with DFAT (2015a) analysis of global award outcomes, with results disaggregated by sex showing that more female Alumni face resistance to change and less access to resources, but, on the other hand, indicating higher levels of personal growth and confidence.

According to Heim, Engelage, Zimmermann, Herweg, Michel & Breu (2003) well-trained researchers with international skills and credentials are highly valued in a developing country setting, and hence many experience a promotion at the time of repatriation. Certainly this was the case for many awardees interviewed in this study (Galang, Cahaya, Diah, Dewi, Fajar,

Agung, Argo, Satya, Galang, Netro, Sadewa, Arief), but data show a gendered orientation, with promotion outcomes less reported by females. Nilan (2005) identified gender as a significant factor for Indonesian female awardees who experienced greater resistance to implementing ideas post-Award and were less likely to occupy senior roles on return, compared to their male peers.

Scholars (Nilan, 2005; Wild, 2007; Brown & Brown, 2009; Boey, 2014) have argued that women typically experience less opportunity, because in a hierarchical and patriarchal society they are expected to manage dual domestic and professional roles. According to Wild (2007), returned Asian female post-graduates typically experience fewer rights and more domestic and work role tensions, especially in the case of married women. Indah spoke about her experience as an awardee having to deal with Javanese societal expectations for women to maintain and prioritise the family. She spoke about how these traditional societal norms had instilled in her an obligation to meet family needs that inhibited her professional development. Although her husband had studied abroad and shared her views about equality in the family, Indah felt that her post-Award experience should prioritise family over career needs:

> *Javanese always put the mother in a second position but I'm lucky because my husband who also graduated from a Medical faculty treats me as a partner, not only as a wife or mother in a second position. So with him I feel equal but the Javanese always inhibit women to develop or achieve. My father-in-law always said to my husband, 'don't give your wife more chances to go to abroad' and even though my husband told him I could go anywhere as long as we could cope, when I came home it's still important that I know my position. I'm a wife and also I'm a mother, so I try to give more time to my family at home and not talk about work.* (Indah, ADS2 female Alumni)

6.5.4.7 Workplace Re-adjustment - Conclusions

This section highlighted issues relating to re-adjustment challenges in the workplace. Academic systems abroad are often in conflict with those in the home academic institution because of differences in norms and values, and hence change can be both unrealistic and unattained (Altbach, 2004). This corresponds with findings from Leong and Leung's (2004) cross-cultural study of academic careers in Asia that identified many re-adjustment problems linked to the tension between academic values practised in the home culture and Western contexts. Returned awardees were willing to disseminate knowledge in their work environments, but the enabling environment was in great need of reform to ensure effective transfer of such knowledge and skills. Challenges such as resistance to change, issues of hierarchy, jealousy and prioritising of teaching, administration and contract work that preclude research activities were significant factors that stymied the potential to fully realise the post-Award development potential for Indonesia. Data analysis also suggests a gender bias that limits the participation of females in the post-Award experience.

6.5.5 An Emerging Academic Identity

It is important to reflect on the importance of cultural and contextual factors (Leong & Leung, 2004) to understand the Indonesian research and cultural norms before moving to consider the significant changes brought about by the award. Sanjaya was able to reflect on the status quo in Indonesia where knowledge was metaphorically stored and thinking was opposed to critique:

> *In Indonesia we are not accustomed to developing our cultural thinking and the way we see the world theories and perspectives critically. We see knowledge as a thing that could improve us and just see it as information storage. We are used to listening to our teachers or lecturers and accept what they say as just the way it is without necessarily questioning the truth behind it and examining or investigating other ways or options that may be available using our skills and knowledge.* (Sanjaya, ADS male Informant).

The reflection on cultural and academic norms assists in setting the cultural and academic 'backdrop' for this study in order to identify key changes emerging from the program. Feedback was gathered from Informants, including returned awardees about the most significant changes arising from the award experience. Several themes emerged, highlighting in particular 'soft skills', critical thinking and a culture of life-long learning. In Malcolm's view, it is the intangible aspects such as independence and confidence that are critical in terms of positioning change. The focus on soft skills also concurs with Chalid's (2015) findings in his study of the Indonesian organisational context and the ADS award. Wibawa emphasised the importance of critical thinking and shared that he no longer took things at 'face-value', preferring to question ideas and opinions. Pani emphasised the culture of continuous life-long learning as a feature of the ADS program and Harta identified the overall mindset change as a key to sustainable change:

> *They always say they're more independent. We do research into looking at what skills and knowledge they have required as a result of their time in Australia. Inevitably the sort of skills that they identify are those intangibles – things like independence and confidence, resourcefulness and of course English language and down the list they'll talk about the skills and knowledge they have picked up, but it's generally those intangibles, those life skills that they have picked up as a result of their time in Australia which is I think one of the lasting legacies of the program.* (Malcolm, ADS male Informant)

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> *Critical thinking is the most significant thing that I experienced from the ADS Program. For example, I started to question everything, any ideas or opinion. People now say that I try to think more, not just take it as it is. I question if things are true or if this is the only way to do things. I am more open-minded about things now.* (Wibawa, ADS2 male Alumni)

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> *I think lifelong learning, is the most significant change of what I've seen and while they may have known about it or desired it beforehand they didn't necessarily understand the modalities, the processes and opportunities from having done the ADS and the scope for learning, especially if they are completing a PhD thesis. So I think that's probably the most significant change.* (Pani, ADS male Informant)

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> *Mindset change is the biggest and the most sustainable change of all. You can't see someone's mindset but you know mindsets can be changed through academic experience and how great is that. I mean a lot of things are superficial or visible and we can attribute this to change but if we talk about mindset change, wow how strong is that.* (Harta, ADS male Informant)

Gardner's (2008) study of doctoral students, and their transition to become independent researchers, identified that these students evolve from being consumers of knowledge to creators of knowledge and the professional competency to undertake independent research is a major contribution of their PhD experience. According to Nguyen (2012), his own transition from local lecturer to international doctoral researcher involved academic identity change, in his case, framed by his thoughts and practice of being an academic and being thought of as an academic by others. Reflecting on this transition, it is unsurprising that many returned awardees aspire to maintain their research interests, whereas previously their work has focused on teaching. In other words, many are imbued with a love of research and the pursuit of knowledge and this is likely to transform their occupational identities (Gardner, 2008). Such tensions are also evident from the numerous accounts about post-Award constraints relating to research and knowledge transfer.

Finally, several returned awardees were asked in what ways the program had changed their perception of themselves as academics. The deeper changes align with how their academic identities were transformed and also reflect previous insights into personal changes (Section

6.5.3). Nguyen (2012) asserts that personal, professional and academic experiences all shape the academic identity of doctoral students. Tran and Nyland (2013) concur that ISs commonly come to Australia with the intention of returning home, but the sojourner experience itself renders the sojourner aware of the possibilities generated by the global knowledge economy, and this new awareness may impact on their identity as academics.

In terms of such identity change, two themes emerged in response to a question that sought feedback from awardees about the intrinsic academic-related identity changes that stemmed from their engagement in the ADS program. Prominent themes related to the transition of these former students to professional academics: firstly, a student-centred approach that emphasised values of equality and acceptance of co-dependence between lecturer and student; secondly, the overall confidence associated with the gaining of key academic competencies.

Firstly, student-centred values and the notion of equal partnerships emerged. Meaningful partnerships between students and lecturers were raised in several accounts. Banyu spoke about the trajectory from teaching to research and, along with this, was his desire to work together with students in a spirit of partnership and collaboration that reflected on his own experience as a PhD student. Similarly, Galang also reflected on his student experience to lead change. Now as Vice-Dean he was intent on treating his students equally. Extending the focus on student partnership, Satya learnt from the interaction with his supervisor in Australia and sought to motivate his students by effective coaching and encouragement:

> *Before I came to Australia I had always believed that being a teacher is being a translator of knowledge, that's what academics do. They learn from difficult books and then they put it in different formats to translate that knowledge so that the students can understand. During as well as after the masters I changed that vision of being an academic to somebody who not only transfers the knowledge but also develops the knowledge by doing research. Before that I didn't even think about doing research as an academic, it was just teaching mainly, but after the PhD it changed. It's*

not like it's my task or my duty to develop and then transfer knowledge, it's more like I'm working together with my students to develop my knowledge and then when I'm transferring this it's not to an empty vessel. I really have to appreciate what they have and try to build on that and have to fill in the gaps. I see my students in a somewhat higher position than I used to see them before and this is mainly because of these changes. During the masters the change was really theoretical because I was only trying to apply what I learned in the classroom to my own teaching but during and after the PhD I learnt from how my supervisors treated me and because I think this is a better way of being an academic, I adopted their approaches. (Banyu, ADS2 male Alumni)

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I think having a PhD degree is a privilege and although it doesn't really change me, it changes the way I look at myself. I've become more confident and at the same time I've become more affectionate to the ones under my supervision, because I experienced that position myself and I know how bad it can be. So now that I'm in this position [Vice-Dean of Research and Cooperation], I try to use my PhD experience to treat others well because I had the experience of being a student myself. (Galang, ADS2 male Alumni)

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In Australia my supervisor just keep motivating me and telling me that I could do it. What he was doing to me is kind of a positive thing to motivate me to finish my research even in very hard times. This changed my mind and I decided to do this kind of good coaching to motivate my juniors. I now have a closer relationship with the junior researchers here and also more understanding of the students and the difficulties they have understanding particular topics I teach. I don't teach easy topics but the research training in Australia gave me better ways to deliver topics so more students can understand. (Satya, ADS2 male Alumni)

Secondly, several returned awardees focused on the academic competencies gained, attesting to their ability to undertake research as well as other professional and academic accomplishments, including international collaborations and proficiency in English. ADS Informant Nakula regarded these awardees as legitimate members of the international academy and summarised how they compared favourably with others from the ASEAN region, in terms of academic proficiency. Nakula argued that returned awardees are in the league of global scientists, assisted also by their improved English language skills:

> *I think they are more aware of how to network academically and how go into the academic environment, how to reach the opportunities to get scientific knowledge more efficiently, find the right journals, how to publish your paper easier or quicker or how to get your paper accepted. After they come back, I think their research capacity improves significantly but the most significant difference is that we can think of them as a global scientist so we can compare them to those in ASEAN or Asia and they can go head to head with them. English is also the other significant difference between the local graduates and foreign graduates. Even though more and more Indonesians can now speak English in Indonesia it's not as many as in Malaysia or Singapore.* (Nakula, ADS male Informant)

Following on from Nakula's account, further insights into the overall academic competencies gained from the award experience surfaced. Fajar accentuated his confidence as a competent researcher and, similarly, Satya spoke about gaining confidence as an international researcher and that he knew what to do in this capacity:

> *Actually my ability to do research I think is increased now because I'm doing all this writing. Before I went to the PhD program, I couldn't say I'm a researcher but after the PhD I'm confident that I can do a lot of research so it is very, very different now.* (Fajar, ADS2 male Alumni)

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> *Yes, I have more confidence in doing my academic job because I feel that I have the exposure of meeting and then collaborating with international academics. When I came back to Indonesia I had that kind of confidence. I know what I have to do to develop research and to get international exposure in my department. Yes, I'm more confident about the international topics and can talk confidently about this.* (Satya, ADS male Alumni)

This section was included to reflect on the deeper and more nuanced aspects of the award experience, in particular the transformation of these awardees from PhD candidates to independent researcher, as well as to provide insights into the changing nature of academic identity.

6.6 Post-Award re-acculturation experience– Conclusions

Examination of reentry has taken into account several factors inherent in the general and workplace setting. Firstly was the overall findings that the experience of reentry culture shock was reported as more severe than initial culture shock and also overall reentry was reported as more difficult in relative terms. Significant challenges of a general nature and workplace nature were examined and findings were gender-disaggregated to reveal some constraints were experienced more by returned female awardees.

Findings indicate that changes to cultural identity and the experience of grief and loss when returning home distinguished the reentry experience from that of the initial adjustment on-Award. In many cases, change was unexpected by the returnee and compounded because extended families, friends and workplace colleagues did not expect or accommodate change. Expectations regarding reentry were often unmet or negatively violated, leading to reverse culture shock and other re-adjustment issues. Family re-adjustment highlighted that the children of Alumni often experienced difficulties (Andreason & Kinneer, 2005) due to schooling, language and cultural demands and this in turn affected the overall reentry adjustment experience of returnees.

Post-Award outcomes to transfer knowledge and build capacity were generally undermined by the poor enabling environment and weak research culture that describes the current state of Indonesia's higher education and research agenda, although this is expected to change over time. Whilst awardees were found to be both motivated and willing to disseminate knowledge to colleagues, current workplace policies and practices precluded fully meeting program objectives to raise capacity and extend knowledge and skills, especially in remote or rural locations. Significant issues raised included the poor enabling environment that prohibits effective transfer of repatriated knowledge that is partly related to internal resistance to change and the organisational culture, with only some universities following a more internationalised strategy. In addition access to facilities and resources to maintain research agenda was reported as lacking. Supporting work-related mechanisms were identified, including access to others who shared a similar experience, a previous reentry experience and feelings of confidence and self-efficacy.

6.7 Re-acculturation – Summary of findings and concluding comments

This chapter has examined the re-acculturation experience of ADS PhD returned awardees in response to the research questions pertaining to the re-acculturation phase of the sojourn. The chapter has highlighted a number of salient challenges and support mechanisms related to the post-Award experience (RQ3 – What are the salient factors that can influence the post-Award re-acculturation experience of the ADS PhD awardees?) and identified interventions that were found to support reentry adjustment (RQ4 – What interventions can assist the Indonesian PhD awardees to re-acculturate effectively?). Throughout the chapter reference to the extant scholarly literature has shed additional light on findings and subsequent support for the utility of the CAF. Further contributions in terms of the IS, EM and IC scholarly research are elaborated in the next and final chapter.

Awardees were primarily motivated to return home because of the conditions of the ADS award program, coupled with employment conditions at home, although other priorities to contribute knowledge and skills for the benefit of Indonesia's development (Kiley, 1999) emerged which are more aligned with ADS program objectives and principles. Repatriation

motivation, in the case of academics is found to be significantly under-researched and whilst this study has contributed findings, a deeper understanding of more intrinsic factors is limited because of the mandatory award conditions to return home. Given the existing research gaps relating to repatriation motivation for academics (Welch, 1997), this study has highlighted a need for further research to understand more fully what are the more intrinsic factors that motivate academic repatriation.

Overall, most returned awardees shared that the experience of reentry was relatively harder than their initial experience of adjustment in Australia (Martin, 1986; Sussman, 2000; Black et al., 2002; Patron, 2006). Findings showed that the conditions of reentry were largely unexpected, and in many cases such expectations were negatively violated in such a way that compounded adjustment difficulties, even in spite of preparation to return (Black et al., 1992; Hammer et al., 1998; Martin et al., 2004; Li & Gasser, 2005). In terms of unmet expectations the reentry adjustment experience was markedly different than initial adjustment and given the incidence of unmet expectations was shown to be greater at that juncture. This is further discussed in the final chapter.

Related to these unmet expectations, the experience of reentry often coincided with reverse culture shock (Gaw, 2000; Loh, 2003) and in some cases this was quite debilitating. Characteristics of general adjustment emphasised challenges for the family, and in particular the children of these awardees who had spent their early childhood years in Australia, and found it particularly difficult due to language and cultural issues to resume schooling in Indonesia. Other challenges for the awardees included the need to re-orient to the overall disorder of living conditions and other environment factors in Indonesia, which compared unfavourably to those in Australia. Personal adjustment support was in the main from family members, but in the case of women this was likely to be combined with support from friends.

Cultural identity changes were both of a more general and academic nature and highlighted several typologies (Sussman, 2000) distinguished more broadly as IC, home- or host-favoured. Accounts show various cultural identity orientations, with explanation of change assisted by a variety of frameworks, concepts and identity factors (Sussman, 2002; Kiley,

2003; Kim, 2015). Insights from *Mengubah Identitas antar-budaya* also reveal that such identities are inter-related. The study finds the on-Award experience imbued in these awardees a real sense of their identity as academic researchers when they returned to Indonesia (Gardner, 2008; Jazvac-Martek, 2009; Fotovatian, 2012; Nguyen, 2012; Bilecena, 2014; Pedersen, 2014; Ryan, 2012).

Re-adjusting to the workplace involved a series of challenges, mostly related to the enabling environment that was crucial to effect knowledge transfer and transmission of skills. Barriers include internal resistance to change from colleagues, workplace hierarchies, office politics and jealousy. Time restraints and an overall lack of facilities and resources were found to impact on the potential to achieve research outputs. The overall relevance of the award experience was questioned (Nilan, 2005; Cuthbert et al., 2008), and, whilst awardees felt skills and knowledge gained on award were still relevant to their roles as academics, in some situations learning was not appropriate to the context, especially in more rural and remote settings.

Connecting with colleagues who had undergone a similar transition assisted re-adjustment at work (Guerin et al., 2014) and some awardees were able to garner support from their previous experience of reentry or by maintaining contact with work colleagues. Although few awardees had the privilege of working in a highly internationalised environment, this was found to assist with the maintenance of their English language and provided for access to research resources and facilities. Personal traits that were likely to assist re-adjustment included overall confidence, self-efficacy, flexibility and open-mindedness (Selmer & Lauring, 2012; Awais Bhatti et al., 2014; Jepsen et al., 2014).

Data analysis allowed for a review of the post-Award experience by gender. The data suggest a gendered experience (Nilan, 2005; Wild, 2007; Boey, 2014) of workplace reentry, where job promotions are less reported in the case of females and issues of workload and internal resistance to change are also reported more frequently by returned female awardees. An inference is that female Alumni are more constrained due to additional domestic

responsibilities, as well as cultural and societal expectations for women to prioritise their family role.

This chapter has addressed the research questions pertaining to re-acculturation by drawing on insights from the CAF, in many cases confirming the CAF's utility as a heuristic tool to understand issues of cultural adjustment. The chapter identified salient factors that influence reentry adjustment and identified several interventions that can support award outcomes to increase the prospects for sustaining the benefits of the PhD award experience. To optimise the re-acculturation experience, awareness of reentry issues should be emphasised much earlier during the pre-departure and on-Award experience. Furthermore, reintegration activities should be targeted to take account of the gendered experience of reentry, family resettlement issues, including children's educational needs, improved workplace networks, including potential mentoring arrangements and ongoing post-Award reintegration activities.

The following and final chapter returns to the main research question and subsidiary research questions and explores the nature of the relationship between acculturation and re-acculturation and the subsequent lessons learned from this study of cultural adjustment. The final chapter highlights empirical findings that extend the scholarly literature on cultural adjustment and identifies research limitations and proposes areas for further research.

Chapter Seven:

Synthesis of Findings

Chapter 7 – Synthesis of Findings

7.1 Discussion of Findings and Contributions

The thesis is set in the context of rising global mobility, with international education becoming increasingly borderless and expanding. The ADS program to Indonesia provides a case study to explore the lived experience of cultural adjustment, as interpreted through the lens of the study participants, including the 41 doctoral awardees, informants and the researcher. The program is founded on the assumption that PhD graduates will repatriate successfully and contribute to home country development. This final chapter draws together, synthesises and extends insights arising from the findings on acculturation (Chapter 5) and re-acculturation (Chapter 6).

The purpose of the chapter is to state the main contributions of the thesis and in so doing address the intended aims of the study. In advancing the literature, the thesis makes a number of subsidiary theoretical, empirical and methodological contributions. The first contribution is to extend context-specific understanding of cultural adjustment in direct response to the overarching research question. Findings highlight the hybrid identity of these awardees, with identity status arising from their experience on-Award as ISs and post-Award as academic repatriates. The second contribution, which is related to the former, is to link the study findings to the broader spectrum of the extant IS, EM and IC scholarly literatures. The development of the CAF, the third contribution of the thesis is significant, as it functions as a heuristic tool to integrate and manage the complexity of ideas and concepts to advance understanding of cultural adjustment in order to build on existing empirical and theoretical understanding. A fourth and final contribution of the thesis is to propose a series of policy and practice interventions to assist cultural adjustment, with the potential to inform international higher education and foreign aid policy. Lastly, the chapter identifies study limitations, areas for further research on cultural adjustment and concludes with a final reflection by the researcher.

7.2 Key research question: How is cultural adjustment experienced by Indonesian PhD awardees of an Australian aid-funded program?

The first contribution of this chapter is to respond to the overarching research question that was initially proposed in response to the problem of rising mobility and the need to understand the complexity of cultural adjustment issues (the research problem). This involves a synthesis of key aspects of the overall adjustment experience, notwithstanding the more detailed analysis that is presented in the two findings chapters (Chapters 5 and 6), with both chapters having responded to the respective sub-research questions. In responding to the key research question, this section also adds to the extant IS, EM and IC literatures and key aspects are also highlighted in the Section 7.3 below (Contribution to the extant literature). In examining the cultural adjustment experience, contributions from the study consider the adjustment trajectory commencing with the pre-sojourn stage, general and academic adjustment, interaction adjustment (Black et al., 1991) and IC identity changes.

7.2.1 Anticipating cultural adjustment

Findings from this study confirm the value of the CAF in highlighting how an accurate prior experience is found to shape how cultural adjustment is anticipated. This finding was especially prevalent amongst awardees who had previously studied in Australia or in another developed country. In total, 31 of the 41 awardees had either completed an ADS masters degree in Australia (21 awardees) or a post-graduate degree in an OECD country. Many of these awardees shared that, as a result, they had an accurate idea of what to expect before they sojourned in Australia.

The adjustment expectations of the ADS awardees were also shaped and informed by workshops offered to prepare the awardees to improve English competency and prepare academically and culturally. This finding concurs with the culture-learning proposition (Furnham & Bochner, 1987) that is incorporated in the CAF, with training linked to the enhancement of cultural adjustment knowledge and skills. The thesis finds that the provision of academic preparation and language training was positively associated with sociocultural

adaptation and linked to the forming of accurate expectations, even though the doctoral program significantly differs from a masters-level degree.

In contrast to the experience of acculturation, findings indicate that awardees commonly experienced a mismatch between reentry expectation and reality, although this is not sufficiently emphasised in the CAF. Many awardees were unprepared for reentry adjustment, possibly because they were oblivious to the likelihood they had changed and that home had changed too. This concurs with findings from other empirical studies which identified that a negative expectancy violation can adversely affect re-adjustment (Searle & Ward, 1990; Black et al., 1992; Gregersen & Stroh, 1997; Cox, 2004; Andreason & Kinneer, 2005; Storti, 2007; Bielsa et al., 2014) and is in spite of predictions raised by culture-learning theorists that a prior experience of reentry would prepare these awardees for re-adjustment (Martin, 1986; MacDonald & Arthur, 2005). For example:

> *I expected to feel disappointed and to have difficulties when I was back home but I found the situation is even harder than expected.* (Mega, ADS2 female Alumni)

The findings on anticipating cultural adjustment concur with the extant IS and EM literature on culture-learning and expectancy theory (Martin et al., 1995, Black & Mendenhall, 1991; Black et al., 1991; Hechanov-Alampay et al., 2002; Ward & Searle, 1991; Lu, 2012), but only insofar as anticipating the initial adjustment. Strategies to improve anticipation of the reentry process are highlighted in the literature (Martin, 1986; Sussman, 1986; Westwood et al., 1986; Isogai et al., 1999; Martin & Harrell, 2004; Andreason & Kineer, 2005; Cox, 2006; Jassawalla et al., 2004; Szkudlarek, 2008) but reflect that reentry support practices are both under-developed and under-researched (Szkudlarek, 2010). In this study, returning home was generally more problematic, even in spite of a previous reentry experience for many awardees. This highlights that preparation to repatriate and reintegration planning should be improved, since one possibility is that awardees may not re-acculturate successfully because they encounter less opportunity to prepare for returning home. Whilst workshops were found to provide opportunities for returnees to reflect on their experience and networks gained

abroad, the limited nature of these workshops, which are only held at the end of the sojourn, is not sufficient to garner a realistic expectation of reentry.

7.2.2 General adjustment

In ways that are somewhat similar to the experience of how adjustment is anticipated, the initial adjustment phase was found to be relatively easy when corresponding with a previous and similar educational sojourn (Klineberg & Hull, 1979), or when there is sufficient access to academic and cultural learning programs. Support mechanisms for adjusting underscore the significance of both functional and emotional support from CNs (Everts & Sodjakusumah 1996; Hasanah & Brownlee, 1997; Kiley, 1999; Rosenthal et al., 2007), somewhat contrasting with claims that, at least in functional terms, cultural adjustment is best facilitated in association with HCNs (Church, 1982; Black et al., 1991; Ward & Kennedy, 1994; Mukminin & McMahon, 2013). Findings pertaining to interaction adjustment were elucidated in reference to the CAF and elaborated further in Section 7.2.4.

In terms of general adjustment, most ADS awardees and their families acculturate well and successfully complete their PhD in Australia. Since the vast majority of ADS awardees were family-accompanied (including 34 with children) and identify closely with their family identity, the thesis contributes findings to the IS adjustment literature with respect to family adjustment, which is mostly addressed in reference to the EM literature (Ward, 1993; Eustace, 1994; Gonzales, 2001; Hechanova et al., 2003; Bhaskar-Shrinivas et al., 2005; Poyrazli & Kavanaugh, 2006).

In contrast to the experience of acculturation, re-acculturation was often associated with a level of reverse culture shock, which concurs with the IS and EM literature (Adler, 1981; Black et al., 1992; Sussman, 2000; 2002; Patron, 2006; Szkudlarek, 2010) and the CAF). The thesis finds that, in the case of reverse culture shock, some awardees experienced a disquieting feeling of being a stranger at home where things just did not seem right (Bielsa et al., 2014) or even experienced feelings of grief (Butcher, 2002). This was related to aspects

of IC identity change (see Section 7.2.5), also highlighted in the CAF, which underscore many guises for changing IC identities.

At the reentry point, the thesis finds re-adjustment issues are entwined with the awardees' identity status as family members. In particular, the thesis finds that children's readjustment presents a major challenge for awardees and their family members. Whilst this is highlighted in EM studies and depicted in the CAF as a general adjustment issue, it is under-researched in the IS literature.

Reconnecting with similar others was found to provide significant adjustment support to many returned awardees. Changes to values and attitudes were found to re-order friendships, in such a way that awardees were drawn to others who could relate to their experience (Gudykunst et al., 2003; Phinney, 2003; Andreason & Kineer, 2005; Kartoshikina, 2015). This was also the case with respect to work-related re-adjustment.

7.2.3 Academic adjustment and repatriation issues

There exists a paucity of research on the specific problems that confront international doctoral candidates. The thesis finds that PhD students are not well-placed to interact with other students and can experience isolation, especially from HCNs (Gholamrezaei, 1995; Marginson et al., 2010). This has practical implications for the way host universities develop their social programs for onshore international doctoral candidates and pre-departure programming: thus -

> *I want to find Australian friends but I think it's too difficult. I don't know any because I don't attend class and just do research.* (Waluyo, ADS2 male completing awardee)

The program assumes its doctoral awardees will return and enhance the institutional capacity of their teaching and research institutions, yet examination of work place re-acculturation finds a serious mismatch between the enabling environment and efforts to repatriate knowledge and skills gained on-Award. This finding concurs with related studies that over

time examined scholarship development outcomes in Indonesia (Keats, 1969; Kiley, 1999; Daroesman & Daroesman, 1992; Cannon, 2000).

Consistent with the literature on knowledge transfer, the thesis finds a willingness to transfer knowledge that is often overshadowed by barriers related to the enabling environment, such as shortages of research and training facilities, limiting the potential for academic research and teaching. Internal resistance to change from colleagues, often related to hierarchies and office politics, means that the repatriation of knowledge and skills gained on-Award is currently stymied, even in spite of awardees' motivation and willingness to transfer knowledge and share information (Daroesman & Daroesman, 1992; Kiley, 1999). These factors seriously undermine the relevance of the award experience and limit the possibilities for nation building (Nilan, 2005; Cuthbert et al., 2008). Moreover such issues are found to be exacerbated in the case of female awardees and highlight that the experience of cultural adjustment is shaped by gender (Nilan, 2005; Wild, 2007; Boey, 2014), a salient feature of cultural adjustment which features in the CAF.

The study finds a significant research gap pertaining to the study of academic repatriation, both a feature of the CAF and a logical extension of academic expatriation research (Richardson & McKenna, 2002; 2003; Selmer & Lauring, 2009; 2013a; 2013b). Contributions that address this specific gap in the EM literature highlight the importance of effective knowledge transfer and optimising academic repatriation outcomes by connecting with work place colleagues who have spent time abroad and experienced a similar cultural transition (Guerin et al., 2014).

7.2.4 Interaction adjustment

The CAF has appropriately featured interaction adjustment as an important concept related to cultural adjustment and confirmed in the findings of this study. Co-nationals (CNs) with appropriate cultural knowledge were commonly a key source of social and functional support for many but not all awardees. A claim of the thesis is that CNs with experience of the host culture can assist culture-learning and reduce expectation gaps. Whilst this claim is also

supported by several scholars (Bailey & Dua, 1997; Kiley, 1999; Novera, 2004; Rizvi, 2005a, Rosenthal et al., 2007; Pitts, 2009; Montgomery & McDowell, 2010; Mukminim, 2012), it is also contested in the literature (Church, 1982; Searle & Ward, 1990; Lee et al., 2009; Wilson et al., 2013), on the basis that adjustment is best achieved in collaboration with HCNs because CNs are likely to inhibit culture-learning:

> *Our main support is from other Indonesians because we feel that we are in the same condition and we are far away from our home.* (Langgeng, ADS2 male Alumni)

In the main, this study finds ties with HCNs provided more functional support, including access to information and academic support (Furnham & Alibhai, 1985; Searle & Ward, 1990; Ward & Kennedy, 1994; Wilson et al., 2013). The situation of closer ties to CNs and TCNs may also be indicative of the student population at many Australian universities, which over time has become less concentrated in terms of domestic students.

Interaction adjustment with TCNs is found to be under-researched in the adjustment literature (Kashima & Loh, 2006). Whilst CNs are a primary social network for ADS awardees, the thesis finds key friendships groups include TCNs, who are also able to influence acculturation outcomes (Kashima & Loh, 2006; Montgomery & McDowell, 2009; Froese, 2012)

7.2.5 Intercultural Identity Change

Awardees commonly experienced difficulties reconciling the changes that occur with respect to their cultural identity and with how they perceive the home culture expects them to be. Insights from the CAF (*Mengubah identitas antar-budaya)* draw on the IC literature (Hall et al., 1992; Berry, 1994; 2002; 2009; Hall & Du Gay, 1996; Cannon, 2000; Berry & Segall, 2002; Kim, 2003; 2015b; Phinney, 2003; Koehne, 2005; Rizvi, 2005a; Ting-Toomey, 2005; Giroux & Robbins, 2006: Rizvi, 2008; Collier, 2009; Sussman, 2011), and foreshadow that IC identity change, is a further re-acculturation challenge. For example, *Mengubah identitas antar-budaya* foreshadows that a negative reentry experience is likely when sojourners

withdraw from their home cultural identity because of the dilution of traditional home cultural values associated with identity shifts, whereas an IC identity typology was found to optimise both the acculturation and re-acculturation experience (Sussman, 2002; Li & Gasser, 2005; Leong & Ward, 2007; Kim, 2008):

> *I didn't know that I had changed my point of view a lot. So the first time I came back to Indonesia, I felt like an Australian and I saw Indonesia in a different way.* (Satya, ADS2 male Alumni)

The thesis finds acculturation strategies vary, but those awardees who appeared more open-minded and accepting of other cultural ways, without relinquishing the salient aspects of their own culture, were able to successfully interact with compatriots, as well as HCNs and TCNs. This finding is supported by several scholars (Berry, 2002; 2009; Sussman, 2000; 2002):

> *They come here with a more open-minded way of thinking or perspective and would like to embrace the differences that come from other cultures.* (Sanjaya, ADS male Informant)

Moreover, the CAF underscores that there are multiple identities (Hall et al., 1992) and, in the case of these repatriated academics, findings show that the identity transition from student to independent researcher (Clegg, 2008; Gardner, 2008; Jazvac-Martek, 2008; Rizvi, 2010) can manifest in unmet expectations related to new identity status as a member of the academy, including being thought of as an academic by others. Many return home changed as a result of their adjustment experience, imbued with a new self-understanding, attitudes, skills and knowledge, and with a wish to optimise their experience abroad in the home cultural context. In addition, awardees sometimes conclude their new status as researchers is under-valued or is not fully realisable, given the current enabling environment for Indonesian academics.

7.3 Contributions to the extant literature on cultural adjustment

The second contribution of the thesis is to highlight that the study of awardees' cultural adjustment experience can be greatly assisted by embracing a multidisciplinary approach. Black et al. (1991) also assert that a more comprehensive understanding of cultural adjustment can be gained through integrating the adjustment literatures. Given the hybrid student-professional status of the awardees, both the IS and EM literatures are deemed relevant to the thesis; both of these examine the acculturation and re-acculturation phase. Whereas both the IS and EM literature find re-acculturation is generally the more challenging aspect of cultural adjustment (Sussman, 2000; 2000; Black et al., 1992), this understanding is mostly derived from expatriate studies, as there has been less research on the reentry experience of ISs (Rogers & Ward, 1993; Martin et al., 1995).

Hence study findings are informed by and contribute to the combined corpus of knowledge arising from the IS, EM and IC literatures. It is argued that this approach infuses greater understanding of the research problem, to take into account the behavioural, attitudinal and value changes that are inherent features of cultural adjustment (Black et al., 1991; Rogers & Ward, 1993; Martin et al., 1995), as well as addressing gaps in the adjustment literature, in a contributory, disciplinary-nuanced and more sophisticated way. For example, further understanding of cultural adjustment issues identified in this study, such as family accompaniment (Caliguiri & Lazrova, 2002; Lazarova et al., 2010; Froese, 2012), and casual work adjustment (Marginson et al., 2014), can be advanced in reference to EM studies and in doing so assist to mitigate against research deficiencies found in a single disciplinary area.

The extant literature on cultural adjustment assists understanding more broadly with reference to the theories and empirical studies that have sought to explain the acculturation and re-acculturation experiences. Typically the literatures cited examine cultural adjustment issues of a general, professional and relational nature, in addition to related issues of cultural identity change (Bochner, 1986; Black et al., 1991; Ward et al., 1999; Cannon, 2000; Berry, 2002; Butcher, 2002; Sussman, 2002; Kim, 2003).

A methodological contribution of the study lies in the qualitative research design that facilitates a deeper understanding of cultural adjustment issues (Martin et al., 1995; Thompson & Christofi, 2006), as compared to the quantitative, more generalisable but less nuanced studies of cultural adjustment that have tended to dominate the cultural adjustment research terrain. The qualitative nature of this case study will help to address the balance in the IS and EM literature, which is predominantly quantitative.

7.3.1 International Student Literature

The majority of studies on reentry are derived from EM studies and focus on corporate sojourners (Szkudlarek, 2010). This study adds to the IS literature in terms of understanding of re-acculturation with respect to a specific category of sojourner, one that is hybrid but indicative of student identity during the on-Award phase of the sojourn.

Although an assumption of the longstanding ADS program is that its doctoral awardees will culturally adjust both on-Award and post-Award, there is a paucity of empirical and theoretical knowledge available to policy makers, program managers and researchers who are charged with the task of meeting this goal (Cuthbert, et al., 2008). There is, moreover, an acute paucity of literature that addresses how doctoral students-academics who are mandated to return home adjust.

7.3.2 Expatriate Management Literature

In spite of increasing mobility for academics, scholarly research on expatriate academics is limited to a small number of studies (Welch, 1997; Richardson & McKenna, 2003; 2008; Selmer & Lauring, 2009; 2011; 2013a; 2013b; 2015; Froese, 2012). Moreover, the deficit in the literature is even more acute in relation to post-doctoral students who study abroad on aid-funded scholarships and are mandated to return home at the end of their sojourn experience. Indeed, a primary contribution of this thesis is that it pioneers the study of repatriated academics and does so in such a way that the experience of reentry adjustment is not examined in isolation from the initial acculturation experience. According to Selmer (2013a), research on academic mobility has remained negligible in the IS and EM literature.

7.3.3 Intercultural Studies

Empirically this study finds the nature of cultural identity to be complex beyond typologies of identity. For example, the study asserts that in some cases the CIM, an aspect of the CAF's *Mengubah Identitas antar-budaya*, does not fully account for identity complexity. Hence the section of the CAF that examines IC identity change is designed to incorporate an amalgam of ideas to enhance understanding of IC identity change. For example, Sussman's CIM is predictive of a successful re-entry adjustment, in the case of those sojourners with either an affirmative or IC identity, and whilst the CIM advances understanding of cultural adjustment in many cases, findings from the study show that IC transitions are experienced variously and not always in accordance with the CIM. In other words, the study finds exceptions in the data that sometimes will not be adequately explained by examining one model in isolation from others. The study highlights that a variety of factors that are depicted in the CAF can influence adjustment. Illustrative of this is the case of Bima, who affirms his Indonesian identity but cannot re-acculturate successfully because of the complex intersection of his 'gay' sexual identity, the legitimacy of which he is unable to reconcile with Indonesia's largely hetero-normative culture (Bennett et al., 2105). Hence Bima's account of cultural adjustment cannot align his experience to one of the four typologies proposed by Sussman (2000, 2002).

7.4 Building Theory - The Cultural Adjustment Framework (CAF)

The third and significant contribution of the thesis is the development of the CAF. The CAF is intentionally holistic to illustrate the integrated process of adjustment and advance understanding of cultural adjustment in an aggregated way that incorporates general, academic and interaction adjustment issues and taking into account insights from the IS, EM and IC literature. The CAF is context-specific and highlights salient adjustment factors, including motivation, agency and gender, and specific factors, including culture-distance, language and religion. The CAF considers adjustment phases and highlights several adjustment theories which are elaborated below. A contribution of the study, with reference to the CAF, is to build theory related to cultural adjustment and motivation, expectancy

violations, culture-learning and inter-cultural identity. This approach is advanced by the findings in this study, many of which confirm the utility of the CAF in understanding the following aspects of cultural adjustment.

7.4.1 Motivation adjustment

Motivation adjustment, particularly in the case of reentry adjustment is an under-researched phenomenon. Motivation to complete the award was found to link intrinsically to academic identity (Harman, 2003; Gardner, 2008; Jazvak-Martec, 2009) and is extrinsically associated with academic-related career aims (Guerin et al, 2014) and other factors, including family expectations and financial reward. Findings underscore that there exists a hierarchy of adjustment motivations and at the peak of this hierarchy is personal ambition, rather than a commitment to nation building, as is assumed by the ADS program. Related to motivation adjustment is a heightened sense of agency that is linked to the capacity of awardees to overcome general and academic adjustment challenges, including learning new behaviours and seeking feedback to assist cultural adjustment (Herchanov-Alampay et al., 2002; Firth et al., 2014).

The limited research on motivation and cultural adjustment (Chirkov et al., 2007) claims that motivation linked to intrinsic, self-development goals is indicative of a better adjustment outcome. The thesis finds that ADS repatriated awardees are extrinsically motivated by the award conditions to return home and this underscores the unique situation of the awardees, who differ from others who are not compelled to return home. Due to the award conditions it is difficult to discern the intrinsic, and more authentic motivations related to reentry, but the data reveal that, most awardees return home and stay beyond the mandated period and feedback suggests that this is related to sustained family ties, stability of work and affiliation with the home culture.

7.4.2 Culture-learning and Expectancy Violations

In the case of acculturation, the thesis finds most awardees are informed about cultural changes and report that their expectations are met or even exceeded. Generally the data show

awardees experience a positive acculturation and report arriving in Australia, knowing what to expect in terms of cultural adjustment (Bochner, 1986). This is explained in reference to culture-learning and expectancy theory. For example initial adjustment is often experienced positively because of culture-learning insofar as the awardees acquire relevant social and behavioural skills in preparation for their educational sojourn.

This study makes an important contribution to the examination of context-specific re-acculturation, through the lens of expectancy violation. In the case of Indonesian repatriated doctoral awardees, reentry experience is often unexpected but also negatively violated, in terms of general and academic, workplace reentry adjustment issues (Black et al., 1992; Hammer et al., 1998; Martin & Harrell, 2004; Li & Gasser, 2005; Patron, 2006). Although awardees will tend to expect and prepare accordingly for change at the time of initial transition, the thesis finds they are less likely to do so prior to returning home and thus experience reentry more negatively (Black et al., 1992; Kiley, 1999; Stroh et al., 1998), commonly manifesting in reverse culture shock (Gaw, 2000; Loh, 2003). The study contends that this negative experience is due to false or violated expectations on the part of those doctoral awardees who, tend to assume they will return to an unchanged home environment and as unchanged individuals (Gullahorn & Gullahorn, 1963; Searle & Ward, 1990; Sussman, 2000).

Whilst efforts to prepare awardees for reintegration are expended by the program, the thesis finds only limited reference to this as an effective means in terms of culture-learning for re-acculturation. This could also imply that reentry initiatives are limited and need to be augmented, especially given the large investment costs of the program, which is based on the assumption these awardees will re-acculturate effectively and contribute to home country development. This is likely to be related to additional findings reported in the thesis that awardees believe they are returning to something familiar and have not fully contemplated the identity changes arising from their sojourn experience, or changes in the home cultural environment.

7.4.3 Mengubah identitas antar-budaya (IC identity change)

Drawing on insights from the CAF's integration of identity change, *Mengubah identitas antar-budaya*, the thesis finds that, at a deeper level, one that is not sufficiently explained by either of the culture-learning or of expectancy violation approaches; re-acculturation experience is associated with identity shifts, often in response to stress (Kim, 2003) or adjustment strategies (Berry, 2005) that can result in awardees feeling a degree of identity incongruence with their culture of origin (Sussman, 2000).

The *Mengubah identitas antar-budaya* reflects the abstract nature of identity which incorporates several layers, each penetrable and inclusive of personal, enacted, relational and communal aspects (Hecht et al., 2005). *Mengubah identitas antar-budya* depicts the emerging nature of third culture identity (Cannon, 2000; Butcher, 2002) but this is also fused with individual, group and relational identities, and, given the study context, incorporative of academic identity (Harman, 2003; Jazvak-Martec, 2009; Gardner, 2008).

7.5 Implications for Policy and Practise

A fourth contribution of the study relates to policy and practice implications that can assist bilateral and multilateral aid agencies, educational policy makers, higher education institutions (international and domestic), research scholars interested in international higher education issues and scholars from the field of international development. Findings from the study, addressed in the subsidiary research questions can influence policy and practice relating to adjustment interventions. The explicit aim of the ADS program is for its awardees to succeed during their on-Award and post-Award experience. This study of cultural adjustment and reentry adjustment contributes empirical, theoretical and methodological findings that can bolster the effectiveness of Australian and potentially other international foreign aid funded higher education programs.

7.5.1 Foreign Aid Policy and Practice

The thesis identified a number of interventions that could improve the foreign aid policy and programming. Proposed improvements relate to awardee selection, enhancing institutional capacity, reintegration preparation and support, and gender and disability inclusion.

Selection of awardees

The findings of this study with respect to motivation adjustment challenge the authenticity of development-related motivation and carry program implications, especially in terms of awardee selection and the lack of evidence that links motivation to post-Award nation building. These findings concur with earlier studies of ISs and motivation to complete a foreign-aid funded scholarship (Furnham & Bochner, 1986).

On paper, awardees will allege that they are motivated to undertake the doctoral award to further the economic and social development of Indonesia, but the thesis finds the primary motivation is to advance their careers. Whilst the advancement of career is not mutually exclusive to economic and social development, such findings challenge the accuracy of government-commissioned surveys that measure motivation trends using quantitative methods (Orima, 2012; 2013). It is argued that such methods are less suited to understanding the deeper and more intrinsic aspects of motivation (Roskell, 2013). Currently these surveys report that motivation is unequivocally linked to home country development: “The most common reason for students taking up an AusAID scholarship and for choice of course was to contribute to their country’s development” (Orima, 2012:5; Orima, 2013:7).

Changes to the initial screening process could target improving the assessment of an applicant’s motivation and commitment to nation building. Given the significant investment in each scholarship award, the current practice of interviewing shortlisted candidates in person provides further scope to assess whether motivation is demonstrated beyond the initial application process.

Reintegration Preparation

Since reintegration is a critical component and linked to the sustainability and effectiveness of the scholarship program (AusAID, 2011a), reentry preparation should not be left to the end of the sojourn. “To begin with the end in mind means to start with a clear understanding of your destination” (Covey, 1989:98). Efforts should be at least commensurate with preparations at the ‘front-end’ of the sojourn, yet, according to AusAID (2011a:5), “too often, reintegration is first considered when a scholar returns home”. Greater support post-Award could contribute to better outcomes. Support mechanisms such as training should continue after repatriation, taking into account the context of the sojourn, the background of the repatriates and the array of likely personal and professional reentry challenges (Sussman, 1986; Andreason & Kineer, 2005).

Reintegration support

The study finds the ADS program is meeting its output requirements, but the program is remiss in assuming that the delivery of PhD will in turn be sufficient to strengthen the capability of Indonesian teaching and research institutions. Issues such as a poor enabling environment appear to be largely ignored. In order to realise the aims of the program, it becomes incumbent upon policy makers, donors and recipient institutions to devise ways to strengthen the local enabling environment in order that it can absorb and optimise the transfer of knowledge and skills gained on-Award. In spite of being well-appraised of adjustment issues from government reports (AusAID, 2011b) and independent studies (Keats, 1969; Cannon, 2000), the thesis finds the Australian aid program has demonstrated a level of inertia, especially in addressing post-Award issues of reintegration.

Moreover, given the context of the GKE and the increased demand for highly skilled researchers, research is justified to understand whether DFAT assumptions relating to repatriation and ongoing commitment of awardees to home country development remain valid. The implementation of the Knowledge Sector Initiative, a joint program between the GoI and GoA, offers an intervention to address issues of research capacity, targeting research institutions in Indonesia (AusAID, 2012).

Institutional research capacity

Support for building the capacity of Indonesian teaching and research institutions should extend to enhancing research outputs, in the case of the doctoral award program. Funding support to access international journals is likely to add significant value in terms of sustained research outputs. The thesis finds workplace adjustment difficulties are related to lack of access to research facilities and resources. The potential to consider post-Doctoral appointments in Australia, in cases where it is assessed that research productivity cannot be maintained in Indonesia, is a further program idea, as well as immigration consideration. A pilot initiative to build institutional capacity could explore the potential to involve co-supervision from the home country university.

Inclusion - Gender Equity and Disability

Inclusion policies to address gender equity and disability form an integral component of donor policy, including those related to DFAT. In terms of gender, few studies of cultural adjustment have examined gender roles and identity issues in an adjustment context (Ting-Toomey, 2005). Barriers to women's participation in the workplace appear to be undermined and hence the study advocates for special attention to address this issue, which may involve further research as well as policies that could espouse affirmative means to promote gender equity across donor programs. Applications for scholarships are encouraged from those experiencing disability, yet it is surprising to find the area of ISs and disability seriously under-researched, with a review of the literature yielding nothing in terms of peer-reviewed journal articles or books. To inform policy and best practice on gender and disability inclusion, these research gaps should be addressed.

Family accompaniment

The thesis finds that family accompaniment is associated with social support on-Award (Black et al., 1991; Caligiuri & Lazrova, 2002; Poyrazli et al., 2006; Mäkelä & Suutari, 2007; Murniati, 2012), particularly in the case of 'trailing spouses' (Lazarova et al., 2010)**.** Provision for family accompaniment should be maintained in keeping with the 'Do No

Harm' principle of Australian aid programs. Removal of assistance for family accompaniment may compromise family unity, especially in the case of doctoral awardees who experience long sojourn periods abroad.

7.5.2 International Higher Education (home and host institutions)

The thesis carries significant policy implications, not least because it suggests host education institutions and students' home universities may need to accord greater attention to the returnee experience.

International Engagement

Host universities stand to gain by retaining the links that are forged with candidates while they study for their PhD and their home university because a successful return is likely to increase the likelihood the graduate will remain and contribute to nation building. With the push to internationalise universities, in the context of a GKE, making use of the skills and experience of repatriated doctoral awardees, offers a strategy to further internationalise both domestic and international universities.

Educational Relevance

Awardees can undergo deep personal changes as a consequence of completing their PhDs, having come to view themselves as scholars. Whilst the capacity to return scholars to Indonesia who are imbued with an intrinsic sense of academic purpose appears to be realised on this program, it raises the spectre of how best to optimise the program to ensure that this capacity is best resourced. According to Altbach (2004), norms and values of academic systems abroad are often in conflict with those in the home academic institution and hence change is often unrealistic and unattained. This has implications for higher education providers in terms of matching education appropriately to other contexts.

Work experience

Casual work is found to assist cultural adjustment, in terms of interaction and cultural learning from HCNs, especially in the case of doctoral students, who are relatively isolated from HCNs, when compared to other course-work ISs. Provision for professional work experience in the form of internships has the potential to address this problem and in doing so enhance the aims of the ADS program, which involves building capacity at the individual level and people-to-people linkages that can be sustained post-Award.

7.5.3 Expatriate management

In terms of academic repatriation, provision of reintegration programs could assist in re-acculturation for returned awardees. Given the provision of reintegration workshops funded under the aid program, responsibility following repatriation could be moved to the home employing institution. Activities should facilitate participation of awardees and colleagues in the work place to discuss strategies to maximise the inputs of returned awardees and underscores the importance of shared understanding. Preparation for return to Indonesian research or training institutions could include a mentoring program (Andreason & Kineer, 2005) to assist job clarity and sharing of information.

7.6 Research Limitations

Longitudinal Studies

Currently, there are no longitudinal studies on the mobility of Australian aid-funded awardees from Indonesia. In spite of a long history of supporting aid-funded higher education in Indonesia, compiled data on the outcomes of the AusAID graduates is seriously lacking in longitudinal terms. Whilst the study did examine one awardee's experience of acculturation and re-acculturation, given a longer research time-frame, it may be possible to track awardees over extended periods, including the potential to capture multiple sojourn experiences to understand how this impacts on their ability to adjustment as well as track the changes in terms of their cultural identity.

Data Collection methods

The data for the study were primarily collected from individual interviews with awardees. Given the opportunity to live and work with many Indonesian academics during a volunteer placement in Indonesia, the study would have benefited from the capturing of further observational data, which could yield thicker descriptions of the phenomenon of cultural adjustment experience. As a volunteer, the researcher was careful not to compromise the work experience, and hence observational data were limited to reflections and some journal entries

Intercultural learning

Since IC learning assumes mutual understanding, the study would have been further enriched by conducting focus groups and interviews with domestic doctoral students, in parallel with the awardees. Knowing about their own perspective of how their learning is transformed in collaboration with ISs on campus and discerning what issues are likely to be common problems for doctoral students would have enhanced this study.

English language

Interviews were conducted in English, and although the respondents had sufficient English commensurate with their PhD status, the potential for a more nuanced understanding is raised in the event that interviews could be conducted in the native language of the awardees. The development of the interview guide, assisted by the Study Reference Group, and comprised of three Indonesian doctoral students and a program adviser and Indonesian speaker is likely to have mitigated risks associated with the use of English language.

7.7 Directions for Further Research

Identified areas for further research on cultural adjustment and foreign aid higher education programs, extend to the areas of control groups, comparative studies of other Australia

Awards program contexts, awardee retention (on-Award and post-Award), social media and children of sojourners.

Control Group

A further study comparing the experience of cultural adjustment across cohorts of students with and without a previous experience in a Western setting is likely to yield interesting results, given the numerous accounts from awardees who experienced an easy initial adjustment, based on a previous and similar sojourn experience. The implications for culture-learning as well as expectancy theory could be further tested by comparing the adjustment of those with a prior international education experience with those who have no prior experience. Moreover, a comparative study that examines re-acculturation of undergraduate, masters and PhD students could identify reentry adjustment issues, according to level of study abroad.

Studies in other ADS contexts

The study is based on a context-specific sojourn and reentry experience, and efforts to understand the experience of cultural adjustment in other contexts and with other groups of sojourners would be expected to elicit further findings that can account for the complexity and nuance of the adjustment experience. Since the study explored the experience of Indonesian sojourners, a further focus for research would include investigation of cultural transitions pertaining to other national groupings, as well as different types of sojourners. Given the nature of the ADS program, which is operative in multiple cultural settings and likely to yield differences in terms of culture distance and cohort of awardee, it seems there is considerable scope for comparative studies. The establishment of a Global Tracer Facility (DFAT, 2015b), using a case study methodology to facilitate knowledge of the program across country programs, potentially sharing results with other similar donor scholarship programs, offers an approach to document the long-term impacts of the award program and address issues of public policy transparency.

Retention on-Award and post-Award

There is currently a discrepancy in repatriation figures that are currently reported at over 97%. These figures do not seem to sufficiently account for those doctoral students who do not complete the requirements for PhD, which is anecdotally reported at up to 20 per cent of HDR candidates (AusAID, 2011b). Whilst retention figures for international doctoral students is significantly higher than for domestic students (Kiley, 2011), high attrition and low completion rates result in diminishing returns (Groenvynck, Vandevelde & Van Rossem, 2013) against the Australian aid program outcomes and undermines GoI support for these awardees.

A number of anecdotes from awardees suggest that some returned awardees will move to a third country that is not currently monitored by Australian immigration. Whilst the Australian government is able to check movements in and out of Australian borders, monitoring does not extend to movements of Alumni to third countries, which effectively provides a loop-hole whereby returned awardees can exercise mobility options outside of Indonesia or Australia. Since the mobility decisions of completing doctoral awardees could reasonably be influenced by the possibilities for migration generated by the demand for highly skilled labour to meet the need for enhanced innovation and research capacity (Florida, 2005; Bradley et al., 2008; Cutler, 2008; Edwards,D., Radloff, A. & Coates, H., 2009), further research is warranted. If this tendency is manifest strongly, it may constitute a serious challenge to the viability of the scholarship program, as presently conceived.

Social Media

Indonesia's 64 million active users put it in the top five countries that use Facebook (Grazella, 2013). Data from this study reveal that awardees used social media to assist acculturation and inform themselves in preparation for the doctoral program. The use of social media sites, such as Facebook and LinkedIn, is likely to facilitate links to friends, colleagues and managers. Hence the use of social media and acculturation and re-acculturation offers scope for further research, with findings likely to have value for donors and international higher education institutions.

Children of Sojourners

Areas for further research relate to the children of sojourners. Kiley (1999) raised that a longitudinal study of the children of scholarship recipients could identify long-term effects, especially in terms of soft diplomacy. The implications of long-term soft diplomacy, impacting through the experience of these children, may find that many children of awardees return in later years for study abroad, with inter-generational outcomes arising from the initial award. Further studies on repatriation issues, relating to children's adjustment, is under-researched in the reentry literature, with the exception of some studies, mostly derived from the EM literature that have examined the phenomenon of 'Third Culture Kids'.

7.8 Summary of Key Findings

The synthesis of findings has discussed the primary contributions of the thesis, integrating findings from the two previous chapters on acculturation and re-acculturation. Findings address each of the key and subsidiary research questions, incorporative of context-specific understanding of cultural adjustment. The study contributes significant findings to the corpus of adjustment literature comprising IS, EM and IC studies. The potential to pioneer studies in academic repatriation is also underscored in reference to the current literature gaps. The thesis has delivered a significant contribution in terms of the CAF, which provides a comprehensive and integrated theoretical framework to advance understanding of cultural adjustment. The thesis has identified a series of policy and practice implications for consideration by donors, higher education institutions and scholars who study issues of cultural adjustment. Limitations of the thesis are raised, along with ideas for extending future research initiatives relating to cultural adjustment.

7.8.1 Final Reflections

Since "learning about others requires learning about ourselves" (Rizvi, 2009b:266), the study concludes with a final reflection from the perspective of the researcher. According to Rizvi (2015:273), "reflexivity requires people to be self-conscious and knowledgeable about their

own cultural traditions and how they are subject to transformation as a result of their engagement with other cultural traditions".

The research journey has provided the catalyst to challenge personal cultural assumptions, and the PhD experience leaves one constantly looking over the 'cultural shoulder', questioning beliefs and cultural norms, many of which are deeply embedded over time. The research journey has raised awareness of what distinguishes people culturally, including one's self, but never claiming to be a 'cultural expert', since the study of cultures can only serve to remind one about what there is still to learn. The doctoral journey has allowed for a new appreciation of the challenges faced by ISs, when they confront learning in a language other than their 'mother tongue' and deal with the constant of life, as it continues through the passage of PhD time and space. The opportunity to mutually learn and share with many ISs along with some understanding of what it means to be a 'researcher' forms the 'treasure-chest' of this experience.

The study ends with a quote from the researcher which was published in *The Australian* on Australia Day 2013. The quote highlights the importance of cultural diversity and the principle of mutual IC learning:

> *Cultural diversity forms part of the rich tapestry of life in this country, historically and contemporarily. I take pride in being an Australian and it is part of my cultural identity, but that does not give me the right to decide how others from different cultures should acculturate or identify. The immigration debate should not be an us-or-them argument. Immigrants are not simply the bearers of difference until they become "adjusted" in the likeness of Australians.*
>
> *Australia Day is a point in time, when we can reflect and learn from the failed yesteryear policies of assimilation and celebrate rather than condemn cultural difference. A 'my-way-or-the-highway' approach that seeks to clone a national culture fails to embrace difference and*

undermines the principles of mutual humanity that are based on respect and equality for all. (Medica, 26 January 2013).

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Appendix 1: The Interview Guide

Interview Packs include–

1. Explanatory Statement (generic)
2. Consent Form (generic)
3. Information relevant to Completing Awardees;
4. Information relevant to Completed Awardees, and
5. Information relevant to Informants

MONASH University

Sent to Groups 1 (completing awardees), 2 (completed awardees) and 3 (informants)

March 2011

Explanatory Statement - Cultural Identity: Challenges in the context of an aid-funded higher education program

This Explanatory Statement is provided to the following groups:

1. Former ADS Awardees from Indonesia who studied in Australia at PhD level. Awardees will be university academics from Indonesian public or private higher education institutes and will have completed the ADS Award at PhD level;

2. Current ADS Awardees from Indonesia who are studying in Australia at PhD level plan. Awardees will be those students with existing employment as university academics in Indonesian public or private higher education institutes; or

3. Other informants who are senior representatives from Indonesian higher education institutes with returned ADS awardees; or Senior AusAID representatives; or Senior Australian University administrators with direct experience of the ADS Award Program.

This information sheet is for individuals from the above groups to keep.

My name is Karen Medica and I am conducting a research project with Professor Chris Nyland a Professor in the Department of Management towards a PhD degree at Monash University. This means that I will be writing a thesis which is the equivalent of a 300 page book.

Why did you choose this particular person as a participant?

You have been selected because you are an Informant about the ADS Award Program, with knowledge of the ADS program and/or its awardees. Your contact details were obtained either through a network of Indonesian students, including ADS awardees or through the researcher's own contacts.

The aim/purpose of the research

The aim of this study is to enhance knowledge of cultural identity change, related to an aid-funded international higher education experience. The researcher is particularly interested in aspects of cultural identity that occur following repatriation to Indonesia, following completion of the ADS program. The researcher is also interested in any related cultural identity issues that occur during the acculturation phase of the program in Australia. The researcher is also interested to develop insights into existing challenges and opportunities related to the ADS program with respect to the findings from this study of cultural identity.

Possible benefits

The benefit of participating in this study is to contribute insights and knowledge on cultural identity, so as to understand if and in what ways it may be challenged in the context of an aid-funded higher education program.

Department of Management
Faculty of Business and Economics
Monash University
Caulfield, 3162
Telephone +61 3 99032035 Email Karen.medica@monash.edu
ABN 12 377 614 012 CRICOS provider number 00008C

What does the research involve?

The study involves an in-depth, one-on-one, face-to-face, semi-structured interview conducted in English with the researcher. The interview will be audio-taped and transcribed by the researcher. The transcription of the interview will also be made available to participants in the study, to check for clarification and approve.

How much time will the research take?

The semi-structured interview will take approximately one hour. The review of the transcript should take approximately 30 minutes.

Inconvenience/discomfort

There should not be any inconvenience and/or discomfort to the participant. During the interview it is possible that participants may reflect on experiences that were embarrassing or unpleasant. The purpose of the interview is not to cause any discomfort but to explore experiences, both good and bad about cultural identity and how it may or may not be effected by participation on the ADS program.

Payment

Participation in the study is voluntary. Research findings can be provided to study participants.

Can I withdraw from the research?

Being in this study is voluntary and participants are under no obligation to consent to participation. However, if there is consent to participate, individuals may withdraw at any time up until the point of approval of the interview transcript.

Confidentiality

Responses to the semi-structured interviews will be kept strictly confidential and all transcripts will be de-identified. Audio tapes will be transcribed following interviews and recorded information then deleted. Electronic data will be secured by encryption and backed up on Monash IT system. Hard data will be secured in a locked filing cabinet, located in the Department of Management and accessible by the researcher and her Primary Supervisor.

Storage of data

Storage of the data collected will adhere to the University regulations and kept on University premises in a locked cupboard/filing cabinet for 5 years. Electronic data will be secured by encryption and backed up on Monash IT system. A report of the study may be submitted for publication, but individual participants will not be identifiable in such a report.

Use of data for other purposes

If data is used for other purposes, such as a journal paper, conference paper or related further study, confidentiality of participants will be maintained and at no time will any individual participant be identifiable.

Results

If you would like to be informed of the aggregate research finding, please contact Professor Chris Nyland on +61 3 9903 4067 or Ms Karen Medica on +61 3 9903 2035, or fax +61 3 9903 2718 or e-mail: karen.medica@monash.edu.au. The findings are accessible for five years.

If you would like to contact the **researchers** about any aspect of this study, please contact the Primary Supervisor or Researcher	If you have a **complaint** concerning the manner in which this research **<insert project number >** is being conducted, please contact:
Professor Chris Nyland (Primary Supervisor) Department of Management Faculty of Business and Economics Monash University, Caulfield East, Vic., 3145 Tel: +61 3 9903 4067 Fax: +61 3 9903 2718 Email: chris.nyland@monash.edu **Ms Karen Medica (Researcher)** Department of Mangement Faculty of Business and Economics Monash University, Caulfield East, Vic., 3145 Tel: +61 3 9903 2035 (landline) Tel: +61(0) 418 518 945 (mobile) Fax: +61 3 9903 2718 Email: karen.medica@monash.edu	**In Indonesia Contact (fluent in English)** who can receive complaints and pass them to MUHREC Nury Effendi Vice Dean for Academic Affairs, Faculty of Economics - Universitas Padjadjaran Office Address: Jl. Dipati Ukur 35, Bandung 40132, INDONESIA Tel (mobile): +62-818638136 Email: nury.effendi@fe.unpad.ac.id **In Australia Contact** Executive Officer, Human Research Ethics Monash University Human Research Ethics Committee (MUHREC) Building 3e Room 111 Research Office Monash University VIC 3800 Tel: +61 3 9905 2052 Fax: +61 3 9905 3831 Email: muhrec@monash.edu

Thank you very much for your time and your participation

.

Professor Chris Nyland (Primary Supervisor)

Ms Karen Medica (Researcher)

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ABN 12 377 614 012 CRICOS provider number 00008C

Consent Form – Standard basic - TEMPLATE

Consent Form - *<Group 1, 2, 3>*

Title: Cultural Identity: Challenges in the context of an aid-funded higher education program>

NOTE: This consent form will remain with the Monash University researcher for their records

I agree to take part in the Monash University research project specified above. I have had the project explained to me, and I have read the Explanatory Statement, which I keep for my records. I understand that agreeing to take part means that:

List all procedures relevant to your data collection – delete those not applicable

I agree to be interviewed by the researcher	☐ **Yes**	☐ **No**
I agree to allow the interview to be audio-taped and/or video-taped	☐ **Yes**	☐ **No**

and/or

I understand that my participation is voluntary, that I can choose not to participate in part or all of the project, and that I can withdraw at any stage of the project without being penalised or disadvantaged in any way.

and/or

I understand that any data that the researcher extracts from the interview for use in reports or published findings will not, under any circumstances, contain names or identifying characteristics.

and/or

I understand that I will be given a transcript of data concerning me for my approval before it is included in the write up of the research.

and/or

I understand that any information I provide is confidential, and that no information that could lead to the identification of any individual will be disclosed in any reports on the project, or to any other party.

and/or

I understand that data from the interview/transcript/audio-tape will be kept in a secure storage and accessible to the research team. I also understand that the data will be destroyed after a 5 year period unless I consent to it being used in future research.

Participant's name

Signature

Date

Letter of Invitation

October 2011

SEEKING CURRENT AUSTRALIAN DEVELOPMENT SCHOLARSHIP AWARDEES FROM INDONESIA

STUDY ON CULTURAL IDENTITY

- Are you completing an ADS Award at PhD level in Australia?
- Are you from an Indonesian Public or Private University with professional standing as an academic?
- Are you highly fluent in English language?

If you answered Yes to the above three questions, you may be interested in participating in a study that aims to enhance knowledge of cultural identity, related to your ADS experience.

The study involves an in-depth, one-on-one, face-to-face, semi-structured interview conducted in English with current awardees and the researcher. The interview will be audio-taped and transcribed by the researcher and allow for you to check details. The interview will take approximately one hour and a review of the transcript should take approximately 30 minutes. It is proposed to conduct interviews in Australia at a time and location that is convenient to you.

A consent form and a full explanatory statement is attached and provides further information about the study. Please note that your participation in the study is voluntary and you are under no obligation to consent to participation. All aspects of the study, including results will be strictly confidential, with data encrypted and secured. Only the researchers will have access to information on participants.

If you would like to be involved in this research project or have any further questions, please contact Karen Medica at the Department of Monash, Monash University by email at [redacted]
Please note that during the period November and December I will be in Indonesia and can best be contacted by email during this time.

Kind regards

[redacted]

Karen Medica
Researcher

Interview Questions (Semi-Structured Interviews)

Setting the Context for the Questions

<u>Questions to Completing PhD</u> Australian Development Scholarship (ADS) awardees. You are completing an ADS PhD-level Award in Australia and during this time it is assumed you are experiencing some changes in terms of your cultural identity. The purpose of the interview is to discuss these changes in relation to the process of adapting to life/study on the program. Other questions relating to the ADS program are also included.

Firstly, I would like to check your details by asking some background/demographic information.

Checking details of respondents

- Your age is:
- Male / Female?
- Your contact details? Email and Phone contact.
- Where are you originally from .... and where is your home now ....
- What nationality are your parents?
- What country do you culturally identify with?
- Your religion is …..
- What languages do you speak, other than English? And which is your 'mother tongue'? Indonesian.
- How would you rate your English – 1(Very Poor); 2 (Poor); 3(Average); 4(quite good); 5(Very good)
- Your job in Indonesia is academic/non-academic? If academic, what is your standing in Indonesia? Ie Lecturer, Professor, etc.

- You commenced your PhD on the ADS Award in what year?.
- You completed your PhD on the ADS Award in what year? (Group 1 only)
- Your research interests include ....
- The University in which you studied is ……
- The department in which you studied or are currently still studying in Australia is ...

- Have you studied in other countries, before coming to Australia? What did you study and in which country and for how long?
- Have you lived or worked outside of Indonesia, before commencing the ADS program? Which country, how long?
- Did you return to Indonesia during the program and for how long?

Questions to Current Australian Development Scholarship (ADS) awardees who are studying at PhD level in Australia and come from a higher education institute in Indonesia.

Acculturation (Group 1)
1. What or who motivated you to apply for the ADS program?
2. Can you comment on your own expectations about culturally adjusting to life in Australia?
3. Can you comment on any preparations that may have culturally assisted you prior to joining the ADS program?
4. Can you discuss the phase when you were culturally adjusting to life in Australia? What changes did you experience at what time period?
5. Can you comment on your social support networks while studying in Australia? How did these relationships affect your adjustment to life in Australia?
6. Is there anything special about you (ie could be knowledge, skills or experience) that might have assisted you in dealing with adapting to life and study in Australia?
7. Were there special interventions that did or could have assisted you in dealing with cultural adaptation during this time?
8. What was the MOST significant change for you arising from your experience on the ADS program? Eg could be something to do with home life, work life, study life – whatever you felt was most significant.
9. Are there any other factors that you would like to discuss related to your experience on the ADS program?
10. Do you have any recommendations for improving the ADS program, especially in terms of dealing with cultural adjustment issues coming to Australia?
11. Do you have any questions?

Letter of Invitation

October 2011

SEEKING COMPLETED AUSTRALIAN DEVELOPMENT SCHOLARSHIP AWARDEES FROM INDONESIA

STUDY ON CULTURAL IDENTITY

- Did you complete an ADS PhD-Level Award in Australia (during 1998 to 2011)?
- Do you and/or did you have professional standing as an Indonesian University Academic, with employment in a public or private higher education institution?
- Are you highly fluent in English language?

If you answered Yes to the above three questions, you may be interested in participating in a study that aims to enhance knowledge of cultural identity, related to your ADS experience.

The study involves an in-depth, one-on-one, face-to-face, semi-structured interview conducted in English with former awardees and the researcher. The interview will be audio-taped and transcribed by the researcher and allow for you to check details. The interview will take approximately one hour and a review of the transcript should take approximately 30 minutes. It is proposed to conduct interviews in Indonesia at a time and location that is convenient to you.

A consent form and a full explanatory statement is attached and provides further information about the study. Please note that your participation in the study is voluntary and you are under no obligation to consent to participation. All aspects of the study, including results will be strictly confidential with data encrypted and secured. Only the researchers will have access to information on participants.

If you would like to be involved in this research project or have any further questions, please contact Karen Medica at the Department of Monash, Monash University by email at [redacted]

Kind regards

[redacted]

Karen Medica
Researcher

Interview Questions (Semi-Structured Interviews)

Setting the Context for the Questions

<u>Questions to Completed PhD</u> Australian Development Scholarship (ADS) awardees. You have completed the ADS Award in Australia, now have a PhD and experienced some changes in terms of your cultural identity? The purpose of the interview is to discuss these changes in relation to the process of adapting and re-entry to your home country. Other questions relating to the ADS program are also included below.

Firstly, I would like to check your details by asking some background/demographic information.

Checking details of respondents (Groups 1 and 2)

- Your age is:
- Male / Female?
- Your contact details? Email and Phone contact.
- Where are you originally from .... and where is your home now ....
- What nationality are your parents?
- What country do you culturally identify with?
- Your religion is …..
- What languages do you speak, other than English? And which is your 'mother tongue'? Indonesian.
- How would you rate your English – 1(Very Poor); 2 (Poor); 3(Average); 4(quite good); 5(Very good)
- Your job in Indonesia is academic/non-academic? If academic, what is your standing in Indonesia? Ie Lecturer, Professor, etc.

Questions to Completed PhD Australian Development Scholarship (ADS) awardees. You have completed the ADS Award in Australia, now have a PhD and experienced some changes in terms of your cultural identity? The purpose of the interview is to discuss these changes in relation to the process of adapting and re-entry to your home country. Other questions relating to the ADS program are also included below.

	Adaptation (acculturation)	**Adaptation (reacculturation - re-entry)**
CI differences	**1. What do you think are significant differences between Indonesian and Australian culture?**	
Cultural Identity (multiple identities)	2. **What are the important aspects of your culture – eg how you see yourself?** **a) What was different before ADS? – ie how you saw yourself then, compared to now?** Cultural Identities may include - academic; family member, community member, religious identity, gender, national, identity, AusAID awardee, language, food/dress/music, Javanese, etc	
	3. How, if at all, has the ADS shaped your thinking and the way you act?	
	4. What does it mean to you to be an academic? **a) In what ways, if at all, did the ADS program change your perception of yourself as an academic?**	
	5. What does it mean to you to be an AusAID awardee?	
CI relations with others	**6. How did you 'fit in' with others during the ADS Program?** **a) Other Indonesians in Australia – which groups (peers, other PhDs, friends, family, work)?** **b) Other Internationals in Australia – (peers, other PhDs, friends, family, work)?** **c) Australians? – (peers, other PhDs, friends, family, work)?**	**7. How did you 'fit in' at home after the ADS Program?** **a) Fellow Indonesians – which groups (peers, other PhDs, friends, family, work)?** **b) Expatriates (incl Aussies)– (peers, other PhDs, friends, family, work)?** **c) How would you describe your sense of being an Indonesian – more or less Indonesian after ADS?**

		8. How did people at home (family members, professional colleagues, religious groups, male/females, peers) regard your cultural experience in Australia?
Cultural adjustment – re-entry (including culture shock)	**9. How easy was it for you to adjust culturally to life (private, work, study) in Australia?** Culture Shock – adjustment to study, family, etc.	**10. How easy was it for you to re-adjust to life in Indonesia?** Reverse Culture Shock – adjustment to work, family, etc. Happy/sad to be leaving Australia? What was more challenging – coming or returning?
	11. How did you prepare to come to Australia and what did you expect? Anything you did to help with adjustment?	**12. How did you prepare to return home and what did you expect?** Anything you did to help re-adjust?
	13. What were your social support networks that helped you adjust to life in Australia?	**14. What were your social support networks that helped you re-adjust to life at home?**
	15. What were the most stressful experiences during the ADS program and what did you do to cope during these times?	**16. What were the most stressful experiences after returning to Indonesia and what did you do to cope during this time?**
CI and personal traits	**17. What personality traits may have assisted you in dealing with adapting to life in Australia and/or in adapting to life back home in Indonesia?**	
Most Significant Change	**18. If a family member or good friends asked you to tell them what was the MOST significant change for you arising from your cultural experience on or after the ADS program – what would you say?** Story? Event?	

The following questions will be brief – the purpose is to learn more about the ADS Program.

ADS Program	**19. What motivated you to apply for the ADS program?**	**20. What motivated you to return to Indonesia after the program?**
	21. What are your future plans in terms of where you will live/work - in Indonesia; outside Indonesia – short term (next 2-3 years); long term (5 years+)?	
	22. What do you think about the match between the skills gained on the ADS program and how you use these skills now?	
	23. What are your main academic achievements since completing ADS that relate to your PhD?	
	24. What research networks do you maintain since completing ADS??	
	25. What recommendations can you suggest to improve the ADS program, especially in terms of dealing with cultural adjustment issues (either when you first go or on returning home)?	
Other / Close	**26. Do you have any questions – any other factors that you would like to discuss related to your experience on the ADS program?**	

Letter of Invitation

October 2011

SEEKING INFORMANTS WITH EXPERIENCE OF AUSTRALIAN DEVELOPMENT SCHOLARSHIP AWARDEE FROM INDONESIA

I am writing to invite your participation as an Informant on a study of cultural identity and challenges in the context of an aid-funded higher education program. I understand you have direct experience of the ADS Award Program and may have insights into aspects of cultural identity, related to ADS former or current awardees.

The study will involve an in-depth, one-on-one, face-to-face, semi-structured interview conducted in English with senior informants and the researcher. The interview will be audio-taped and transcribed by the researcher and allow for you to check details. The interview will take approximately one hour and a review of the transcript should take approximately 30 minutes. It is proposed to conduct interviews at a time and location that is convenient to you.

A consent form and a full explanatory statement is attached and provides further information about the study. Your participation would be highly valued for this study, however it is voluntary and you are under no obligation to participate. For your information, all aspects of the study, including results will be strictly confidential, with data encrypted and secured. On the researchers will have access to information on participants.

If you would like to be involved in this research project or have any further questions, please contact Karen Medica at the Department of Monash, Monash University by email at [redacted]

Kind regards

[redacted]

Karen Medica
Researcher

Interview Questions to Informants – Group 3 (Semi-Structured Interviews)

Questions to Informants regarding Australian Development Scholarship (ADS) awardees. The purpose of the interview is to discuss changes in relation to the process of awardees adapting to life/study on the program. Other questions relating to the ADS program are also included. Informants may be in a position to comment on adaptation, re-entry or both phases of the sojourn.

Firstly, I would like to check your details by asking some background/demographic information.

Informants (Group 3)

- Your age is:
- Male / Female?
- Your contact details? Email and Phone contact.
- What is your nationality?
- As an informant for this study on cultural identity and the change related to the ADS program, how would you describe your relationship to the program – eg are you part of an organisation or institution that engages with ADS awardees from Indonesia; an academic who engages with ADS awardees from Indonesia; a family member of an ADS awardee; part of the Indonesian community; a member of Alumni; an expert on a related area; or other?
- Where are you originally from .... and where is your home now ....
- How would you rate your English – 1(Very Poor); 2 (Poor); 3(Average); 4(quite good); 5(Very good)

Questions to Informants regarding Australian Development Scholarship (ADS) awardees. The purpose of the interview is to discuss changes in relation to the process of awardees adapting to life/study on the program. Other questions relating to the ADS program are also included. Informants may be in a position to comment on adaptation, re-entry or both phases of the sojourn.

	Adaptation (acculturation)	**Adaptation (reacculturation - re-entry)**
CI differences	**1. What do you think are significant differences between Indonesian and Australian culture?**	
Cultural Identity (multiple identities)	2. **How do you think the ADS awardees see themselves – in terms of their culture?** **a) What was different before ADS? – ie how they saw themselves then, compared to now?** Cultural Identities may include - academic; family member, community member, religious identity, gender, national, identity, AusAID awardee, language, food/dress/music, Javanese, etc	
	3. How, if at all, do you think the ADS shaped their thinking and the way they act?	
	4. What does it mean to be an academic who has completed the ADS Program? **b) In terms of their academic status do you think this changes after completing ADS?**	
	5. How do others regard their AusAID awardee status?	
CI relations with others	**6. How did you see them 'fit in' with others during the ADS Program?** **a) Other Indonesians in Australia – which groups (peers, other PhDs, friends, family, work)?** **b) Other Internationals in Australia – (peers, other PhDs, friends, family, work)?** **c) Australians? – (peers, other PhDs, friends, family, work)?**	**7. How did you see them 'fit in' at home after the ADS Program?** **a) Fellow Indonesians – which groups (peers, other PhDs, friends, family, work)?** **b) Expatriates (incl Aussies)– (peers, other PhDs, friends, family, work)?** **c) How would you describe their sense of being an Indonesian – more or less Indonesian after ADS?**
		8. How do people at home (family members, professional colleagues, religious groups, male/females, peers) regard their cultural experience in Australia?

Cultural adjustment – re-entry (including culture shock)	**9. How easy do you think it is for them to adjust culturally to life (private, work, study) in Australia?** Culture Shock – adjustment to study, family, etc.	**10. How easy do you think it is for them to re-adjust to life in Indonesia?** Reverse Culture Shock – adjustment to work, family, etc. Happy/sad to be home? Do they discuss what was more challenging – coming or returning?
	11. What preparations do you believe they made to come to Australia and what expectations do you think they had? Anything they did to help with adjustment?	**12. What preparations do you believe they made to return home and what expectations do you think they had?** Anything they did to help re-adjust?
	13. What are their social support networks that helped them to adjust to life in Australia?	**14. What were theirr social support networks that helped them to re-adjust to life at home?**
	15. What were their most stressful experiences during the ADS program and what did they do to cope during these times?	**16. What were their most stressful experiences after returning to Indonesia and what did they do to cope during this time?**
CI and personal traits	**17. What personality traits do you believe may have assisted them in dealing with adapting to life in Australia and/or in adapting to life back home in Indonesia?**	
Most Significant Change	**18. What in your opinion was the MOST significant change for them arising from their cultural experience on or after the ADS program?** Story? Event?	

The following questions will be brief – the purpose is to learn more about the ADS Program.

ADS Program	**19. What motivated them to apply for the ADS program?**	**20. What motivated them to return to Indonesia after the program?**
	21. What do you think about their future plans – ie any comments on where you believe they are likely to live/work - in Indonesia; outside Indonesia – short term (next 2-3 years); long term (5 years+)?	
	22. What do you think about the match between the skills gained on the ADS program and how the awardees use these skills now?	
	23. What are their main academic achievements since completing ADS that relate to their PhD?	
	24. What research networks do they maintain since completing ADS?	
	25. What recommendations can you suggest to improve the ADS program, especially in terms of dealing with cultural adjustment issues (either when first go to Australia or on returning home)?	
Other / Close	**26. Do you have any questions – any other factors that you would like to discuss related to your experience on the ADS program?**	