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Understanding International Students from Asia in American Universities

Learning and Living Globalization

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Chapter 1
Paradigm Shift: Learning Is a Two-Way Street Between American Universities and Asian International Students

Yingyi Ma

Abstract This introductory chapter presents key rationales, the main argument, and the organization of the book. It argues that there is a power asymmetry between Asian students and American universities, and this power asymmetry provides one of the fundamental social contexts in which Asian international students at American universities are situated. This power asymmetry also sets up the academic discourse for studying these international students with a traditional deficit framework that emphasizes their adjustment and adaptation. It argues for the urgency to shift from the deficit framework to the one calling for proactive institutional efforts engaging both international students and American university to bring about successful experiences of international students.

Anthony Giddens, in the *Consequences of Modernity*, defines globalization as "the intensification of worldwide social relations which link distant localities in such a way that local happenings are shaped by events occurring many miles away and vice versa" (1990: 64). Globalization is palpable in American higher educational institutions, where students are often from more than 100 countries around the world. Through both classroom learning and interactions outside of the classroom with faculty, domestic students, and the American public, international students are learning and living globalization as their way of life in twenty-first-century American universities.

According to the Institute of International Education (IIE 2016), 974,926 international students are in the United States, making it the top destination for international students. Among these international students, about 51% came from the three countries: China (304,040), India (132,888), and South Korea (63,710). Asian students in total constitute 64.3% of all international students.

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Most of these international students, especially at the undergraduate level, are not eligible for state tuition or financial aid packages. These students are particularly welcome today when American universities are facing significant budget constraints. They help American universities to achieve multiple purposes of balancing their budgets, diversifying, and globalizing their campuses. However, in spite of skyrocketing enrollment, we know very little of Asian students' experiences on American college campuses. Much of the academic research published in this field focuses on Europe and Australia (Jones 2010; Leask 2010), where major national surveys of international students, backed by government funding, have been done. To the best of our knowledge, no such national surveys have been conducted by the U.S. government on international students, which contributes to the paucity of research in this area. With such a lack of understanding, we may shortchange international students' learning experiences by failing to provide enough support, as well as falling short in our efforts to create global campuses.

This book is about international students from Asia at American universities in the age of globalization. Why do they want to study in America? How do they make their college choices? To what extent do they integrate with domestic students, and what are the barriers for intergroup friendship? How are faculty and administrators at American institutions responding to changing campus and classroom dynamics with a growing student body from Asia? Have we provided them with the skills they need to succeed professionally? As they are preparing to become the educational, managerial, and entrepreneurial elites of the world, do Asian international students plan to stay in the United States or to return to their home country? This book deals with all of these significant questions.

Asian Students Drive the Growth of Enrollment

Figure 1.1 provides the proportion of international students in tertiary education hosted by top destination countries. It shows that the United States still attracts the highest proportion of international students, followed by the United Kingdom and Australia. There has been steep growth in the United States since 2012; in 2014, close to a quarter of all international students chose to study in the American institutions of higher education. Figure 1.2 shows the proportion of Asian students in the top destination countries, where growth has largely been spurred by the increase of students from Asia.

Asia is vast and heterogeneous, in both its geography and culture. Figure 1.3 shows that East Asia and the Pacific region, and South Asia, are the regions sending the most international students to American universities. It is no coincidence that these regions also host countries with top-ranking GDPs in the world: China, Japan, India, and South Korea. The soaring economies in these countries have helped to produce an emerging middle class that can afford American higher education. In part, due to their rising economies, East and South Asia are more extensively integrated with the globalizing world in such areas as trade, travel, and information flow, all of which spur student mobility and talent migration.

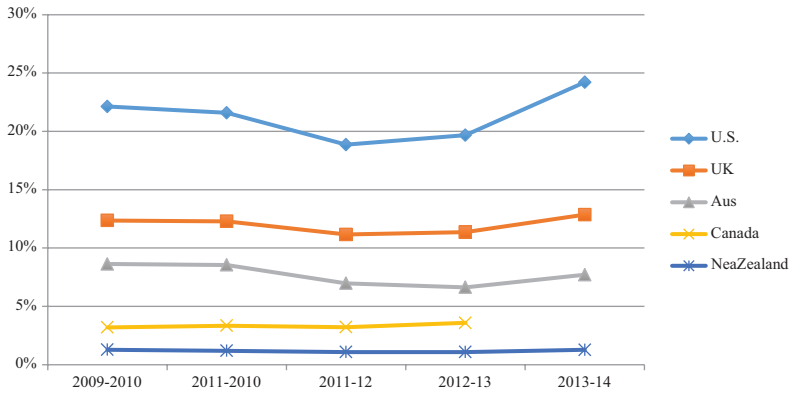

Fig. 1.1 The percentage of international students in tertiary education in the top destination countries (Source: author data compilation from UNESCO website, http://data.uis.unesco.org/Index.aspx?queryid=169. Note: Canada has no data for the most recent year)

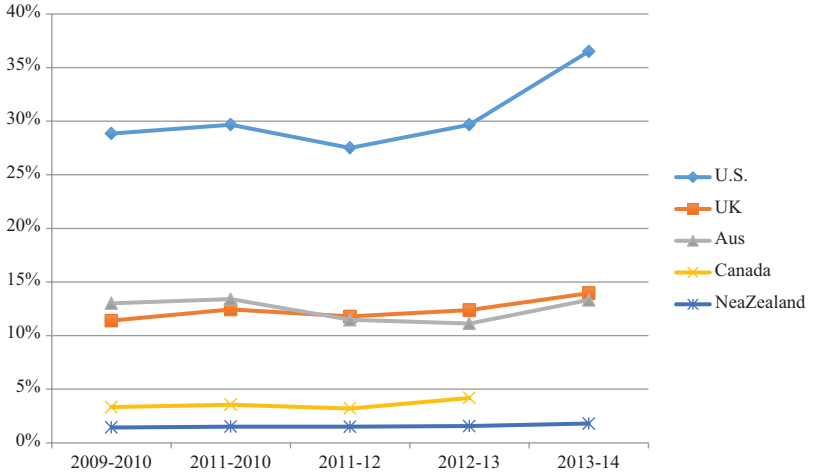

Fig. 1.2 The percentage of Asian students in the top destination countries (Source: author data compilation from UNESCO website, http://data.uis.unesco.org/Index.aspx?queryid=169)

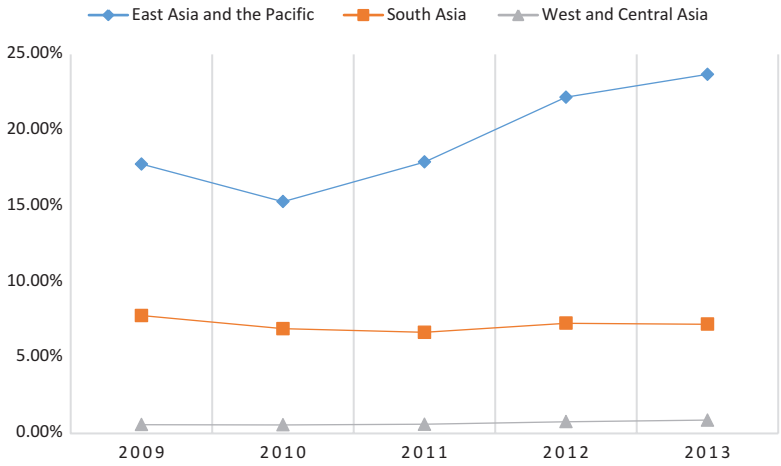

Fig. 1.3 Regions sending Asian international students to American universities (Source: author data compilation from UNESCO website, http://data.uis.unesco.org/Index.aspx?queryid=169)

The Power Asymmetry Between Asian International Students and American Universities

Student mobility between Asian societies and the United States is far from symmetrical. While the United States has become the top destination for international students from Asia, American students are not as likely to study abroad in Asia. According to the Institute of International Education (2014), in 2013 and 2014, the top three destinations for American students studying abroad were the United Kingdom (38,250), Italy (31,166), and Spain (26,949). Among the top 25 destinations of U.S. study-abroad students, four countries are located in Asia—China, Japan, India, and South Korea. Specifically, of the 304,467 U.S. study-abroad students, 13,763 went to China, 5978 to Japan, 4583 to India, and 3219 to South Korea (Institute of International Education 2013/2014). In sum, around 11.9% of U.S. students study abroad in Asia, while around 64.3% of the international students in the United States are from Asia, underscoring the asymmetrical nature of student mobility in higher education between Asia and the United States.

This asymmetrical exchange of students is emblematic of the power asymmetry between Asian societies and the United States. This power asymmetry is best explained by the World-System Theory, which describes how individuals from peripheral nations tend to move toward core nations (Barnett and Salisbury 1996; Wallerstein 1979). According to the theory, many Asian countries are in the so-called periphery, which often produces "labor-intensive" and "low-technology" goods, while higher education is considered a high-end good of higher value if it is produced in a core country rather than in a peripheral country. Some countries in

Asia are semi-peripheral, such as South Korea, which is transitioning from the periphery to the core. Globalization has brought more countries to the integrated world market and has sped up the process of societies' transitioning from the periphery to the core. The most notable example is China, which used to be on the periphery but is now taking on an increasingly important role in the world system (Zakaria 2008). China is now the world's second-largest economy and is expected to overtake the United States in the near future to become the largest.

Instead of a rigid distinction between the core and the periphery, some have argued that globalization and information technology have blurred the very boundary between the two. As Vanessa Fong has argued, "Centers and peripheries are no longer tied to geographic regions as they were in the capitalist world system Wallenstein described; rather, they are located in easily portable skills, credentials, bank accounts, and citizenship documents" (Fong 2011, 22). However, systems of higher education seem to be trailing behind these transformative changes in the geopolitical order of the world. Although the Asian countries have invested heavily in their higher education sector, the world-class universities are still predominantly located in the core countries, usually understood to be Western industrialized countries. In other words, although the power asymmetry along economic lines has responded to changes in the world, the power asymmetry in the higher education sector has been resistant to change. American institutions of higher learning are of higher status and prestige than their Asian counterparts, which contributes to the disproportionate mobility of students from Asia to North America. More broadly, the higher status and prestige of American institutions validate and cement the legitimacy of American-centric and Euro-centric standards.

I argue that this power asymmetry provides one of the fundamental social contexts in which Asian international students at American universities are situated. In part, it shapes the perspective of American students, faculty and administrators, and their expectations of international students from Asia, and it influences how Asian students perceive their own experiences and pressures them to fit in and live up to the expectations of the American mainstream. This power asymmetry also sets up the academic discourse for studying these international students with a traditional deficit framework that emphasizes their adjustment and adaptation. The adjustment literature focuses on the cultural, academic, and linguistic barriers faced by international students, without challenging the presumption that overcoming these barriers is the sole responsibility of these students.

This book intends to challenge this power asymmetry and the traditional adjustment framework. It argues that American institutions of higher education need to catch up with the new realities of the global order and question the expectation that Asian international students should simply make efforts to adjust. Instead, American universities need to embrace the changes and encourage both American domestic students and Asian international students to learn from each other.

Paradigm Shift: Learning Is a Two-Way Street

A majority of extant studies on international students in American universities assume that international students are aiming to adjust, acculturate, and assimilate into American mainstream society (Al-Sharideh and Goe 1998; Bevis & Lucas 2007; Hechanova-Alampay et al. 2003; Pritchard and Skinner 2002; Zhao et al. 2005). Within this paradigm, studies are dominated by a focus on the acculturation stress and depression that pathologizes the international student population. Recently, a handful of scholars (Lee and Rice 2007, Lee 2010; Dolby and Rahman 2008) have argued for a paradigm shift, contending that the prevailing perspective is rooted in a deficit discourse emphasizing unidirectional adjustment, without addressing the real needs of international students. These scholars have argued that this negative perception and treatment of international students constitute a form of neo-racism (Lee and Rice 2007; Henry and Tator 2007), based on overt and covert discrimination concerning one's skin color and country of origin and on the relationships between countries.

This edited book joins the call for a paradigm shift from unidirectional adjustment on the part of international students to a "two-way street" of learning between American universities and international students, by providing empirical evidence, drawn primarily from the voices of Asian international students, to highlight the necessity for such a shift. A two-way street of learning emphasizes the glaring omission from the dominant research framework in the United States that American universities need to learn about, and learn from, their international students. Learning about these students is the precondition for learning from them. American domestic students, faculty, staff, and administrators are all stakeholders in this learning process, as are Asian international students.

Two-way street of learning entails and represents the transformative process of knowledge production, which in turn contributes to new knowledge. Universities in other countries, particularly, in the United Kingdom and Australia, have done significant work in raising awareness about and implementing internationalization (Hanassab 2006; Hills and Thom 2005; Leask 2001; Whitsed and Green 2015). What exemplifies two-way street of learning is internationalization of curriculum. Researchers at the Leeds Metropolitan University and the University of South Australia have done invaluable work in this area (Leask 2001, 2010, 2013; Caruana and Hanstock 2008). In a study at Leeds Metropolitan University in the UK, the researcher surveyed graduates of Higher Education and Research program about their understanding of internationalization. While there are different layers to internationalization of curriculum, the majority "emphasized a curriculum designed to enable students to understand the global context of their studies, to develop awareness of how knowledge is globally linked and to prepare them for viewing change as positive and managing it effectively in a global context" (Caruana 2010). This perspective goes beyond incorporating international content into learning but also about challenging and contributing to knowledge construction in a global context. Caruana (2010) has defined enablers of internationalization of curriculum as those

"providing the raw material and potential richness of cultural experience which can be strategically blended into teaching, leaning and assessment practices to provide an international/intercultural dimension" (Caruana 2010: 35). International students are key enablers. However, it takes two to tango. Domestic students need to be open in the two-way learning and working across cultures. Higher education institutions can play a critical role in encouraging and facilitating this process. For example, at the University of South Australia, policy statements such as Graduate Quality state "graduates of the University of South Australia will demonstrate international perspectives as professionals and as citizens" and nine generic indicators are provided to academic staff as a guide to what this graduate quality means for student capabilities. Support materials are provided to faculty and staff to facilitate and reward intercultural engagement between international students and domestic students (Leask 2010).

This perspective reflects a marked shift from the traditional mindset that emphasizes unidirectional adjustment and assimilation on the part of international students. American institutions fail to recognize that Asian international students are from non-Western societies with their own distinct cultures and educational systems, and this actually provides a great learning opportunity for American students and faculty. Rather than treating them as enablers of internationalization, American institutions tend to perceive their Asian students in the deficit framework. For example, American faculty and students often perceive Asian students as lacking a participatory spirit in and outside the classroom and lacking the ability to socialize, and thus, they are treated as the "foreign" other (Trice 2007). This has led to the further marginalization and isolation of Asian international students. Asian international students tend to have few, or no, American friends and report a lower level of satisfaction than Latin American and European international students (Gareis 2012).

These chapters offer evidence from interdisciplinary perspectives that Asian international students feel that they do not obtain sufficient understanding and support from American universities. We argue that this current lack of understanding stems from an old paradigm by which we expect international students to learn American culture—the idea that learning is a one-way street. Therefore, most of the chapters in this book aim to provide more knowledge and a better understanding of Asian international students. A few chapters are explicit efforts to show how professors and administrators learn from their international students and adjust their teaching and administrative strategies accordingly. We believe that this is a critical direction for moving beyond a deficit framework.

The Organization of This Book

The chapters in this book focus on students from major sending countries such as China, India, South Korea, and Pakistan. Some chapters focus on undergraduate students, others on graduate students. Given the recent surge of undergraduates from China, the magnitude of change and the impact on American universities is

unprecedented and poses fresh and unique questions for American faculty, students, and administrators to grapple with. This is aptly reflected in our chapters as well. Three chapters focus exclusively on China from the varied perspectives of Chinese students, and American faculty and administrators. In addition, we present an accessible collection of empirically based research articles drawn from multidisciplinary expertise in sociology, higher education, and communication and rhetoric studies. Consequently, the study methodology is diverse, ranging from survey data to in-depth interviews to mixed methods. In general, international students' voices and their interests are the central focus.

The book is organized into three sections, spanning the life cycle of international students' experiences: (1) their expectations and motivations prior to their arrival, (2) their experiences in American universities, and (3) their plans and future aspirations for after graduation. Chapter 1 provides the overriding theme and the structure of the book.

The first section, "Before Arrival," includes chapters about the educational backgrounds of international students and their college choice processes and about how American universities can help build cultural bridges for prospective students. It gives a rare glimpse into the processes and experiences of international students prior to their coming to the United States. Using both survey and interview data, Chapter 2 focuses on the college choice process of the Asian international students attending a large public research university in the United States. Using survey data, the study explores different roles played by the country of origin and the level of education pursued. Using in-depth interviews, it focuses on understanding how Chinese students in particular choose programs in the universities they plan to attend. Chapter 3 employs focus group interviews with students from Beijing and Shanghai applying to colleges in the United States, in order to examine the motivations, expectations, and challenges they anticipate in their future studies and to discover how they plan to apply their knowledge and transnational experiences in their future careers. In addition, the chapter discusses the potential benefits in learning about these prospective students so that American universities can support these students.

Chapter 4 focuses on female Indian students studying in American MBA programs. Using in-depth interviews, this chapter explores the paths Indian women took that led them to study in this male-dominated field. Motivated by the gender disparity that favors Indian men among international students, this chapter highlights the educational path taken by these women from private, English-medium, primary and secondary schools in India to American institutions of higher education.

Chapters 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, and 10 constitute the second section of this book, focusing on the academic and social experiences of Asian international students while enrolling at American universities. Chapter 5 addresses how contact affects intercultural attitudinal changes. The study induced extended contact between pairs of East Asian international students and American domestic students via a semester-long ethnographic project, during which students explored each other's cultures. The results show significant improvements in intergroup knowledge, attitudes, and

social distance, with stereotypes (especially of Asians as smart, quiet, and reserved) being replaced by more differentiated views. Chapter 6 describes how Pakistani graduate students experience prejudice and discrimination based on their religious and national identities during the current era of the "War on Terror." Using qualitative interviews with Pakistani graduate students studying in the United States, this study found that the students not only see their Muslim and Pakistani identity through their own eyes but also see these identities challenged within the context of the War on Terror, reflecting a sense of double consciousness in the host society, and it explores how they struggle constantly as they challenge and negotiate the negative constructs surrounding them.

After China and India, South Korea ranks third among countries sending students to the United States. Chapter 7 examines international students from South Korea and how they construct their academic experiences while dealing with negative stereotypes of their home country, verbal discrimination accompanied by hostility toward their nonfluency in English, and direct confrontations. This chapter also examines how Korean students maintain ties to their home country while struggling to avoid living in complete isolation from the social environment at the host university.

Chapter 8 is based on longitudinal interviews with Chinese international students as they start and finish a 2-year MBA program. This chapter reveals that learning about and living with globalization does not happen organically on its own, nor it is solely a function of an individual's motivation to engage with the process. Overall, the Chinese students experienced key cultural, linguistic, and academic barriers that stood in the way of enacting the globalization about which they were learning. This chapter finds evidence of key power asymmetries between the Chinese international students and American students, faculty, and staff, with the international students holding lower status.

Chapters 9 and 10 present two case studies of instances where American faculty and administrators took the initiative to respond to Chinese international students' needs. Chapter 9 looks at American professors' practices using writing to facilitate learning at an English-medium summer school in China. All of the professors came from highly ranked American universities and taught a variety of courses typically offered to freshmen and sophomores in their home institutions. The majority of students were Chinese international students returning home from North America for the summer. Focusing on humanities and social sciences professors, the study identifies several key adaptive strategies that these professors adopted in teaching, including connecting subject matter to the students' home cultures and valuing students' multilingual resources. Chapter 10 focuses on Michigan State University and discusses how that institution and the surrounding community responded to both the opportunities and the challenges presented by rapidly growing Chinese undergraduate enrollment. As a practitioner, the author discusses various approaches that MSU faculty and students tried in order to learn about and from Chinese students, including conducting surveys about faculty attitudes, mounting research projects about Chinese students, and shooting a faculty-driven documentary movie featuring the Chinese student experience.

The final section, "After Graduation," includes chapters about factors that influence the decision-making process of Asian students considering whether to stay in the United States or return to their home country and about how these students can empower themselves, with the help of American universities, to become leaders in the twenty-first century. Chapter 11 uses data from the Survey of Earned Doctorates, a nationally representative dataset, to examine patterns in Asian doctoral graduates' stay-versus-return decisions through the decades of the 1980s, 1990s, and 2000s. This chapter pays particular attention to the question of how country-specific changes, such as shifts in economic development or national policy, may relate to shifts in stay-versus-return decisions. Chapter 12 looks into the future and the types of skills that international students want to cultivate to become leaders in the twenty-first century after graduation and into how institutions can help cultivate these skills in international students.

In summary, this edited volume aims to present the first-hand experiences and highlight the original voices of international students from Asia and to call for proactive institutional efforts on the part of both international students and American university to address the issues. To expect international students simply to adjust to American institutions does not fit the new globalized world in the twenty-first century, yet this mindset of a one-way street of learning is deeply ingrained. This book aims to change that mindset.

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Part I
Before Arrival

Chapter 2
Understanding the College Choice Process of Asian International Students

Dongbin Kim, Charles A.S. Bankart, Xiushan Jiang, and Adam M. Brazil

Abstract In the United States, many higher education institutions are experiencing decreasing enrollment due to shrinking numbers of traditional college-age students. From an international student perspective, the increasing competition among countries and higher education institutions means that they have more options to consider in their college choice process. This study seeks to develop a comprehensive college choice model uniquely suited for international students who have chosen American colleges and universities as their study destinations. Using a mixed methods case study methodology, this study reveals that the leading reasons for why international students begin to consider study abroad and finally choose their college destination were mainly explained by human capital theory and the concept of global cultural capital. The study also finds that the dynamic relationships among push and pull forces during the three-stage college choice model may significantly differ by students' background characteristics (e.g., family income or parental education). This study has important policy and research implications for understanding the factors that influence international students that choose to study abroad in the United States.

In 2012, higher education students who were enrolled in postsecondary institutions in countries outside of their citizenship reached 4.5 million, more than double the number in 2000 (OECD 2014). Of those, the largest numbers chose American higher education institutions, representing 684,807 students in 2012, a 44% increase from 2000. As of today, international students represent nearly 5% of the total enrollment of students in American higher education institutions (IIE 2015a). The prevalence of international students, however, is even greater in certain types of higher education institutions. For example, nearly 9% of the undergraduate and graduate students enrolled at doctoral/research-extensive institutions are international students with

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temporary visas, surpassing the representations of Hispanic students (5%), Asian students (6.6%), and Black students (6.9%) in the same type of institution. Looking at graduate students only, 17% were international students (U.S. Department of Education 2015).

While the numbers of international students have increased significantly in the United States, the U.S. share of international higher education students on a global scale has actually decreased from 23% to 16% between 2000 and 2010 (OECD 2012). The shrinking share of international students in the United States is mainly due to increasingly intense competition for international students in other countries, including the United Kingdom, Australia, and New Zealand, all of which have increased their shares of international students during the same time period (OECD 2012). Against this background, the United States is forced to consider more competitive market strategies in order to maintain its leadership in recruiting international students.

Within the United States, many higher education institutions are experiencing decreasing enrollment due to shrinking numbers of traditional college-age students (Guruz 2011). Therefore, there is increasing competition among universities and colleges to attract students both locally and internationally (Mazzarol 1998). Indeed, international students are considered an alternative source of maintaining (or even increasing) college enrollment (Choudaha and Chang 2012).

From an international student perspective, the increasing competition among countries and higher education institutions means that they have more options to consider in their college choice process. International students, one way or another, make a series of decisions in their pursuit of overseas education, from whether to study abroad to which country and at which institution. With abundant choices and options available, today's college choice process of international students may present different patterns from the time when global mobility was not as frequently observed, and thus the competition among the host countries and universities was not as competitive as it is now. Therefore, understanding the experiences of international students during the college choice process is crucial to creating better marketing tools and strategies for colleges and universities in many nations (Hossler and Gallaher 1987; Paulsen 1990).

While the majority of higher education literature tends to consider international students to be a homogeneous group, it is important to recognize the possible "unique" influences of country of origin or the type of degree pursued in understanding the college choice process (Teranishi et al. 2004). By understanding the nuances of college choice behaviors among students from different backgrounds, American higher education institutions can be better prepared to maintain their leading destination status for international students' global mobility. More specifically, with this effort, higher education institutions can become more competitive on an individual basis in the highly competitive markets of American higher education.

According to the most recent statistics (OECD 2014), more than 4.5 million students were enrolled in tertiary education outside of their home countries. Of

those, more than half (53%) are from Asian countries. On a national scale, China overwhelmingly sends the most students abroad for postsecondary education, accounting for nearly 22% of all postsecondary study abroad enrollment. India and South Korea are also consistently among the largest senders of international students in the world (OECD 2014). Those trends are clearly reflected in American higher education demographics. In the academic year 2013–2014, nearly a third (31%) of international students are from China, followed by India (13.6%) and South Korea (6.5%) (IIE 2015b).

In order to better understand the specific process of college choice among international students in the United States, recognizing that this choice can vary by country of origin and the level of education pursued, this study focuses on the college choice process of international students who are from Asian countries and who attend a large public research university in the United States. Using survey data from Asian international students, this study seeks to explore how international students begin to explore the opportunity to study abroad and what factors are driving the decision to study abroad, the choice of country, and eventually the selection of a particular higher education institution. Importantly, the study explores if there are different patterns by the countries of origin and by the level of education pursued. To have a deeper understanding about the nuances of college choice experiences, we have further collected qualitative interview data from international students. Given that the largest numbers of international students are from China, the qualitative interview process was mainly focused on Chinese international students. The research questions that this study seeks to answer are as follows:

1. What are the characteristics of the international students who pursue an American higher education? Are there differences by the countries of origin and the level of education pursued?
2. How and when does international students' college choice process emerge? What individual, social, educational, national, or global factors influence each stage of the college choice process?
3. What specific institutional aspects of colleges and universities influence international students' decision to choose a particular institution over another?
4. Focusing on Chinese international students, what did students feel contributed to their choice of institution, how did they identify information regarding their program, and what experiences did they encounter during their cultural transition that may be relevant to their choice to study abroad at their current institution?

A better understanding of the college choice process of international students has significant theoretical implications, as well as important policy implications for the higher education research community, policy makers, and administrators. With this study, we seek to develop a comprehensive college choice model uniquely suited to international students (possibly different by countries of origin and the level of education pursued) who have chosen American colleges and universities as their study destinations. In addition, by focusing on the comprehensive process of college

decision making—from the stage of whether to study abroad to the college choice stage of which college to attend—this study will also offer higher education policy makers and administrators an opportunity to design specific recruitment tools and strategies for international students.

Conceptual Framework

College choice has been described as a "complex multistage process" during which an individual develops college aspirations to continue education beyond high school, collects detailed information for his/her selected school set, and ultimately makes a decision to attend a specific college over others (Hossler et al. 1989). While this three-stage model has been extensively examined in prior research to understand domestic students' college choice process in the United States, little work has exclusively focused on a critical and growing segment of the American student population, international students.

Applying the three-stage model to the college choice process of international students, it begins with *predisposition*, a developmental stage during which students determine whether or not they would like to continue their education beyond "domestic education." This stage emphasizes the decision to go study abroad, rather than educational aspiration that stresses the intention (Hossler and Gallagher 1987). The differences in the quality of education between the home country and abroad and the added social and economic advantages or status that come with foreign degrees influence an individual's decision to study abroad.

Once students are settled on the decision to study abroad, they actively gather information about the country or the institution where they want to study abroad. It is during this *search* process that students may have increased interaction with higher education institutions (e.g., by actively researching the institutions) and finalize their short list of schools to which they will apply for admission. During this *search* stage, students' social and academic backgrounds (e.g., parental education or socioeconomic status) influence the quality of the searches conducted (Hossler and Gallagher 1987). International students may visit the country or colleges and universities during the search stage, which result in the final list of their preferences for college choice.

The last stage of the college choice process is a *choice* stage when students make a decision on which university or college they will attend, after evaluating the institutions in their choice set that they have gained admission to (Hossler and Gallagher 1987). As the number of international students increases worldwide, international students seek to choose the best of the best in the highly stratified higher education sector globally. Therefore, there is tension between higher education institutions (to be more selective in the quality of the students they admit) and students (to secure admission from the most selective higher education institutions to which they can gain admission) as a producer and consumer of global cultural capital.

As discussed, international students make a series of decisions, beginning with whether study abroad is a plausible option for their continuing education. Once they

have decided to pursue study abroad, they must decide in which country they want to pursue their education and then narrow the possible choices of schools. Although in most cases they follow these steps as a sequential process, research also shows that some students may choose particular institutions directly, bypassing the choice of country stage altogether (Chen 2007) or considering both country and the institution at the same time. The process can also be different for the students from different countries and for the students at undergraduate versus graduate levels. Recognizing the need to build a conceptual model that explains the college choice process of international students with particular emphasis on the nuances by countries of origin or level of study pursued, this study incorporates three conceptual approaches that provide a complementary understanding of the college choice process among international students.

First, most of the literature on the college choice process of international students is concentrated on a push-pull model that emphasizes factors that "push" international students out of their countries and "pull" them abroad (Altbach 1999; Chen 2007; Mazzarol and Soutar 2002; Park 2009; Zikopoulos and Barber 1986). This model is particularly relevant to the first stage of college choice for international students—whether to study abroad. Examples of push factors are individual characteristics (e.g., class, gender, race/ethnicity, significant others such as family, relatives, friends, or teachers/professors); any combination of the social, economic, or cultural environment of the student's home country; country's quality of education, political aspects, insufficient research facilities, and discrimination based on race/ethnicity/gender/disability; or a student's failure to pass college entrance examinations. External pull factors include the host country's academic quality, economic and political ties or geographic proximity to a student's home country, and its immigration policy, as well as an institution's location, faculty reputation, advanced educational facilities, financial aid offerings, or a student's experience of life abroad (Altbach 1998; Park 2009; Chen 2007). While this model certainly offers insight into the significant tension between push and pull factors and the multidimensional influences on students' decisions (individual, national, and global), it fails to explain the *process* of decision making in terms of when and how the college choice process begins. This model also pays little attention to the possible differences in the choice process for undergraduate versus graduate students.

Exclusively focusing on an economic perspective, human capital theory assumes that individuals have incentives to invest their time and money in education when they expect the benefits of having education are greater than the costs or the cost-benefit ratio for the investment in education is greater than that of other alternative investment opportunities (Paulsen 1998). Using the same logic, students decide to study abroad as long as they have a wage premium over what students without study abroad experiences earn, or as long as the private return to investment in overseas education is greater than that of other investment opportunities (e.g., staying domestically for further education) available to them. Individuals' expenditure for education is an investment if it generates additional lifetime earnings in the future. But if the schooling gives immediate benefits (e.g., satisfaction during study), the expenditure can also be considered consumption. International students may not only

expect to get increased earnings in the future but also to get immediate benefits while they are studying abroad, such as the joys of learning or enjoying diverse cultural experiences—including participation in cultural events, immersion in a foreign culture, or experiencing a different lifestyle.

In addition to the future financial gains, international students' aspirations for a U.S. degree can be viewed as the pursuit of global cultural capital. Global cultural capital references knowledge, taste, and cosmopolitan attitude and lifestyle that students can acquire while obtaining an international college education (Kim 2011). This conceptual approach reflects Marginson's (2006) differentiation of the positional competition between producers (universities) and consumers (students). While higher education institutions compete for a dominant position in the global hierarchy of universities (e.g., global university rankings), individuals also compete for elite status by attending elite universities. Students' decisions to study in the United States and at more selective institutions, therefore, operate within the global stratification of higher education and in the global hegemony of U.S. universities, where U.S. universities tend to dominate the most prestigious and highly ranked programs in the field of higher education on a global scale.

The push-pull model, human capital, and global cultural capital theory have significant implications for contextualizing the college choice process regarding *how* the idea of studying abroad and *in which country* to study abroad may have emerged and what specific aspects of an individual institution would facilitate international students' final decisions of *where* to attend. By incorporating these multiple conceptual frameworks into the three-stage college choice that international students experience—whether to study abroad, in which country, and at which higher education institution—we build a comprehensive college choice model that provides a better understanding of international students' college choice process. With the dynamic process and interaction between push and pull factors that are relevant to human capital and global cultural capital, international students go through a series of decision processes from the predisposition to study abroad, to the choice of institution itself.

University of the Midwest (UM) as a Case Study

This study specifically focused on international students enrolled at the University of the Midwest (UM), a large research university located in the Midwest. UM offers an ideal research site for this project because it has recently experienced significant changes in its institutional organizational structure regarding international student recruitment (e.g., the office of international programs was recently reorganized to emphasize international partnerships and recruitment). Of its nearly 30,000 total enrollment in 2015, almost 8% (2135) were international students. This is a 42.3% increase from the number of international students in 2005. As much success as the number represents, UM is also very concerned about the challenges in recruiting international students due to changes at the global level (e.g., other countries—including the United Kingdom, Australia, and Canada—are

aggressively recruiting international students) and the national level (e.g., other similar research-oriented large public universities are actively recruiting more international students). While freshmen enrollment dropped from almost 4500 in 2008 to under 3700 in 2010, increasing international student enrollment has been one of the top three priorities in UM's enrollment management strategy, together with increasing domestic student enrollment. By utilizing a case study, this study provides an opportunity to understand the college choice process contextualized within local (the focal institution), national (international students' home countries and the United States), and global contexts (the dynamic interactions between the home and host countries).

As is common among case studies, this study used multiple methods. International students were invited to participate in an online survey through an international student listserv during the end of spring 2013. Two follow-up invitations were also sent, but because the survey coincided with the end of the semester and final exams, the response rate was 18.6%. In total, 397 international students among the 2135 international students subscribed to the listserv participated in the survey. The 40-item survey identified international student background characteristics such as family income, parental education, or types of degrees pursued, information sources used in deciding to study abroad in general and in applying to the institution in specific, and reasons for deciding to study abroad and for choosing the particular institution. Responses included Likert-type scale and open-ended questions. Before finalizing the survey items, the survey was pilot tested on several international students who provided suggestions on the wording and added items to the instrument.

The second phase of the case study involved in-depth interviews with the primary target student population, Chinese international students. This decision was made primarily due to the convenience of recruiting interview participants—the largest number of international students at UM is from China. While all new full-time Chinese degree-seeking international students entering UM in the fall of 2014 were individually invited to participate in one-on-one interviews by email, seven first-year doctoral students volunteered to participate and only one Chinese degree-seeking undergraduate student volunteered to participate. Given the diversity of program-level factors that may affect college choice decisions related to undergraduate and graduate programs (Chen 2007), the undergraduate interview was not included in the presentation of the findings from the case study.

In recruiting interview participants, only those who were enrolled in a full-time academic course of study were identified and invited by the research team. Chinese students who were only enrolled part time in academic coursework and part time in intensive English coursework or who were enrolled full time in UM's intensive English program were not invited to interview. By selecting only participants for inclusion who are enrolled in a full-time academic course of study, the academic experience and language level among students would be much more similar. In all, 33 Chinese doctoral students who started their UM programs in the fall of 2014 were eligible to participate in the study. The seven interviews that were conducted in the spring of 2015 represent 21% of the eligible doctoral student population.

Data Management and Analysis

For the quantitative survey data, we first conducted a series of factor analysis to see if the 43 items of choice-related factors can be grouped together into a smaller number of choice dimensions. Next, to understand the relative importance of each choice dimension/factor at the stage of whether to study abroad, if so, in which country, and finally at which higher education institutions, we compared mean values of each choice factor by each stage of the choice process separately. Lastly, a series of mean tests was conducted to examine if there were significant differences in the choice dimensions/factors by countries of origin or by level of degree pursued.

To collect qualitative interview data, we constructed semi-structured interview questions focusing on what students felt contributed to their choice of doctoral program, how they identified information regarding their program, and what experiences they encountered during their cultural transition that could be relevant to the reason why they chose UM for their destination of graduate study. Four males and three females agreed to be interviewed. Interviews were conducted in a quiet office on campus. One or two researchers were present during each interview, which lasted between 30 and 45 minutes, were audio-recorded using computer software, and transcribed in full for coding using Microsoft Word. All transcriptions were performed by the same researcher, with the second researcher reading each transcription for verification while listening to the interview recording. Finally, each transcription was e-mailed to the interview participants for independent review and verification of content and to ensure meaning was appropriately captured by the research team. In general, interviewees made very few changes to transcripts: one interviewee added clarifications based on an interviewer's misunderstanding and two participants inserted a few additional comments to contextualize one or two points. The review process was important to the analysis of data because critical self-evaluations of English proficiency were common among interviewees. Furthermore, accents across the interviewees and time living in an English-speaking country varied substantially.

Researchers met several times to analyze prevalent themes, raise questions, and explore additional hypotheses. In combination, the transcriptions, member checks, and researcher discussions provided a triangulation of themes that were instructive for the overall data analysis. Based on the preliminary findings from the survey given to UM international students on their college choice experiences, data were coded and organized into four broad categories that lend themselves to further examination of the study's conceptual framework related to the push-pull model, human capital, and global cultural capital theory. These categories included:

1. How students found out about their doctoral program options
2. Drivers of choice of institution
3. The role family and friends at home played in coming to the focal campus
4. The role of U.S. connections in coming to the focal campus

Maxwell (2005) discusses the importance of developing categories in developing and organizing interview themes and putting them into our theoretical framework. Data were analyzed using the constant comparative method to identify major themes regarding college choice factors and transition experiences. This approach allowed the researchers to develop themes, raise questions about the data, and test working hypotheses in order to achieve what Coffey and Atkinson (1996) referred to as "the full analytical potential" of the data.

Findings: Quantitative Analysis

Background Information Of the international students who responded to the survey, 56.4% were male and 43.6% were female students. Forty percent were undergraduate and 59.7% were graduate students (24.7% were master's and 35% were doctoral students). About a quarter of the survey respondents are from China (26.4%), followed by India (12%), Saudi Arabia (5.2%), South Korea (4.4%), and Taiwan (5.4%). It is worth noting that the relative distributions by countries of origin were different when separating out students by academic degree levels. In contrast to rather even distributions of the students across the undergraduate, master's, and doctoral levels among Chinese and Taiwanese students, the majority of Indian (75.6%) students were enrolled at the graduate level. The field of study was also significantly different by countries of origin. Indian students were more likely to be enrolled in the fields of engineering (65.6%), while Chinese students were more likely to be enrolled in the fields of business (23.5%)—and relatively speaking, more evenly distributed across different majors. While there was no statistically significant difference in family income by countries of origin, students who were enrolled at the undergraduate level reported a higher family income than those enrolled at the graduate level, and the differences were statistically significant ($t = 4.760$, $p < .001$). It is obvious that students enrolled in undergraduate versus graduate levels were significantly different by their countries of origin and the level of degrees pursued (see Tables 2.1 and 2.2).

Choice Dimensions/Factors Three separate sets of factor analysis were conducted with the variables for each of the three stages of the college choice process. With the nine choice items related to the reasons for study abroad, factor analysis produced four choice dimensions (Choice 1 thru Choice 4) (see Table 2.4). For the second stage of college choice—in which country to study abroad—four choice dimensions (Choice 5 thru Choice 8) were produced from the 15 items listed in the survey. Of the choice items during the last stage of the choice process—at which higher education institutions to attend—factor analysis produced four choice dimensions (Choice 9 thru Choice 12). For further statistical analyses, we used these reduced dimensions of choice factors.

The Idea of Study Abroad While the majority of undergraduate students began to think about studying abroad when they were 15 to 18 years old, large numbers of graduate students did the same when they were 20 to 22 years old. Both under-

Table 2.1 Field of study, education level, and family income by country of origin

	China	India	South Korea	Saudi Arabia	Taiwan	
Engineering	19.6%	65.9%	5.9%	21.2%	4.8%	258.862***
Business	23.5	4.5	0.0	5.3	9.5	
Science	7.8	15.9	17.7	15.8	9.6	
Education	11.8	0.0	5.9	5.3	4.8	
Math	7.8	0.0	0.0	10.3	4.8	
Undergraduate	47.5%	24.4%	35.3%	36.8%	52.4%	14.319*
Graduate	52.5	75.6	64.7	63.2	47.6	
Family income	1.5	1.4	1.56	1.65	1.7	ns

Note 1: Annual family income: 1(less than $45,000); 2($45,000–$75,000); 3(higher than $75,000)
Note 2: To simplify statistical analyses, we primarily focused and presented information about the students from the five countries that sent the largest number of international students to UM. For the fields of study, we also focused on students in the five majors that have the largest number of international students from these countries
* = $p < .05$, ** = $p < .01$, *** = $p < .001$

Table 2.2 Field of study and family income: by education level

	Undergraduate	Graduate	
Engineering	24.8	23.8	48.198**
Business	20.9	7.2	
Science	6.5	13.5	
Education	4.6	9.9	
Math	2.6	4.6	
Family income	1.76	1.39	4.760***

Note 1: Annual family income: 1(less than $45,000); 2($45,000–$75,000); 3(higher than $75,000)
Note 2: To simplify statistical analyses, we primarily focused and presented information about the students from the five countries that sent the largest numbers of international students to UM. For the fields of study, we also focused on students in the five majors that have the largest number of international students from these countries
* = $p < .05$, ** = $p < .01$, *** = $p < .001$

graduate and graduate students began to think about studying abroad as early as when they were 10 years old. Seventy percent of the students said they initiated the idea of studying abroad and there was no difference in undergraduate versus graduate students. In addition, 38.5% and 27.5% of the students said their parents and friends, respectively, initiated the idea of studying abroad. It is interesting to note that 13.4% of the students answered that media (television or movies) was the first influence for their idea of studying abroad. Table 2.3 presents different patterns in the age that students began to think about studying abroad by parental education and family income. Interestingly, continuing generation students (i.e., at least one parent had a college education) began to think about studying abroad at much younger age (18 years old) than first-generation students (21 years), and the difference was statistically significant [$t = -5.274$, $p < .00$]. Similarly, the higher the family income, the earlier the international students began to think about studying abroad [$F = 9.078$, $p < .00$].

Table 2.3 Age that students began to think about studying abroad: differences parental education and family income

	First generation	Continuing generation	Family income (less than $45,000)	Family income (45,000–$75,000)	Family income (higher than $75,000)
Age	20.9	17.7	19.5	17.6	16.7
Sig.	$T = 5.274$, ***		$F = 9.078$***		

* = $p < .05$, ** = $p < .01$, *** = $p < .001$

Why to Study Abroad Of the listed reasons for the decision to study abroad, gaining a high-quality education was considered the most important reason (3.32). Graduate students reported a slightly higher mean (3.41) than undergraduates (3.21), and the difference was statistically significant at the .05 level. This was the only choice factor that presents a significant difference by undergraduate and graduate students. Choice 2—gaining diverse/global experiences—was also cited as an important reason for students' decision to study abroad (2.87). While undergraduate students consider Choice 2 more important than graduate students, the difference was not statistically significant. Financial and practical consideration (Choice 3) was not as important as other choice dimensions (see Table 2.4).

For both Chinese and non-Chinese international students, the top-ranked reason for studying abroad was to gain a higher-quality education, but there was no significant mean difference by country of origin. On the other hand, Chinese students tend to consider having diverse/global experiences and practical and financial benefits less important than non-Chinese students, and the differences were statistically significant. These suggest that non-Chinese students consider economic and career-related benefits (Choice 3) and having diverse experiences (Choice 2) more important than Chinese international students as their reasons for study abroad.

Which Country to Study Abroad While 90% of the students said their first choice of a study abroad destination was the United States, about 10% of the students listed the United Kingdom, Germany, Canada, Japan, or Singapore as their first choice. For these students, the primary reason why they came to the United States was finance-related (e.g., tuition in Japan was too expensive, or they received financial aid offers from U.S. higher education institutions). While about half of the survey respondents never visited the United States before coming to UM, the remaining students visited as a tourist (30%) or as a student for a short-term program or study abroad experience.

As a reason for choosing America as their study destination, students believed that a U.S. experience would help them find a better job when they return upon graduation—they recognized the value of a U.S. degree with its relatively easy of recognition in a global labor market (Choice 7, mean = 2.82). Equally important was the "availability of scholarship funds or resources" (Choice 8, mean = 2.83). Slightly less but still important as a reason for choosing the United States as a study destination was the opportunity to improve English, learn about American culture, and existence of abundant information about American higher education (Choice 6,

Table 2.4 Factors in each stage of college choice

Variables/factors	Alpha	Mean (All)	By education level			By countries of origin		
			Undergraduate	Graduate	*T*-test	Chinese	Non-Chinese	*T*-test
Variables/factors related to the choice stage of whether to study abroad								
Choice 1. To gain higher-quality education		3.32	3.21	3.41	−2.118*	3.33	3.34	ns
Choice 2.	.70	2.87	2.92	2.84	ns	2.66	2.94	−2.746**
To experience a different learning environment								
To be prepared as a global citizen								
To make friends from around the world								
Choice 3.	.79	2.71	2.70	2.73	ns	2.49	2.80	−2.526*
Because a degree from abroad highly valued in home country								
Because of the prospect to gain future higher salary								
Choice 4.	.52	1.71	1.76	1.69	ns	1.85	1.66	ns
To be away from parents								
To avoid intense competition in top domestic universities								
To avoid discrimination								

Factors related to the choice stage of in which country to study abroad								
Choice 5.	.91	1.83	1.93	1.74	ns	1.85	1.66	ns
Programs are available in the United States								
Fast process of receiving visa								
Friends living in the United States								
Parents are graduates from U.S. universities								
Visited the United States before								
The funding agency's requirement								
Similar education system in the United States								
Choice 6.	.71	2.45	2.41	2.50	ns	1.87	1.83	ns
To improve English skills								
To learn more about the U.S. culture								
Information is easy to get								
Others' recommendation								
Choice 7.	.69	2.82	2.83	2.83	ns	2.70	2.88	ns
Better job opportunities								
U.S. degrees are respected								
Choice 8.	.74	2.83	2.76	2.85	ns	2.48	2.95	−3.462**
Scholarship is available								
Abundant research resources								

(continued)

Table 2.4 (continued)

Variables/factors	Alpha	Mean (All)	By education level			By countries of origin		
			Undergraduate	Graduate	*T*-test	Chinese	Non-Chinese	*T*-test
Variables/factors related to the choice stage of at which institution to attend								
Choice 9.	.76	1.80	1.80	1.78	ns	1.89	1.73	ns
The size of UM								
UM's location in the Midwest								
The physical beauty of the campus								
The quality of the facilities (e.g., laboratories and libraries)								
The reputation or quality of sports programs (e.g., football or basketball)								
Choice 10.	.81	2.23	2.23	2.24	ns	2.36	2.13	ns
The availability of financial aid								
Affordable tuition and fees								
Affordable cost of living								
Choice 11.	.86	2.17	2.15	2.18	ns	2.21	2.12	ns
UM's reputation for quality education and research								

The reputation of my specific academic program								
UM's overall ranking in university rankings								
The reputation of the faculty in my program								
The degree from UM is highly marketable								
Choice 12.	.93	1.68	1.78	1.57	ns	1.82	1.63	ns
Program requirements (e.g., courses required for my degree)								
Recognition of my previous coursework								
The speed of the application process								
Not accepted elsewhere								
Easy to be accepted with minimum requirements (e.g., minimum TOEFL scores, SAT/ACT scores, GRE scores)								
My family members have studied or are studying at UM								

Note: Variable/factors scales (1 "not important at all" to 4 "very important")
* = $p < .05$, ** = $p < .01$, *** = $p < .001$

mean = 2.45). Expectation of an easy process of coming to the United States and adjustment thereafter (Choice 5) was not as important as other listed reasons (mean = 1.83). It is worth nothing that there was no statistically significant difference in the listed reasons by undergraduate versus graduate students in general.

When exclusively looking at Chinese versus non-Chinese students, interesting differences emerged: Both Chinese and non-Chinese students considered a better job prospect (Choice 7) and the availability of scholarships and resources (Choice 8) as the most important reasons for choosing the United States as a destination. On the other hand, non-Chinese students considered Choice 8 much more important (2.95) than Chinese students (2.48), and the difference was statistically significant [$t(-3.462) = -2$, $p < .01$]. For all other reasons for choosing the United States as their study destination, no statistically significant difference was found between Chinese and non-Chinese students.

Which College to Attend International students attending UM collected information about UM from international university rankings (20.7%), friends and relatives (23.5%), internet searches (31.3%), and university websites (34.1%). In making their final decision to attend UM, parent's advice was the most important factor, followed by friends' and family members' advice and teachers'/mentors' and professors' advice. In terms of whether UM was their first choice, 82.2% of graduate students listed UM as their first choice as compared to only 59% of undergraduate students, suggesting a significantly different pattern by the education level that students pursue [$t(2) = 5.53$, $p < 0.05$]. In terms of differences by country of origin, Chinese students, compared to non-Chinese international students, were more likely to use international university rankings in choosing UM than non-Chinese students [$t = 12.812$, $p < 0.001$]. Chinese students also considered the influence of private counselors/agents more important in their decision to choose UM than non-Chinese students ($t(56) = 2.26$, $p < 0.05$]. A larger percentage of non-Chinese students have visited the UM campus before their final decision than Chinese students (21% vs. 10%), and this difference is statistically significant [$t(2) = 4.79$, $p < 0.05$].

Among the specific factors important to students' choice of UM, the factor that is relevant to financial aspects of attending UM (e.g., the availability of financial aid, affordable tuition and fees, and affordable cost of living) ranked the most important reason, followed by the factor related to the quality of UM (e.g., the quality of the specific academic program, the reputation of UM for quality education and research, and the quality of the facilities such as laboratories and libraries were the most important factors). Interestingly, however, neither of these two factors had higher mean scores than any other choice factors in the first and second stages of college choice: The mean scores for Choice 10 (affordable living and education costs, mean = 2.23) and Choice 11 (reputation of the institution and program, mean = 2.17) were barely higher than 2 (in the 4-point Likert scale, 2 represents "somewhat important"). The aspects that represent the expectations for comfortable and fun life while attending UM (Choice 9) and lenient requirements for academic programs and courses (Choice 12) were important as factors.

Undergraduate and graduate students presented very similar responses in their specific reasons for choosing UM. No statistically significant difference was found in the specific reasons for choosing UM by country of origin.

Findings: Qualitative Analysis

Background Information Of the seven Chinese doctoral program participants, three were in psychology-related programs (one educational psychology and research, one school psychology, and one educational psychology), three were in engineering programs (two civil engineering and one aerospace engineering), and one was in an education leadership program. All but one of the participants had received their bachelor's degrees in China. Three received a master's degree in China and three received a master's degree in the United States. The remaining student was in a program that would confer a master's degree en route to his doctorate. Among the seven participants, two had work experience in China and two had work experience in the United States prior to undertaking their doctoral coursework; however, the duration and frequency of stays in the United States was unique to each interviewee.

Decision to Pursue a Doctoral Degree Abroad For all interview participants, the doctoral programs were seen as a strategic and deliberate opportunity for personal and career advancement. The decision to pursue a doctoral program in the United States seemed to be more strongly related to the match between the program content and the background and aspirations of the student, than to the physical location of the program. This suggests that at the doctoral level, the choice of studying abroad and the choice of institution cannot be decoupled. In the words of a student pursuing a Ph.D. in civil and structural engineering, "It's hard to say the specific reason for why I chose the United States or why I chose [UM]. I think the process is a little complicated to explain…I worked in [a research] institute. So my work is related to research issues. So for myself, I spent 5 years on the research, so why not just find a better place to find out what the top researchers in the world are doing right now? And then I had to say [to myself], a doctorate degree is perfect. That is why I decide to study in the United States."

This theme of program selection to advance and refine career objectives was further elaborated upon by a student in counseling psychology. While the first interviewee was looking to further his research skills in a specific field and learn about the work of top researchers in an area that he was already familiar with, the second doctoral student indicated that the combination of her bachelor's degree, master's degree, and post-master's degree work experience in China provided her with the deep personal context to pursue a doctoral program in order to move into a new discipline. In other words, her education and experience guided her away from continuing in her field of preparation and pushed her toward a doctoral program more in line with her personal and professional ambitions. She described it this way,

> [My] undergraduate [degree in China] was applied psychology, in the medicine [clinical] direction, because [I was attending] a Chinese medicine [medical] university. Then, my master program [was] in a university in Florida. It's a two year program and I also did my internship and everything. Then I switched to counseling psychology [for my doctoral program], because I like the humanistic growth perspective in counseling psychology, which is lacking in clinical psychology…After my master's program, I went back to my home town. I did work for over a year. I stayed in China for two years in between [master's and doctoral degree programs]. Based on my work experience, I also felt my inclination toward counseling psychology – these two factors both helped me to make the decision.

A similar theme emerged from the conversation with our educational psychology and research student. He began his college career in the United States as a finance major and then took on an internship after graduation. He soon became dissatisfied with his profession and decided that he needed to go back for a master's degree and subsequently a doctoral degree in an area that would capitalize upon his strengths and interests in quantitative methodologies but enable him to work in an area that he found professionally and personally challenging and fulfilling. As he describes this shift,

> I kind of flipped subjects. When I was in college, I studied finance – my internship is based very much on finance. During work, I want to challenge myself. Work is like day-to-day repeatedly doing the same stuff, and while of course I learn something, it's not the way I think. You know, I went to a master's program – it's also [like his doctoral program] research methodology…When you study, you make your brain work pretty fast…As time went by, you feel like hey, I want to know more about this field, I want to be an expert in this field., and I want to use this knowledge and skills I gain from this program to be my career. A master's definitely not enough. In this field, you can hone your skills more. I decided to go for a Ph.D. program.

This theme of choosing a doctoral program to redirect and better align with personal interests and career aspirations was repeated frequently, but it was also clear that academic and professional mentoring and deep (nonfamily) interpersonal connections played a substantive role in the deliberations and choice process. A woman pursuing an Ed.D. in education administration illustrates this point. When looking into doctoral programs, she was already working as a visiting Mandarin instructor for a UM-affiliated institute. Her first doctoral program choice was in curriculum and teaching, because her bachelor's and master's background from China had been in linguistics and because of the program's emphasis on language education. As her UM supervisor continued to work with her and she took on more and more administrative responsibilities for the institute, the student's career mentor saw an interest in and talent for education administration. In the student's words, "At first, I really wanted to study curriculum and teaching. Since I majored in linguistics my whole life [my supervisor] advised me to choose another major – education administration – because for my personality, that could fit pretty well…I had lots of interaction with school districts, especially superintendents and principals. Also, when we [went on] site visits, they invited me to go to their conferences – how do you call that – school board [meetings]. I thought that was super cool because all these administrators sit down together and make decisions for the students. I can do that to help more students achieve their goals in the future. Also, I have several good friends who are superintendents."

Which Doctoral Program to Attend When discussing individual program choice factors, several prominent themes emerged. The first of these themes was the role of rankings in the decision-making process. Five of the seven interview participants indicated that they referred to rankings at some point in their program evaluation process. Of those five, four used U.S. News and World Report rankings. While this may be expected, what was interesting was the varied and highly strategic role that rankings played in students' decision making. Four students began their doctoral program search with an examination of the rankings, three were from the engineering disciplines and one was from school psychology. These students reported using the rankings to find solid programs in their chosen field of study.

The reasons for starting with the rankings did vary across the four respondents. The student who had been working in a research lab in China for 5 years prior to beginning his doctoral program indicated that he felt too far removed from academia and university networks and needed the rankings to acquaint himself with what would be available to him. In his words, "In my case, I feel very lonely because I have worked for many years. So basically the most [important] criteria of my choosing the university is looking at the ranking in U.S. News website. I basically searched the first 100 or 150 universities in my major." The sheer volume of initial target institutions that this individual came away from the rankings seems to indicate that while quality is important, a broader range of quality would have been considered acceptable.

The other three students more heavily emphasized the role that rankings have as an indicator of prestige and quality. The school psychology student explained, "As international students, we don't know a lot of detailed information about universities, so the only thing we can refer to is the U.S. News ranking…So that was when I found out that [UM] is really good at…school psychology." It is interesting to note that this student completed her master's degree from a different research university in the United States, so she potentially had greater access to information and human networks connected to her discipline in the United States than would have been the case otherwise. The prestige associated with rankings was clearly on the minds of several interviewees, as were other indicators of prestige. A student from civil engineering, for example, referenced UM's membership in the prestigious Association of American Universities and indicated that was a sign that it is a good place in which to conduct research.

One study participant's strategic use of rankings differed rather dramatically from that of the others. This was the educational psychology and research student, who incidentally was the only student to receive both his bachelor's and master's degrees from U.S. institutions. In his account of how he used the rankings, he articulated a process of using rankings to establish a program quality threshold below which he would not go. This was not dissimilar to the student in civil and structural engineering who applied for doctoral programs after 5 years of research work in China. In the educational psychology and research student's words, "Okay, honestly, if you go to U.S. News, they have rankings for schools, right? But, I don't really think that [from rank] 50 to 100 there's any big difference. So ranking definitely is a concern, but among the schools I applied to, it didn't make a difference."

While this was interesting, it was the decision process within the acceptable ranking threshold that proved even more interesting. As the interviewee talked about the choice process, he related an intentionality in his decision that spoke to his need to balance his desire for a quality education that would help him pursue his professional ambitions (education as an investment) and his desire to enjoy the overall experience of studying in the United States (education as a consumption good). The student explains this complex interplay of competing goals best when he says,

> I got several choices, and while staying at UCLA was a choice, that school is sort of a fancy school and the difficulty of getting into a program is [unimaginable]. I know people who are suffering a lot because they [UCLA] set a higher standard than any other schools. That was part of my concern. I was like, I wanted to know more about it [the field of study he pursued as a master's student at UCLA], but meanwhile I wanted to consider the cost of time and opportunities. I kind of thought, I should look down to slightly lower ranking programs, but still solid programs that I could on one part, satisfy my needs and expectations, but sort of reduce the burden of being in a program like UCLA's.

A second theme to emerge related to doctoral program choice was the integral role of students' mentors. Interestingly, of the four interviewees who spoke of their mentor's role in their program choice, three of the students indicated that their mentor steered them in a different direction than they had planned on or prepared for academically. For example, the student pursing a degree in counseling psychology reported, "My previous advisor [from her master's program in Florida] mentored me a lot in my doctoral program pursuit. He said that, based on my background as an international student, pursuing a doctoral degree in counseling psychology would benefit me more than clinical psychology. So I took that advice." Similarly, the student in education administration reported that she followed her mentor's advice to shift her program from linguistics to education administration, given her successful work experience in the area and the perception of the mentor that she really enjoyed her administrative work. The interviewee emphasized how dramatic this shift in educational and professional pursuits has been for her, saying, "I studied [linguistics] for seven years in China, so it would have been much easier for me if I had chosen that here. Now I am struggling with my current one, education administration. Because it's brand new for me, it's quite fun and interesting but challenging."

The student pursuing a doctorate in educational psychology and research discussed the somewhat different role that his undergraduate mentor played in helping him choose a program and situated that role within the larger context of the choice process. It should be remembered that this student was a finance major as an undergraduate and moved into educational research at the master's level. While the choice of discipline for doctoral program studies was clearly the result of his master's program work and developing interests, his undergraduate mentor encouraged him to consider her *alma mater* [UM] for his doctoral studies. It should also be remembered that this student was the interviewee who used rankings to establish a base-quality threshold but deliberately sought out less competitive doctoral programs in order to achieve a better program and life balance. The sequential process of reviewing rankings and then narrowing down the choices from there was clearly articulated by this student. Of his conversation with his undergraduate mentor, he recalls,

> She was like, you know if you are going to apply there, I would definitely say yes...I've been there. I got my degree. It's a good place. She said to me, you have been living in big cities in the United States for many years [San Francisco and Los Angeles], and you may want to go to a small town…Even though it's small [not] metropolitan or fancy, but it's a good place to study. Which I believe and feel that way now because you come here to study, not for entertainment or anything.

Upon the narrowing of institutional choices to specific programs for deeper exploration, the majority of participants spoke to the role of departmental web sites for information gathering and further elimination or inclusion. Five of the respondents indicated that program web sites were instrumental in their choice process. The funnel process was beautifully described by one interviewee who explained, "It's popular among Chinese students to look at the U.S. News rankings. After that, it varies for the major for the graduate level. So for each department there is a ranking, you get a list [from] that, and you have to look in the [program] website of those departments and see what interesting research is going on in each department, and you can make a list of the professors that you want to contact." Similarly, another interviewee explained, "To understand what the faculty members are doing, just look at their websites. [Then] do several more rounds of contacting [faculty members]." The school psychologist related a nearly identical approach, stating, "Mostly, I would say through their website and I checked the CVs of the faculty to see what research they were doing in the past. I think that's the most important consideration for me." The critical importance of good web-based program information for these Chinese doctoral students was underscored by the student in civil and structural engineering, who explained, "Some departments didn't have the information I wanted [on-line], so I deleted them from my list."

What is perhaps more interesting about students' emphasis on program websites in their choice process is that while the web provided prospective applicants with a sense of program content and faculty research interests, a primary outcome was the identification of specific faculty members and other program students to reach out to and interact with. To a person, every interviewee spoke to the fundamentally important role faculty outreach had in their ultimate decision of which program to attend. While the number of programs students applied to ranged from 5 to 15, it was the interpersonal connection that was established between applicant and faculty member at varying stages that had a profound impact. In the words of one of the study participants, "…I would contact specific faculty members. If they replied to me, then I would keep the program [in my short list to apply to]. If they didn't reply, I basically crossed them off my list. That would narrow it down to just more than around 10 programs [from an initial list of 70]." In terms of the final decision to attend UM, this same respondent explained, "One salient point is that my perception of the program and the faculty member [she reached out to] was warm. The dynamic from the interaction between me and the students was [also] delightful." She explained that the faculty member she had reached out to had also connected her with other doctoral students in the program so that she could connect with them and ask questions. This theme was repeated frequently by the interviewees. The student in school psychology, for example, explained, "I was communicating with faculty by email and

phone. I got a call from an advisor here at [UM], Dr. X. She is my advisor now. I really enjoyed the conversation with her. I felt that all the communication dynamics were really good. Every time I emailed something, had questions, I asked any professor in the school psych program, they would respond within a few hours."

While the importance of faculty outreach to prospective graduate students seems obvious, applicants seemed to indicate that such outreach was rare in their own experience and its presence was transformative in the choice process. Just as one participant moved from 70 prospective programs to 10 based solely on whether or not she was replied to, others reported that an individualized approach and direct outreach from faculty members clinched their decision to attend UM, even outweighing other competing factors. The student in educational psychology and research articulated the impact of this outreach well when he said, "[UM] was actually the first one to contact me…I sort of regard[ed] it as wow, those faculty members want me to be here. They want me to be part of the program. I saw they were sincere behind it." Another interviewee added, "If you have communication with faculty members before you apply to the university, if the professor has seen your CV and resume, and is interested in you, then everything just comes naturally." Importantly, the final interviewee, from civil engineering, not only emphasized how important contact from faculty can be in the choice process but how contact from the broader faculty of a department can be transformative, even when the faculty member in question and the student do not end up working with one another. He explains,

> …An important factor that made me choose [UM]: when I applied, I had a lot of universities [in my application pool] and wasn't sure what to choose. I sent an email to a professor randomly. I think a professor's response is really important. I know they can receive 1000s of emails every day. I receive[d] an email from the professor in my department. Even though he didn't choose me as his Ph.D. student, he replied to me [that] I can't decide if I will choose you, but I suggest you apply here; maybe there is a chance for you.

A final predominant theme of the interviews relates to financial support. The interviewees resoundingly emphasized how critical their graduate student funding was to their decision to attend UM. Perhaps this is unsurprising, given the survey data related to family financial status. Whereas 81.1% of undergraduates responding to our survey reported a household income in excess of $75,000 per year, only 18.2% of graduate students reported an income level in that range. In the words of our first interviewee, "One important issue on my choice was that I needed financial aid to finish my [doctoral] career. [UM] is the only one who offered me financial aid…Even though other universities gave me admission, there was no financial aid." This was a theme articulated by several of the participants. Another informant further explained the critical role that funding played in her choice decision. As she described it, "I love the University of Chicago! It's pretty and a super good school. But it's private and expensive. Money is a very important part. I know we don't live for money, but we can't live without money. I applied for the [UM] program partly because I had the chance to get the Graduate Teaching Assistant position so [UM] could help me with tuition." In a very telling statement, the fundamental role finances can play in the choice process for Chinese doctoral students over other factors such as program quality and rankings became crystal clear. In the words of our

first interviewee from civil and structural engineering, "…When I faced my final decision, there is another university and their academic advisor is pretty good, but they would not give me financial support for the first year. Maybe for the second or third [year] they would give me support. So it made it very hard to make my decision because that university is the top rank of that major which I had interest in."

Conclusions

This study sought to understand the college choice process of international students with particular attention to the possible differences by countries of origin and level of education pursued. Utilizing human capital and global cultural capital theories, this study built a comprehensive conceptual framework that focuses on the dynamic interaction between push- and pull-factors on the college choice process. By elucidating upon three different stages of the college choice process for international students—whether to study abroad, if so, in which country, and at which higher education institution—this study expands our currently limited understanding of the college choice process of international students.

The findings revealed that the leading reasons for why international students begin to consider study abroad and finally choose their college destination were mainly based on human capital theory (expecting future employment opportunities) and global cultural capital (to be better prepared global citizens). While we also considered some of the factors that "push" international students to consider study abroad (e.g., to avoid intense competition for top universities in their home countries) during the first stage of college choice—predisposition to study abroad—the findings show the push factor was not the major reason for considering study abroad. The fact that international students seem to prioritize a better quality education or their preparation as global citizens among the most important reasons suggests that the relatively lower quality of education in their home countries or fewer opportunities to be engaged in global dimensions of learning domestically certainly pushed the students to study abroad. The push factors are, at the same time, the pull forces—for a better learning environment or an opportunity to be engaged in global network available abroad—that initiate students' search for other opportunities and thus pull them abroad. Against this context, the simple dichotomy of push and pull forces during the college choice process for international students might be considered arbitrary. Instead, it is important to consider how the push and pull forces interact and eventually influence students' decision to study abroad. No matter how strong the domestic conditions or environments push students out of their home countries, if there were no strong pull forces (i.e., realistic options to go and study abroad), students would have no option but to stay home and pursue a domestic education.

As the three-stage college choice model suggested, the dynamic relationships among push and pull forces during the first stage, however, may significantly differ by students' backgrounds such as family income or parental education. For instance, this study found that students from higher income families or those with parents

who have a college education or higher began to think about study abroad at an earlier age than those who are from families with a lower income or those with parents who never attended college. This suggests that the availability of options in the future (i.e., study abroad) becomes more "realistic" for those with financial and cultural resources, and when the possibility becomes more realistic to the students, the push forces from domestic education/and the domestic environment become more obvious or strong, and thus they were more likely to be pushed away from their home country. Again, this argument suggests that the pull forces, not just push forces, play a major role in students' eventual decision to study abroad.

It is particularly worth noting that Choice 8 (the availability of scholarship and abundant research resources) is as important as the investment aspect of study abroad during the second stage of college choice (i.e., in which country to study abroad). From a human capital theory perspective, individuals make a rational decision on whether to continue their education as long as the investment benefits outweigh the costs of additional education. Therefore, international students, before making their final decision to study abroad, consider both the "cost" and "benefit" side of the equation, not just the investment side. This is particularly true for non-Chinese students—non-Chinese students consider the cost issue more important than Chinese students. While it is not obvious why or how Chinese students consider the cost of education less important than non-Chinese students in their college choice decision, it might be due to a phenomenon called *chu-guo-re* (enthusiasm for studying abroad) in China during the last two decades (Ma 2003). With the large number of peer Chinese students going abroad (especially to the United States), many Chinese students may consider the cost of education less important than students from other countries where the study abroad decision might require more conscious effort and motivation on the part of the individual.

During the last stage of college choice (at which institution to attend), international students consider affordability for living and studying at UM, followed by the quality/reputation of UM as the most important aspects. Given the location of the institution—the Midwest where living expenses are relatively low—and the reputation of the institution as a large research university that was named the best in the Midwest and ranked very high in the region, these responses are reasonable. However, without having comparison groups who choose to attend other higher education institutions in the United States, it is not clear if the responses are unique to those who attend UM.

Interestingly, except for Choice 1 (to gain a higher-quality education), there were no statistically significant differences by the level of education students pursued. Given that graduate students are generally much more focused on their academic career than undergraduate students, it is understandable that there are differences in this area by the level of education. After all, gaining a higher-quality education was the most important reason among all listed choice factors across all three stages of the college choice process in the study. Therefore, regardless of whether higher-quality education gives greater investment benefits—in terms of accumulating human capital or global cultural capital during and after the study abroad—to international students, it is obvious that quality education is the most important motivation that

pushes international students (i.e., lack of quality of education in their home countries) and pulls them abroad (i.e., quality of education available in the United States).

From the qualitative interview data with Chinese graduate students, we also learned that all Chinese graduate students consulted rankings during their searches but considered other factors like faculty research and contact with university representatives to be more important in their decisions to attend UM. Indeed, contact with faculty or other students in the program of choice was frequently cited as key to the decision to attend UM, second only to financial aid. This finding revealed nuances of the search process of Chinese graduate students, who first consulted general rankings and then consulted institutional and departmental Web pages in order to gain information about faculty and their research. Given their focus on career advancement in their selected field, information on faculty research interests was important to interviewees, though not always available. In the interview data collection process, it was quite pronounced that Chinese graduate students heavily relied upon their existing human networks in their college decision and that they expected faculty members to be responsive to their inquiries. This finding suggests that the college choice decision, especially among graduate students, is not a one-way decision (based on already available information, students make a decision). Instead, students' decision is influenced by numerous individuals who work at UM as a faculty member or study at UM as a student and thus are able to offer advice and encouragement on their decision. Focusing on the interactive aspects of the college choice process among involved individuals is an important additional finding to what we already know about international students' college choice.

Implications for Policy and Future Research

International students relied on social media, online forums, and personal contacts to gather first-hand information about institutions while deciding where to attend. In an effort to recruit more international students, therefore, higher education administrators need to work on providing better online access to current information about faculty members' research interests, emphasizing the importance of individualized outreach by faculty to prospective students and maintaining strong institutional or department connections with international and domestic alumni who maintain a professional and/or academic foothold in the field. The mentoring and advice interviewed Chinese graduate students received from former professors and supervisors during their undergraduate and master's programs or over the course of their early careers was often instrumental in the choice process, just as faculty and cohort responsiveness, and the availability of financial aid was critical to the winnowing and the ultimate selection process. Although no singular strategy or platform was used by each interviewee, more research on how international students, both undergraduate and graduate, interact with social media and leverage digital information to enhance their human capital investment would add value to the United States and

institutions' recruitment strategies and potentially widen the human network that institutions work within.

While this study, using a case study, expanded our limited understanding of international students' college choice process—with which, we were able to configure the three-stage college choice conceptual model with additional considerations of push/pull factors, human capital theory, and global cultural theory—it is also true that the findings from the study were more applicable to the focal institution, the particular university setting than others. This limitation is particularly prevalent in the findings of the choice stage (i.e., at which institution to attend). By focusing on students who attended the same university, it was not possible to see how diverse students present diverse sets of expectations or preferences for one institution over another in the choice process. Therefore, future research that utilizes a national or multinational sample of international students with diverse backgrounds attending different types of colleges and universities in the United States and in other countries will certainly provide more comprehensive understanding of the college choice process that is shaped by multiple layers and the dynamics of push/pull forces, in addition to the pursuit of human and global cultural capital accrued by study abroad.

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Chapter 3
Pathways to U.S. Higher Education: Capital, Citizenship, and Indian Women MBA Students

Adrienne Lee Atterberry

Abstract Using in-depth interviews with 20 Indian women pursuing MBA degrees from U.S. universities, this article asks the following questions: Why do Indian women choose to study in the United States and what enables them to do so? What pathways do these women take to studying in the United States? Analysis reveals that Indian women choose to pursue an MBA as a way to advance their career, make a career change, or assert their autonomy. They choose to study in the United States because of the availability of financial aid, the presence of family and friend networks, and the belief that studying in the United States would enable the cultivation of cosmopolitan capital in the form of knowledge about global business trends and access to colleagues and alumni from across the globe. They intend to use cosmopolitan capital to exercise flexible citizenship. To facilitate their studies in the United States, women use inherited and cultivated forms of economic, cultural, and social capital. Given the uneven distribution of economic, cultural, and social capital, this article demonstrates how access to flexible citizenship remains the purview of the relatively affluent members of India's middle, upper middle, and upper classes.

In the early 1990s, India's Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi initiated a series of economic reforms to liberalize India's economy. The results of these policies included increased wealth to India's emerging middle classes, as well as the increased availability of educational loans. With more lucrative jobs and access to funding available, middle-class parents can now afford to explore educational options previously financially unattainable. For many, this means sending their sons and daughters to the United States for higher education.

A plurality of Indian students who choose to study abroad do so in the United States. As of 2014, the United States housed 46% of Indian students studying abroad, with most pursuing STEM or business degrees (Asian Development Bank Institute 2014; IIE 2014). This trend may be attributed to several factors including

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the United States' reputation for producing the most scientific and social scientific research papers, the openness and flexibility of its universities, and its provision of superior scholarships and salaries (Marginson 2008). Despite the overwhelming popularity of U.S. institutions, not all Indian students have access to them. For example, steep differentials exist between the access Indian women and men have to these institutions. While approximately 100,000 Indian nationals choose to study in the United States each year, women represent only 30% of this number (Pandey 2014). This situation begs the following questions: Why do Indian women choose to study in the United States and what enables them to do so? What pathways do these women take to studying in the United States?

I focus my analysis on the specific case of women earning MBA degrees. I make this decision for several reasons. Leela Fernandes (2000) argues that the acquisition of an MBA represents one strategy India's middle class engages in to negotiate the uncertainty of the country's liberalized labor market. Arguably, MBA holders benefit from the access these degrees provide to national as well as transnational labor markets because of the reputation of U.S. MBA programs for inculcating global competencies within their students (Brocklehurst et al. 2007; Sklair 2001). Perhaps because of the increased value of MBAs in national and transnational labor markets, business programs are the most popular degree choice outside of STEM fields for Indian nationals (IIE 2014). For these reasons, I choose to focus this article on the pathway Indian women take to earning their MBA from a U.S. university.

Literature Review

Gender, Educational Access, and Capital

Women's pathways to the United States begin when they enroll in school in India. Parents can choose among schools that offer state, national, or international board examinations. They can also choose their school's medium of instruction, such as English, Hindi, or another Indic language, as well as whether to enroll their child in a public or private school. These different schooling options exist in a hierarchy (LaDousa 2014). In the case of the women I interviewed, they all attended private, English-medium schools that offer national board examinations. Their parents' preferences for enrolling their daughters in these schools may be due to the belief that they provide better access to middle-class jobs due to the better educational outcomes provided by private schools (Desai et al. 2010; Kingdon 2007; LaDousa 2014).

Despite the benefits of attending an English-medium private school, all students do not have equal access to these schools. The writers of India's Human Development Report found that on average, boys are more likely to be enrolled in private schools than girls (Desai et al. 2010). The gender differential in access to advantageous educational options occurs for several reasons. Sunita Bose (2012) finds that in households where the mom exhibits higher levels of son preference, daughters are more likely to receive less education than sons. Meanwhile, Fariza Afridi (2010)

finds that daughters whose moms have greater amounts of autonomy and higher levels of education are more likely to attend school for just as many years as their brothers. In addition, women face the prevailing social attitude that any investment in their education will eventually benefit their husbands' household and not their natal home (Mukhopadhyay 1994). Therefore, parents may be uninclined to invest as heavily in their daughters' education knowing that they may not accrue direct benefits from it. The women I interviewed represent the exception, and studying the pathways of these women to the United States may explain the social and cultural barriers preventing more women from doing so.

In this article, I argue that the cultivation and deployment of advantageous forms of economic, cultural, and social capital enable the women I spoke with to study in the United States. Pierre Bourdieu (1986) defines economic capital as a person's assets or income and cultural capital as long-lasting dispositions and educational qualifications. Meanwhile, scholars define social capital as the actual or potential benefits that accrue from being part of a group (Bourdieu 1986; Coleman 1988; Dumais 2002). I use these definitions of economic, cultural, and social capital in my analysis.

As will be discussed in the findings section of my article, the women I interviewed relied on their parents' economic, cultural, and social capital to reap their own forms of capital for their educational and professional advancement. For the women I interviewed, their parents utilized their economic capital to pay the hefty tuition fees at their daughters' K-12 institutions. Parents used cultural capital in the form of English-language skills to complete the admissions' application to enroll their child at their respective school and they utilized their social capital in the form of information about a school's reputation when deciding where to educate their children. Therefore, students' ability to earn economic, cultural, and social capital depends upon their parents' level of each form of capital, respectively.

Cosmopolitan Capital, Education Abroad, and Flexible Citizenship

Attending an elite K-12 institution represents an important first step on the pathway to a U.S.-based MBA program. Attending an elite K-12 school in India provides students with the peer groups, English-language skills, and helpful instructors that facilitate their access to a college or university in the United States (Dickey 2012; Ong 1999).

The Indian women I spoke with chose to earn their degrees in the United States, because studying in this country provides them with "global exposure." The term "global exposure" may be understood as a form of cosmopolitanism. Cosmopolitanism has varying definitions. In regard to this article's findings, I conceptualize cosmopolitanism as an engagement with ideas and people from different cultural and social backgrounds that foster transnational connectedness (Appiah 2006; Gunesch 2004; Roudometof 2005; Strand 2010).

Cosmopolitanism may become a form of capital insofar as it confers professional and other advantages upon those who embody its values. In his article on parents

and their choice of education stream for their children, Don Weenink (2008) discusses cosmopolitan capital as a form of social and cultural capital that describes a propensity to engage in globalizing social arenas, as well as bodily and mental predispositions and competencies. Students can earn this form of capital by living abroad, maintaining geographically dispersed groups of friends or relatives, and possessing a near-native mastery of English and one other foreign language.

In this article, I argue that the desire to cultivate cosmopolitan capital motivates Indian women to enroll at a U.S. university where they expect to engage with a diverse set of people and academic subject matter. The competencies they gain by studying in the United States will prepare them to work in a global environment that may help them gain entrée into national and international labor markets (Igarashi and Saito 2014; Prieur and Savage 2013). This in-turn broadens the geography over which they can seek employment, giving them the confidence to live and work virtually anywhere, a phenomenon Aihwa Ong (1999) conceptualizes as flexible citizenship.

Various scholars have contributed to our understanding of flexible citizenship. Johanna Waters (2009) states that flexible citizenship describes the result of the accumulation of advantageous cultural capital that students may convert into economic capital through their ability to respond with flexibility to changing national, social, and cultural contexts. Building off of this idea, Catherine Studemeyer (2015) defines flexible citizenship as the end result of a strategy of collecting various types of capital that leads to the acquisition of different forms of citizenship—including legal citizenship. She argues that people engage in capital accumulation as a means to acquire different forms of citizenship to mitigate uncertainty for oneself and one's family, as well as to better position themselves to take advantage of opportunities for personal and professional advancement. Therefore, people seek to acquire flexible citizenship as a way to minimize loss and increase opportunity in a globalizing world.

Education plays an important role in students' ability to exercise flexible citizenship. In a later publication, Ong (2006) describes how well-educated parents use international educational options to shape a complex scholastic career for their children. For children who live in countries such as India, having access to U.S.-based educational options may be especially important to their ability to exercise flexible citizenship. In her original conceptualization of the term, Ong (1999) argues that the desired economic and cultural attributes that facilitate mobility originate in the United States and Europe. These attributes include proper social behavior, academic interests, and knowledge of the "correct" foreign language—oftentimes English.

This requires those who live outside the United States and Europe to exercise geographic flexibility in cultivating the capital needed to facilitate flexible citizenship. Vanessa Fong (2011) describes this situation in her study of Chinese youth who go abroad for higher education. She argues that with the ideological support of their country and the monetary support of their families, these students seek out study abroad opportunities in an effort to gain developed world citizenship. They do this by learning developed countries' languages, working in developed countries' organizations, and migrating to developed countries for study abroad

opportunities so that they may cultivate social, cultural, economic, and sometimes legal citizenship in an effort to gain flexible citizenship. They believe that by gaining flexible citizenship, they may take advantage of professional opportunities anywhere in the world.

To reiterate, previous scholarship on flexible citizenship demonstrates how individuals use it as a tool to increase personal and professional advantages. Acquiring flexible citizenship typically requires obtaining important forms of economic, cultural, and social capital. Because of the inequities in the distribution of capital, this leads to inequities in who may be able to ultimately obtain flexible citizenship. Therefore, building upon studies of capital and flexible citizenship, this article examines how students use inherited and cultivated economic, cultural, and social capital to gain cosmopolitan capital, in an effort to exercise flexible citizenship.

In summary, earning a degree from a U.S. university facilitates Indian women's accumulation of cosmopolitan capital. They may use this capital to exercise flexible citizenship. The cultivation of cosmopolitan capital ultimately depends upon students' access to private, English-medium primary and secondary schools, which further depends on their parents' social, cultural, and economic capital. Because students come from families with varying levels of these different types of capital, this provides the basis for uneven access to cosmopolitan capital (Igarashi & Saito 2014). Therefore, the acquisition of cosmopolitan capital through higher education in the United States and the subsequent ability to exercise flexible citizenship serve as a marker of distinction for Indian women from relatively privileged backgrounds.

The following section discusses how I recruited participants and analyzed interview transcripts to construct my argument.

Data and Methods

For this project, I conducted 20 semi-structured, in-depth interviews with Indian women MBA students at private universities across the United States. Initially, I located interviewees through my social networks and through on-campus events geared toward international students. I then used snowball sampling to find additional participants. Conducting semi-structured interviews provided me with an appropriate degree of control over the interview topic, while granting my participants breadth in their response (DeWalt and DeWalt 2011). Each interview lasted approximately 60–120 min and took place in respondents' homes, university buildings, cafes, as well as over the phone when a respondent lived more than a two-h drive from my residence. This enabled me to increase the geographic reach of my study in a cost-effective manner (Rubin and Rubin 2012). If a woman expressed an interest in talking with me more about her experience with coming to the United States or if in the process of interviewing I wanted to discuss how they came to the United States in more detail, I asked for a follow-up interview. I requested follow-up interviews with four of my respondents, and they all agreed to speak with me again. The follow-up interviews lasted between 30 and 75 min.

Each interview was audio recorded and transcribed. I initially used two broad codes to categorize my data: motivations for leaving India and motivations for moving to the United States. I then conducted a more detailed analysis of the data to attend to nuances in why my interviewees chose to travel thousands of miles to pursue graduate education in the United States and the cultural factors, such as class, gendered expectations, and religious beliefs that shaped their pathway to this country.

I provided interviewees with electronic copies of their transcripts if they requested one. To maintain the confidentiality of all of the women involved in this project, I have given them a pseudonym and do not reveal where I conducted my research or the names of the universities the students attended.

Research Participants

The women I interviewed for this project come from various parts of India including Gujarat, Delhi, Bangalore, West Bengal, and Mumbai. In addition, with the exception of one self-defined lower-middle-class woman, all the women interviewed for this project described themselves as coming from either a middle-, upper middle-, or upper-class background, with at least one parent holding a college degree.

There are important differences between how middle-, upper middle-, and upper-class women defined membership to their respective socioeconomic class. For example, Nila comes from an upper middle-class family. Her father owns his own jewelry business and her mother works for Indian Oil Corporation. When describing how she defines her class status, she says that because "the colony that we live in is kind of posh" she sees her family as being part of the upper middle class. Meanwhile, Anuya comes from a Mumbai-based upper middle-class family. Both her parents have college degrees. Her father owns a business that sells spare automobile parts on the wholesale and retail markets. Her mother is a housewife. Anuya states that her Mumbai-based family's upper middle-class status centers on the fact that they "can afford luxuries sometimes." She elaborates by saying, "Like we have like a TV at home, we have cars, we have a good apartment of our own, and we can do outings like a few times in a year."

The ability to afford luxuries marks the difference between upper middle-class women and those who describe themselves as *only* middle class. Sara is one middle-class woman I spoke with. Her father works as a diplomat and her mother works as a personal assistant in the National Hydroelectric Power Corporation in India. In describing why her family's class status falls between the upper middle and lower middle classes, Sara says "[We own] none of those fancy cars or anything but we still have a decent home and you know we have a car, which my dad was able to get finally a few years ago." She sees her class background as different from the upper middle class which she describes by saying the following, "The more rich part of the middle class, they can afford fancier cars, nicer apartments, and big complexes. Basic things like having a swimming pool in your complex, you know those

things make a huge difference. To be able to afford places like that to live in—that's for the upper middle class."

Shefali, a middle-class student pursuing an MBA at a university in the Midwest echoes this idea of the middle class being able to afford the basics, but not necessarily luxuries when she describes her family. Her family belongs to Visakhapatnam, where her mother works as an assistant manager in a government bank and her father has employment as a science teacher. In discussing why she considers her family middle class she says, "Because although four members of our family are earning, but still the expenditure is so much that we pretty much go hand to mouth. Like you know paycheck to paycheck, that's how we live."

The ability to afford luxuries serves as an important marker for those from an upper-class background relative to those from the upper middle and middle classes. For example, in describing her family's class background, Akira says, "I come from a well-to-do family. I mean financially you know we are well-to-do. So we've always got what we've wanted. You know every year we would go out for trips; we would go out to different countries and stuff for vacation." In elaborating on her class background she states, "I mean the business that we are into we are the second largest textile company in [a northwestern state in India]. And my last name, people know us there." Due to her family's prominence in her natal state in India and their ability to *easily* afford luxuries, Akira describes her family as upper-class.

Another woman, Neelam, comes from an upper-class South Indian family. Her father worked as one of the highest ranked officials in India's Federal Telecommunications Department before retiring and prior to retirement her mother worked as a senior accountant. Neelam discusses her parents by saying, "They have a lot of money but they don't spend it. So, for example, my parents could afford to fly first class at least six to ten times a year from India to the United States, but they will still fly economy." She attributes her family's affluence to her father's professional background. She says, "Well my dad is now a businessman but he wasn't before. He's a billionaire. Well no, actually I should say a multimillionaire. And he's got political connections." Therefore, the women from the upper-class backgrounds come from affluent families that enable them to easily afford luxuries—if they choose to spend their money in that way. This differentiates them from the middle-class women who see themselves as being able to only afford the basics and upper middle-class women who enjoy carefully chosen luxuries.

Findings

Cultivating Capital and K-12 Schools

With the exception of one lower middle-class woman, the MBA students interviewed for this project self-identify as coming from either a middle-, upper middle-, or upper-class background. Because of their relatively affluent backgrounds, their parents could afford to send them to some of the best primary and secondary schools in

their areas such as the National Public School and Bishop Cotton Girls' High School in Bangalore, as well as Delhi Public School in the nation's capital. This section discusses the social background of my interviewees in terms of their parents' professions, their socioeconomic class, and their early schooling experiences.

Because of the hierarchy of schools that place preference on English-medium, private schools, most of the participants remarked that their parents sent them to some of the best, English-medium schools in the area. In discussing public schools, Neelam says, "Nobody ever chooses to go a public school. Even if people are lower middle class, they won't choose to go to public schools just because they know that's just time wasted. Teachers don't come in and they don't teach." Because of the better facilities and instruction parents believe private schools provide, all of my interviewees discussed attending a good private school during the early years of their education.

Families utilize their cultural capital in enrolling their children in private, English-medium K-12 schools. Neelam remarks, "If my parents didn't know English, then they probably wouldn't be able to fill out an application form to go to a private school. There are people who don't know English, and so unfortunately they get screened out because they don't know English and they don't know how to fill out a form for their kids." Therefore, cultural capital in the form of English-language skills serves as a necessary prerequisite for parents being able to enroll their children in English-medium private schools.

Parents also rely on social capital in the form of information they gather about a school's reputation to decide where to educate their daughters. In describing where she attended high school Keya, a student from Delhi, states, "Oh yea, so the school that my mom, that my parents had really wanted me to join was Mother's International—the one that I later joined." I followed up by asking her what made this school different from the one she attended prior, and she states, "So Mother's International is again as I've said it has a history; it's been there for a very long time. The quality of students that come to get educated is high. It's famous for [having] a lot of kids of ambassadors—at least it used to be when I was growing up." So the school's reputation played a role in her parents' opinions of it as a place where they would like to educate their daughter.

While enrolled in these K-12 schools, students cultivate their own social and cultural capital. They earn social capital in the form of peer and teacher networks that may help them overcome academic hurdles. Nila, a former sound engineer from Delhi, describes one teacher who noticed that she was intelligent but incredibly quiet and encouraged her to speak more in class. Due to her teacher's efforts, she says, "I think I improved a lot due [to] that. I started talking *a bit* in class." Friends also helped Nila in school. After fourth standard (grade), Nila's grades began to slip but then began to improve when she entered eighth grade. She attributes this improvement in part to one friend. She remarks, "So there was this one friend I was really really close to so she used to teach me at times. During the homeroom periods and all, she used to sit with me and teach me. She was really good at studies and she had been a topper throughout, so she used to help me."

While students earn social capital through the relationships they establish with their teachers and peers, they also earn cultural capital in school. This may be in the form of developing important language skills such as learning English. In describing her experience at a missionary school in Jamshedpur, Avanti states, "And we had missionaries coming in from all parts of the world and they gave us [a] very good education. Discipline. Pronouncing our Vs and Ws, which does not come naturally if you do not know English. I'm nostalgic about my school—I could go on and on."

Cultural capital also comes through the cultivation of dispositions toward academic subjects (Bourdieu 1986). Typically at the end of tenth grade, students must decide which academic track to pursue. The academic tracks exist as part of a hierarchy. Lavani describes the hierarchy in this way, "This is like a general thing. The duds go to arts. They usually take arts. And people from the business family, they go into commerce, and if you're considered intelligent, then you will go in for science." Thus, when making the choice as to what to study for 11th and 12th grade, students face an academic hierarchy that places the most value on science, the least value on arts, with commerce falling somewhere in the middle.

The decision as to what track to take is not made individually but in conjunction with or sometimes strictly determined by elder family members. The women interviewed describe being pressured into studying science during high school because of the prestige attached to the discipline; however, they eventually realize that ultimately this is not the best field for them. When enrolling in the science track, Neelam recalls, "I was forced to choose science just because my father, he also taught pre-university college students math, physics, and chemistry. My parents just got the form and said well we put in science PCMB, which means physics, chemistry—sorry PCME, which is physics, chemistry, math and economics. So, uh I basically just filled out my name and signed the form—that's about what I did."

Akira, an upper-class woman from a well-known family in the textiles industry, expresses a similar sentiment. She recalls, "My mom wanted me to become a doctor and at that age you have no idea. You just do what your parents ask you to. So my mom wanted my sister to be a doctor, but she definitely was not a doctor from any angle so even *she* did her MBA. So it was I who had to fill her hopes. So I took science." Akira chose to enroll in biology, but upon receiving her exam scores she remarks, "I didn't score [well] at all. So then I switched to management." Because her older sister did not successfully fulfill her mother's dreams of becoming a doctor, Akira chose to take up the science track with a biology concentration in hopes of making her mother's dreams come true; however, because of receiving poor exam scores, she too would leave her mother's dreams unfulfilled by pursuing an MBA herself.

Some women did not face explicit pressure from their family members to pursue the science track in high school; rather, it was assumed that that is what they would study. For example, in describing her family, Kavita, a married woman studying for her MBA while working in Silicon Valley, states that "I think it's a very engineering-focused family for good or bad, but it didn't even occur to me that *hey I don't have to take engineering. I don't have to take.* It just was assumed. Yea, it was a very big assumption." Understandably, due to explicit or implicit pressure they face from

their families, most interviewees pursued the science track, a few chose to pursue commerce, and only one person I interviewed chose arts for 11th and 12th grade.

The belief that pursuing science in school will lead to pursuing science coursework in college and a career in a related field may drive some students to pursue the science track. According to Rani, a 26-year old from West Bengal, when I asked her about the connection between high school academics, college courses, and careers, she said, "So you can say that you have to make the decision in 11th standard. That is when you choose your stream. You can take science, commerce, or humanities. So that is to prepare you for all the entrance examinations. India has entrance examinations for all these fields—for doctor and engineer and everything. So in a way you decide then." In other words, pursuing a specific stream in high school prepares students to take entrance examinations in fields that will prepare them to enroll in coursework geared toward a specific profession.

Aside from preparing women for a career, pursuing the science track may also enable them to more easily secure a good husband. In describing why she feels parents push their daughters to pursue the science educational track, Neelam says, "So a lot of guys you were going to get married to depended on how much education you had received and where you had received it from. Of course things are changing now, but that's the general idea." Neelam's experience identifies a link between her educational aspirations and marriage options. She describes this in terms not unique to her, but indicative of a general trend whereby parents believe that their daughters may secure "better" husbands by being more highly educated and pursuing the science track, which has relatively more prestige attached to it than arts or commerce.

Why MBA?

Upon graduation from high school, my respondents enrolled in an Indian college—many pursuing an engineering curriculum. Here they learned the skills necessary to enter the workforce and pursue a lucrative career in India's IT sector. After completing their undergraduate coursework, only two of my respondents chose to begin their MBA in the United States directly after college. For the vast majority, they began working in companies such as Infosys, Ericsson, and Ernst & Young before deciding to pursue their MBA. Their decision to change career tracks and to undertake management studies came about as a means for them to contribute to the growth of a family business, to advance professionally, or for the purpose of their overall well-being and the opportunity to pursue something of personal interest.

In the case of Nila, she chose to leave her engineering job at Sony Ericsson to pursue an MBA with the intent of later working in her family's business. Nila left her job with Sony Ericsson to pursue an MBA in part because of problems she experienced with the type of work she was expected to do and intra-office conflicts. She recalls, "Even though it was Ericsson, but we used to work for Ericsson UK. Ericsson UK used to take all the brain work and we used to get all the clerical work I would

say. So I didn't like that experience much. And also, in the company there was a lot of politics and—not company I would say—in my team there was a lot of ass-licking and all those things."

After spending some time in the workforce, Nila realized she did not like her company, and upon talking with a coworker, she found out that she had few good professional options available to her if she chose to transfer. Having worked part-time in her dad's jewelry business while at Ericsson, she recalls "And then like when I started participating a bit more in the business, he [her father] was like I can see that you can be a good businesswoman. I mean he knows what it takes to be a good businessman, so he said that he can see that I can be a good business person so it's a good choice; go for an MBA." Nila enrolled in a business school in New York State and chose to focus her studies on marketing because her father "doesn't really invest in marketing at all" and therefore contribute to her family's company.

When describing why she chose to leave her job and start an MBA, Pramila says she came to the realization that "I want to be in more, in a much higher position, higher manager position and for that I needed some qualifications. I can continue working there and eventually I'll reach the position in like 10 years, but I wanted to reach it like faster—only an MBA can do that so I decided I should continue my education." So for her earning, an MBA served as a way to fast-track her career. Sara, who enrolled in an MBA school in Indiana, echoes these sentiments. She recalls, "I think I knew that I would eventually [earn an MBA] because to get out of the IT development sort of trend, I really needed the MBA because in India they value degrees more than they do transferrable skills. So it's very difficult to move into those sorts of management positions unless you have an MBA." For Sara, enrolling in an MBA program became a way for her to move away from a career path that she was not passionate about and into a highly respected management role.

Meanwhile, Neelam, an MBA student from Bangalore, chose to pursue an MBA for personal reasons. She spoke with her parents about her desire to pursue an MBA. She recalls asking them, "And help me get either a Master of Science in Organizational Behavior and Development or an MBA with an Organizational Behavior and Development focus. So my parents were very understanding because they had seen me physically suffer from accepting the 'rules of the house.'" The rules of the house included pursuing the science track in high school and engineering in her undergraduate and graduate studies—she had earned a Master's in civil engineering from a university in Maryland prior to starting her MBA. For Neelam, doing an MBA did not concern professional advancement or the desire to help a family business. Completing this degree became more a means for her to assert her autonomy.

Why the United States?

After choosing to pursue higher education, my interviewees made the decision to study in the United States amid options to pursue graduate work in Singapore, Australia, Western Europe, Canada, and India. They ultimately made the decision to

study in the United States due to the availability of financial aid, the presence of family and friend networks, and the belief that the United States would provide them with the global exposure necessary to earn cosmopolitan capital (Igarashi & Saito 2014; Prieur and Savage 2013; Weenink 2008).

Students' ability to earn cosmopolitan capital vis-à-vis U.S. universities depends upon the cultural, social, and economic capital at their disposal. For example, Lavani remarks how learning English in her K-12 school helped her in the United States. She says, "Because everybody here speaks English and only understands English. The accent I understand, yes, is totally different, and there are times when people don't understand what you're saying but know it's English."

Having social networks comprised of family and friends in the United States also facilitates Indian women's ability to study in this country. A good number of Lavani's family members studied in the United States previously. She says, "So most of my mother's side—most of the children—they have too gone to the U.S., been to the U.S. to do their Master's. That's another reason why it influenced my—not *my* decision—but how it just got my parents thinking about sending me abroad." In the case of Yasmine, a 30-year old woman from a small town in Karnataka, she says that a colleague encouraged her to enroll in her present MBA program. In convincing her to enter this specific program, she recalls him stating that "The emphasis on finance, economics, and accounting was quite high, which was something that I like because I wanted to be in the industry—in finance. The other aspect was more to do with the environment at school. I did not want to be in like a 900-student school, cutthroat—that was not my style." Ultimately, what he said about the school made her feel that she "would probably be in a school which is more like me." The presence of a firm social network in the United States represents a valuable form of social capital because it enables women and their families to feel comfortable with the idea of studying in the United States and also helps them make the decision as to where to study.

In addition to using family and friends to decide where to study for an MBA, some respondents also discussed using school rankings, the Internet, and education counselors to help them make their decision. For example, when discussing how she determined to which school she would apply, Rani states that "You've heard of most of the good schools—even in India. So that's how you select. And you look at rankings and you look at different discussions on Internet forums. And that is how I applied." In the case of Akira, she used two counselors to help her decide where she should enroll for graduate school. Therefore, students utilize social capital in the form of information they find online and through college counselors, along with family and friends based in the United States to help them decide where to complete their MBA.

And last, students depend on their family's economic capital to provide them with the means to fund their education abroad. Many of the students I spoke to used loans to finance their education. In describing the process of her getting the loan necessary to secure a visa, Yasmine states, "They're crazily expensive and you need to have a security against your loan. Security in terms of probably a property or—gold is big in India—so gold would do, but even some insurance policy. Like if my

dad has an insurance policy, which is about to mature, then that's accepted as collateral." Therefore, without having the collateral necessary to serve as a security against the loan in the event that she was unable to pay it back, Yasmine would have been unable to secure the money she needed to get a visa to study in the United States. While many of my interviewees relied on some sort of loan to cover the cost of studying in the United States, several did not. Those who come from relatively affluent families can rely on the direct support of their parents to cover the cost of their education.

Some respondents also spoke about using their savings from their lucrative jobs at IT firms to help pay for their U.S.-based degree. Significantly, these jobs remain the purview of the relatively privileged. For example, Shalini recalls her experience applying for her job at Infosys. She states, "So they have certain requirements that you should have gotten this much percentage in every semester of your engineering and these subjects you should have done really well. You should have studied in an English-medium school; you should be able to converse in English. And then once they select you for the process, there are two rounds of exams: aptitude and verbal. So aptitude is where you just do general math and things like that but they are all mostly high school math. The verbal is also very high school English kind of a thing. And once you clear those two, then you have a final-round interview where you talk to HR one-on-one and then you're given an offer." Clearly, Shalini's attendance at an English-medium school and her good marks throughout high school and college contributed to her being able to work in one of India's leading technology companies. This then provided her with the economic capital to afford her U.S. MBA.

Students depend on their economic, cultural, and social capital to earn cosmopolitan capital, which they believe will help them professionally in the future. They earn this type of capital through the global exposure they receive through their curriculum and their classmates. In discussing her experiences at her MBA program, Keya, a woman from a Delhi-based Punjabi family, says, "I think I've learned a lot of things here already—a lot of intangible stuff. Technical stuff—okay everybody learns about it—but intangibly I've learned a lot about prioritizing and time management and how to deal with people. And different people, from different cultures and geographical backgrounds." She sees her ability to interact with a variety of people as important to her MBA education. The opportunity for global exposure extends to the curriculum as well. In remarking about what makes a U.S. MBA program different from an India-based program, Lavani states that "So their study is very, I mean it's not global. It's not very global—if I can say it that way. But here [in the U.S.], we are getting to [know] things about you know companies in Switzerland and in U.S., in UK. So it's global, yea."

Students then use their cosmopolitan capital as a means to earn flexible citizenship. They believe that studying in the United States will provide them with the ability to live and work among a wide variety of people, granting them the confidence to live and work anywhere they choose. Pramila believes that her school's "alumni is like the strongest." She continues by saying, "So, personally I would form a very strong network of people—friends, basically. I'm looking forward to

that. I hope that takes me to different places." Making a similar point, Neelam remarks, "I feel that home is where you are now so if there is an opportunity back home [and] if that's the only opportunity that I was given, then I'll take it. If there's another opportunity across the world, then I'll go there." Anuya, a woman from Mumbai currently studying at an MBA program in New York, clearly connects her attainment of a U.S. MBA and the geographic mobility this would afford her. She says, "Earning an MBA is like my key to get into the world kind of thing. Because doing an MBA here [in the U.S.] will get me what I want in terms of my visa, in terms of getting to know networking." She understands the value of her degree to be greater than just the education it provides her with. It also provides her with the opportunity to gain the mobility she desires and make professional connections with those who as she says can help her, "get what I want." These women see the opportunity to study in the United States as not only a means to acquire cosmopolitan capital but also as the pathway to them living anywhere in the world.

In summary, students utilize their family's economic, cultural, and social capital in each of the educational decisions they make on their pathway to a U.S. MBA program. Their parents' capital provides them with access to private, English-medium K-12 schools. Their attendance at these schools inculcates a specific orientation to learning that preferences science relative to commerce and arts, as well as English-language skills, while also providing them with access to teachers and peers that will help them along the way. After graduating from their respective high schools and colleges and then entering the workforce, a majority of the women I interviewed realized that they were not pursuing the career path they wanted. They felt that an MBA would provide them with the means to switch careers and contribute to a family business or put them on a pathway to management positions. For others, pursuing an MBA meant the ability to assert their own desires in their professional life and represents more of a personal statement than strictly a professional decision.

In making the decision to pursue an MBA, students continue to rely on economic, cultural, and social capital. They utilize their parents' affluence, their knowledge of English, and their friend and family bases in the United States to help them gain entrée to U.S.-based education opportunities. One of the motivations for attending a U.S.-based MBA program is the belief that by doing so they will gain global exposure, which they can utilize as cosmopolitan capital, which will help them gain the ability to live and work wherever they choose, a phenomenon conceptualized as flexible citizenship.

Gender Imbalance in the Pathway to Studying in the United States

While my analysis demonstrates the importance of capital to Indian women being able to pursue advanced degrees in the United States, it does not discuss why there exists a large gender imbalance between the number of men and women who study

in this country. While my interviewees are those who managed to overcome the hurdles, I did discuss with some of them why women do not come to the United States with as high a frequency as their male counterparts. The responses I received indicate that social norms, parents' fears about their daughters traveling a long distance from them, and expectations that women's primary role revolves around their family responsibilities prevent some families from being willing to invest in their daughters' education overseas.

I asked Yasmine about the challenges women face when studying in the United States. She responded with, "It's more [an] accepted standard that after 25 you have to get married and you have to put your career on [the] backburner. And it's like completely normal to expect of the women to stop working if she wants to have a baby and things like that." Because there exists an expectation that women focus their energies more strictly upon their families after having a baby and getting married, parents may be less inclined to invest in sending their daughters abroad.

Receiving an education in the United States may present challenges to women and their families who are looking for a good marriage partner. The common logic goes like this: women should be educated enough to find a good husband but should not be too educated so that it becomes difficult to find one (Mukhopadhyay 1994; Ullrich 1994). Neelam clearly articulates this idea when she says, "The other idea for girls to do either engineering or medicine is they wanted their girls to get a good husband." There exists this idea that a woman's education should be used so that she can secure a good husband, not strictly so she can secure a good career. And for some of my interviewees who have a relatively high level of education, they do face difficulties finding a good husband. When talking about her parents' search for a good marriage partner, Shefali, a student at a private Midwestern university says, "One of the criteria that I have is they should be as educated as me so I think that not many people are meeting that criteria. Or, I dunno—not yet." In other words, due to her requirements in a husband and her relatively high level of education, her parents face difficulties in finding an appropriate match. Because having a high level of education may provide challenges for a woman seeking a good marriage partner, some parents may be uninclined to send their daughters overseas for their education, thus limiting the women able to study abroad in the United States.

The social beliefs that dictate that women should be married by a specific age and focus on their families after marriage and child birth operate in conjunction with religious beliefs. When probing Isvari, a 25-year old Hindu woman from Mumbai, about why her parents felt that she should be married by 26, she said, "I think the way they look at a human being's life is like how it's divided into four stages: the first one being where you enjoy childhood; the second one being where you take higher education, you excel in it, you do your best in it, and then you start earning; the third where you look at your family life or you look at the pleasures of family life; and then finally, an age where you're done with all of that and you've achieved everything that you wanted to and then you sort of settle down and probably do something more leisurely or more creative. But essentially the four stages are still relevant today I would say."

Nineteen (19) of the 20 women I interviewed come from a Hindu family that may hold similar beliefs about how one should live their life. This push toward entering the third stage of "family life" may explain why some women feel social and familial pressure to complete their education by a specific age and abandon their career ambitions after marriage and childbirth.

Aside from social views about the purpose of women's education being an impediment to their studying in the United States, some discussed their parents' concerns with them traveling so far. In the case of Shilpa, she knew that "as long as it's for work or for official reasons and somebody else is taking responsibility of sending you and taking care of you while you're in a different country, they were okay with it. So I knew my parents would say yes to me traveling for work. So that's why I decided to pursue computer science engineering." Knowing that her parents have serious reservations about her going abroad, Shilpa pursued a college major that led to her job at Infosys. In discussing why she chose to work for Infosys, she states, "One of the conditions they had was you should learn driving and you should also have a passport. So I knew that I will get my passport and I will be able to travel outside so I just decided to go work for Infosys." Thus, women who are able must use strategic maneuvers to bypass their parents' concerns about them going abroad; however, as mentioned before, the type of people who have access to jobs at companies like Infosys are primarily those from relatively privileged backgrounds. For women without the knowledge or skillsets to pursue other avenues to going to the United States, they would find themselves left with only domestic education options.

Despite the significant barriers that prevent women from studying in the United States, the presence of these women in this country signifies changing attitudes toward the role and capabilities of Indian women. Notably, several of my interviewees discussed the importance of their moms in helping them envision opportunities for themselves outside of the normative role of mother and wife. One example comes from Yasmine. She recalls, "But [when I was a kid] my mom always used to read out these stories of women who have done very well in their life like people who have been in leadership positions and how they were successful and things like that." Ayesha states that she received similar support from her mom. Despite her mom being a housewife, she says that "Like for my mother like it was important that all of us do our degrees. All of us have like a work experience. My mom told me never be a housewife. Always be working. She taught me to take care of my family and be independent." Therefore, the women I interviewed are here in part because of the inspiration they received from their moms to not only be good wives and mothers but to also be motivated to get an education and pursue a career.

Discussion

With this project, I aimed to better understand the vast gender differential in who studies in the United States. This article highlights how middle-, upper middle-, and upper-class women utilize their advantageous family backgrounds to cultivate

valuable forms of economic, cultural, and social capital that put them on the path to studying in the United States. In doing so, it highlights the social and cultural context within which women maneuver to defy cultural norms that dictate that they should focus their energy more so on becoming good mothers and wives. It also demonstrates how women from relatively privileged backgrounds may be more adept at doing so because they come from families who have the requisite forms of economic, cultural, and social capital that enable their daughters to accumulate advantageous capital of their own, which they can then use to launch an educational career in the United States. This finding echoes a sentiment by some researchers that while women do face barriers due to their gender, social class rather than gender serves as a better determinant of access to quality educational options within the subcontinent (Desai et al. 2010). My research builds upon this finding, demonstrating how those early educational privileges provide the foundation for greater educational advantages later in life, especially for those women with the option of studying in the United States for higher education.

Women use their inherited and cultivated economic, cultural, and social capital to pursue an MBA from a U.S. university. They choose to pursue an MBA as a way to advance their career, make a career change, or assert autonomy. They choose to study in the United States because of the availability of financial aid, the presence of family and friend networks, and the belief that studying in the United States would enable the cultivation of cosmopolitan capital in the form of knowledge about global business trends and access to colleagues and alumni from around the world. They intend to use cosmopolitan capital to exercise flexible citizenship—described as the ability to live and work anywhere in the world.

Conclusion

The women interviewed for this article talk about their experiences with international education migration in the midst of India's rising affluence and bourgeoning middle class. Thus, their experiences may provide additional insight into the transnationalization of the field of higher education for Indian nationals from various educational backgrounds. For that reason, the continued investigation of Indians' education migration pathways to the United States has importance.

The women interviewed for this article come from predominantly middle- or upper-class, upper-caste, educated, Hindu families. Their very particular background affects how they came to pursue their MBA at a U.S. university. Therefore, the pathways I describe in this article cannot be generalized to the broader population. Future research should investigate how Indian men, women, undergraduate and graduate students, as well as those from varying caste, class, religious, and academic backgrounds come to the United States for their advanced degree and why they choose to do so. Additionally, future research should more thoroughly investigate the role parents and K-12 schools play in preparing students to study in the United States, examine how race impacts Indian students' experiences at U.S. universities, and investigate the motivations behind Indian nationals' choice to immigrate to the

United States, return to India, or move elsewhere. Such research will provide a more nuanced and comprehensive understanding of Indian educational migration pathways to the United States.

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Chapter 4
Building Cultural Bridges and Supporting Prospective Chinese International Students at U.S. Universities

C.N. Le

Abstract A growing trend among colleges in the U.S. particularly public universities, is their increased recruitment and enrollment of international students, particularly from China. This trend reflects both an inherent recognition of the value of promoting multiculturalism and cultural globalization, along with an effort to generate more revenue and to compensate for the budget shortfalls. In either case, the growing presence of Chinese students at U.S. universities also represents an increasingly common site of transnational intersection between U.S. and Chinese societies. To better illuminate one aspect of this multilevel social dynamic, this paper focuses on the motivations, expectations, and concerns of students in China who are interested in coming to the U.S. to study.

Using interview data from focus groups conducted in Beijing and Shanghai, I examine their motivations for wanting to leave China and study in the U.S., expectations and challenges they anticipate in adjusting to U.S. society and interacting with Americans, how they plan to apply their newfound academic knowledge and transnational experiences in their careers, and some possible ways that U.S. college students and administrative programs can support these international Chinese students. Overall, the Chinese students were clearly knowledgeable about what opportunities exist for them inside China and outside of China and realistic about the plusses and minuses of each. They were also very excited but also anxious about the possibility of studying in the U.S. and the rewards and challenges that are involved here as well.

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Introduction and Background

Today's world is becoming increasingly globalized and transnational and that conventional political, economic, and cultural borders are becoming less rigid. This notion can also be applied to institutions of higher education around the world, and particularly in the U.S., where the student population, curriculum, and scholarly interest are becoming more "internationalized." One evidence is the ever-increasing numbers of international students who are coming to the U.S. to study.

The data on the emergence of international students, particularly from China, is undeniable. For example, in its 2012 Yearbook of Immigration Statistics, the Department of Homeland Security Office of Immigration Statistics reports that in 2012, they admitted 1,566,815 people on an F1 student visa, more than double the 617,556 that it admitted in 2003 (Office of Immigration Statistics 2013). Separately, data from the U.S. Immigration and Customs Enforcement notes that in 2014, there were almost one million people holding active student visas in the U.S. (U.S. Immigration and Customs Enforcement 2014). Data from the "Open Doors" report of the Institute of International Education further found that in the 2013–2014 academic year, there were 274,439 students from China in the U.S. Of these, 110,550 were undergraduate students, 115,727 were graduate students, 14,761 were nondegree students (i.e., just spending one semester or year in the U.S.), and finally, 33,401 were in some kind of Optional Practical Training program (temporary employment that is directly related to an F1 student's major area of study).Clearly, there are a large number of students in China who are very interested in coming to the U.S. to study and that U.S. colleges and universities are increasingly eager to admit and enroll them.

But beyond the news, the headlines, and the statistics, how prepared are international students for U.S. undergraduate education system? Do their actual academic and social experiences match their expectations? How well are U.S. colleges and universities supporting these international students? What are some possible resources that can make the experiences of these international students as positive and rewarding as possible?

This chapter examines these and other related questions by focusing on prospective Chinese students who are planning on coming to the U.S. for undergraduate study. Using interview data from focus groups conducted in Beijing and Shanghai, I examine their motivations for wanting to leave China and study in the U.S., expectations and challenges they anticipate in adjusting to U.S. society and interacting with Americans, how they plan to apply their newfound academic knowledge and transnational experiences in their careers, and some possible ways that U.S. college students and administrative programs can support these international Chinese students.

There are many reasons behind these institutional trends. I will present and describe the reasons why many Chinese students want to come to the U.S. to study, but in the meantime, many U.S. colleges and universities share similar reasons for wanting to attract more international students, particularly undergraduate ones. For instance, most if not all of these schools tout the value in diversifying their student population. As a reflection of both globalization trends and the demographic diversification within the U.S. wherein people of color are expected to comprise more than half the population somewhere around the year 2042 (Hobbs and Stoops 2002),

many university leaders proclaim that their campuses benefit from the influx of international students who bring new experiences and ideas and enrich the academic and social environment around them.

Nonetheless, while the intrinsic worth of diversity is important and necessary, in more practical terms, enrolling more international students helps to generate more revenue as well. Specifically and as many scholars and observers point out, numerous public universities have been receiving smaller amounts of money from their state governments, both in terms of total dollars and as a percentage of their total annual budget (Blumenstyk 2014; Bok 2013; Stevens and Kirst 2015; Thomason 2013). That is, several decades ago, these public universities were accustomed to getting almost all of their budget from their respective state governments. As such, these public universities were able to keep their tuition and other academic fees relatively low, allowing many Americans to earn a college degree. But in recent decades, the amount state governments are contributing has been declining, and as a result, public universities have had to turn to different strategies to compensate for diminished financial support from their state governments.

The most common tactic is to raise tuition and fees charged to students. This has resulted in the cost of higher education skyrocketing in the last 20 or so years – data from the U.S. Department of Education's National Center for Education Statistics notes that the average total bill for tuition, fees, and room and board at 4-year public universities has increased by 141% from the 1981–1982 to 2011–2012 academic years, from $6942 to $16,789 in constant dollars (National Center for Education Statistics 2012). These large upsurges in tuition and fees have resulted in a corresponding increase in student debt, as the average debt for students graduating from 4-year public universities was $25,600 in the 2012–2013 academic year (Gordon 2014). Such increases in tuition and fees have made paying for college more difficult for many American families, even those who consider themselves middle class, let alone for low-income families (Selingo 2013).

Another strategy that many public universities have used to increase revenue and to make up for the declining financial support from their state governments is to attract both more out-of-state and international students in the hopes that they will be able and willing to pay full price (or as close to it as possible) for their undergraduate academic experience. Especially in regard to recruiting more international students, while few college leaders and administrators are likely to admit publicly, there is evidence that enrolling more international students is increasingly tied to expanded revenue. As one example, in 2008, *The Chronicle of Higher Education* published an article that highlighted the closer connection between enrolling more international students and expanding revenue:

> The University of California at Berkeley tripled the number of international students it admitted in this year's freshman class and plans to enroll even more students from outside the state next year, in part to pump up tuition revenue during a difficult financial period for the state's universities. Berkeley's chancellor, Robert J. Birgeneau, said in an interview last week that his campus was increasing the number of international students primarily for educational reasons … But with the state facing a budget deficit estimated at $11-billion and appropriations for universities shrinking, officials also acknowledged a financial motive (Keller 2008).

This situation is being played out at many colleges and universities, particularly public ones, across the U.S., as schools increasingly look toward enrolling more international students as a way to accomplish two institutional goals – to promote diversity within their student population and to increase revenue in the face of declining financial support from their state government.

At the same time, and as more educators, administrators, support staff, and international students themselves are recognizing, it is one thing to recruit, admit, and enroll more international students, but it is a completely separate and equally important issue to make sure that they have a positive and rewarding experience once they arrive on campus. In other words, these colleges and universities are beginning to pay attention to retaining the growing numbers of international students that they are enrolling and to identify, coordinate, develop, and implement resources to support international students on their campus and to attend to their academic, financial, and social needs and concerns. One part of this process involves taking a step back and understanding the circumstances and motivations of international Chinese students for wanting to study in the U.S.

Previous Studies

As the number of international students studying in the U.S. continues to grow, scholars are increasingly looking at the political, economic, and sociological characteristics of this institutional trend. For example, numerous scholars have pointed to the immense pressure of China's "singletons," the only child that the vast majority of Chinese families are allowed to have under China's one-child policy (see Fong 2006, 2011; Xinyu 2013; Yu 2013), and how they are expected to carry the hopes of socioeconomic success and mobility for their families. Within this context, in her study of transnational Chinese students studying abroad in various countries around the world, Fong (2011) describes how the Chinese government has increasingly encouraged its young citizens to explore developed nations such as the U.S.; to learn as much about their political, economic, and cultural success; and to use their educational systems to acquire as much knowledge and practical skills as possible. From these experiences, the final goals included bringing back their newfound knowledge and skills either to contribute to China's growth and international emergence (Fong 2011; Szelényi and Rhoads 2007) or to achieve individual socioeconomic mobility, to showcase their material success, and to represent China as modern and advanced to the rest of the world (Kuhn 2009; Louie 2011; Ong 2004).

On the individual level, studies of Chinese students studying abroad generally found them to be very ambitious, optimistic, and also realistic in their orientation toward going to colleges in developed nations. Specifically, many worry about the financial resources required to study abroad, the cultural differences that would inevitably come up during their stay abroad, adjusting to the perceived higher academic standards of universities in the U.S. and other advanced nations, and potentially feeling lonely or isolated (Fong 2011; Szelényi and Rhoads 2007; Xinyu

2013). Despite these anticipated challenges, Chinese students were also generally enthusiastic about using their studying abroad experience to become international citizens. That is, they were enthusiastic about broadening their political, social, and cultural outlook and perspectives to become representatives of the Chinese nation and diaspora aiming to achieve the status of "advanced society" in the global hierarchy (Fong 2011; Kuhn 2009; Louie 2011; Ong 2004; Szelényi and Rhoads 2007; Yu 2013).

From the point of view of the colleges and universities in the U.S. and beyond the previously discussed financial motivations, recruiting and enrolling more international students are also efforts to adapt a broader campus internationalization strategy. Within the context of larger societal and global trends that are making conventional cultural boundaries less rigid, there is an awareness that international students can serve as tangible agents and representatives of the increasingly globalized and interconnected human community. For many American students, international students also represent their first direct, face-to-face contact with another culture. As such, living, studying, and socializing with international students give American students a broader perspective of the world at large and the opportunity to develop intercultural communications skills that can be applied to their own social community and eventual career environment (Pandit 2013; Zhao et al. 2005).

Research Methodology

This study is based on in-depth, semi-structured interviews conducted with 30 students in China. Prior to the summer of 2013, I circulated an email in which I introduced myself as faculty at the University of Massachusetts, Amherst, and was conducting research into the motivations, perspectives, and expectations of Chinese students who are interested in completing their bachelor's degree in the U.S. I stated my desire to recruit students who were either high school seniors or in their first two years of college in Beijing or Shanghai and who were interested in completing their bachelor's degree at a college or university in the U.S. Through my academic and professional networks and through snowball sampling, I arranged to meet a total of 30 students who met these criteria. Of the 30 students who participated in the interviews, 18 were female and 12 were male. All students were between 18 and 21 years of age. The sample was not designed to be random but rather illustrative of students in this age range who are interested in studying in the U.S.

I traveled to Beijing and China in the summer of 2013 and met the first group of 12 students in Beijing. All 12 were interviewed together in a focus group format at a local restaurant in Beijing. Moving on to Shanghai, I interviewed the final 18 students in three separate focus groups at various restaurants and cafes in Shanghai. Participants were not compensated directly; rather, I purchased lunch, café drinks, and/or snacks for each focus group of students. All students were interviewed in English, and the audio of their responses was recorded to ensure an accurate transcript. All students who were interviewed were conversant in English, and most

were proficient, although their overall level of English fluency varied. Their responses are presented here verbatim, with just a minimum level of correction for grammar and clarity, in order to give the reader a sense of the level of English fluency of the students who were interviewed. Their responses were coded by hand as I inductively looked for main themes and patterns in the data.

Findings

Motivations for Studying in the U.S.

I first asked the students an open-ended question – why they wanted to study in the U.S. Many of them replied that they were attracted to the excellent academic system and universities in the U.S. and that they thought the U.S. had much better colleges and universities than anywhere else in the world. Some typical responses were "The U.S. has high-level educational system" and "[The] United States has better research environment and study resources." One student put it quite simply as, "I want to stand on the cutting-edge of modern science development." Some of them contrasted the U.S. higher education system with that in China and noted that U.S. colleges would allow them to explore a much wider variety of subjects and issues and that they would have more flexibility in terms of their choice of major and when to declare a major. One student pointed out, "American universities is not like Chinese universities. Teachers [in China] just say and we record them. [In American universities], we are free to develop what we really want. The environment and weather is better. There's a chance for us to open our eyes to see what a U.S. university do, different from Chinese universities."

More generally, some students mentioned that they thought that U.S. society was more welcoming and even better than China's. As one student put it, "In America, the society is higher [more advanced] than in China. That's the most important reason is why I come and want to go to America. Secondly, in my opinion, the United States has one hundred years of philanthropy and civil society. They are more rational and better than our country." Another student noted, "My father used to tell me that he thinks America is the future of China," suggesting that China's future depends on the U.S. and/or that China should strive to be more like the U.S. Another student put it more simply, "People think that America is cool." For some students, part of the U.S.'s appeal is that its population and culture are much more diverse than China's, and they were attracted to learning more about and from Americans. As one example, a student noted that his school recently had some exchange students from the U.S.:

> I get along well with them, talking or exchanging ideas together. I found that their ideas are very free. They can exchange, express their ideas and thoughts freely without considering any other things like politics or some international mess. You cannot talk about the mess in China, not talking about society in public. Besides that, I want to focus on what's the difference in thinking between Americans and Chinese. Through the exchange of Americans,

> there were many differences with thinking like I borrow something from Americans, in the way of thinking of the Chinese.

Another student noted, "I want to have an environment of students from all over the world, so we can exchange cultures and all kinds of experiences. It'll be a better experience for me."

Much of this motivation to come to the U.S. was based on parental influence as many students noted that their parents were very encouraging of them studying in the U.S. Five students in the sample mentioned that their parents had already visited or worked in the U.S. and therefore had firsthand knowledge of it that they shared with their child. Some even mentioned that they felt some degree of pressure from their parents to study in the U.S., with one student admitting, "We have some pressure from my parents [and] all my friends [to study in the U.S.]," and another student saying that his parents are "pushing" him to study in the U.S. Despite feeling some pressure from their parents, the students consistently expressed their gratitude toward their parents for supporting their educational goals, for giving them advice and guidance, and for those whose parents had come to the U.S. previously, for sharing their experiences as a tool from which they could learn. Nonetheless, despite their parents' positive impressions of the U.S., some students were realistic that their situation and circumstances are different from what their parents experienced, as one student described:

> Generations like my parents' age. They come to the United States to get their Ph.D. or Masters without considering about the money issues because the government sent them there. They study very well without thinking about I don't have much money, so I have to. .. get a job to get some money. They can put their whole heart into study. [But] U.S., we're different.

Overall, the students' comments about the importance of their parents' influence and guidance suggest that Chinese parents play a very important role in their child's college goals and plans. This makes sense especially in regard to China's "one-child" policy that, among other things, has resulted in many Chinese parents who are limited to one child "investing" significant amounts of time, energy, and resources toward doing whatever necessary to ensure or at least improve their child's chances of academic and professional success (Fong 2006). As such and as many U.S. colleges and universities have started to learn, recruiting students from China to study at their school also includes reaching out and appealing to their parents (and sometimes even grandparents) as well (Fischer 2011).

In addition to prior experiences of interacting with Americans in China and/or their parents' prior visits to the U.S., three students had visited or briefly lived in the U.S. before and had a positive experience and impression of U.S. society and, as a result, were eager to return to the U.S. For example, one student spent a semester as an exchange student at the University of Delaware and remarked, "The lifestyle there is free and convenient. Not that many people. Not that many cars compared to here." To her, being in a small town in Delaware was a nice change of scenery compared to the bustling metropolis of Beijing and presumably would allow her to express her individuality more easily than in China. Another student who spent a

summer at UC Berkeley described, "My time there is very gorgeous – the area, the food, also the health. All the things that we study in the U.S. [are] reasonable and [it is] a convenient place to study and so quiet at night."

Overall, the Chinese students felt a strong attraction toward the U.S., and they consistently expressed their desire to take advantages of the academic and social opportunities available in U.S. colleges and universities; to explore a new society, culture, and environment; and to learn more about Americans and how they think. Further, their opinions suggest that for many young Chinese, the vision of the U.S. as the "land of opportunity" is apparently still very much alive and well. This is often combined with a recognition of the limitations and ongoing challenges of Chinese society. As one student noted, "I wish I can have a bright future. [In China], life is not good, right or wrong, but it's too rigid. I want something special like study abroad and do more things. It can broaden my view about the world."

Anticipated Challenges in Studying in the U.S.

I next asked the Chinese students questions about what kinds of challenges and rewards they anticipated while studying in the U.S. By and large, the most consistent answer was in regard to their fluency in English or their lack thereof. Many of the Chinese students were very self-conscious about their English ability, although I felt that their level of English fluency would be more than enough to do reasonably well, academically and socially, at U.S. colleges and universities. Nonetheless, being able to speak and write well in English was a consistent worry for many of them. One student noted that studying and learning Chinese in the classroom is one thing, but using it outside of the classroom is different: "English is the difficult language for me to study in the U.S. Most of the Chinese are good at studying. It's easy to pass most of the concepts in the university. Study is one thing – using it in living and situation is another."

Notwithstanding their worries about their English abilities, some students mentioned that while they expect the academic standards and rigor in the U.S. to be higher compared to Chinese schools, they were reasonably confident that they could adjust and perform well in their studies if they came to the U.S. Nonetheless, some noted that the style of academic performance is different for Chinese students and that they would probably need to change their academic habits once in the U.S.:

> Chinese students are shy. They work [by] themselves. They are not willing to make friends and working in team. They're not willing to talk to professors because they listen to the professors and do their homework. They hand in their homework. They seldom talk to their professor and change their opinions and ask them questions. Few Chinese students do that. Communication will be a big problem or difficulty. They want to talk [but] sometimes they're not willing to do it.

This comment suggests that many Chinese students are aware that cultural norms about interacting with their professors and speaking up in class are different between Chinese and U.S. schools and that in order for them to do well if and when they study

in the U.S., they will have to act differently than how they've been socialized up to that point. This dynamic corresponds with previous research that illustrates how, based on Confucian philosophies that emphasize conformity and deference to authority figures, especially teachers, Chinese students are rewarded for engaging in collectivist behavior and for rote memorization. In contrast, U.S. educational settings tend to emphasize critical thinking, self-confidence in students, and a more collaborative learning relationship between the student and instructor (Ryan 2015; Young 2006).

A number of Chinese expressed some anxiety about making friends with Americans once they are in the U.S., despite other comments that they expect Americans to be more open and friendly. For example, one student remarked, "When they go out [in the U.S.], the strange people are friendly... The attitude is more peaceful. They treat people more friendly. My friend said it's great... In China, it's difficult to reach [out to others]." However, later on, this same student added, "The difficult part is taking new friends and Chinese students is not like U.S. students. We are in a very different culture than Americans. If I want to settle down in America, I have to deal with the problem in the culture, including language." Another student alluded to the racial, ethnic, and cultural diversity in the U.S. and, by implication, the lack of such diversity in China, by noting, "The hardest thing for me is also to live there. You have to make friends with different people from all over the world."

Understandably, many students also worried about finances and whether they would have enough money to complete their study in the U.S. In earlier cohorts of international students from China, many received financial assistance from the Chinese government to study in the U.S. and/or were more likely to be graduate students whose graduate programs in the U.S. were likely to provide financial assistance to them. In contrast, current international students from China are more likely to be undergraduates rather than graduate students and are less likely to receive any financial support from the Chinese government (Fischer 2014c; Redden 2014).

Overall, the main challenges of studying in the U.S. that the Chinese students anticipated – lack of English fluency, cultural norms, and finances – were not surprising and certainly understandable. Interestingly, a recent article from *The Chronicle of Higher Education* noted that in a 2014 report published by NAFSA: Association of International Educators and conducted by World Education Services, many educators and administrators on U.S. college campuses tended to identify reasons such as finances, academics, language difficulties, and wanting to find an institution that had a "better fit" as reasons for why international students drop out or transfer. However, the report noted that the main reason cited by the international students themselves was predominantly financial – affordability, lack of access to scholarships, internships, and jobs (Fischer 2014a). This finding indicates that there might be some degree of mismatch between the international students' actual experiences and the perception among educators and administrators about the students' experiences.

While U.S. colleges and universities strategize about ways to meet the financial needs of these international students (presumably, while also continuing to receive their tuition and fees), these academic and cultural challenges are being recognized

by a growing number of U.S. schools, and many have begun to develop and implement specific policies, resources, and programs to try to address these potential barriers to the students' success. While it is beyond the scope of this article to summarize the multitude of strategies in specific detail, some examples include faculty sharing ideas about how to slightly alter their teaching styles to help students for whom English is not their first language feel more comfortable and engaged or more close collaboration between different offices on campus to better coordinate and mobilize support efforts and resources for international students (Fischer 2013, 2014b).

Best Ways to Support International Students

Another set of questions that I asked the Chinese students was about what kinds of resources, programs, and/or activities can U.S. colleges and universities provide to help make sure their academic and social experience is as positive as possible. Corresponding with the NAFSA survey report on international students summarized above, many students mentioned scholarships and other sources of funding and financial support that would make their experience in the U.S. much easier and allow them to concentrate on their academic performance, rather than trying to find work or other sources of money. Again, this echoes the prevailing sentiment expressed in the NAFSA survey report that also highlighted the primacy of finances for international students from China studying in the U.S. As the survey report also noted, since federal law prohibits international students from working outside of their school's campus, it is therefore incumbent on the colleges and universities themselves to present a realistic picture to the international students about the level of on-campus jobs available to them and/or to expand such opportunities in the face of increasing numbers of international students on their campuses.

Other students mentioned that it would help them if there was some kind of mentorship or "buddy" program in which they were matched up with an American student who would help them get settled and integrated into the campus life and answer periodic questions they might have in their course of studying at that school. Some U.S. campuses have started designing and implementing such one-on-one support programs to help international students adjust. One example comes from Pennsylvania State University in which its Office of Global Programs collaborates with its Office of Student Orientation and Transition Programs and other offices on campus to create small, intimate groups comprised of more experienced American and international students to orient new international students into campus life (Schulmann and Choudaha 2014). On a similar note, some students expressed a hope for opportunities to meet both American and other international students. These can include informal parties, such as when one student remarked, "I would like some parties that I can make new friends," or more "organized" events, activities, and "programs with other students from different cultures would also be great," as another student put it.

These opinions on the part of the Chinese students highlight that they understand and expect their experience of studying in the U.S. to include more than just academics but to also include socializing with students (along with faculty, administrators, and staff) from a variety of backgrounds. In other words, these Chinese students are ready and willing to contribute to the goal of diversifying U.S. colleges and universities, the same goal that many of these schools say is their primary motivation for recruiting and enrolling ever-growing numbers of international students. If these school leaders and administrators are being genuine, then it is incumbent on them to follow through on their promises and provide those opportunities for these cultural exchanges to take place.

In regard to providing resources to help Chinese adjust socially to life in the U.S., I also asked them whether they would prefer to live in a large city that had a Chinatown or some sizable Chinese population that they could interact with or whether they preferred to live in an integrated or smaller town that did not have a large Chinese community. Some students replied that yes, they would find it useful if there was a Chinese community or enclave nearby, perhaps in a large city such as New York, Philadelphia, or San Francisco. Others mentioned that while it might be nice to have a Chinese community nearby, their main interest is to meet and interact with as diverse of a student and general population as possible and, for that reason, they would probably prefer a large metropolitan area such as Los Angeles, New York, or San Francisco.

On the other hand, some students flatly said that they preferred a smaller town environment. As one student said, "I prefer smaller towns because I live in the city for a long time. I want to experience the better air and better environment." Other students shared this sentiment that the purpose of going abroad and studying in the U.S. is to expand their personal horizons and environment beyond what they're used to, and for them, going to a smaller town without a large Chinese community would be one example of that. Another student remarked:

> I want to know the country's culture. I don't want to go to another country and be like Chinese again and talk about the same topic.. . I want to assimilate myself with the Western people. It's impossible to fit that because we still have different backgrounds [but] we can be friends. We can know things from other countries, but [not through] landing in Chinatown because they always speak Cantonese and some stuff. It's just lose the [reason] why I came to learn English.

Finally, one student put it quite bluntly, "If I wanted to be with many Chinese, I would [just] stay here in China."

In sum, the Chinese students expressed a variety of opinions in terms of what kind of resources would help them academically and socially and what type of racial, ethnic, cultural, and geographic environment they wanted to be in while studying in the U.S. Not surprisingly, money and financial resources in the form of scholarships, internships, and on-campus jobs would be a significant benefit and would facilitate a much easier overall experience for them in the U.S. Culturally, they also stated a desire for informal and organized opportunities to interact with a diverse range of other students, American and international. In terms of the social environment, some Chinese students said that they preferred a big metropolitan area

in order to be in relatively close proximity to a Chinatown or other large Chinese communities that would ease their transition into mainstream U.S. society. However, an equal number stated that they preferred a smaller town setting that's different from what they're accustomed to in China and that while it might be nice to have other Chinese around, they are eager to branch out and expand their social network and immerse themselves into U.S. society.

Plans After Completing College

The final set of questions I asked the Chinese students was about their plans, presumably after they complete their undergraduate degree in the U.S. and how would they apply their academic and social knowledge and skills gained. Again not surprisingly, many mentioned that they wanted to continue on to graduate school, with most mentioning either an M.B.A. or Ph.D. degree as their final academic goal. Some elaborated further and said that they would prefer to stay in the U.S. and get a job here, both because they expect to have better prospects of landing a good job in the U.S. compared to China and because they prefer the social and cultural environment of the U.S. to the China, as many of them previously elaborated on.

One student was quite pessimistic about what would lie ahead of her if she went back to China after completing college in the U.S.: "I would prefer to stay in America than in China because our environment is a bit crowded. Now we're eating poisonous air and eating poisonous food. It looks like we're slowly killing ourselves." Her comments seem to refer specifically to the physical environment in China, but one might subsume that it alludes to her assessment of China's political, economic, and cultural environment and future as well. While not quite as negative about China as this particular student, other students touted the advantages and benefits that the U.S. offers to advance their careers, similar to the earlier notion that "the U.S. is the future." Or as one student noted, "America has more opportunities. It's an international country. We can't not love it. Our friends are already American when we graduate. Our classmates in the university is in America. Our high school classmates are in America."

Other students had a more pragmatic attitude and basically said that they will go where the best job takes them, whether it's in the U.S. or back in China. They did not seem to have a preconceived notion of where they would end up after completing college in the U.S. and instead would take things as they came. As one student noted, "Depends on the region and the jobs you will choose in the future. My parents still want me to come back to Shanghai. If I can't find a job in America, but it's probably in Shanghai." In fact, scholars such as Yu (2013) have noted that Chinese international students are less likely to stay permanently in the U.S. after completing their undergraduate or graduate degrees today than in decades past and that the increased rate of leaving the U.S. after graduation has been especially pronounced since the onset of the Great Recession of 2008 as more competition for jobs and

increasingly restrictive immigration policies limit the chances of international students staying in the U.S.

Finally, some other students expressed a desire to come back to China and to use their knowledge to help improve Chinese society. As scholars have described, many Chinese students are driven to come to the U.S. to study not only to become international students themselves but to also use and apply their knowledge to make China a more international and developed nation (Fong 2011; Xinyu 2013). As one student put it, "I want to help China grow and become better." Another student simply said, "I love my country, and Shanghai." Their desire to take what they learn in the U.S. and apply it to contribute to China's evolution is certainly admirable. Further, as globalization trends continue to result in more political, economic, and cultural connections between the U.S. and China, this current generation of Chinese international students can draw upon both their Chinese and American experiences to help bring the two nations and societies closer together.

Conclusion and Discussion

In summary, this research project led to a lot of insights on several levels of analysis on the issue of growing numbers of Chinese students at U.S. colleges and universities. In my interviews with the 30 Chinese students who were interested in studying in the U.S., in terms of pull factors that attract them to studying in the U.S., they cited better educational resources and opportunities at U.S. colleges compared to Chinese ones, more freedom to express themselves and their political views, being exposed to the richness and variety of U.S. culture, and to be able to bring their newly acquired skills and knowledge back to China to improve life back home. Conversely, the push factors to leave China that they cited were the growing pollution and environmental degradation problem, the structure of Chinese colleges that emphasizes rote memorization and conformity rather than critical thinking, and lack of job prospects once they graduate.

Regarding challenges that they anticipate, the most common response was financial cost and their anticipation that they and their family would have to pay for everything. They did not expect to get any support from the Chinese government and, for the most part, did not expect to receive much financial support from U.S. institutions as well (at least at the undergraduate level). The Chinese students also mentioned another potential challenge of feeling lonely and homesick, but interestingly, when I asked if they would prefer to settle in a city with a large Chinese community, most said they would actually prefer to just integrate into the mainstream community as much as possible and that if they wanted to be around large numbers of Chinese, they would have just stayed in China.

My last set of questions was about how U.S. colleges can best support them, and they mentioned some very good ideas such as being assigned a mentor or an American student "buddy," having an informal or formal host family, and having regularly scheduled events or activities for them to interact face-to-face with both

other international students and American students. I found their answers to be very thoughtful and insightful; they are clearly knowledgeable about what opportunities exist for them inside China and outside of China and realistic about the plusses and minuses of each. Nonetheless and despite these anticipated challenges, they all wanted to study in the U.S. very badly and saw the possibility of studying in the U.S. as potentially life changing.

As this trend of Chinese students (and international students in general) studying in the U.S. continues to evolve, one important aspect of their success is to be able to build bridges between international Chinese students and U.S. society and American students and institutions in general. This process of integrating different sets of ideas, experiences, and identities is certainly possible with international Chinese students as they spend more time in the U.S. and, in doing so, become more familiar and comfortable with U.S. society and with Americans from diverse backgrounds. This cultural amalgamation is also what Asian Americans and Chinese Americans have been doing in the U.S. for over 150 years, as they continue their process of combining their Asian heritage and identity with their lives as Americans and its cultural elements. The Asian American community has also experienced extensive population growth due to relatively high levels of immigration in the past 40 years, and as such, they are used to incorporating newly arrived immigrants into their community, neighborhoods, and networks.

At the same time, international students and Chinese American and Asian American students have not always had a close social relationship. Both sets of students can have implicit assumptions and biases toward the other. For example, international students may perceive Chinese Americans and Asian Americans as "whitewashed" and far removed from their Chinese or Asian ancestral identity, while Chinese American and Asian American students might see international Chinese students as "fresh off the boat" newcomers who have limited knowledge of American society or culture and/or English fluency and, as a result, are reluctant to socialize with them partly out of fear of being lumped with them as "foreigners" or "outsiders," separate from mainstream U.S. society (Rosenbloom and Way 2004; Tsuda 2014). Nonetheless, Chinese international students and, more broadly, international students from Asia and Asian Americans share a lot in common in terms of occupying a unique position within U.S. society – in some ways welcomed and in other ways seen with curiosity or even suspicion and in some ways integrated within mainstream social situations while in other ways occupying a position in the margins.

It is with these commonalities in mind that Asian Americans can serve as a useful and important cultural bridge for Chinese international students as they begin their studies in the U.S. Having firsthand experience about how to navigate different sets of cultures, Asian Americans can help Chinese students with the process of doing the same on U.S. college campuses and with the surrounding mainstream social environment. This can include ordinary "nuts and bolts" issues related to being a newcomer around campus and navigating through the academic and administrative environment that, as mentioned previously, Chinese students have said that they can use help with. Further, Chinese Americans who are bilingual can help Chinese international students practice their English skills, a challenge that many respondents

identified as a major concern if they study in the U.S. In addition, since many respondents also noted that the style of interaction and engagement with professors tends to be different between U.S. and Chinese educational settings, Asian Americans again can serve as a cultural bridge to ease international students into a more proactive role inside the classroom. As previously mentioned, many colleges and universities are paying more attention to the cultural and social needs of their international student population and have implemented more programs, activities, and resources to foster better social integration between them and the rest of the campus community.

Asian Americans can also help to educate Chinese international students about a topic that the Chinese students are not likely to have experience with – navigating through the racial/ethnic diversity and terrain of U.S. society. That is, since China is a relatively homogenous society with the Han ethnic majority comprising over 90% of its population, ordinary Chinese are not likely to have much experience with issues of ethnic diversity. As such, once Chinese students arrive in the U.S., they are not likely to be familiar with the long legacy and complicated dynamics of race and ethnicity in American society. If anything, given their lack of familiarity with the U.S. racial/ethnic landscape, the image that many Chinese have of racial minorities such as African Americans and Latino/Hispanic Americans is likely to be based on U.S. media images and portrayals, much of which is rather stereotypical and even offensive. This situation sets the stage for the potential of cultural misunderstandings and microaggressions that can be hurtful to both parties involved. With that in mind, Asian Americans who are familiar with the U.S.'s racial/ethnic terrain can be a valuable "guide" for Chinese students in helping them navigate through these complex and sometimes contradictory social and cultural dynamics.

These types of racial and cultural misconceptions and stereotypes can also exist in terms of being applied onto the Chinese international students. In other words, when Americans first see these Chinese students, they are likely to have certain preconceived notions of them either as awkward foreigners or as U.S.-raised Asian Americans or Chinese Americans. In the case of the former, Americans may look at the Chinese students with curiosity or even derision, given the elevated state of anti-immigrant sentiment that exists today. On the other hand, if the Chinese students are perceived to be Asian Americans or Chinese Americans raised in the U.S., they may expect them to have a certain level of cultural knowledge that is not likely to exist and therefore could lead to awkward interactions. In either case, Asian Americans can again help prepare the Chinese international students for these kinds of social situations and cultural dynamics and ease them into the U.S. racial, ethnic, and cultural milieu.

At my institution, the University of Massachusetts, Amherst (UMass Amherst), I am the director of the Asian and Asian American Studies Certificate Program (AAASCP). It was created in 2000, and it is unique in that, rather than focusing just on Asian American studies, the AAASCP explicitly emphasizes the historical, political, economic, and cultural connections between Asia, Asian Americans, and U.S. society as a whole. As such, it is uniquely positioned to explore and promote this potentially significant relationship between international Chinese students and

Asian Americans. Several years ago, UMass Amherst also created the Asian and Asian American Residential Community (AAARC), where students live on certain floors of residential halls that are specifically designated to promote an academic and social community of students who share similar interests, in this case an interest in Asian and Asian American culture. With over 100 students participating, the AAARC is currently the largest of all residential community programs at UMass Amherst. Through collaborations with each other and with other offices on campus, both the AAASCP and the AAARC include academic, extracurricular, and social programs and activities that emphasize and promote students' recognition and deeper understanding about the various connections between Asia, Asian Americans, and U.S. society.

In addition, in 2013, international students at UMass Amherst took the initiative to create their own International Students Organization (ISO). Among other activities, the ISO organized regular informal "coffee-hour" events where students could meet and socialize with each other and with other members of the campus community, along with a formal end-of-year banquet that has been attended by over a 100 undergraduate and graduate students, faculty, administrators, and staff. Further, starting with the fall 2015 semester, UMass Amherst began to offer first-year students an opportunity to participate in a Global Perspectives Residential Academic Program (RAP) that is designed to create a supportive cross-cultural community of international and domestic American students. Combining formal courses with regular group activities and events, this Global Perspectives RAP is focused on exploring the similarities and differences in cultural backgrounds and how these experiences may influence an individual's transition to college life. While there is no formal program specifically designed to connect international Chinese students with Chinese American or Asian American students at UMass Amherst, there has been a considerable degree of social interaction between these two groups since the inception of both the ISO and the Global Perspectives RAP, with members of each group expressing their desire to learn more from and to interact more closely with the other.

Taken together, programs and organizations at UMass Amherst such as the International Students Organization and the Global Perspectives RAP, in collaboration with existing resources such as the Asian and Asian American Residential Community, the Asian and Asian American Studies Certificate Program, and other related pan-racial student support services on campus, can provide international Chinese students a "safe space" in which they can feel comfortable, to socialize with other students who both share similar experiences and who can also introduce them to new aspects of campus life, and to feel supported and valued, rather than just being seen as a tool to generate more revenue for the university. As discussed above, Asian American students can be an especially useful resource for international Chinese students. Asian American students have firsthand experience of the challenges involved in navigating through two different sets of cultures – Asian and American and combining elements of both to create their unique identity and sense of belonging. Asian American students know what it's like to constantly feel like a stranger and to sometimes experience the pain of racial discrimination. Within this context, finding a sense of community is critical to successfully overcoming the

challenges associated with either being an Asian American or an international Chinese student at U.S. institutions of higher education. These cultural connections are only beginning to emerge at colleges and universities around the U.S. such as UMass Amherst. As such, I expect there to be a growing body of specific examples and "success stories" in the near future.

More generally, Asian Americans are just one set of resources that can be leveraged for the benefit of Chinese international students studying in the U.S. U.S. colleges and universities have an obligation to provide multiple types of programs, activities, and policies that recognize that the value of Chinese international students goes well beyond their tuition dollars. As the interviewees in my project have demonstrated, these Chinese students recognize that the U.S. offers them an amazing set of opportunities to expand their academic and personal experiences and are eager to make full use of these resources and to immerse themselves into the new environment. These institutional trends and the rising numbers of international students on college campuses all across the U.S. can benefit everyone involved, if we all take a holistic approach and recognize the multiple needs and issues that are involved on both sides of the equation.

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Part II
After Arrival

Chapter 5
Contact Effects on Intercultural Friendship Between East Asian Students and American Domestic Students

Elisabeth Gareis and Ardalan Jalayer

Abstract Intercultural contact has been shown to reduce stereotyping and prejudice by lowering intergroup anxiety and the perception of intergroup threat. Recommendations on how contact can be promoted in the context of higher education often focus on extracurricular measures (including mixed-student housing, international events, and off-campus activities). This chapter examines how contact can be fostered through class assignments requiring the collaboration of international and domestic students. The study induced extended intercultural contact between pairs of East Asian international students and American students via a semester-long ethnographic project, during which students explored each other's cultures. Results showed significant improvement in intergroup knowledge, attitudes, and social distance. The perceptions that students had of each other's cultures also shifted, with stereotypes (especially of Asians as smart, quiet, and reserved) being replaced by more differentiated views. Previously reported negative portrayals of Asians as disliked, cold, and annoying could not be confirmed. Instead, mutual descriptions of friendliness were noticeable before and even more so after the project. Students expressed interest in maintaining contact following the semester at hand.

Internationalization (foremost through increased international student enrollment) has become a strategy for many U.S. colleges and universities to enhance their prestige, global competitiveness, and revenue. Critics warn, however, that in the midst of this focus on strategic goals, we are losing sight of the core rationale for internationalization: the promotion of international good will.

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This chapter focuses on the question how institutions of higher education can promote international good will by facilitating interaction between domestic and international students. In particular, it explores to what extent the contact afforded by pair assignments in college classes affects variables aiding or hindering friendship development. Students from China, Japan, and South Korea were paired with domestic students and conducted a series of ethnographic assignments together. Pre- and post-surveys gauged cross-cultural knowledge, attitudes, social distance, stereotyping, and interest in continued contact of the domestic and international students.

With international students on the rise, college campuses worldwide are an ideal arena for intercultural contact and friendship formation. Intercultural friendships not only reduce prejudice (Pettigrew 1997); for international students, friendship with host nationals is also tied to stronger language skills, better academic performance, greater life satisfaction, lower levels of stress, a positive mood, and an enhanced image of the host country (Furnham and Alibhai 1985; Gareis et al. 2011; Searle and Ward 1990; Selltiz and Cook 1962; Ward and Masgoret 2004). Likewise, domestic students gain cross-cultural knowledge, an enhanced global perspective, and an international network.

Despite these benefits, it is not unusual that a third or more of international students and half or more of Asian students have no American friends (e.g., Gareis 2012a, b), making the lack of meaningful contact with host nationals one of the uppermost complaints of international students (Kudo and Simkin 2003; Marginson et al. 2010; Ward and Masgoret 2004).

The question then arises how interaction between East Asian and U.S. students can be promoted. Before measures for encouraging interaction can be determined, one needs to explore the factors influencing intercultural relationship development.

Factors Affecting Intercultural Friendship Formation

Cultural Difference

In the context of Asian students on U.S. campuses, one stumbling block is cultural differences. Cultural similarity provides attributional confidence and reduces uncertainty; that is, interactants can more easily predict behaviors in people who are similar to themselves (Clatterbuck 1979) and are therefore more at ease during contact initiation and exploration. East Asia and the United States are culturally dissimilar. To illustrate some of these differences, Fig. 5.1 compares China, Japan, and South Korea with the United States and another Anglophone country, Australia, in terms of the value dimensions identified by Hofstede (Hofstede and Hofstede n.d.).

With the exception of the Chinese score for masculinity, the East Asian scores differ sharply from the U.S. and Australian scores in power distance (i.e., the acceptance of unequal distribution of power), uncertainty avoidance (i.e., the mini-

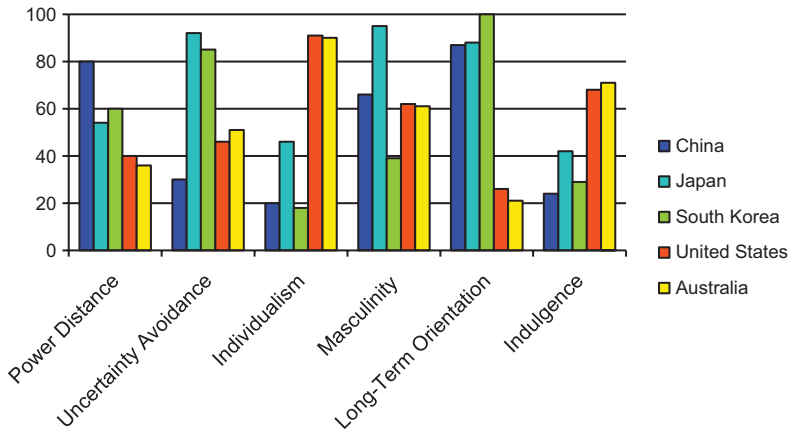

Fig. 5.1 Differences in value orientations between China, Japan, and South Korea versus the United States and Australia

mization of unstructured situations), individualism (i.e., loose ties between individuals in society), masculinity (i.e., assertiveness, career orientation, demarcation of gender roles), long-term orientation (i.e., pragmatism oriented toward future rewards), and indulgence (i.e., gratification of human drives related to enjoying life and having fun).

East Asia and the United States also differ in specific friendship patterns. Most guidebooks to U.S. culture warn that American friendships are easily formed but not as deep and long lasting as friendships in other cultures (e.g., Stewart and Bennett 2005). Du Bois (1956) explains that U.S. friendships are marked by relatively low obligation and low duration (i.e., less committed and permanent than friendships in some other cultures). She cautions that foreigners often interpret American openness and friendliness as promises of closer involvement and that a sense of disappointment and failure ensues when this promise is not realized. These sentiments are echoed in interviews with international students about their friendship experiences in the United States. Invariably, students assert that, although Americans are friendly and open and that it is easy to initiate contact, friendships are superficial and noncommittal and don't last long. A female Asian student in a study by Gareis (2012a), for example, expressed regret that she and her American friend "don't talk something deeply in the heart" (p. 319).

Baumgarte (2013) frames the difference between U.S. and East Asian friendship patterns as a contrast between independence and intervention. Focusing on Korea, he explains that the concept of *choeng* (which is typically translated as *love* or *affection* and refers to a strong emotional bond) carries implications of unconditionality, sacrifice, empathy, caring, sincerity, and fate (e.g., friends are destined to be together). Although friends offer each other support in the United States, they typically don't take "care" of each other as in Korea. There, caring for friends means to intervene actively in one's friends' lives, to an extent that would seem intrusive in

the United States. Even the connotations of *independent* and *dependent* are opposite. Whereas in the United States, independence has the positive connotations of freedom and self-expression, in Korea, as in other parts of East Asia, it is seen as desirable to be dependent (or interdependent), that is, to have strong reciprocal obligations and to feel responsible for taking care of one another.

Ting-Toomey (1989) also found that persons from individualistic cultures tend to focus on attractive personal attributes in potential friends, whereas persons from collectivistic cultures look for cultural or social role attributes. In that vein, the bonding of international students from collectivistic cultures with each other is often aided by preexisting conational networks and the absence of peer support for venturing out to establish intercultural relationships with host nationals (Trice 2007).

Communicative Competence

Another prominent factor is communicative competence, defined as a combination of language proficiency, nonverbal appropriateness, and effectiveness in a number of other communication skills (including levels of verbality and topic selection) (Chen and Starosta 1996). In the intracultural context within the United States, successful relationship initiation and development have been linked to self-disclosure, emotional support, responsiveness in conversation, entertaining storytelling, and competent conflict management (Samter 2003). These competencies require sophisticated language skills, especially in oral communication.

English differs significantly from East Asian languages and is therefore more difficult to learn for East Asians than for speakers of related languages (e.g., speakers of Germanic languages spoken in Northern Europe) (Odlin 1989). In addition, the informal oral communication skills needed for relationship development often take the backseat to communication skills for academic purposes in language education overseas. The resulting proficiency problems in interpersonal communication not only compound cultural insecurities and make East Asian students more apprehensive to communicate (Chen 2006; Ritter 2013), they can also lessen interest in host nationals.

Even if students have relatively good English language proficiency, friendship-specific communication styles may differ and cause conflict. Although at first glance, close friendships in Western and non-Western cultures seem to share a core of desirable traits (e.g., mutual affection, trust, and support) (Argyle et al. 1986; Gareis 1995), a closer look at individual traits and related communicative competencies, however, reveals subtle differences between cultures. For example, Barnlund (1989) found that the rate and amount of self-disclosure tends to be more modest in Japan than in the United States. Of the four stages of social penetration (orientation, exploratory, affective, and stable exchange), the orientation and exploratory stages are most affected by problematic intercultural complexities (Gudykunst et al. 1987), and differences such as in self-disclosure can throw a budding relationship off balance. At the latter affective and stable stages of relationship development, inter-

cultural interactions have a more personalistic focus, with cultural dissimilarities retreating into the background (Gudykunst 1985).

East Asian students have an additional disadvantage regarding contact initiation. In highly collectivistic cultures, "people have less need to make special friendships, [because] one's friends are predetermined by the social relationships into which one is born" (Hofstede 2001, p. 225). East Asian communication strategies (e.g., implicit communication in China, little value on oral interaction in Japan, and an exceptional regard for status and position in Korea) (Chen 2006) fit this cultural pattern and work well in communities with preexisting social networks, but they are not helpful for friendship initiation in the United States. The social skills (e.g., small talk) that are necessary for establishing friendships in the United States (Trice 2007) are frequently not part of East Asian students' repertoire and are not going to be acquired without regular exposure.

Host Environment and Stereotypes

Stereotypes of Americans toward Asians have evolved over time. In the classic Princeton Trilogy, American students were given lists of traits and asked to check the ones that apply to a number of given national or ethnic groups (including Chinese and Japanese) (Gilbert 1951; Karlins et al. 1969; Katz and Braly 1933). Results show early signs of Asians being perceived positively on competence (e.g., sly, industrious) but negatively on sociability (e.g., quiet, loyal to family ties). The trend of polarizing between competence and lack-of-sociability stereotypes continues today. On the one hand, research findings strongly support the existence of a model minority stereotype regarding Asians as being intelligent, capable, ambitious, hardworking, and self-disciplined (e.g., Ho and Jackson 2001; Lin et al. 2005). On the other hand, in popular media, Asians and Asian Americans (the difference is often not made clear) are mostly depicted as technologically savvy nerds or workaholics who speak poor English; are quiet, shy, passive, and non-confrontational; and lack social skills and cultural knowledge (Lee and Joo 2005; Park et al. 2006; Taylor et al. 2005).

The stereotype content model (SCM) explains that this type of polarization is common and that out-groups often fall into two clusters: envied groups respected as competent but disliked as lacking warmth and paternalized groups liked as warm but disrespected as incompetent (Lin et al. 2005; Rosenberg et al. 1968). With scores high in competence but low in sociability, Asians and Asian Americans appear positioned in the cluster that is respected but somewhat disliked. Scholars also caution that, although competence appears to be a positive trait, its endorsement can be associated with negative attitudes based on the perceived threat emanating from these groups in terms of educational and economic opportunities (Ho and Jackson 2001; Maddux et al. 2008). In other words, admiration of the model minority may mix with resentment and envy (Lin et al. 2005). This mix of emotions also has repercussions for intercultural friendship development. Zhang (2010) found that, among different racial and ethnic groups in the United States, Asians were least likely to be approached for friendship.

Issues related to desirability and attractiveness are especially pronounced for Asian males, who are perceived as lacking masculinity. Lu and Wong (2013) argue that this stereotype causes marginality, inferior body consciousness, and persistent fears about physical adequacy. Studying the issue in the context of international education, Wong et al. (Wong et al. 2014) found that the stereotype impacts male Asian international students' mental health. Especially students for whom men's masculinity is central to their identity have reported greater perceived discrimination and psychological distress. Illustrating the distress, a male East Asian respondent in a study by Gareis (2012a, p. 319) commented: "I think Americans don't need to make Asian male friends."

Only few studies focus specifically on stereotypes toward Asian international students. In one such study, Ruble and Zhang (2013) investigated the stereotypes that Americans held of Chinese international students. Five stereotype clusters emerged: Chinese are (1) smart and hardworking; (2) kind, friendly, nice, and polite; (3) bad at speaking English, only friends with Chinese, not well assimilated, and socially awkward; (4) quiet, shy, loners, and not very social; and (5) oblivious, loud, intrusive on personal space, conceited, annoying, and strange and do not care to adapt. The findings include the stereotypes determined by previous research on Asians and Asian Americans (competency, lack of communication, and social skills). However, they also introduce the stereotype that Chinese are loud and annoying, which is disconcerting and likely a function of the growing density and concomitant more noticeable conational networks of Chinese students on U.S. campuses.

Another study (Bonazzo and Wong 2007) explored discrimination and stereotypes experienced by female Japanese students in the United States. The students reported having encountered few Japanese-specific stereotypes. Instead, stereotyping seemed to focus on Asians and Asian Americans as overachievers. The Japanese students noticed that Americans either racialized their ethnicity as Asian or tended to perceive the Chinese ethnicity as representative of Asians. Likewise, Lee and Carrasquillo (2006) found that American professors perceived Korean students as nonparticipatory, low in English proficiency, unable to express critical thinking openly, and lacking eye contact during conversations; that is, Koreans were seen in the same vein as other East Asians.

Promoting Stereotype Reduction and Intercultural Friendship

Stereotypes can lead to status hierarchies in the minds of international and domestic students that all but preclude friendships (Bonilla-Silva 2004; Gareis 2012a; Grant and Lee 2009; Ritter 2013; Zhang 2010). How then can stereotyping be reduced to create fertile ground for friendship development?

Ward et al. (2009) view stereotypes as antecedents of perceived intergroup threat and contend that contact (quality and quantity) "leads to a reduction in intercultural anxiety, which, in turn, results in lower levels of perceived threat and finally more positive attitudes toward international students" (p. 92). In other words, contact

influences stereotypes indirectly by reducing intergroup anxiety and lowering the perception of threat. In addition, a multicultural ideology (including positive attitudes toward cultural diversity and inclusiveness) exerts a direct positive influence on international students' attitudes.

Recommendations on how contact can be promoted in the context of international education include mixed dorms, club events, international student programming, and sponsored off-campus experiences (e.g., Ritter 2013; Rose-Redwood 2010; Toyokawa and Toyokawa 2002).

One promising type of in-class contact promotion is projects with international/domestic student dyads working collaboratively on various tasks in the course of a given semester. If the activities are focused on the students' ethnographic exploration of each other's' culture, cultural knowledge is likely to increase. And if the contact is qualitatively rich and repeated, attitudes should improve (Ward et al. 2009). Accordingly, the following hypotheses were formulated:

H1: Students will have greater knowledge about their partner's culture following an ethnographic pair project in a college class.
H2: Students will have a better attitude toward their partner's culture following an ethnographic pair project in a college class.

The Bogardus social distance scale (1933) provides a measure of the degree of intimacy that respondents would grant to members of particular racial or ethnic groups. Scores range from one to seven along a continuum of marriage, close friend, neighbor, co-worker, speaking acquaintance, and visitor to your country (e.g., "Would you marry a person from that culture?", "Would you be close friends?", etc.). A low score indicates low social distance (i.e., a high degree of intimacy).

Since its inception, multiple studies have applied the scale to measure interracial and interethnic distance in the United States. Recently, Parrillo and Donoghue (2005) found that, in some ways, little has changed in the pattern of responses. Continuing a 70-year pattern, U.S. Whites remained top ranked, with Canadians and various European groups following closely behind. Racial minorities, including Asians, ranked near the bottom. Thus, out of 30 groups, Chinese ranked 17th, Japanese 22nd, and Koreans 24th. Muslims and Arabs ranked 29th and 30th. On the positive side, the overall mean score was lower than in previous studies, indicating a growing acceptance of other cultural groups. Likewise, the Pew Research Center (2010) found that nine out of ten Millennials (the demographic cohort aged 18–28) approve of a family member marrying someone of a different racial or ethnic group. Approval is significantly lower in older age groups. Based on the relationship between contact and increased empathy toward out-groups, the following hypothesis was formulated:

H3: Students will be more willing to marry a member of their partner's culture following an ethnographic pair project in a college class.

Research comparing the experiences of Asian and American students and research on differences between Chinese, Japanese, and Korean students in the context of paired classroom activities is still outstanding. As a result, the following research questions were formulated:

R1: How do Asian students compare to American students with respect to knowledge, attitude, and willingness to marry a member of the partner's culture prior and following a pair project in a college class?
R2: How do Chinese students compare to Japanese and Korean students and how do the partners of Chinese students compare to the partners of Japanese and Korean students with respect to knowledge, attitude, and willingness to marry a member of the partner's culture prior and following a pair project in a college class?
R3: How do stereotypes that Asian students hold toward American students and vice versa change following a pair project in a college class?

Page-Gould et al. (2008) studied how intergroup anxiety can be reduced by inducing intergroup friendships. To do so, they used Aaron et al.'s (1997) Fast Friends procedure which generates interpersonal closeness by presenting lists of questions to paired partners that progressively encourage self-disclosure. Research is outstanding on whether friendship can be promoted through pair activities in college classes that don't make use of procedures, such as Aaron et al.'s. The following research questions were formulated:

R4: How much contact do students expect to have with other members of their partner's culture following a pair project in a college class?
R5: How much interest do students exhibit in contact with their partner beyond the semester of enrollment?

Method

The participants were students enrolled in an intercultural communication course at an urban commuter college in the Northeast. Of the college's 17,000 students, 1300 students (7.6%) are international students. With domestic and international students speaking more than 110 languages and tracing their heritage to more than 170 countries, the college has one of the most ethnically diverse student bodies in the United States. Due to generally limited funds, however, activities promoting interaction between domestic and international students depend largely on initiatives by students and faculty. A small number of student clubs, for example, are devoted to fostering domestic and international student interaction.

This study was conducted with students in an intercultural communication class during five semesters (from Fall 2012 to Fall 2014). The five classes were taught in a jumbo/hybrid format: 110–114 students were enrolled in each class, and class time was divided into 57% face-to-face and 43% online sessions, the latter of which took place in small asynchronous discussion groups on a discussion board.

One of the assignments in the course was for students to complete a semester-long ethnographic research project focusing on a culture other than their own. For the purpose of the project, each student filled out a demographic survey at the beginning of the semester, listing one to three cultures with which they identified and for which they would be willing to serve as expert. This demographic information was then used to match students with students from dissimilar cultural backgrounds

(e.g., East Asian and European American). Each student was informed of his/her future partner's cultures (e.g., Korean, Buddhist) and, before meeting the partner or learning his/her name, filled out a survey indicating their level of knowledge about and attitude toward the partner's cultures, their willingness to marry someone from each culture, and adjectives describing each culture. Following survey completion, the partner pairs met briefly during class to exchange contact information and arrange for an informal, out-of-class meeting at their convenience. The assignment for the meeting was to get to know each other and to decide which of the partner's cultures they wanted to investigate during the semester. In the course of the semester, the partners then observed each other's cultures (e.g., an East Asian student paired with a Jewish American may have visited a religious event with the Jewish partner), interviewed each other, wrote a literature review comparing and contrasting an aspect of their cultures, and produced a narrated slideshow or video about this aspect together. The individual assignments were spaced 2–3 weeks apart. At the end of the semester, the students filled out a survey that largely mirrored the pre-survey but had two additional questions eliciting information on their interest in maintaining contact with each other or contact with members of their partner's cultures. Students were also able to reflect on the project overall in a general comment section. All aspects of the ethnographic project served pedagogical purposes (i.e., the students reflected on their progress throughout the semester and were graded on deliverables, such as the observation and interview report).

Participants

Of the 560 undergraduate students enrolled in 5 semesters of the intercultural communication class, 71 students were from East Asia. For the purpose of this study, the ethnographic project data from 142 students (the 71 East Asians and their 71 other cultural partners) were evaluated.

Participants consisted of 48 (34%) males and 94 (66%) females. The most common age range was 21–25 years (n = 91; 64%), followed by 20 years or younger (n = 32; 23%), 26–30 years (n = 15; 11%), and 31 years or older (n = 4; 3%).

The East Asian group consisted of 57 (80%) Chinese, 12 (17%) Koreans, and 2 (3%) Japanese. Reflecting the diversity at the institution of enrollment, the American partners of the East Asian students were of differing cultural heritage, including 27 (38%) students with Latino background, 20 (28%) students of Western European and 11 (16%) students of Eastern European ancestry, 7 (10%) students of South Asian heritage, 4 (6%) African-Americans, and 2 (3%) students of Middle Eastern descent. (*Note:* Percentages don't add to 100 due to rounding.)

While the American students all focused their project on the Asian students' ethnic cultural heritage (i.e., Chinese, Korean, and Japanese culture), the Asian students focused either on the American students' cultural heritage (e.g., Italian-American, Dominican) (n = 50; 70%), on a job or hobby (e.g., waitress, bodybuilding) (n = 12; 17%), or on their partner's religion (i.e., Christian, Jewish, Muslim) (n = 9; 13%). Which of their partners' cultures they studied was the students' choice.

Research Design

Following Astin's (1991) input-environment-output (I-E-O) model, the ethnographic project consisted of questions that established the students' background characteristics, levels of knowledge, and attitudes (input), then exposed students to contact and potential learning experiences (environment), and finally measured what students had gained (output). For the purpose of this study, input and output were assessed through pre- and post-surveys that elicited a combination of quantitative and qualitative data.

The quantitative items of the pre-survey consisted of the following five Likert scale questions:

- How would you rate your knowledge about the culture? (5 = very good, 4 = good, 3 = neutral, 2 = bad, 1 = very bad)
- How would you rate your attitude toward this culture? (5 = very good, 4 = good, 3 = neutral, 2 = bad, 1 = very bad)
- Would you marry someone from this culture? (5 = yes, 4 = probably yes, 3 = neutral, 2 = probably no, 1 = no)

The post-survey repeated these questions and added the following:

- How much contact do you expect to have with people from this culture in the future? (5 = frequent, close contact, 4 = more than average, 3 = average, 2 = less than average, 1 = no contact)
- How interested are you in staying in touch with your partner after this semester is over? (5 = very interested, 4 = somewhat interested, 3 = neutral, 2 = somewhat uninterested, 1 = very uninterested)

Pre- and post-survey also included an open-ended opportunity to comment and the following qualitative free-response question:

- What three adjectives come to mind first when you think about the culture?

Results

Contact Effect on Knowledge, Attitude, and Willingness to Marry

All Students Hypotheses 1–3 posited that students will have greater knowledge, better attitudes, and be more willing to marry someone from their partner's culture following the ethnographic project. The pre- and post-survey results show higher ratings on all three items: With the Likert scale ranging from 1 (very bad) to 5 (very good), average knowledge ratings increased from a pretreatment average of *neutral* to *bad* (M = 2.42; SD = 1.03) to a posttreatment average of *good* (M = 3.97;

SD = 0.58). Likewise, average attitude ratings increased from between *neutral* and *good* (*M* = 3.76; *SD* = 0.82) to between *good* and *very good* (*M* = 4.39; *SD* = 0.69). With the Likert scale ranging from 1 (no) to 5 (yes) on willingness to marry, average ratings increased from between *neutral* and *probably no* before the project (*M* = 2.76; *SD* = 1.27) to between *neutral* and *probably yes* after the project (*M* = 3.12; *SD* = 1.37). To test for significance, paired sample *t*-tests were performed. All three hypotheses were confirmed (see Table 5.1).

East Asian Versus American Students Research question 1 asked how East Asian students compare to American students with respect to knowledge, attitude, and willingness to marry a member of the partner's culture. Welch two-sample *t*-tests showed that there was no difference between Asian and American students with respect to pre-knowledge, pre-attitude, and pre-willingness to marry (see Table 5.2). Likewise, no difference was found between Asian and American students with respect to post-knowledge, post-attitude, and post-willingness to marry (see Table 5.3). It can therefore be inferred that there is no significant difference in contact effect between the two groups.

Chinese Versus Japanese and Korean Students Reflecting national trends in international student enrollment, sample sizes for Chinese (*n* = 57), Japanese (*n* = 2), and Korean students (*n* = 12) differed markedly. Because of the very small sample size for Japanese students, inferences could not be run on this group sepa-

Table 5.1 Contact effect on knowledge, attitude, and willingness to marry

Variable	*t*-value	df	*p*-value
Knowledge of partner's culture	16.9376	141	<.0001
Attitude toward partner's culture	8.51	136	<.0001
Willingness to marry a member of partner's culture	3.6365	134	<.0001

Table 5.2 Asian and American students' pre-knowledge, pre-attitude, and pre-willingness to marry

Variable	*t*-value	df	*p*-value
Pre-knowledge of partner's culture	−0.2445	139.96	0.8072
Pre-attitude toward partner's culture	−1.0029	134.657	0.3177
Pre-willingness to marry a member of partner's culture	0.7518	134.417	0.4535

Table 5.3 Asian and American students' post-knowledge, post-attitude, and post-willingness to marry

Variable	*t*-value	df	*p*-value
Post-knowledge of partner's culture	−0.8632	139.83	0.3895
Post-attitude toward partner's culture	−1.4425	135.197	0.1515
Post-willingness to marry a member of partner's culture	−0.3074	136.664	0.759

rately. As a result, Japanese and Korean students were grouped together and compared to Chinese students.

Mann-Whitney tests were performed to determine differences between the groups with respect to knowledge, attitude, and willingness to marry before and after the project. We chose Mann-Whitney tests due to the small size of the Japanese/Korean sample. Mann-Whitney tests can determine whether a population tends to have larger values than another population, while being nonparametric (i.e., without being dependent on knowing the exact distribution of the underlying populations). The distribution of responses of Chinese students and Japanese/Korean students showed no significant difference with respect to pre-knowledge (W = 451.5, p-value = 0.4325), pre-attitude (W = 374, p-value = 0.6996), and pre-willingness to marry (W = 444, p-value = 0.3565). Likewise, no difference was found between Chinese and Japanese/Korean students with respect to post-knowledge (W = 427.5, p-value = 0.6325) and post-attitude (W = 411, p-value = 0.8562).

The only test showing close to a significant difference was for post-willingness to marry (W = 482.5, p-value = 0.1695). When we tested the one-sided alternative hypothesis that Chinese students have a greater post-intervention willingness to marry someone from their partner's culture than Japanese and Koreans, the difference was significant at $\alpha = 0.10$ (W = 482.5, p-value = 0.08475).

Partners of Chinese Versus Partners of Japanese and Korean Students Mann-Whitney tests were also performed on the responses of the American partners of Chinese versus partners of Japanese/Korean students. The distribution of responses showed no significant difference with respect to pre-knowledge (W = 370.5, p-value = 0.6657) and pre-attitude (W = 382, p-value = 0.8824). Likewise, no difference was found between the partners of Chinese versus the partners of Japanese/Korean students with respect to post-knowledge (W = 387.5, p-value = 0.8233) and post-willingness to marry (W = 367.5, p-value = 0.7146).

There was some evidence that the partners of Chinese students had lower post-project responses on attitude than the partners of Japanese/Korean students (W = 285, p-value = 0.06765). Likewise, there was evidence for difference in pre-willingness to marry, with partners of Chinese students having lower pre-willingness scores than partners of Japanese/Korean students (W = 238.5, p-value = 0.01269). In combination with the Chinese students' greater post-project willingness to marry, we can say that Chinese students and their partners when compared as a group had a larger overall positive shift toward willingness to marry than Japanese/Korean students and their partners.

Contact Effect on Stereotypes

In free-response mode, respondents were also asked what three adjectives came to mind first when they thought about their partner's culture. This was done before they met and after the conclusion of the project. Responses were analyzed using the

constant comparative method (Glaser and Strauss 1967), where data are compared and answers grouped into categories to formulate theories.

To provide some examples of pre- and post-adjectives, one dyad consisted of a male Chinese and a female domestic student of Guyanese heritage. Before meeting her partner, the domestic student described the Chinese as "different, antisocial, disciplined." After the project, she described them as "interesting, friendly, kind-hearted." Another domestic student changed her adjectives for Chinese culture from "smart and hardworking" to "family-oriented and traditional." Overall, the following themes emerged concerning pre- and post-intervention adjectives of Asian and American students (see Table 5.4).

In further analysis, adjectives were grouped according to favorableness (see Table 5.5). Adjectives counted as favorable and mentioned multiple times included *friendly*, *smart*, and *hardworking*. Adjectives counted as favorable but mentioned only once included *advanced*, *cultured*, and *healthy* (describing Asians) and *creative*, *flexible*, and *free* (describing Americans). Adjectives deemed neutral and mentioned multiple times were *traditional*, *family-oriented*, *Spanish-speaking*, *and different*. Single neutral adjectives included *international* and *fast-growing* (describing Asians) and *mixed* and *tall* (describing Americans). As to unfavorable adjectives, in addition to the frequently mentioned ones (e.g., *asocial* and *aggressive*; we also included the theme *quiet* and *reserved* in the unfavorable category), adjectives mentioned only once included *unwilling to adapt*, *not trustworthy*, and *sad* (describing Asians) and *cold-hearted*, *strange*, and *stubborn* (describing Americans). When the adjectives were grouped according to favorableness, the following picture emerged: First, the majority of responses of both American and Asian students were favorable before as well as after the project. Within this parameter, however, the responses of American and Asian students were different, in that before the project, American students exhibited greater favorableness (74% vs. 60%), less neutrality (13% vs. 31%), and greater unfavorableness (13% vs. 9%) than Asian students, while after the project, American and Asian students had similar degrees of favorableness (68% vs. 66%), neutrality (26% vs. 26%), and unfavorableness (6% vs. 8%). In other words, American students were more polarized before the project and moved toward neutral after the project, while Asian students' responses were lost on neutrality and gained on favorableness after the project. Likewise, more American than Asian students had provided adjectives before the project (166 vs. 139), while after the project, the response rates were similar (191 vs. 194).

The direction of change concerning favorableness is generally positive in that favorableness of Asian students' adjectives increases and unfavorableness of both American and Asian students' adjectives decreases. Interestingly, however, the favorableness of American students' adjectives declines from 74% before to 68% after the project. A closer look at the adjective distribution (see Table 5.3) shows that the decrease is largely due to a drop in the number of competence adjectives (smart, hardworking, disciplined).

Table 5.4 American and Asian students' adjectives for each other's cultures before and after project

American students' adjectives for Asian cultures	# of times mentioned				Asian students' adjectives for domestic cultures	# of times mentioned	
	Before		After				
	All	C/J/K[a]	All	C/J/K[a]		Before	After
Friendly	18	14/0/4	20	13/0/7	Friendly	17	24
Smart	18	16/1/1	9	7/1/1	Lively, energetic	12	12
Hardworking, disciplined	15	13/0/2	13	10/2/1	Spanish-speaking	7	2
Respectful	15	9/1/5	13	9/0/4	Beautiful	5	5
Quiet, reserved	8	7/0/1	5	3/0/2	Religious	5	9
Interesting	7	4/0/3	13	11/0/2	Interesting	4	8
Different	6	6/0/0	5	5/0/0	Smart	4	1
Traditional	6	4/0/2	21	17/1/3	Traditional	4	9
Kind, warm	5	5/0/0	8	8/0/0	Aggressive	3	–
Peaceful, serene	5	3/2/0	5	3/2/0	Fun	3	4
Asocial, cold	4	3/0/1	1	0/0/1	Hardworking, disciplined	3	5
Beautiful	4	3/0/1	4	3/0/1	Rich	3	1
Family-oriented	3	2/0/1	10	9/0/1	Romantic	3	1
Reliable	3	3/0/0	–	–	Easy-going, carefree	2	12
Powerful	2	2/0/0	–	–	Cool	2	2
Fun	–	–	9	5/0/4	Delicious [food]	2	4
Creative	–	–	2	1/0/1	Party-going	2	4
Lively, energetic	–	–	2	2/0/0	Open	2	3
Spiritual	–	–	2	2/0/0	Family-oriented	1	12
Strict	–	–	2	2/0/0	Kind, warm	1	7
					Different	–	6
					Quiet, reserved	1	3
					Respectful	–	3
					Clique-like	–	2
					Funny	–	2
					Loud	–	2
					Positive	–	2
					Proud	–	2
					Serious	–	2
Other (adjectives mentioned only once)	47	40/1/6	47	43/0/4	Other (adjectives mentioned only once)	54	45
Total	166	134/5/27	191	153/6/32		139	194

Note: While some adjectives (e.g., *friendly*) were mentioned several times verbatim, others appeared as synonyms or near-synonyms (e.g., *smart*, *intelligent*, *brilliant*, etc.). For the latter, one to two representative adjectives are provided to demarcate each theme

[a]*C* indicates Chinese, *J* indicates Japanese, *K* indicates Korean

Table 5.5 Favorableness of American and Asian students' adjectives for each other's cultures before and after project

	American students' adjectives for Asian cultures			Asian students' adjectives for domestic cultures		
	Favorable	Neutral	Unfavorable	Favorable	Neutral	Unfavorable
Before	123/166 (74%)	22/166 (13%)	21/166 (13%)	83/139 (60%)	43/139 (31%)	13/139 (9%)
After	130/191 (68%)	50/191 (26%)	11/191 (6%)	127/194 (66%)	49/194 (26%)	15/194 (8%)

Post-intervention Expectation of and Interest in Contact

Research question 4 asked students how much contact they expected with members of their partner's culture beyond the end of the semester. The Likert scale choices ranged from *frequent*, *close contact* (= 5) to *more than average* (= 4), *average* (= 3), *less than average* (= 2), and *no contact* (= 1). The students overall expected contact was between average and more than average (M = 3.40; SD = 0.95), with Asian students' contact expectations being slightly lower (M = 3.32; SD = 1.09) than the American students' expectations (M = 3.48; SD = 0.83). Welch two-sample t-tests showed that the difference between Asian and American students was not significant ($t = -0.9401$, $df = 126.943$, p-value = 0.349). Likewise, there was no significant difference between the contact expectations of Chinese and Korean/Japanese students ($W = 377$, p-value = 0.9937) and between the partners of Chinese students and the partners of Japanese/Korean students ($W = 371$, p-value = 0.562).

Research question 5 asked how interested students were to remain in contact with their partner beyond the end of the semester. The Likert scale choices ranged from *very interested* (= 5) to *somewhat interested* (= 4), *neutral* (= 3), *somewhat uninterested* (= 2), and *very uninterested* (= 1). The students as a whole were somewhat interested (M = 3.94; SD = 0.77), with Asian students' interest being somewhat higher (M = 4.07; SD = 0.82) than the American students' interest (M = 3.80; SD = 0.68). Welch two-sample t-tests showed that the difference between Asian and American students was not significant, although it was close to significant ($t = 1.8511$, $df = 136.868$, p-value = 0.0663). The difference in Chinese versus Japanese/Korean interest in continued contact with the partner was not significant (W = 431.5, p-value = 0.544); and neither was the difference in interest of the partners of Chinese students and the partners of Japanese/Korean students ($W = 359$, p-value = 0.6121).

Discussion

Knowledge, Attitude, and Willingness to Marry

As hypothesized, the students' cross-cultural knowledge, attitude, and willingness to marry someone from the partner's culture improved significantly. This was true for Asian and American students alike.

Knowledge With respect to knowledge, results confirmed Pettigrew and Tropp's (2008) finding that intergroup contact enhances knowledge about out-groups. Knowledge (in conjunction with anxiety reduction and empathy) acts as a mediator for prejudice reduction.

Attitude With respect to attitude, results confirm that a college project can improve intercultural attitudes. The richly diverse environment of the institution's location in New York City likely facilitated the positive result. The students' ethnographic observations could, in most cases, take place in the partners' "natural habitat." This is true for domestic as well as Asian students, who often found a near-substitute for the home cultures in places, such as China- or Koreatown. Being able to visit cultural sites under the guidance of a partner who is familiar with the environment likely helped reduce anxiety, lower levels of perceived threat and, in turn, improve attitudes.

Although the attitudes of the domestic students toward their East Asian partners' cultures improved overall, the Chinese students' partners' attitudes did not improve as much as those of the Japanese and Korean students' partners. An explanation may be found in the special status of Chinese students. Between 2001 and 2011, the institution, in which the study took place, experienced a 12.1% increase in students with Asian background (Pérez-Peña 2012). With most of these students being of Chinese heritage, the density of Chinese students on campus increased dramatically. As Maddux et al. (2008) assert, the stereotype of Asians as a model minority can create a sense of threat and concomitant negative attitudes in domestic students, the domestic students in the study may have perceived especially Chinese students as a threat. Another explanation for the lower post-project attitude scores may lie in the negative media coverage surrounding China during the semesters in which the study was conducted. Frequent reports of human rights issues, pollution, and censorship may have affected the Chinese students' partners' attitudes.

Willingness to Marry As hypothesized, results also showed a significant increase in students' willingness to marry someone from their partners' culture. Although willingness to marry is only one of seven items in Bogardus social distance scale (1933), it ranks at the top (i.e., is the ultimate indicator of social distance). The finding therefore shows a reduction in social distance. Surprisingly, no difference was found between the Asian and American students' willingness to marry. With 71% of the American student participants being female, this finding raises questions about the validity of the image (e.g., Deo et al. 2008; Lee and Joo 2005) of Asian males as unattractive and undesirable.

Also of interest is the finding that Chinese and Japanese/Korean students and their partners differed significantly on two items related to willingness to marry. One difference was that the partners of Chinese students had lower pre-project scores in willingness to marry than partners of Japanese/Korean students. Negative attitudes and greater perceived threat due to the increasing density of Chinese on campus may be partially to blame. In addition, China is arguably further removed from the United States than Japan and Korea (e.g., it differs more in terms of government structure, development status, and level of openness to the West). This

makes China appear more foreign than Japan or Korea and suggests value incompatibility. The second significant difference was that the post-project willingness scores of Chinese students were higher than those of Japanese/Korean students. In combination, the differences in willingness to marry indicate a larger overall positive shift toward willingness to marry among the Chinese students and their partners than among their Japanese/Korean counterparts. This difference may indicate contact effect may be magnified by cultural difference.

Stereotypes

Before and after the project, students were asked to provide adjectives describing their partners' culture. Their responses allow for a number of insights.

The Asian students' list of adjective themes had a greater spread than the American students' list. An explanation may be that the Asian students' domestic partners had a relatively large variety of ethnic backgrounds. Very few of the American students are identified as plain "Americans." Most provided their heritage cultures—some with and others without hyphenation (e.g., a first-generation student indicated *Albanian*, other first- or later-generation students described themselves as *Italian-American*, *Dominican*, *or Russian Jew*).

In addition, Asian students supplied fewer adjectives (139) than American students (166) prior to the project since they may not have heard of some of the American students' ethnic and other identifications before the class. Likewise, both Asian and American students listed fewer adjectives before (139/166) than after (194/191) the project since they may not have been familiar enough with the cultures to furnish descriptions.

In examining the adjectives provided by American students, it is noticeable that the five most common themes (*friendly*, *smart*, *hardworking/disciplined*, *respectful*, and *quiet/reserved*) include stereotypical descriptions of Asians. The image of Asians as competent but lacking in warmth and sociability (e.g., Lin et al. 2005) was only partially supported. Although Asians were described as quiet and reserved (8 times)—even as asocial and cold (4 times)—contradictory, positive adjectives related to interpersonal skillfulness, such as *friendly* (18 times), *respectful* (15 times), and *kind/warm* (4 times), were mentioned more often. Also absent (at least among the adjectives mentioned more than once) were the negative stereotypes of Chinese international students as loud, intrusive, and annoying that Ruble and Zhang (2013) found in their study at a Midwestern university. An explanation for the predominantly positive adjectives in this study may be that the very diverse location of the study acted as a mediator. The institution, in which the study took place, enrolls students with family heritage linked to over 205 countries (City University of New York 2015). Parrillo and Donoghue (2005) found that spread in social distance has been steadily shrinking since Bogardus' first study at the beginning of the twentieth century. This is likely due to a growing level of acceptance of difference, especially in very diverse environments.

The numbers of adjectives in this study may be too small to infer differences between Chinese, Japanese, and Korean stereotypes. However, if one groups Japanese and Korean students together (they make up roughly 20% of the Asian study participants), a comparison of Chinese versus Japanese/Korean data can be undertaken. Focusing on the five top pre-project adjectives, the themes *smart*, *hardworking/disciplined*, and *quiet/reserved* are thus overrepresented among the Chinese, whereas occurrences of the themes *friendly* (14/4) and *respectful* are overrepresented among the Japanese/Koreans. An explanation concerning the stereotypical mention of competence and lacking sociability especially for the Chinese may be that the Chinese are frequently perceived as representative of all Asians and that Asian stereotypes are therefore attached more to Chinese than the other groups (Bonazzo and Wong 2007).

The study confirms findings of other research (e.g., Ward et al. 2009) that contact experiences can reduce stereotypes. After the project, the five most common themes (*friendly*, *hardworking/disciplined*, *interesting*, *respectful*, *traditional*) were devoid of two persistent stereotypes: *smart* and *quiet/reserved*. Although *smart* was still a theme after the project, it had only half the occurrence. That the loss was accounted for by the Chinese alone can be seen as confirmation that the Chinese are the main carriers of the model minority stereotype and also that the contact experience succeeded in reducing the perceived threat emanating from this model minority. With respect to sociability, post-project adjectives showed a further focus on some of the positive adjectives related to sociability (*friendly, kind/warm*) and the addition of new, similarly positive adjectives, such as *fun* and *lively/energetic* to describe Asians.

Due to the diversity among the domestic students, the Asian students' adjectives for American culture should be viewed with caution. Two observations may be worth mentioning. The Asian students overwhelmingly chose adjectives that paint their partner's cultures as *friendly* (17 times before and 24 times after the project), *lively/energetic* (12 before and 12 after), and *easy-going/carefree* (2 before and 12 after). It is interesting to note that, whereas the perceptions of Asian versus American students still contrast somewhat after the project (e.g., fewer Asians describe Americans as *smart* and *hardworking/disciplined* than vice versa), the two groups approach each other after the project in the perception of friendliness, sociability, energy, and fun. The result gives the impression of a group of students who are open and welcoming. It is also interesting, however, that both Asians and Americans describe each other's cultures as significantly more traditional and family-oriented after the project. This change may be due to the nature of the ethnographic investigation. Some students focused on cultural traditions (including religious practices) during parts of the assignment; and some students also introduced their families to each other in the course of the semester. This may have put more weight on tradition and family than under other circumstances.

A final interesting finding is the convergence of the two groups with respect to favorableness, neutrality, and unfavorableness of adjectives after the project. While the American evaluations differed in that domestic students had both more favorable adjectives for Asian cultures (74% vs. 60%) and more unfavorable adjectives (13% vs. 9%) than vice versa before the project, following the project, the evaluations were nearly identical (favorable, 68% vs. 66%; neutral, 26% vs. 26%; unfavorable, 6% vs.

8%). The tendency for American students' evaluations toward neutrality can thereby be seen as a movement away from positive stereotypes related to competence (e.g., smart, hardworking, disciplined) as well as away from negative stereotypes related to sociability (e.g., quiet, reserved, asocial, cold) to a more differentiated and, considering the threat that may emanate from competence, more benevolent view of Asian cultures. Concerning the changes within the Asian students' distribution of adjectives, studies have found patterns of Asian students constructing racial hierarchies that place Caucasians ahead of Latinos and African-Americans, which affected with whom the Asian students roomed and whom they befriended and dated (Hurtado et al. 2003; Ritter 2013). Given the relatively large number of Latinos among the American participants in this study (38%), the movement of the Asian students toward less neutrality and more positive adjectives may therefore also represent a dismantling of stereotypes (in this case of negative stereotypes held toward Latinos).

Contact Expectation and Interest

The final research questions concerned future contact with the partner's culture. The students' expectations of contact with members of the partners' cultures after the project were 0.40 points above average, and their interest in maintaining contact with the partner was 0.94 points above neutral (both on a scale from 1 to 5). Comments that some students added on the final survey of the study also indicated that they considered their partner a friend.

The mean interest score ($M = 3.94$) indicates that the students on average were *somewhat interested* in continued contact with their partner after the semester. Although this result is on the positive side of the scale, it is not known how it compares to the effect of regular classroom contact without the benefit of paired projects. Likewise, it is not clear whether interest in contact would be higher in intercultural pairings that did not involve Asian or international students. Finally, although the students expressed interest, no follow-up study was conducted to check whether the expected continued contact actually materialized.

Social penetration theory posits that close friendship occurs when the orientation and exploratory stages of relationship development have been crossed and the interactants have reached the affective and stable exchange stages (Gudykunst et al. 1987). It is during the orientation and exploratory stages that cultural differences have the biggest impact. The students' expression of interest in continued contact seems to indicate that the opportunities provided by the project to cross-cultural boundaries (in particular, to process cultural differences, lower intergroup anxiety, increase empathy, and reduce stereotypes) did open the door for potential friendship and helped some students enter at least the beginning stages.

Limitations

The study has several limitations. For one, the pair project was part of a class on intercultural communication. Although the curriculum itself was largely culture general (i.e., did not explore specific cultures in depth), the learning outcomes of the class may have transferred and affected some variables under study. Further research on class activities should include control groups to gauge the effect of course content. In addition, the project itself focused on culture. Future research should study the effect of pair assignments in classes with a different subject matter.

Due to the nature of the ethnographic project, the ethnic and religious backgrounds of some domestic partners became more salient than they likely would have been under other circumstances. Also, since students were matched for maximum cultural difference, Asian Americans were eliminated as potential partners for the Asian international students. This left the rest of the pool skewed toward non-Asian groups. As a result, the domestic partners' cultures were not evenly distributed (e.g., 38% of the Asian students' partners were Latino). The results (especially the adjectives listed by Asian students) may reflect this skewed distribution.

No comparison was made between Asian/American and non-Asian/American pairs. Future research should include such comparisons to measure the extent of the contact effect and impact of stereotypes on different pair constellations.

Finally, no follow-up data on continued contact were collected. Although the students' expressed expectation of and interest in contact provides some indication of the potential for friendship, it is not certain that friendships in fact developed or—in the case of some partner pairs who commented that they had already become friends—were maintained. Further research should extend beyond the semester at hand to provide longitudinal data on contact and friendship duration, as well as on the permanence of the other effects (knowledge, attitudes, social distance, stereotypes).

Conclusion

Meaningful interaction and friendship between domestic and international students have countless benefits. Yet, interactions don't occur often enough, leading to balkanization of domestic and international students and to missed opportunities for hosts and sojourners alike.

Results show that semester-long pair assignments can have positive effects on intergroup knowledge, attitudes, social distance, and stereotypes and can enhance the potential for friendship development. Significantly more research is needed, however, to test pair assignments in a variety of contexts and to determine which other measures work to foster intercultural friendship. This knowledge is needed for institutions to create programs and policies that maximize domestic and international student interaction.

In support of this notion, the European Association for International Education (2012) has created a charter that calls on governments and education institutions to endorse, support, and promote 11 principles, including intercultural competence of faculty and staff, intercultural competence of students, and the integration of international students. Without these principles, student exchange and internationalization cannot fulfill their promise.

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Chapter 6
Double Consciousness: How Pakistani Graduate Students Navigate Their Contested Identities in American Universities

Maheen Haider

Abstract This chapter uses the case of Pakistani graduate students to understand how international students in the U.S. comprehend and deal with discrimination in the host society, which can illuminate larger processes of othering, identity development, and contestation. Using qualitative interviews of 28 Pakistani graduate students (13 female and 15 male) studying in the U.S., I conceptualize the analytical strategies adopted by international students to deal with discrimination in the host culture. I use the DuBoisian notion of double consciousness to theorize how Pakistani graduate students see their religious and national identity from the host culture's perspective. The students not only see their Muslim and Pakistani identity through their own eyes but also see these identities challenged within the context of the War on Terror, hence embodying a sense of double consciousness in the host society, and struggle constantly as they challenge and negotiate the negative constructs surrounding them. Pakistani graduate students navigate within the constructs of terrorism when their religiosity and nationality are revealed to the dominant group. They negotiate these identities by having a deeper understanding of worldviews on the War on Terror, enabling them to overcome and deal with the conflicting circumstances challenging their nationality and religiosity in the host culture.

The U.S. is the top destination for tertiary-level education for international students from around the world (UNESCO 2014). However, after 9/11, from 2002 to 2006, for the first time in three decades, the U.S. saw a consistent decline in the number of international students coming from Asia, the Middle East, and Africa (Bollag 2004; IIE 2004). Stringent immigration policies, cumbersome visa processes, national security issues (Campbell 2005; Urias and Yeakey 2005), heightened hostility, and prejudice toward international students all contributed to the plummeting

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numbers in the U.S. (Council of Graduate Schools 2004; Lee and Rice 2007; MacWilliams 2004). In particular, Muslims from South Asia and the Middle East residing in the U.S. gained visibility in the host society after the terror attacks. Several hundred Muslim international students left the U.S. without finishing their degrees due to threats to their safety from the dominant group (McMrtrie 2001; Swiney 2006). Despite their negative experiences, few studies empirically explore the discriminatory experiences of international students during the "War on Terror" (McDermott-Levy 2011; Tummala-Narra and Claudius 2013).

This chapter uses the case of Pakistani graduate students to understand how international students in the U.S. comprehend and deal with discrimination in the host society. The significance of studying the Pakistani student experience is threefold. First, though Pakistan is geographically part of Asia, specifically South Asia, since the War on Terror commenced, the role of Pakistan has been significant in sheltering Iraqi Taliban and religious extremists (Al-Qaeda members, often Arab) in the country, while simultaneously being a strong ally of the U.S. against the War on Terror. Such factors have enabled the international media to politically portray the country as part of the Middle East. Thus, Pakistani international students embody both a South Asian and Middle Eastern experience in the U.S. Second, from 2009 to 2011, Pakistan was among the top 25 countries of origin of international students studying in the U.S. (IIE 2009, 2011a). The U.S. also has the largest Fulbright Program for Pakistani nationals (USEFP 2011, 2012). Despite being the third-largest Muslim-majority sending nation of international students studying in the U.S. from the Asiatic region (IIE 2010, 2011b, 2012, 2013, 2014a), Pakistani international students largely remain an understudied population. Third, since 9/11 there has been a rise in anti-Islamic sentiments against Muslims and Arabs in the U.S. (CAIR 2008). The majority of the Pakistani students coming to the U.S. are Muslim[1] and on arrival to the host culture are aware of the Islamophobic sentiments surrounding their religious identity. This chapter focuses on the complexity of the Pakistani graduate student experience in the U.S., which can illuminate larger processes of othering, discrimination, identity development, and contestation. I use the term discrimination to demonstrate the hostility, prejudice, and social exclusion experienced by Pakistani international students from the dominant group, based on their religious and national identity.

Using qualitative interviews of 28 Pakistani graduate students studying in the U.S., I conceptualize the analytical strategies adopted by international students to deal with discrimination in the host culture. I use the DuBoisian notion of double consciousness to theorize how Pakistani graduate students see their religious and national identity from the host culture's perspective. The students not only see their Muslim and Pakistani identity through their own eyes but also see these identities challenged within the context of the War on Terror, hence embodying a sense of double consciousness in the host society. They encounter discrimination as their national and religious identities are contested in the Islamophobic settings of the host society. They negotiate these identities by having a deeper understanding of

[1] Pakistan is a Muslim-majority country, and 95% of the population adheres to the Islamic faith, while the remaining 5% minorities practice Christianity and Hinduism (CIA 2010).

worldviews on the War on Terror, enabling them to overcome and deal with the conflicting circumstances challenging their nationality and religiosity in the host culture. The findings show that Pakistani students feel the need to demonstrate their innocence to members of the host society in the context of War on Terror and are constantly battling the negative constructs of terrorists and terrorism surrounding their national and religious identities. In addition, students who were traveling or studying in the Southern parts of the U.S. faced threats because of their religious and national identity as compared to those living elsewhere. Before I delve into the theoretical framework, I discuss the literature on the acculturative challenges experienced by international students on arrival to the host culture.

Acculturation and Neo-racism

International students studying in the U.S. represent a diverse group of individuals coming from Europe, Asia, the Middle East, and Africa (IIE 2014b). On arrival to the host culture, these students experience a lack of social support due to the absence of family, friends, and unfamiliar social and cultural circumstances (Frey and Roysircar 2006; McClure 2007; Sawir et al. 2008; Zhao et al. 2008). However, welcoming institutional policies and the communal environment of the American university can assist in their acculturation experience (Sherry et al. 2009; Sümer et al. 2008). International students with a large number of friends have been linked with academic success and positive experiences in the host culture (Bochner et al. 1977; Furnham and Alibhai 1985; Sam 2001). They also have a significant impact on the U.S. economy, promote multiculturalism in their programs, and help groom American undergraduates for global careers (IIE 2014c).

Acculturation studies on international students often center on psychological adaptation, focusing on depression and stress, as the students experience the new culture (Berry 1990; Russel et al. 2008; Searle and Ward 1990; Ward and Kennedy 1999). Studies show that discriminatory experiences faced by international students are often linked to high acculturative stress. These experiences often cause feelings of anxiety, resulting in homesickness among the students (Atri et al. 2006; Jung et al. 2007; Poyrazli et al. 2004; Wang et al. 2012; Wei et al. 2012). Further studies show that cultural, religious, and linguistic differences can lead to isolation and depression, thus discouraging international students from making friends in the host culture (Chen 1999; Mori 2000; Smith and Khwaja 2011). Poor English language abilities and stereotypes around race, ethnicity, and cultural traditions in the host culture are often the root causes of discrimination experienced by international students from these regions (Bonazzo and Wong 2007; Poyrazli and Lopez 2007; Ruble and Zhang 2013; Sodowsky and Plake 1992; Wei et al. 2012; Wong et al. 2014). However, the spectrum of these experiences varies among this group based on their phenotype, gender, culture of origin, and language abilities. Research shows that white students from New Zealand, Canada, and Europe face fewer problems than dark-skinned students from the Middle East and Africa (Duru and Poyrazli 2011; Hanassab 2006; Kilinc and Granello 2003; Lee and Rice 2007).

According to Toussain and Crowson (2010), international students are perceived as a *"symbolic threat"* due to their cultural and religious differences and a *"realistic threat"* as they compete for economic and academic benefits with American students (415). Lee and Rice (2007) use the concept of neo-racism to operationalize the prejudices experienced by international students: "Discrimination becomes, seemingly, justified by cultural difference or national origin rather than by physical characteristics alone and can thus disarm the fight against racism by appealing to 'natural' tendencies to preserve group cultural identity—in this case the dominant group" (389). Their study shows that students from the Middle East, Latin America, and Asia experience both covert and overt forms of discrimination in the host culture (Lee and Rice 2007). The concept of neo-racism offers insight on the national and cultural differences that lead to social exclusion and discrimination against international students. Nonetheless, the concept doesn't elaborate on how the religiosity of this group also inflects their experiences of prejudice in the host society. It also overlooks the complex experience of students from the Middle East and Asia, due to their contested religious and national identities in the realm of War on Terror.

Muslim international students from the Middle East, Africa, and Asia face rising challenges due to the rising fear of Islam in the U.S. (CAIR 2008; Tummala-Narra and Claudius 2013; McDermott-Levy 2011). The religious signifier of covering the head (i.e., hijab) for women and beards among Muslim men increases their visibility in the host culture. A study on Arab Muslim women showed that Omani women wearing hijab often experienced microaggressions and were frightened due to feelings of hostility as a result of their religiosity in the host culture (McDermott-Levy 2011). These signifiers can increase their chances of facing anti-Islamic sentiments inside and outside college campuses (Tummala-Narra and Claudius 2013; Swiney 2006; Kishawi 2012; William and Johnson 2011).

These studies make crucial contributions in the acculturation literature focusing on the international student experience. First, they clearly show that international students of non-European descent face more challenges and discrimination in the host culture than their European and Western counterparts. Second, such incidents lead to higher acculturative distress and social exclusion of international students from the host society. Third, these studies point to the importance of social support and social networks that mitigate these negative experiences. At the same time, the diverse ways that international students understand and respond to the discrimination they face remain undertheorized. I use the DuBoisian theory of double consciousness to conceptualize how Pakistani graduate students negotiate their religious and national identity in order to navigate prejudice in the host culture.

Double Consciousness of the Pakistani Graduate Students

As previously stated, the perceptions of Islam and Muslims are linked to the current political ideology of terrorism. Cesari (2010) argues that the West has developed an essentialized approach in conflating Islam with terrorism. Disha et al. (2011), in their

analysis of hate crimes in the U.S., show that the 9/11 terror attacks have resulted in a larger wave of hate crimes against Arab/Muslims in the country, regardless of their socioeconomic status. Pakistani graduate students arriving to the U.S are aware of anti-Islamic sentiments surrounding their religious and national identity (CAIR 2008). The current geopolitical framework of the War on Terror, and the capture of Osama Bin Laden in Pakistan, contributes to the negative perception of Muslims and Pakistanis and characterizes them as the "other" in the host society (Omi and Winant 1986, 3). Therefore, in order to survive, Pakistani students not only see their religious and national identity through their own eyes but also from the outside, i.e., the Western perspective. I demonstrate that in the host culture, these two identities of the Pakistani graduate student become more pronounced. They embody the DuBoisian notion of double consciousness of viewing their Pakistani and Muslim identity in the context of War on Terror in the host culture (Du Bois 1903).

Du Bois describes the experience of African American people as looking at oneself through the outsiders' perspective (Falcon 2008). In *The Souls of the Black Folk*, he explains "It is a peculiar sensation, this double-consciousness, this sense of always looking at one's self through the eyes of others, of measuring one's soul by the tape of a world that looks on in amused contempt and pity. One ever feels his twoness, an American, a Negro; two souls, two thoughts, two unreconciled strivings; two warring ideals in one dark body, whose dogged strength alone keeps it from being torn asunder" (Du Bois 1903/1982, 45). Du Bois uses double consciousness to conceptualize the troubling experiences of African Americans in the hands of white supremacists, as they struggled with being both American and black and were subjected to inequalities and racist dehumanization of their "negro" selves (Anzaldúa 1999; Falcon 2008). I extend this concept of double consciousness to Pakistani graduate students as they negotiate their national and religious identity in the host culture. The Pakistani and Muslim identities are not perceived as threatening in their home society. But post 9/11 in the U.S. context, however, the Muslim identity is associated with terrorists and terrorism. The Pakistani students see this religious identity from the perspective of the host culture and struggle every day as they battle with the constructs of War on Terror surrounding their religiosity. This perspective from the outside marks their twoness and double consciousness in the host society, as they look at themselves from a Western perspective.

When the religiosity of the Pakistani graduate students is not made apparent in the absence of religious signifiers, i.e., hijab for women and beard for men, they are still perceived as dangerous by the dominant group. Attempted terror attacks in the U.S. conducted by assailants of Pakistani origin have received prominent media attention, such as the attempted car bombing of Time Square in December 2010 by Faisal Shahzad, a naturalized American citizen of Pakistani descent,[2] who had entered the country as an international student. In addition, according to the Institute for Economics and Peace (2014), Pakistan has been ranked third on the global ter-

[2] NY Daily News May 2010 "Times Square bomb suspect Faisal Shahzad 'was just a normal dude' before making neighbors suspicious" *http*://www.nydailynews.com/new-york/times-square-bomb-suspect-faisal-shahzad-normal-dude-making-neighbors-suspicious-article-1.444286

rorism index, following Afghanistan and Iraq. Thus, Pakistani graduate students are constantly aware that their nationality is often conflated with terrorists within the War on Terror framework in the host society. They see their nationality from the host culture's viewpoint and struggle as they challenge the stereotypes of terrorist and terrorism surrounding their country of origin. The students thus possess double consciousness as they negotiate their religious and national identities in the U.S. Their national and religious identity is viewed as synonymous to each other in the context of War on Terror from the host society. Pakistani graduate students studying in the U.S. thus experience othering as these identities come into conflict with the host culture. I explore how they use their sense of the selves from the host culture's perspective as they negotiate their religious and national identities and investigate how they make use of their worldviews to navigate these conflicting experiences.

Data and Methods

My participants consist of 28 Pakistani graduate students and are spread across 8 states in the U.S. This demographic information is helpful in capturing the texture of Islamophobia in the U.S. However, as per IRB protocol and to ensure confidentiality of the participants' identities, I only reveal their regional location in the U.S. as Southeast, Southwest, Northeast, Midwest, and West.[3] I interviewed 13 women and 15 men studying in the U.S. over a period of 6 months from February to September 2012. The age of participants in the study ranges from 23 to 40 years old. This variation reflects the multiplicity of life experiences and life circumstances that can influence how students negotiate their national and religious identity in the host culture. Please refer to Table 6.1 for the demographic composition of the sample. Unlike undergraduate programs, the graduate programs in the U.S. provide a higher chance of funding, enabling young adults from varying professional and personal backgrounds to pursue their academic interests. The multiplicity of their experiences provides a complex picture of the Pakistani graduate student experience in the U.S. Using a life history approach, I document the social, cultural, and ideological transformations occurring /having occurred in the lives of these students on arrival to the U.S. (Thomas and Znaneiecki 1927; McCall and Wittner 1990). I developed a comprehensive interview guide that was divided into three major sections: (1) the life of the respondents before coming to the U.S., (2) their experiences upon arrival, and (3) their current experiences in the host culture. In this paper, I focus on the third section of my interview guide and pay attention to questions that investigate the negative experiences of students in the host society. I started off with the leading question: Have you experienced any discomfort in the host culture? The purpose of keeping the question broad was that students could highlight any personal negative

[3] I use the *National Geographic* outline maps for the regional distribution of the U.S. http://education.nationalgeographic.com/maps/united-states-regions/

Table 6.1 Participants' details

No.	Name	Gender	Age	Duration (year. month)	Regional location
1	Faiza	F	25	2.4	Northeast
2	Zohaib	M	35	0.8	Northeast
3	Junaid	M	38	3.7	Southeast
4	Ahmed	M	30	2.4	Northeast
5	Rubina	F	40	1.8	Southeast
6	Shaista	F	36	2.6	Midwest
7	Talha	M	25	0.8	Northeast
8	Ali	M	29	0.8	Northeast
9	Tanzeela	F	35	2.6	Midwest
10	Naveed	M	25	1.6	Midwest
11	Mahmood	M	27	0.8	Northeast
12	Areeba	F	23	0.8	Northeast
13	Omer	M	25	0.8	Midwest
14	Saad	M	25	0.8	Midwest
15	Humera	F	23	1.8	West
16	Mehwish	F	31	0.8	Northeast
17	Mohsin	M	24	1.8	Midwest
18	Rohail	M	27	0.8	Northeast
19	Hayyat	M	25	1.8	Northeast
20	Mona	F	25	0.8	Southwest
21	Zohaib	M	38	0.101	North East
22	Qasim	M	25	0.8	Southwest
23	Sara	F	25	1.6	West Coast
24	Seema	F	31	4.101	Northeast
25	Hina	F	35	2.101	Midwest
26	Amna	F	26	0.5	Southwest
27	Zobia	F	31	4.11	Northeast
28	Raza	M	27	5	Midwest

incidents experienced during their stay. The question resulted in a longer conversation, as the respondents shared their discriminatory experiences in the host culture within the context of the War on Terror. I also asked about the state and city where they were located in, when they experienced these incidents. Such information provided deeper understanding of contextualizing their discriminatory experiences within the geographical space of the U.S.

The intention was to keep the interview informal so the respondents could reflect on their life in the host culture. I use grounded theory methods and draw upon the narratives of the participants that inform the theoretical framework (Glaser and Strauss 1967). I located Pakistani graduate students by emailing international student organizations, South Asian groups, and Muslim student associations across the U.S. However, word of mouth was most effective in accessing the group and generated a snowball sample of Pakistani graduate students studying across different

U.S. institutions (Mile and Huberman 1994). I built upon the prevalent networks of these students to locate participants for my study. My positionality as an insider to the focus population increased my chances of connecting with the participants.

My knowledge of Urdu (the national language of Pakistan) helped them talk openly about their experiences in the host culture. The interviews lasted between 1 and 2 h, and following my participants' choice of language, the conversation was carried out in either of the languages, i.e., Urdu and English. I conducted interviews in person with respondents in the greater Boston area only and used Skype video calls for interviewing remaining participants. The audios of the interviews were recorded. I informed the participants when I began and stopped the recording. Only one male respondent did not allow me to record his interview. I did not record his interview and only took notes. Participants' real names have been replaced with pseudonyms to protect their identity.

Coding and Analysis

I translated and transcribed the interviews in English and took notes on the interactions with the respondents. In particular, the notes kept track of the frustration and discomfort experienced by the participants while sharing their discriminatory experiences in the host society. I also noted at the time of the interview whether the respondents had visible religious signifiers—hijab for women and beard for men—that could contribute to their discrimination in the host society. I rely on Miles and Hubermans' inductive approach to carry out data analysis that also informs my theoretical framework for the study (Miles and Huberman 1994). After coding, I collated similar and conflicting patterns as the respondents described uncomfortable and threatening circumstances in the host society.

Findings

Pakistani graduate students battle every day with the social constructions of terrorism associated with their national and religious identity, which are in continuous conflict with the Islamophobic settings of the host culture. The male respondents in the sample experienced more discriminatory incidents compared to the women. This is not surprising because men have carried out more terrorist acts. Students visiting or living in the Southern parts of the U.S. experienced heightened hostility against their religious and national identity than their counterparts living in other areas of the country.

When students used religious signifiers (e.g., head scarf, beard), the practice increased their likelihood of experiencing threatening and/or discomforting situations in the host culture. Since Pakistani students vary by phenotype (brown to fair skin tones), they can often be misidentified as belonging to other parts of South Asia

and/or the Middle East. Their religious Islamic identity is not immediately recognizable in the absence of religious signifiers. Thus, I present the responses based on the presence and absence of the religious signifiers that further shape their discriminatory experiences. I show how these experiences embody the DuBoisian notion of double consciousness as the Pakistani graduate students navigate their contested religious and national identities in the host society.

Presence of Religious Signifiers: Conflicting Religious Identity in the Host Society

Only two female respondents wore a headscarf, and one male respondent had a beard. Their responses show that the beard for men and headscarf for women act as religious markers in the host society and increase the visibility of their religiosity in the host culture.

Faiza is currently living in the Northeast and does not wear the headscarf. But she recalls a startling incident while she was studying at a college in the South that influenced her decision:

> Well the people are nice in general. But when I came here, I used to wear a headscarf and that was my personal decision only. Shortly when I came to the south, that week, 3 American girls had embraced Islam, and I used to wear scarf, and one day when I was doing laundry and came back to pick up my clothes, somebody had thrown all my scarves on the floor and I was left a note saying 'don't ever wash your scarves here'
>
> I told my mother about this incident and she told me that if this is creating complications for you so don't wear it. After that I decided to take off my scarf and it's my personal decision and I don't regret it.

Though Faiza is threatened for washing her headscarves in a laundromat, she did not complain to the school or the authorities. Rather, she attempts to rationalize the situation from the perspective of the host culture. She argues that her headscarf in combination with the recent conversion of American girls to Islamic faith made her a threat to the dominant group and a target for Islamophobia. She sees her religiosity as viewed from the outside and chooses not to cover her head to avoid any animosity in the future. Her scarf made her religiosity visible and placed her in a hostile situation. Her decision to not wear the headscarves shows how she sees her own religiosity from the host culture's perspective. She has double consciousness and is aware of how her religious identity is contested in the host society. She negotiates this identity by taking the scarf off to avoid any further conflict.

Faiza does not regret her decision to not wear a headscarf, and this choice is facilitated by her home culture. In Pakistan, women are not socially obligated to cover their heads, and the choice of wearing a headscarf is voluntary, especially in urban spaces. She uses her experience from the home culture to navigate the new cultural settings. The question remains whether she may have experienced more hostile conditions if she had continued to wear the scarf.

Contrary to Faiza's experience, Zobia, who lives in the Northeast, struggles in deciding whether or not to cover her head in the host culture. She has gone through episodes of wearing the headscarf, taking it off, and wearing it again. Her decision to cover or not to cover her head is influenced by how she is viewed by the host society. She struggles with how her religiosity is seen by the host society in the realm of War on Terror and is continuously conflicted by it. Her experience embodies double consciousness, as she is constantly aware of her representation in the host society, as she switches to wearing and not wearing the scarf. She is conflicted by the perception of the self and how she is viewed by the host culture. She was the only female participant who chose to cover her hair:

> I was wearing a scarf, when I came here. I used to cover my head. I did it for one year. I rarely saw any Muslim women wearing headscarves, but I felt people would stare at me a lot. They didn't say anything but I am sure I looked different from them. Even though I wanted to blend in with the people so I don't get any extra attention. But people would look at me as if I am different. So I decided to take off my scarf, and took it off for two years. Not because I didn't like scarf anymore, but I didn't want to become prominent. But after years I felt I still looked different and maybe I am Asian and everyone around me is American. But I longed for it. When I would see someone wearing it, I would say oh I wish I had the guts to wear it like her and I liked their modesty. So one year ago I started becoming more religious and I have started wearing scarf again.

On arrival to the U.S., she wore the headscarf, but she experienced stares and discomfort. She notes, "They didn't say anything but I am sure I looked different from them." Zobia finds herself prominent in the host society, and though she didn't experience any negative comments on her appearance, she feels that people stared at her because she "looked different." Even though she wanted to "blend" in to the host culture, she felt that she stood out because of her headscarf. She eventually removed the scarf to integrate into the host society. However, Zobia notes that even after taking the scarf off, she was still othered in the host society because of her South Asian appearance. She has a light brown complexion, a common feature of Pakistani identity. Her religious identity and South Asian identity highlight her otherness in the host society. However, she longed for the headscarf and missed that part of her identity especially when she saw someone else wearing the hijab. But she lacked the "guts" to wear it herself. Over the past year, she has decided to cover her hair, and the choice of wearing her headscarf is a struggle of personal courage, as she negotiates her religiosity in the Islamophobic settings of the host society.

Zobias' experience shows a constant struggle within herself on how she chooses to express her religiosity in the host society. Unlike Faiza, she has never been threatened because of the hijab, but she constantly feels that she is being othered in the host society because of her appearance both with and without the hijab. She has had to find courage within herself to represent her religiosity in her appearance, while she is constantly aware that it is viewed in the context of the War on Terror.

Like their female counterparts, Pakistani men also struggle with similar dilemmas. Ahmed was the only male respondent who had a beard. He also had a light-skinned complexion. Studying at a college in the Northeast, he struggled constantly with the expression of religious identity, and, unlike Zobia, he maintained his reli-

gious identifier throughout his stay in the U.S. His experience embodies the DuBoisian notion of double consciousness in that he sees his own religiosity from the Western perspective, as he battles constantly to overcome these negative frames of terrorism.

He had been racially profiled on several occasions and experienced lengthy immigration processes. He recalls being stopped for questioning by the local authorities after attending the mosque, and his friends told him that surveillance officials had questioned the people at the mosque about him. Ahmed was a graduate student interning in his field and was frustrated that his appearance immediately categorized him as a threat in the host society. He felt that Americans at large were ignorant about his reality, and he had a hard time finding an internship because he visually fit the terrorist stereotype. While the majority of Americans treated him poorly, Ahmed acknowledged the support of his American professor who helped and supported him. It was through his professor's connections that he was able to find his internship. He actively participated in conversations that questioned his religiosity and explained that Americans were misinformed and the social media has harmed the image of Pakistan and Islam in the eyes of the dominant group.

Ahmeds' experiences show the process of double consciousness at work in the host culture. He is constantly aware of how the host culture looks at his religious identity as he battles the terrorist stereotypes surrounding him. He engages in dialogues with his friends and colleagues explaining how the terrorists are perpetuating their menacing agenda, which is contradictory to Islamic preaching. His family and friends had asked him to shave his beard so he wouldn't stand out in the host culture, but Ahmed maintained that by doing this, he would give into the pressure, and he needed to live by example and contradict the terrorist stereotype surrounding his religious identity. Ahmed battles constantly with how he is categorized as a threat to the host society because of his appearance. He has suffered setbacks both in his professional and social life, but he continues to challenge the negative constructs surrounding him.

Absence of Religious Signifiers: Conflicting National Identity in the Host Society

Both men and women experienced conflicting situations that challenge their national identity in the host culture. Men experienced direct questions about the War on Terror, while women experienced microaggressions on revealing their national identity. The responses show a constant struggle of Pakistani graduate students, as they understand their own conflicting experiences in the host society, while simultaneously contradicting the stereotypes surrounding their identity in the host culture.

Ali (recalls an incident while visiting a friend in the South) feels *animosity* toward himself from Americans because of his national identity:

> Somebody in my school asked if I had taken military training I was like, no but I thought what kind of a stupid question is that? I feel the animosity of the Americans towards Pakistan but this is because of lack of understanding. I was in [state x] visiting a friend and we were in a car driving when some guys started shouting slurs and someone threw something on the car so there is racist sentiment here.

Ali pauses while gathering his thoughts, as he sees his nationality from the host culture's perspective. He realizes that Americans don't have a clear understanding of his realities. He embodies double consciousness and feels conflicted by how his national identity is viewed in the host culture. He notes the prevalence of "racist sentiment" in the host culture and has experienced these conflicting experiences both inside and outside of the American university. His negative experiences are harsher outside of the academic institution. Ali feels that he is racialized in the host society because of his contested identities.

Naveed, a male graduate student, studying at a school in the Midwest, also feels that his national identity is viewed in the context of the War on Terror in the host culture:

> People here think that we are very backward and the perception of Pakistan is as if a war is happening all the time, I don't feel offended but they are misinformed, and I tell them that I am also a product of Pakistan and at the same academic level as them. So there is a lot of good in the country also. When Osama was captured my colleagues thought it was very near the capital, I explained that no the demographics can't be compared to that of the U.S. and the war is on the border and not in Pakistan.

Naveed notes how Pakistan is viewed as "backward" and warlike in the host culture and takes it upon himself to challenge the negativity surrounding his identity. He is not "offended" by these remarks but considers the host society to be oblivious to his reality. Naveed was in the U.S. when Osama Bin Laden was captured in Pakistan, increasing his visibility in the host society. He expresses a double consciousness, as he is aware that in the host culture his nationality is viewed in the context of global terrorism, and takes it upon himself to contradict the stereotypes about war surrounding his nationality. He engages in an open conversation with his colleagues after the incident, clarifying the demographics of the country. He has developed a counter-narrative to the warlike image of Pakistan and uses himself as an example to show positivity about his nation.

Like Naveed, Saad's national identity is also challenged in the host society. He uses dichotomies of innocent vs. bad as he engages in conversations with his colleagues. He recalls an incident (located in the Midwest):

> There was a discussion going on (about the) benefits of new research on developing this new technology that could help improve precision in target killing. My American professor said, 'this will kill terrorists in Pakistan.' My advisor (Korean professor) interrupted, 'we have a Pakistani student here' and then American professor rephrased the incident 'as oh I meant it will kill the bad people and I am sure you are not from the bad part of Pakistan.' I felt extremely uneasy and frustrated by this and said yes this software is very important because it will improve accuracy and then the drones can stop killing innocent children and people in Pakistan and kill terrorists only.

The American professor rephrases his statement on terrorism when he is reminded of Saad's presence. Though Saad is shocked by the incident, he immediately responds by segregating his nationality from the terrorist stereotype and carefully challenges the statement of the professor by segregating terrorism from Pakistan. He sees himself from the host culture's perspective and uses the term "innocent children and people in Pakistan," distancing his religiosity and nationality from the terrorist framework. His experience shows the process of double consciousness at work, as Saad sees his positionality from the dominant Western view and is conflicted by it. He engages in this debate by using the binaries of innocent vs. terrorists to challenge the constructs of the War on Terror surrounding his country of origin in the host society.

Like men, women also experience conflicting circumstances based on their national identity. However, these incidents are not directly in reference to the War on Terror debate, but appear in forms of microaggressions and/or threatening conversations surrounding their nationality. Seema (Northeast) recalls an incident that continues to unsettle her today. She was flying back to Pakistan that day and was dressed in the Pakistani attire, i.e., shalwar kameez. Like most Pakistani women, she does not wear a headscarf, and hence her religiosity is not immediately recognizable:

> Americans have a huge misconception of Pakistanis, even bigger than the Pakistanis misconception of Americans. But not all Americans have these views. I remember once I was taking taxi to airport, and on the radio, there was talk on the possibility of the U.S. war with Iran. The American taxi driver could see I was wearing a shalwar kameez….. He said next will be Pakistan. I was shocked and kind of scared and was very silent throughout the ride and thanked God that he is not the one making decisions.

She sees her national identity from the host culture's perspective in relation to war and is stunned by the whole incident. She embodies double consciousness and is conflicted by the whole experience and is relieved that the future of her nation doesn't rest in the hands of the taxi driver. Though Seema is wearing a Pakistani dress, she is not sure whether the driver could discern her nationality. The experience leaves her feeling uneasy and scared for her future, and she is conflicted by how her national identity is viewed from the driver's view. She exclaims that not all Americans have derogatory thoughts about Pakistan. Though she is shaken by the remarks made by the driver, she justifies them based on the *misconception* of the host culture.

Amna another female respondent shares her troubling experience that questioned her national identity:

> Well once I was in New York with my friend at a train station, and there were some American women sitting next to us. They started speaking to my friend, who is French, so they assumed I was French too, but while I was talking to one of the women, I told her that I am Pakistani and she was taken aback. I immediately felt a change in their behavior they all completely ignored me in the conversation and only spoke to my friend.
>
> In the mean while a guy was running besides the track bare feet, he was well dressed and everyone was puzzled. So I just said that he may have gotten mugged. So one of the women was like, yeah you know everything right! and I felt really awkward… and when we were about to catch our train she muttered something bad about me. It was not a good experience.

Amna's experiences demonstrate a covert form of social isolation, and the whole incident has left her with discomfort. Her experience is twofold and changes as she reveals her national identity, which is not apparent from her appearance. She feels excluded from the conversation, as her Pakistani identity is made apparent. This is contradictory to her initial experience, when she was part of the interaction while she was being considered French. She notes that the American women were shocked that they had mistaken her as French. Amna has fair skin, common among Pakistani individuals, but her phenotype breaks the brown-colored skin tone associated with her South Asian identity.

While discussing the instance of a man running barefoot on the station platform, Amna again experiences conflicted interaction as the American woman exclaims "yeah you know everything right" and finds that condescending. At the end of the incident, she is not clear of what was said about her, but the social interaction gives her the impression that the American women slurred.

Amna's experience shows the processes of the double consciousness at work. First she feels immediately socially excluded on revealing her nationality. Second she is aware how the host culture views her country of origin and feels animosity toward herself from the American women. The interaction doesn't pose any threat or violence but subjects her to microaggressions as her identity is contested in the host society. She experiences discomfort from this whole experience, and she is aware that the host culture's perspective of her national identity shapes this negative interaction.

It is important to mention here that Pakistani graduate students are involved in social and cultural activities with their American and non-American friends. I argue that it is the double consciousness of the Pakistani graduate students that enables them to be aware of how they are being perceived in the host society. None of the students were discouraged to interact with the host culture based on their negative experiences contesting their religious and national identity.

Participants' experiences show that religious markers, i.e., beard for men and headscarf for women, increase the visibility of the Pakistani graduate students in the host society. These markers immediately distinguish them as Muslims and trigger the War on Terror debate surrounding their religious identity. Both men and women experienced othering on the basis of their visible religiosity in the host society. However, the absence of the religious markers doesn't absolve the Pakistani students from being othered. When their national identity is revealed, for example, in conversation, it again triggers the terrorism constructs surrounding their heritage, and they are othered in the host society based on their country of origin. However, in order to cope with these circumstances, students have developed a narrative of "misconception" among the dominant group, regarding Pakistan and the Islamic world. They process both violent and nonviolent forms of discrimination against their religiosity and national identity by adhering to idea of the "ignorance" of the host society. Being transnational citizens and geographically closer to the War on Terror, these students have a deeper understanding of this geopolitical crisis. This enables them to consider the dominant group as misinformed about their religion and nationality.

Discussion and Implications

Previous research on international students has detailed the discriminatory experiences of the students due to their cultural and national differences from the host society (Lee and Rice 2007; Toussain & Crowson 2010). But such studies often overlook how the factors contributing to these negative experiences have become more complex within the realm of the War on Terror and also fail to note how students conceptualize these experiences in the new culture. In this paper, by using the case of Pakistani graduate students studying in the U.S., I show that on arrival to the host culture, their national and religious identities are constantly in conflict with the Islamophobic settings of the host society. This research adds a global and transnational frame to DuBoisian theories of double consciousness, as the Pakistani graduate students continuously perceive and challenge their contested identities in the context of the War on Terror. Pakistani graduate students navigate within the constructs of terrorism when their religiosity and nationality are revealed to the dominant group. They embody double consciousness, as they see their identities outlined by the War on Terror framework, and struggle constantly as they challenge and negotiate the negative constructs surrounding them. Their Muslim and Pakistani identity appears as a threat and leads to their otherness in the host society. They rationalize the prejudices and hostility toward them by considering the host society to be ignorant and misinformed about their realties. This narrative of misconceptions by the dominant group enables the respondents to deal with their conflicting experiences. They take the responsibility to negotiate their reality in the U.S. and contradict the negative narratives surrounding their religious and national identity. While the students experienced othering, prejudice, and social isolation across different regions of the host society, they especially experienced heightened hostility in the Southern parts of the U.S. This may be because historically the Southern states have enforced the black/white racial divide more strongly than the rest of the U.S. (Elmendor and Spencer 2014). Further research needs to be done to thoroughly examine and compare the prevalence of Islamophobia across Southern and the Northern states of the U.S. The issue raises important questions about race and ethnicity and whether, after 9/11, Muslims are undergoing a racialization process in the American mainstream.

The findings show that political incidents surrounding the War on Terror interlinking Pakistan also increase the groups' visibility in the host society. However, future research should explore whether international students from Central Asia and the Middle East, specifically Iraq, Afghanistan, Syria, and Saudi Arabia, experience similar discriminatory experiences within the constructs of terrorism and whether they have developed a similar double consciousness like their Pakistani counterparts to cope with the hostility they encounter in the host society.

In the context of War on Terror, Pakistani students are compelled to prove their innocence to the American society. The American university needs to share this burden and should establish programs educating community members to help understand the complex ethno-racial experience of students from South Asia and the

Middle East. Such programs should collaborate with international students and need to present the global complexity of the War on Terror and its impact on humanity. These initiatives will provide a wider and deeper understanding of the perplexity of the situation to the dominant group and help facilitate the experience of international students from Pakistan and the Middle East in the American university. These measures will also improve their social interaction with the host society.

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Chapter 7
Korean Students' Acculturation Experiences in the U.S.

Eunyoung Kim

Abstract This chapter aims to explore the adjustment experiences of Korean undergraduates at an American university and to look at how the negotiation between homeland culture and host culture influences adjustment experiences. By challenging ideas of one-sided assimilation that assume international students simply accept the language, cultural norms, and practices of their host country, this chapter is grounded in the theoretical perspective that students and institutions interact with one another and therefore influence each other in a variety of ways. This chapter suggests that possessing a sense of self in cultural, social, and historical contexts and negotiating a positive sense of self in the host culture are critical aspects of Korean students' adjustment experiences when studying abroad. Korean students often struggle to navigate the academic systems of their host university, and these experiences are intensified by their perceptions of "not belonging" to the institution. Therefore, additional attention should be paid to providing adequate support services and programming to promote these students' acculturation experiences and college success.

Introduction

Spurred by the South Korean government's advocacy for globalization and emphasis on international competitiveness and preparation of global citizens, there has been a rapid growth in the number of Korean students studying in foreign countries since the late 1990s (Cho 2000). Although the numbers of Korean students going abroad have declined in recent years following a peak of 262,465 students in 2011 (Korean Ministry of Education 2013), South Korea still remains an important source of sending their students abroad (Korean Ministry of Education 2013). According to the Korean Educational Statistics Service (2014), approximately 227,126 Korean students studied abroad in 2013. Institutions of U.S. higher education are the most

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popular destination for academic pursuits among Korean students, accounting for 30.7% of the entire Korean student population studying overseas. Of the 72,295 Korean students enrolled in U.S. higher education in 2013, 38,245 were enrolled at the graduate level, and 21,254 at the undergraduate level, and 12,796 were taking language courses (Korean Ministry of Education 2014).

Adjustment issues and challenges encountered by international students[1] in the U.S. have been well documented. In a broad sense, "adjustment" refers to the challenges faced by international students in the academic and living environments, as well as the coping strategies used to deal with academic, cultural, psychological, and social stress (Baker and Siryk 1984; Bennett and Okinaka 1990; Chartrand 1992; Klein 1977; Smedley 1993). Numerous studies (e.g., Andrade 2006; Choi 2006; Lee and Carrasquillo 2006; Gong and Fan 2006; Dee and Henkin 1999; Hanassab 2006; Pedersen 1991; Poyrazli et al. 2002; Sato and Hodge 2009; Wang and Mallinckrodt 2006; Ye 2006) have suggested that linguistic, cultural, academic, and social differences may limit student involvement in campus life and constrain interactions with other students among international students. International students must adapt to the academic and social norms of the host country, while also dealing with additional challenges due to differences in culture, lack of language proficiency, prejudice, discrimination, and financial challenges (Barratt and Huba 1994; Charles and Stewart 1991; Hayes and Lin 1994; Poyrazli et al. 2002).

Representing more than 180 countries, the international student population in U.S. higher education constitutes a markedly heterogeneous group of students with respect to nationality; race/ethnicity; academic, cultural, and linguistic backgrounds; and customs (Institute of International Education 2014). Despite marked differences and heterogeneity, many international students are regarded as a homogeneous group of high academic achievers from their country (Leong and Chou 1996), and they are expected to "adjust to a narrowly defined set of roles and behaviors" (Hanassab 2006, p. 158) in the American educational system and society. Moreover, negative stereotypes are often ascribed to international students, who are perceived as deficient and lacking English-language ability and familiarity with the American academic system (Leong and Chou 1996; Mestenhauser 1983; Pedersen 1991; Paige 1990; Spencer-Rodgers 2001). Departing from a "one-way fit" framework in which international students must be integrated into the academic and social life in the U.S., this study attempts to explore what institutions can do to foster international student success from the international students' own perspectives.

To date, most studies related to the experiences of Asian international students have focused primarily on Chinese and Taiwanese students (e.g., Dao et al. 2007; Kline and Liu 2005; Swagler and Ellis 2003; Wang and Mallinckrodt 2006; Wei et al. 2007; Ye 2006; Ying and Liese 1991, 1994; Ying 2005; Ying and Han 2006, 2008). Overall, Korean students' experiences have been overlooked in the U.S. Moreover, despite the significant proportion of students from Korea, previous research has often lumped Koreans and other Asian students together (e.g., Chen et al. 2002; Cross 1995; Li and Gasser 2005; Lin and Yi 1997; Nilsson et al. 2008; Oguri and Gudykunst

[1] International students and foreign students are used interchangeably in this chapter.

2002; Wei et al. 2008; Yang and Clum 1994; Ye 2005). According to the Institute of International Education (2014), Korea was ranked third in sending their students to the U.S. Given the national population of South Korea, the ratio of Korean students in U.S. higher education institutions is 19 times higher than the ratio of Indian students and 25 times higher than that of Chinese students. Despite the significantly higher proportion of Korean students seeking U.S. degrees and academic credentials, scholarship on the topic has been limited. Some relevant studies have focused on Korean international students' overall challenges to adjustment to college life (e.g., Dee and Henkin 1999), their academic adjustment and learning experiences (e.g., Jang et al. 2009; Lee and Carrasquillo 2006; Lee 2009), mental health issues (e.g., Lee et al. 2004), cultural adjustment experiences (e.g., Seo and Koro-Ljungberg 2005), motivation to study abroad (Kim 2011), and racial and gender discrimination (e.g., Green and Kim 2005). I argue that Korean students might face adjustment difficulties similar to other East Asian international students due in part to the shared cultural values such as collectivism. However, these problems should be framed within the specific situational and cultural contexts of Korean students, rather than treating them as part of an Asian international student monolith.

Although South Korea has experienced and sustained rapid economic growth and industrialization (influenced by a Confucian emphasis on cultural elitism and academic achievement), many Koreans have experienced conflict and confusion between Western and traditional Korean cultural values (Seo and Koro-Ljungberg 2005). For example, Korean adolescents form their own "in-group" mentality and use Korean culture as a frame of reference for cultural judgments and understandings rather than embracing other ethnically different groups (Levine and Campbell 1972; Seo and Koro-Ljungberg 2005).

Taken together, this chapter focuses on Korean undergraduate students' own perceptions and voices that represent unique adjustment experiences in an American university. Both undergraduate and graduate international students face common problems as they adapt to a new college environment, including academic pressures, loneliness, and problems with developing personal independence, financial problems, and health issues. However, international undergraduate students' adjustment experiences may differ from those of graduate students due in part to different program levels, academic requirements, lengths of stay, marital status, and post-college plans. Therefore, this chapter aims to explore the adjustment experiences of Korean undergraduate students at an American university and to look at how the negotiation between homeland culture and host culture influences adjustment experiences. To illustrate how complex and multifaceted the adjustment process can be from a Korean student's perspective, this chapter will begin with a brief introduction to Korean culture and values, as well as the development of Korean higher education and a growth of Korean students in the American educational system. Then, a review of literature on the adjustment of international students will be discussed, followed by the theoretical framework that guides this research inquiry. Based on in-depth interviews with eleven Korean students, this study uses a phenomenological qualitative methodology with particular attention to adaptation, academic and cultural adjustment, and the ways in which Korean college students socialize with their peers in America.

Background of Korean Culture and Context of Korean Higher Education

Korean society is philosophically deeply rooted in Confucian ideology, which values social harmony, family lineage, filial piety, loyalty, and deference to elders as its primary code of conduct (Seo and Koro-Ljungberg 2005). These are manifested in hierarchy of power, vertical social structure, and academic prestige. As the main philosophical underpinning for traditional Korean values, Confucianism has long been ingrained as a fundamental belief system which cultivates academic achievement and elitism (Lee 1999; Suh 2002); in other words, one's academic background in Korean society is one of the most important indicators when evaluating an individual's success and ability.

Korea is often cited as a successful case of fast economic growth and massive educational access (Kim 2002). After its liberation from the Japanese colonialism from 1910 to 1945, and the devastating Korean war from 1950 to 1953, the Korean government quickly adopted the American model for constructing its educational infrastructure (Kim 2002). Korean higher education has expanded significantly since the 1960s in conjunction with the progress of the country's industrialization movement. Enrollment in higher education grew from 100,000 in 1960 to 3.3 million students in 2014 (Korean Educational Statistics Service 2014). Markedly, Korea has one of the highest expansion rates of postsecondary education participation in newly industrialized countries and, worldwide, trails only the U.S. in proportional terms (Altbach 1999). Unlike other developing countries in Asia, Korea reached the goal of mass access to higher education in the early 1980s (Altbach 1999). South Korean students form the largest influx of international students in the U.S. after Chinese and Indian students. With the rapid expansion of higher education in Korean society, earning a degree in the U.S. is perceived to be a gateway to success and social status, as American higher education is considered superior, with recipients of U.S. degrees gaining the most favor (Kim 2011). Furthermore, with the growth in global interdependence and international contacts, English has penetrated deeply into the cultural and educational foundation of Korea; as such, English-speaking countries have become the preferred places for academic pursuit among Koreans seeking higher education.

Acculturation and the Role of Institutions

Acculturation theory, as advanced by John Berry (1997, 2003), looks at the process of cultural (e.g., customs, economic and political life) and psychological (e.g., attitudes, identities, and social behaviors) change upon intercultural contact. Berry's (1990, 1997) model is based on the interaction between cultural maintenance (the extent to which individuals value and wish to maintain their own cultural identity) and contact-participation (the extent to which individuals value and seek out contact with those outside their own group and wish to participate in the daily life of the larger society).

Several different acculturation models have been developed over time. The unidirectional or unilinear model of acculturation was an early theory proposed by Parks and Miller in the early twentieth century. According to these scholars, acculturation is unipolar in that the individual moves from a traditional lifestyle to one that is more assimilated. Specifically, the migrant family starts adopting the values and customs of the mainstream culture, leaving behind their own values and customs. The bidirectional model of acculturation is more comprehensive and more widely accepted in the literature (see, e.g., Cuellar et al. 1995). Berry's (1997) acculturation model focuses on two distinct axes, identification with home culture and identification with host culture, and consists of four acculturation strategies: (a) integration/bicultural, identification with both cultures; (b) assimilation/Americanized, identification with host culture; (c) alienation/marginalization, no identification; and (d) separation/traditional, identification with home culture. Integration refers to the process by which a migrant identifies with and becomes involved with both cultures. Assimilation refers to the situation where a migrant chooses to identify solely with the new culture. Separation refers to the instance when a migrant is only involved in the traditional culture, and alienation/marginalization is characterized by the lack of involvement with and rejection of both cultures. These acculturation models offer insights into the multifaceted interactions between a foreign student's culture and the dominant culture and help to explain more subtly the experiences of international students as well as allow an understanding of how individuals' cultural backgrounds play a role in adaptation (Berry and Sam 1997).

The notion of acculturation, however, may undermine international students' cultural backgrounds and other social and environmental factors that may influence student adjustment experiences (Sato and Hodge 2009; Spurling 2006). Arguably, the dynamic relationship between international students and their higher education host is not static; rather, institutions may influence international students' experiences during their academic sojourn, while these students may in turn effect change within institutions (Dey and Hurtado 2005). Given that much less attention has been paid to the research literature on the role of international students as sources of institutional change, a more complete view is necessary to look at the relationship between students and their institutional environments as both dynamic and reciprocal. Such an ecological perspective (Bronfenbrenner 1979) views international students as actively shaping interpersonal environments, including their host institutions, while these institutional environments simultaneously play an integral part in fostering student adjustment and growth in college.

Research on international students in higher education has long been concerned with what international students must do in order to adjust to new host environments. Such dominant unilateral thinking blinds us to the important institutional and organizational structures and practices that construct the circumstances which thereby facilitate or hinder international students from engaging in purposeful activities and developing intercultural competency. Therefore, the underlying assumption of this study is that host institutions must provide enough structured opportunities for international students to engage with the host institution, as well as systematic student support services to enhance international students' study abroad experiences. This

chapter illustrates the perspective that the interplay between students and institutions is dynamic and complex. It is important to note that this chapter is grounded in the theoretical perspective that students and institutions interact with one another (as opposed to assuming that students are the only ones adjusting to a new college environment) and that students and institutions therefore influence each other in a variety of ways (Dey and Hurtado 2005). With that in mind, I will explore the meanings of the acculturation experiences of Korean students in U.S. higher education and the unique challenges they face by seeking to answer the following questions: How do their own cultural values influence Korean students' decision to study abroad? How do Korean students perceive their adjustment experience in American higher education? Do Korean students remain attached and maintain strong ties to their homeland while remaining linguistically, socially, and culturally distant from American campus life?

Methods

This study employed a qualitative phenomenological approach to explore South Korean international students' acculturation experiences at an American university. A phenomenological approach is appropriate because it "involves a return to experience in order to obtain comprehensive descriptions that provide the basis for reflective structural analysis that portrays the essences of the experience" (Moustakas 1994, p. 13). Moustakas (1994) describes that the "aim" of phenomenology is to understand the essence of the lived experiences directly from individuals and to make meaning of those experiences. Qualitative research allows the researcher to understand and to interpret findings in specific contexts and environments, by delving into the deeper motivations, attitudes, behaviors, and perceptions of individuals and environments (Creswell 1998). In this study, connecting the voices of Korean students and their adjustment experiences in relation to the cultural and social contexts of college, peer interaction, and psychological well-being provides a deeper understanding of Korean students' experiences of adjustment in an American university and addresses some of the adjustment challenges these students encounter from their own perspective. Thus, this phenomenological approach adequately addresses how Korean international students experience, perceive, and negotiate their adjustment issues in an American higher education setting by providing the essence of their experiences, and by uncovering meaningful themes pertinent to the study through the participants' own voices (Creswell 1998).

Research Site and Study Participants

The interview data was collected from a large, public, research university in the American Midwest. At the time of the study, more than 7000 international students at this university were enrolled at either the undergraduate or the graduate level.

Seventy percent of the international students were studying at the graduate level, accounting for approximately one third of the university's total graduate student enrollment. International undergraduate students comprised about 5% of the total university undergraduate population, and approximately 15% of these were nondegree exchange students. More than 1000 new international undergraduate students enroll at this university in any given year. These students represent some 120 countries from around the world. Seventy-five percent of all international students come from Asia, with South Korea (24%), China (18%), India (12%), Taiwan (8%), and Turkey (3%) as the top five senders.

For an in-depth qualitative investigation of South Korean undergraduate students' issues and challenges associated with the adjustment process in the U.S., 11 international undergraduate students (six females and five males, seven degree-seeking and four exchange students) were recruited through the Korean International Student Association on campus. Their ages ranged from 19 to 25 and their fields of study ranged from English to Engineering; they had an average length of stay in the U.S. of 1.3 years. I included only exchange students who participated in a minimum one-year exchange program, excluding exchange students participating in a short-term stay such as 3 weeks, a summer exchange, or a one-semester-based exchange program.

I employed in-depth interviews as a primary method of data collection to elicit rich, detailed accounts (Lofland and Lofland 1995). The interview protocol allowed me to establish rapport and establish a baseline understanding of each participant, with attention to their motivation to study abroad and initial adjustment concerns. The follow-up interview was more structured, allowing me to probe more deeply into the areas I explored in the first interview, as well as to delve into family and peer influence, perceptions of the college environment and the process of adjustment. Each interview ranged in length from one to one-and-a-half hours in the fall and subsequent spring semester. Interview questions included the following: What was your original intention for studying in the U.S.? What barriers or obstacles have you faced while studying in an American university? Tell me about your experiences while interacting with other student groups. Is there any aspect of the American university environment that you particularly like or dislike? Is there anything that you feel needs to be changed?

All digitally recorded interviews were transcribed verbatim and served as the primary data source supplemented by field notes. Each interview transcript was analyzed by deriving significant and emerging themes across the interviews. I chose a theme-based analytical methodology as a major element of this qualitative inquiry to explore and interpret Korean students' experiences in American higher education. By focusing on emerging themes across the interviewees' shared stories, I tried to better understand their experiences and construct meaning associated with them. I carefully read and reread the transcripts line by line and divided the data into meaningful analytical units. When I located meaningful segments, I grouped them and assigned each a descriptive category. I continued this process until I had segmented all of my interview data, thus completing the initial categorization. I then sought out relationships between various categories that I had previously identified and related these ideas to what participants meant.

Results

Perceptions of and Motivations for Studying Abroad

Most Korean students perceived studying abroad as a luxury—an opportunity to learn about diverse cultures, to experience English-language immersion, and to advance their immediate job placement prospects. Some students regarded studying in the U.S. as an opportunity for academic enrichment and a riskier undertaking than pursuing educational opportunities at home. One interesting finding from this study is that several Korean students expressed dissatisfaction with the Korean education system, which motivated them to attend college abroad. They felt ill-suited to the Korean education system, in large part because of its emphasis on entrance exams which begin in secondary school and culminate with the University Entrance Exam. Jeremy, a sophomore majoring in engineering, described himself as struggling academically in high school in Korea. Jeremy recounted that he was afraid of not getting into one of Korea's prestigious colleges. Rather than going to a second-tier Korean school, Jeremy and his parents decided that he would have a better chance of getting into a U.S. college. As many as seven students in the study sought greater opportunities in the American higher education system as a means to steer themselves away from Korea's "education fever" (Kim et al. 2005).

Jeremy described his thought process with regard to studying abroad:

> I thought about disadvantage of staying in Korea. All like there were just three colleges I may be able to get in. It would be better if I just come to U.S. and study and, like, get more experience and I will be able get to [sic] many chances to get a job and have better life.

Sandra made the following point:

> I was a very good student until elementary school. After I went to middle school, there were so many classes and subjects I had to study, almost 9 or 10 subjects. I was not interested in almost half of these subjects. I completely lost motivation to study. The result was, of course, bad grades. I had little vested [sic] in Korean education system. All I wanted to escape this hell. I believe that things would be a lot better in the U.S.

The Korean educational system is described as a "testocracy" because of the numerous secondary school performance and college entrance exams that ripple through the system (Sorensen 1994). Korean students who participated in the study feared becoming second-class citizens who would be unable to gain admission to the best schools in Korea, or any college at all, for that matter. They viewed Korea's educational system as an unjust mechanism that thwarted their ability to fulfill their potential. Thus, their motivation for coming to the U.S. was primarily to get into college by avoiding Korea's strict entrance exams and stiff competition.

Perceptions of Learning Environment and Learning Strategies

Learning strategies are formed over a period of time, and various social and cultural factors contribute to the development of different strategies (Bennett 1999). All participants commented on American students' active participation in classroom discussions and other learning activities and noticed a comparatively passive general pattern of learning by Korean students. They also acknowledged the strong points of American students' learning strategies: "They are very independent, exploratory, and creative in solving problems." "They might not remember the formulas during the calculations, but they tried to find alternative ways to get their results." "They liked to ask questions about what they were doing, and they liked to discuss their ideas with TAs and professors." These activities often helped them "take academic risks," and one participant, Nathan, thought this was "a very effective way to learn, though it is often challenging and daunting" for Korean students.

Reflecting on their experiences with the general academic environment in the U.S., several Korean students felt that professors encouraged students to raise questions about their studies, and they would often tell them that "you have made a good point, and you feel good about yourself," said study participant, Victoria, whereas, according to Kelly, "you always feel that the authoritative figures [in the Korean education system] are so powerful and you feel like you are nothing." Korean students commented that American professors seemed to appreciate "even some small ideas and findings," and Alicia felt that the American educational system "encourages you to believe in yourself and achieve your best as long as you put in the best effort you can."

Interestingly, at least half of the respondents reported a positive perception of their status as international students interacting with peers, professors, and university staff. Victoria stated, "The fact that when you are a Korean international student, it's a good passport for you. People are really cool, because they ask you why you are here, and what you study. American students seem congenial and genuinely interested." However, this perception was not shared by all. Some students reported ambivalent or negative stereotypes of international students. Kelly said:

> I don't think I get any attention. I think no one cares. I don't want to compare things very much, but when we have international students [in Korea], we would ask about their country, their language, try to make friends, and try to help them out with their classes.

Katherine felt that the American college environment did not welcome her to reveal her Korean identity, nor did she feel visible on campus. She stated, "I don't tell people that I am from Korea anymore. I am too tired of telling them, you know. I don't want [Americans] to see me as Chinese or just Asian. I feel like I am just one of many Asians." During the adaptation process, a sense of isolation was not uncommon among Korean participants. Adjustment appeared to be more difficult for those students when they held negative stereotypes.

Building Co-national Friendship and Social Networks

While examining a sense of oneself in relation to others within academic and social contexts, Korean students tended to maintain strong ties to their Korean peers, or other Asian international students who were from backgrounds similar to theirs in terms of race/ethnicity, culture, and language. These relationships have been identified as a source of support and comfort, where similarity becomes a safe haven (Furnham and Alibhai 1985). Such conational networks of Asians provided emotional support for Korean students because they found shelter in customs and traditions with which they were familiar. Kevin said, "All my friends are either Korean or Taiwanese. We share similar cultural values. I feel most comfortable being around them."

However, despite the strong co-national networks of Asians, there is a noticeable difference between degree-seeking students and exchange students (though this was not a primary focus of this study). Exchange students tended to adjust and immerse themselves in the host culture shortly after arriving in the U.S. because their academic performances did not affect their academic standing at their home institutions. The degree-seeking students, in contrast, felt more academic pressure and, as a result, concentrated less on their social lives. For example, the exchange students sought out social networks by actively participating in an international buddy program, which was designed to pair former American study abroad students with international students. Degree-seeking students rarely chose to participate in this program; instead, they had a tendency to minimize their involvement in cocurricular activities during their first few semesters in favor of focusing on academic achievement. Therefore, interactions with other racial or cultural groups were limited to academic activities such as group projects, note-taking, and exam preparation.

On the other hand, during their stay, exchange students seemed to utilize advising services and cultural programs, including meeting with academic advisors and teaching assistants, and participating in campus social events. Kevin illustrated this point, "I made several American friends through the buddy program on campus. We hang out almost every Friday night for fun. My buddy, Mike, also introduced a bunch of his American friends to me. I felt like having real friendship here." This may be that most exchange students who perceived short-term study abroad as an opportunity to learn about diverse cultures engage themselves in learning English language in order to enrich their educational experience, while degree-seeking students regarded their longer-term studies as an opportunity to obtain a more prestigious degree than they could from Korean universities. Therefore, high academic performance and completion of coursework were of greater concern for the degree-seeking students. Several degree-seeking students found it difficult to make friends with students from the host country, because of the cultural distance they felt between themselves and their American classmates, in addition to academic pressure.

Negotiating and Preserving the Cultural Values of the Homeland

While these Korean students adjusted to a new academic environment, they began to develop a sense of interdependence, which often entailed redefining their values and ideas about the kind of person they wanted to be as well as developing both an awareness of their individual strengths and weaknesses and an ability to handle life's problems with less reliance on family. Several participants expressed strong, integrated personal values embedded in Korean culture and familial relations. Participants in this study overwhelmingly reported maintaining strong relationships with immediate and/or extended family members during their time abroad. Among Korean students, it was prevalent to identify oneself as a son, daughter, brother, sister, or friend—defining one's role in a social sense, rather than an individual one. Kevin illuminated the importance of family in the following quote:

> We have family togetherness. Family comes first. We have weekly family gatherings and we try to help each other. If something happens to one of our family members, we will try to be there for them.

David echoed this sentiment, "I think for all of us [in my family], the most important thing is that family must be the most important in our lives." However, some students reported that though they respected their family and cultural traditions, they also began to build a sense of independence from them. Nathan said:

> I'd say those are my values, but I'm a little more open-minded than [my family] because they grew up in a very enclosed culture, whereas I've been influenced by Western cultures. I've traveled America and I've got to see so many different cultures.

In spite of their efforts to learn about American culture and its educational system, Korean students expressed a definite preference for their own culture and maintained the values of their native country. Several students noted, "I think I quite agree with our family values. I mean, I do accept other things and traditions and cultures, but I think I would still follow like, what my people have." For others, spending time in the U.S. solidified their sense of self as a member of their native culture, as in the following response from Marie:

> I realized as much as I do now that I am Korean and now that I am [in America], everything is important to me, like the language or the music or the food. If I go out and I listen to Korean song, music, I would be very, very happy; and that didn't happen before so now I am kind of more aware of the pride of being Korean and I wasn't before I came here.

Coping with Limited English Proficiency

Much research indicates that limited proficiency in English is a major constraint for international students' academic adjustment process. Lack of English-language proficiency also affects international students' socialization with other international

and American students (Sawir 2005; Sherry et al. 2010). Pedagogical strategies focused on conversational English, class participation, and group discussion put these international students at a disadvantage, and these students tend to be more passive in the classroom (Sawir 2005; Sherry et al. 2010). Research also indicates that students who are proficient in English when they arrive in the U.S. perform better and adapt more readily than those with little or no English-language proficiency (Barratt and Huba 1994; Hayes and Lin 1994; Poyrazli et al. 2002).

While students knew English well enough to attend this university, they struggled to improve their English during their stay. Even though their worst difficulties with English were behind them, the majority of participants indicated that their English skills had suffered since arriving at college. Alicia explained:

> [The] language of confidence or competency is so key, you know. I bet a lot of international students like me feel that way. Even though you have the potential, but it's not being fulfilled because of English. This is considered as a barrier. So it's not just you, I mean, I've been studying here for a while but I still haven't overcome the language barrier completely, but I guess I just have to have thick skin. You've got to have that to survive to not let people get you down. I was very outgoing when I was in Korea, but when I came here I got so shy because [of] the language…. I think I should be able to overcome now. But for some reason I just can't get out of comfort zone. I don't know how to do that. I am just nervous whenever I am talking to native speakers.

Jeremy also remembered his struggle to learn English:

> I thought I could get used to speak in English really fast because I was getting good grade in English. So I was kind of adored [with] myself with the score. Even my friends told that you are gonna get used to, you are gonna feel well, so I trusted and went to freshman orientation. They [international office staff] spoke something in English and all I saw was their mouth moving and some voices coming to my ear and totally no idea what they were talking.

Nearly all participants expressed some level of discomfort with their ability to communicate effectively in English, and this often had a negative impact on their perception of their own academic ability and emotional stability. The following response from Sandra illustrates this point: "Studying here, actually, I was very competent and confident studying in Korea. But now, I think I am not doing good because of my poor English. I can't understand what professors are saying. I was good at most of subjects in Korea. I thought I had adaptability but because of my English, sometimes, I cannot speak of what I want to say and cannot contact with others easily."

While dealing with their English-language proficiency, the majority of respondents gravitated toward peers who spoke the same native language and/or came from the same or a similar cultural background. The use of this coping mechanism is illustrated in the following response from Patrick: "I've been becoming friends, especially with this girl because she's a Korean-American, so we're both Asians, so that's kind of important, we know what we talk about, we have same language, we kind of have the same music." In addition, one's self-perception of their lack of English ability is among the most salient hindrances to participation in classroom discussions and to active interaction with peers and professors. The gap between students' actual English abilities and their own perceptions is central to their struggle to acculturate themselves to a new environment (Gregersen and Horwitz 2002;

Table 7.1 Description of participants

Name	Age	Gender	Major	Year in school	Length of stay in the U.S.
Kelly	22	Female	Psychology	Sophomore	15 months
Jeremy	20	Male	Engineering	Sophomore	6 months
David	21	Male	Computer science	Senior	36 months
Victoria	19	Female	Political science	Sophomore	6 months
Alicia	23	Female	English history	Senior	12 months
Katherine[a]	25	Female	Business management	Freshman	6 months
Marie[a]	21	Female	Communication	Junior	10 months
Sandra	21	Female	Biology	Junior	24 months
Patrick	25	Male	Business administration	Junior	11 months
Nathan[a]	24	Male	Design/merchandise	Junior	8 months
Kevin[a]	23	Male	Computer science	Sophomore	6 months

[a]Denotes exchange students

Lee 2009). Such language learning anxiety often lowered Korean students' self-competence and negated any underlying ability to perform as confidently as they could (Table 7.1).

Institutional Accountability for Korean Students

The interview data indicates that a few Korean students have been in contact with their academic advisors, who are one of the main persons through which they receive assistance and are connected to resources on campus. A typical response to the question about the relationship with an academic advisor is, "My academic advisor is really nice. He helps me out a lot. Thanks to him, I am able to find solutions to all my problems." Although a handful of responses are positive, the majority of Korean students indicated that they did not actively seek assistance from academic advisors. David said, "I haven't had much need to contact my advisor so far. I haven't had specific questions to ask other than course registration at the beginning of the semester."

Several students pointed out the need for administrators' help in attaining greater cultural awareness and asking for assistance adjusting to American culture. Korean students acknowledged that they need to assimilate to a new academic norm in an American university by conforming to its institutional culture and academic expectations. They also emphasized that the institutions themselves should adapt to accommodate international students' needs. Korean students' overwhelming responses point out that international student adaptation is influenced by individuals' perceptions of how well their cultural attributes are valued on American college campuses as well as how differences between their cultural origin and the host culture are bridged by institutional agents. This point is illustrated by Alicia's response:

> I felt that as [sic] I have come from all together a different culture, so I need more time to adjust with this change, so there should be some workshop telling how to adjust with the culture of here. Maybe, having a culture feast and fellow students have to be more aware of international students and the type of questions to ask.

Overall, Korean students struggled to negotiate the academic systems of the host university, and their experiences were often intensified by their perceptions of "not belonging" to the institution. They had limited interactions with faculty and institutional staff in various on-campus contexts. Their experiences repeatedly confirmed their perception of being "outsiders" which contributed to intense emotional stress. Sandra shared her sense of frustration, which stemmed from incidents where her professors failed to recognize her cultural value of maintaining silence to show respect to professors.

I feel isolated in class discussion. My professors didn't recognize that I needed a little more time to get up to speed for class participation. It is not just about language barriers. My professors treated me just like American students and expected me to adjust as fast as they can and as actively participating in class discussion as American students do. I tend to listen to what my peers say rather than doing all the talk. I often feel I get left out in classroom discussions because I tend to be quiet during discussion. In my biology class, when my professor asked me a question, I didn't answer right away. He jumped to the conclusion that I didn't do the reading for that week. I felt so embarrassed but I couldn't tell him that in fact I did the reading.

She further commented that even though she did the reading, the professor assumed that she did not understand the material because she did not immediately answer the question. Many Korean students chose to disengage in different contexts, both in and out of the classroom. They did not participate in organized activities such as student clubs, study groups, or campus events for international students but instead "chilled" in their dormitory rooms.

This finding raises questions about the ways in which faculty members can facilitate learning by increasing their understanding of Korean international students' particular approaches to preparing for coursework and learning course material. The finding further suggests that both faculty and Korean students must understand each other's expectations in class, in order to promote student learning. It is also vitally important for academic advisors and international offices to provide Korean international students with the necessary opportunities to participate in more structured, common learning experiences, which foster student engagement and socialization on campus.

Discussion/Implication

Despite the challenges associated with adjusting to their new academic and sociocultural environment in the U.S., the Korean participants seemed to find and enjoy academic enrichment during their experiences in U.S. higher education. New experiences provided Korean students with the opportunity to reflect on their previous

social and academic experiences in Korea and helped them to appreciate the opportunity to learn in the U.S. They had a variety of expectations for their time in the U.S., and they made efforts to achieve their goals. In a new environment far from their family and friends, they were learning to live their own lives and "becoming a real person as an adult," as Katherine put it.

The findings of the study suggest that possessing a sense of self in cultural, social, and historical contexts and negotiating a positive sense of self in the host culture are critical aspects of Korean students' adjustment experiences when studying abroad. These attributes are concerned with how individuals relate and respond to their familial and cultural environments. Exploring the sense of self of international students in sociocultural contexts different from their own also requires consideration of their new living and learning contexts (Tseng and Newton 2002).

Forming new social networks is critical to the cross-cultural adjustment of Korean international students (Sato and Hodge 2009; Seo and Koro-Ljungberg 2005). Their social network is often delimited by language, cultural traits, territorial contiguity, length of stay, and international student status. As Ward and Rana-Deuba (1999) found, strong conational identification was related to greater psychosocial adaptation for Asian international students. In this study, Korean students utilized conational networks that provided emotional and social support. Similar to previous research (e.g., Abe et al. 1998; Heggins and Jackson 2003), this study points to the importance of meaningful interactions between international students and American students.

The literature has consistently found limited English proficiency to be a stress factor for many international students (Lin and Yi 1997; Yeh and Inose 2003; Yen and Steven 2004). Their lack of language skills undermines their self-esteem, discourages them from participating in and outside the classroom, and limits their socialization with students outside their own ethnic peer group (Heggins and Jackson 2003; Lee and Rice 2007). Almost every respondent expressed some level of discomfort with their ability to communicate effectively in English, and in most cases, this had a negative impact on the individual's perception of their academic strengths as well as in their establishment of relationships with other multicultural groups. The majority of respondents gravitated toward peer groups who spoke the same native language and/or came from the same or a similar cultural environment.

Some Korean students were not initially confident nor comfortable socializing with the people around them. They felt that they were "not involved with many mainstream things except focusing on my study." The findings of this study suggest that most Korean students mainly socialized with other Korean students during their leisure time, and this seemed to be an important part of their social lives. Given that traditional Korean values are characterized by respect for social harmony as well as order and hierarchy, Korean students talked about the discomfort and struggle they experienced during their stay in the U.S. where individualism, personal uniqueness, freedom, independence, and creativity are valued. These Korean students experienced confusion and uncertainty about how to deal with challenges in this new and different environment. They expressed an understanding of new social and cultural values, but this did not mean that they accepted these values without reservation. Bennett (1999) and LeVine (1986) argued that personal experiences and social and

cultural differences helped learners to be more open-minded, receptive, and tolerant of different ways of life. Similarly, in this study, Korean students commented on the open and diverse social environment of the U.S. They suggested that people learned to appreciate different ideas and concepts in a diverse environment, and they tended to be more open-minded in their academic journey.

Studying overseas is a critical period during which international students strive to achieve their academic and career aspirations, reexamine who they are, grapple with new learning and living environments, and attempt to strike a balance between American culture and their indigenous culture. Although there are international student-oriented programs, such as the international buddy system, that aim to promote on-campus cross-cultural understanding and communication, awareness and utilization of student services appear to differ by student subgroup. Institutional administrators and faculty should be aware of the different needs and shared concerns of international students in order to help them adjust to their new educational environment. The findings of this study indicate that family influences play a central role in helping international students maintain their sense of self as an international student. Therefore, university administrators and faculty should consider ways in which the Korean international students' psychosocial well-being can be enhanced by communicating with their families in Korea. In many cases, these students feel pressured to assimilate to an American culture in which domestic students express and/or display a lack of cultural awareness or even an ethnocentric attitude. Therefore, in conjunction with the Asian-American culture center on campus, the international student office and programs should make an effort to hire multicultural and bilingual staff to work more closely with Korean international students. Faculty and administrators as institutional agents should be more sensitive to international students from various countries and cultures and help them to recognize and successfully negotiate the academic and cultural dissonance they experience.

While many American higher education institutions have invested considerable attention and effort in recruiting international students, their work tends to cease once these students are enrolled in their institutions; international students are held almost solely accountable for their own success in the American college system. As American colleges and universities develop strategies to attract international students, they cannot simply admit foreign students and expect them to adjust to a new learning and living environment without providing adequate support services and programming (Andrade 2006). Peterson et al. (1999) argue, "higher education institutions take international students for granted, as cash cows, do so at their peril" (p. 69). In order to help international students have positive experiences and fulfill their educational goals, higher education administrators, faculty, and practitioners should assume responsibility in supporting, facilitating, and enhancing cross-cultural interaction. They should view foreign students not only as learners who need to make appropriate adjustments but also as learning sources for domestic students and cultural diplomats (Spencer-Rodgers 2001). Rather than framing the issues of international students' adjustment as a lack of coping skills or an inability to adapt, additional attention should be paid to critically examine the lack of accountability on the part of colleges and the inadequate services provided by these

host institutions, which might exacerbate the difficulties international students face (Lee 2015; Lee and Rice 2007). Most of the existing literature examining international students' adjustment experiences has been based on the underlying assumption that international students must adopt the values and norms of the dominant American college environment in order to succeed and has thus neglected these students' inherent abilities to function in both their own and American cultures. This study is significant in that it not only offers an understanding of Korean international students' experiences but also considers how accountable American higher education institutions must be when it comes to helping these students adjust to their new learning environment and in fostering positive and meaningful relationships between students and their host institutions. Thus, moving away from the assumption that conformity is a prerequisite for success would help educators more adequately address the multifaceted and heterogeneous international students' "adjustment experiences."

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Chapter 8
From Elites to Outsiders: How Chinese MBA Students Experience Power Asymmetries in American Universities

Vivian Louie

Abstract Elite Masters of Business Administration (MBA) programs in American universities train their students in global markets and the flexible and creative thinking skills and cross-cultural teamwork that have been identified as central to globalization. Based on longitudinal interviews with 23 Chinese international students, as they start and finish the 2-year MBA program, this chapter reveals that learning about and living globalization does not happen organically on its own. Nor it is solely a function of an individual's motivation to engage with the process. The international students find themselves expected to adjust on their own to American norms. Arriving with the expectation of being treated as equals, the students find little appreciation for the knowledge they bring with them. Overall, the Chinese students experienced key cultural, linguistic, and academic barriers that stood in the way of enacting the globalization about which they were learning. There are key power asymmetries between the Chinese international students and the American students, faculty, and staff, with the international students holding lower status; these asymmetries manifest along the lines of race, nationality, and language. A proactive institutional approach should recognize and attend to these asymmetries. Further, institutional approaches should involve *both* the international and the American students. In the absence of such concerted responses by MBA programs, the Chinese international and American students ended up existing in separate worlds, even as they were learning about the one world of global markets and global skillsets.

Yun, a Chinese international student, observed of her mostly white American classmates at a highly selective MBA program in the Midwest:

> I expect them to be very open, and very easygoing like to make new friends, and like to welcome people from abroad; that's my concept of American culture, but in business

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> school, it's not. They stay into their comfort zone because they don't know us. They don't know our culture, and I don't know whether they are interested to know or not. At least they don't really reach out. They think, yeah, you're from China, good, so?

Chao, a Chinese international student at a highly selective MBA program in Northern California, said:

> We have a program called International Business Development. People are sent to some foreign countries to do a three-week small project for a local company. It definitely has some benefits but it's not really effective towards the end that the program wants to promote. Most people treat the program like the opportunity to have three-week vacation in foreign country financed by the university. That's about it.

Globalization, or "the ongoing process of intensifying economic, social and cultural exchanges," has spurred high levels of migration across borders, in the form of labor, professional, and student migrants (Suárez-Orozco and Sattin 2007). This chapter focuses on Chinese international graduate students. They came to elite American universities to study business administration, sometimes directly from China, and in other cases, after already having studied or worked abroad in an English-speaking nation. Both their journeys and the mission of the MBA programs they attended speak to the major trends characterizing globalization. These include the rise of global markets, along with newly emergent information and communication technologies that have made knowledge a key factor in economic development (Suárez Orozco and Qin-Hilliard 2004; Altbach and Knight 2007). These trends have been accompanied by the de-linking of production of goods and services from nation-state boundaries, high levels of migration across borders and within nation-states, and cultural shifts that engage and "challenge values and norms in both sending and receiving countries" (Suárez Orozco and Qin-Hilliard 2004:14).

Elite MBA programs in American universities are meant to prepare their students to be business leaders in this globalizing world. Students are trained in the fundamentals of doing business in global markets, including the specifics of different economic systems, and the flexible and creative thinking skills and cross-cultural teamwork that have been identified as central to globalization. On the face of things, these programs would seem to be natural places for engaging all its students in the two-way street of learning and living globalization.

Yet, Yun and Chao, whose sentiments serve to introduce this chapter, speak to quite a different experience. Their very participation in the MBA programs, along with fellow students from around the world, showcase globalization at work. Yet their experiences highlight the challenges of adapting and learning abroad in a post-graduate program, even one with globalization as its core mission. Learning about and living globalization does not happen organically on its own. Nor it is solely a function of an individual's motivation to engage with the process. Rather, institutions have to make particular choices in academic programming and practices to *facilitate* the process (Altbach and Knight 2007). Altbach and Knight use the term internationalization to refer to the "academic programs, institutions, innovations, and practices created to cope with globalization and reap its benefits," e.g., student mobility. Similar to Suarez-Orozo (2007) and Gardner (2004), I prefer to use the

term globalization more broadly to refer both to the processes fueling economic, social, and cultural exchanges and to the decisions made by institutions to meet the needs of globalization.

Based on longitudinal interviews with 23 Chinese international students, as they start and finish their 2-year programs, this chapter presents a largely *one-way* street of learning and adapting. The international students find themselves expected to adjust on their own to American norms. Arriving with the expectation of being treated as equals, the students find little appreciation for the knowledge they bring with them and, indeed, scant ways to express it. Overall, the Chinese students experienced key cultural, linguistic, and academic barriers that stood in the way of enacting the globalization about which they were learning. As I will show, there are key power asymmetries between the Chinese international students and the American students, faculty, and staff, with the international students holding lower status; these asymmetries manifest along the lines of race, nationality, and language (Yeoh and Huang 2011: 687). A proactive institutional approach should recognize and attend to these asymmetries. Further, institutional approaches should involve *both* the international and the American students. In the absence of such concerted responses by MBA programs, the Chinese international and American students ended up existing in separate worlds, even as they were learning about the one world of global markets and global skillsets.

This chapter first extends the literature on talent migration through illuminating the ways in which Chinese graduate students experience the receiving social and cultural contexts. Second, it sheds light on how skills and understandings identified as crucial for globalization and education are actually learned, especially for students from a non-Western educational system. Third, this chapter offers recommendations for the types of policies and practices that would facilitate the learning processes in global postgraduate exchanges.

Theoretical Perspectives

Globalization has made certain types of skills important to have. These include what Murnane and Levy (1996) have described as hard skills (problem-solving, higher-order reading, and mathematics abilities than previously necessary) and soft skills (the ability to work in groups, develop applied solutions, and effectively communicate) combined with computer competencies. Nations seeking to be competitive in the global marketplace need to have citizens well-versed in these skills (Bloom 2004). Globalization has made equally important having the "cultural sophistication to empathize" with people of different backgrounds, e.g., linguistic, racial, or cultural (Suarez-Orozco 2007: 19). Yet, few nations, whether industrializing or developing, are doing a good job of educating their peoples for this kind of world (Suarez-Orozco 2007).

The flows of international students, whether at the undergraduate or graduate level, further complicate this issue. How are universities preparing not only their

own citizens but also those from different nation-states for a globalizing world? Little attention, for instance, has been paid to how migrants from developing nations with different educational systems might acquire these skills in a postindustrial nation and what they might require there to facilitate their learning. The study on which this chapter is based seeks to understand how the new skills and understandings, identified by Gardner (2004) as central to education and globalization, are learned through business postgraduate exchange. These include "the capacity to think analytically and creatively" both within and across disciplines and "to develop interpersonal intelligence and multicultural understanding" (252–253).

It is important to recognize that international students arrive in the new setting with their own distinct set of needs and strengths (Yeoh and Huang 2011). By definition, international students are transnational actors because they are embedded both in the countries of origin and settlement and engaged in back-and-forth movements.[1] Further, they maintain a dual frame of reference, made easier by the information and communication technologies that allow for quick or even, real-time exchanges (Glick Schiller et al. 1992; Portes, Guarnizo and Landolt 1999; Suárez-Orozco and Suárez-Orozco 2001; Louie 2006a, b). That said, much of the research on the talent migration that includes international students has focused on its economic aspects, from macro shifts propelling the movement of individuals to the individuals themselves, who are seen mostly in terms of their skills or careers (Yeoh and Lai 2008). Recent research, however, has brought race, nationality, and culture into the story of talent migration. It is important to understand that the individuals, while their transnational lives are motivated by economic concerns, nonetheless have particular cultures, national, ethnic, and class backgrounds.

How these background factors shape the international students' experiences with the skills and understandings crucial to globalization has been the subject of scholarly debate. Multicultural understandings presume engagement between international and domestic students. Yet international students are often isolated from their domestic peers (Trice 2007). Not only does this isolation jeopardize cross-cultural understanding, but it also negatively impacts the well-being of the international students. Interactions between international students and domestic students are associated with healthier adjustment and better academic outcomes for the former (Trice 2004; Rajapaksa and Dundes 2002; Snow Andrade 2006). Absent to these interactions, international students are more likely to be anxious, depressed, and alienated (Trice 2004).

What are the causes of this isolation? At one end, scholars have found that some international students, including the Chinese, self-isolate themselves with conationals (Alexander et al. 1976). While the Chinese might be interested in forging relationships with domestic students, they are less likely than other international

[1] If international students decide to stay in the receiving nation, typically through getting a job, their transnationalism can be transformed. Now they would have to make more conscious choices to maintain ties to the homeland, whether through visits, investments, or participating in politics. Due to technology, however, they might be able to maintain a transnational frame of reference, e.g., knowing what goes on in the homeland, without having to undertake transnational practices.

students to actually make the effort and see domestic students as the ones who should initiate the process (Ward and Masgoret 2004). Cultural differences may also play a role. For instance, European international students, coming as they do from cultures more similar to the American one, have an easier time interacting with Americans and, thus, adjusting to their new setting (Shigaki and Smith 1997; Trice 2004; Lee and Rice 2007). To sum up, this line of thinking emphasizes the international students as individual actors and their individual exertions to reach out to their domestic counterparts.

Other scholars report that this line of thinking ignores the power dynamics between international and domestic students (Yeoh and Huang 2011). Trice (2007) argues that international students have the weaker role vis-à-vis domestic students due to language and cultural norm barriers. Thus, it is the domestic students who actually have the power to set the course of their interactions. She also finds that having conational friendships does not necessarily serve as barriers to international students developing ties with domestic students. Further, conational relationships provide a strong support system that international students need to cope with cultural and linguistic adjustments, navigate the new setting, and, when they face exclusion or discrimination, deal with it (Lin and Yi 1997; Trice 2004). On the latter point, Lee and Rice (2007) theorize that international students in the United States, who are part of their homeland elites, may be "especially sensitive to prejudices that place them beneath the dominant culture in the United States in economic and social terms" (392).

The issue of power is also a central theme in the Parks and Raymond's (2004) study of language use by Chinese international MBA students in Canada. These students had first enrolled in an English for Academic Purposes (EAP) program and then moved on to sheltered core classes in the MBA program, where they were the only students in the class. After a certain point, the Chinese students could also take integrated electives with native English speakers. The authors challenge the conceptualization of the poor language learner as someone who just does not want to learn. Rather, they posit that learning a new language, especially in such circumstances, involves far more than individual motivation and initiative. Contextual factors matter, as English language use for the Chinese students depended on the type of social interaction and their positioning within it (Parks and Raymond 2004: 379). For example, the students' shift from their sheltered MBA core classes to the electives was accompanied by the sudden expansion of native English-speaking voices that they heard. Suddenly, they were in classes where there was a cacophony of English-speaking voices, mainly native Canadian, which made the exchanges harder to follow. With appropriate scaffolding from the instructor through teaching strategies like structured team debates, the Chinese would still participate, e.g., ask questions, and respond to the instructor's cues. But if the Chinese students believed the instructor was not really invested in hearing from them, and/or the instructor used the more typical lecture style with ad hoc questions from students, they would be reluctant to participate. Further, in some cases, the Chinese students were not especially welcomed by native Canadian peers, who viewed the Chinese as academically inferior and teammates who might drag down their own grades. Such lowered expectations

had a chilling effect on the Chinese students' willingness to engage in classroom participation and teamwork; at the least, in such instances, the Chinese students did not want "to take up too much class time" (380).

Andrea Trice's research is further illustrative with regard to the role of faculty. She finds that departments and individual faculty were not certain about how to evaluate students' language skills, how to communicate effectively with them, and how to promote their integration (Trice 2003). Like Lee and Rice (2007), she suggests that staff in international student services communicate the needs of international students to faculty and make concrete recommendations about what faculty can do and what services they can turn to in addressing those needs. In another study, Trice details instances when such measures were identified and undertaken effectively by faculty. She writes:

> Several consciously altered their role as advisors and research supervisors when working with this population. They spent more time explaining tasks and concepts to these students, provided extra supervision in the beginning, or even became more personally involved in their lives as the students struggled to adapt to life in the United States. In the classroom, several used overheads, some spoke more slowly and avoided colloquialisms to assist with comprehension. (Trice 2005: 76)

The argument presented in this chapter speaks to such power asymmetries as potential barriers to both international and domestic students' learning and living globalization. Certainly, the responsibility does not lie at the individual level. Rather, there is need for a strong institutional role to address these asymmetries (Lee and Rice 2007). Institutions, for instance, need to *facilitate* the interactions between international and American students in various contexts, such as classroom discussions, teamwork projects, and social gatherings outside the school setting. Joining MBA programs to learn the skills needed in a globalizing world meant that these Chinese international students were perhaps more motivated than most to engage with their American peers and globalized skillsets. That they in fact struggled with and experienced this process as a one-way street speaks to unrecognized and, thus, unaddressed power asymmetries at the institutional level.

Research Design

The data presented in this chapter are drawn from an interview-based study of Mainland Chinese students, who were enrolled in elite MBA programs in the United States during the mid- and late 2000s. I used purposive sampling to recruit respondents through Mainland Chinese MBA alumni and student contacts and referrals from my graduate research team through their own networks. Four graduate

students[2] and I conducted a total of 46 longitudinal interviews with 23 respondents[3] over the 2-year program. The first interview was conducted in Year 1 of the MBA program and the second interview in Year 2. Typically there was between 6 months and a year between the two interviews. The goal of conducting longitudinal interviews was to tap into how the students were actually experiencing the program over time, for instance, to see if their views on the challenges changed over time. The in-person interviews were conducted in English, audiotaped, and later transcribed; following the interview, the researcher wrote field notes describing the respondent, their interaction, and themes from the interview that struck the researcher. In addition to the interviews, we asked for a brief demographic survey prior to the first interview, a check-in email during the middle of the second year to prepare for the upcoming interview, and resumes. The transcripts were first analyzed for preliminary themes by myself and a research team[4] and then later input into and analyzed via ATLAS, a qualitative data analysis software program.

The analysis presented in this chapter is based on these several data sources: The demographic survey asked for the respondent's educational and professional histories, travel outside China, and other items. The Year 1 interviews asked about the respondent's academic and cultural transitions to the school, social networks, general transition to life in America, and any advice the respondent would give to a Mainland Chinese person interested in pursuing MBA studies in the United States. The respondents were asked to compare their experiences of learning and socializing in the United States to what they had known in China and, if relevant, other nations they had previously lived and worked. The Year 2 interviews asked about the respondent's thoughts on globalization in their school's curriculum, what it did well and what it could do better, among other topics.

The 23 respondents came from 8 MBA programs ranked in the top 25 during this time period, located in California, the Northeast and mid-Atlantic, and the Midwest. The respondents were about evenly divided between women (12) and men (11) and were nearly all in their mid-20s or early 30s. Nearly all the respondents had started their MBA studies in 2005 and completed their degrees in 2007.[5] The respondents were all born and raised in Mainland China. However, the sample was almost evenly split in their prior experiences with living abroad, whether for earlier graduate studies or for work. For 12 of the respondents, studying abroad for the MBA was their first time living and going to school in another country. However, these dozen

[2] Thanks to Drs. Kevin Gee, Ann Ishimaru, Connie Chung, and North Cooc and then all graduate students for their work with data collection. Drs. Gee and Ishimaru were especially helpful with recruiting pilot respondents and then study respondents in addition to conducting the interviews.

[3] The original sample consisted of 28 respondents: Three of the respondents had gone to college in the United States so I do not include them here. Another two respondents declined to be reinterviewed in the second year, so they are also not included here.

[4] Thanks to Cole Farnum, Rachael Merola, and Erin McDonald for their work with developing preliminary themes and to Ge Song, Peter Pruyn, and Shauna Leung for their work with the codebook and ATLAS data analyses

[5] The exception was a 37-year-old man, who was a part-time MBA student while still working full time as a business analyst for a large firm.

respondents all had studied English in the university as well as in their pre-collegiate schooling, and most had once worked for a multinational firm in China. Many had traveled abroad for business and pleasure, including outside of Asia, and virtually all knew someone who had studied abroad. Most of them knew seven to ten people (whether relatives, co-workers, and/or classmates/friends) who had pursued international studies. In sum, although this group of respondents had not lived or studied abroad, they certainly had high exposure to the English language and to the idea of doing international education, along with some familiarity of the business norms at multinational firms. Another 11 respondents had some experience living abroad prior to the MBA program. Eight of them either had previously earned an advanced degree in the United States or had held a professional job in the United States. Three respondents did so in Malaysia, Australia, and Canada, all English-speaking nations.

Overall, the picture painted of these elite MBA programs touted as valuing globalization and global leadership was largely one of American academic and social parochialism and isolation for international students, particularly from Asia. The cultural, academic, and language transitions were difficult to manage, especially in the first year, and the common theme was feeling left on one's own to navigate them. The respondents often experienced these transitions without adequate institutional supports. In fact, the structure of the MBA programs, while widely acknowledged to be intense for all students, only heightened the challenges facing some of the respondents. The key was the social networks they developed among fellow Mainland Chinese and, to a lesser degree, international students from other nations. While those respondents with previous experience studying, living, and/or working abroad confronted these obstacles with less intensity, they nevertheless grappled with them as obstacles. Interestingly enough, as I will show, the two groups nonetheless held similar views about the language and cultural barriers that came with studying at elite MBA programs and developing their social networks. The experiences of the more acclimated group showed that success was possible, but at the same time, the struggles of this group only exemplified the challenges of fitting in and getting ahead that faced the newly arrived.

Studying Abroad for the First Time: It's Like Marrying Someone You Never Met

In the first year of their MBA program, it did not matter whether the respondents had come directly from China or had lived abroad before. When asked what they would tell someone from China wishing to study abroad, the advice was the same. *Know what to expect*. The challenges were real, said a 28-year-old Ting.[6] She told me:

[6] All the respondents' ages are at the time of the Year 1 interview.

> I think no one can be truly prepared if they never lived in the United States before. I think the things you mentioned [the culture of the school, language, food, keeping up in class] should be brought up more frequently to Chinese students before they make decision to come to the United States. I think they are more exposed to the more beneficial parts, less exposed to the difficult parts. For me, I have no idea what the real difficulties would be.

This view also was common among the respondents with experience living abroad, who themselves differed in their degree of comfort with American life. For example, Hua, 29, had already been in the United States for 7 years and was recognized by her fellow Chinese classmates and herself as someone quite comfortable with American culture. She was reminded of her earlier struggles when she saw what her newly arrived classmates were going through. When asked what advice she would give to prospective international students, Hua said she would first try to get to know their expectations of America and share how different life in America might be. Hai, 30, still struggled in his program, despite having earlier studied and worked in the United States for 3 years. Like Hua, he highlighted that Chinese students seeking to study abroad needed to anticipate life here. "It's like marrying someone you never met. They have never been here. They know the U.S. from the movies. The educational system is totally different." Hai was frank about his own misconceptions:

> I guess you heard almost the same story from most Chinese students. Before we come to the United States, we watch the movies. First thing is the big cities, like Manhattan. Most Chinese students come here not to Manhattan but somewhere like Kentucky or Michigan or whatever, even Boston. They say Boston has very long history but it's kind of disappoint. The city is small, not more than a town.

As described in all the interviews, Chinese students studying abroad, but particularly in MBA programs, could expect rapid, multiple, and challenging transitions. As they experienced it, they were responsible for managing these transitions on their own. And the degree to which they could manage them successfully impacted how they were able to acquire globalized skills and understandings. Not surprisingly, language was foremost in cultural and social transitions and of course academic ones. Lan, an MIT student, said she was familiar with writing and reading in English, because she had worked several years for a multinational firm in China. Conversing in everyday English, though, was quite a shock. For instance, there were the colloquialisms. Lan said:

> When I first come here, it was very difficult for me to talk to people, especially sometimes we cannot understand a single sentence. For example, the first day I went to the reception desk. After I was asking about something. And then he told me, "It's all set," I can't understand his sentence. It's very simple, but I didn't learn that. I never heard that before. Just like this sentence, I need to learn it step by step after I came here.

Asked how she learned what the phrase, "It's all set," meant, Lan said she inferred its meaning from the context and later verified her guess work by asking someone.

Then there were all the cultural nuances that students could only know from having grown up in the United States or, at least, having lived here for several years. These also came up in everyday conversations and included casual references to

cartoons, happy hours, and sports. Lan said: "You talk to people, they talk something I don't know. Like a lot of things, I don't know. What is a red sox. Now I cannot even pronounce it very correctly. The red sox? (IN: Red sox. The baseball team.) Yeah. I don't know that. Culture is very difficult. I cannot even pick up now, after half a year."

As was the case for all the respondents, but especially those who had just come from China, it took a great deal of energy to speak a second language for most of the day, learn in that language, and adjust to new academic and cultural norms.

Loss of Voice

Used to being top students back in China, the newly arrived students quickly realized how learning in a second language and in a different instructional environment could stymie their academic progress. One difficulty was adjusting to the different teaching styles and expectations of students. A key difference had to do with the lecture format favored in China versus the participatory lecture common to the top MBA programs in the United States. Chen, an MIT student, who had done his undergraduate engineering studies in Shanghai, made this comparison:

> [In China] we don't have many interactions between the professor and the students. That's just the tradition. The professor gives you the lecture. Students just tend not to interact with the professor not like here. A lot people raise their hand, professor have questions. They challenge.

Another difference had to do with the teamwork that is so crucial to these top MBA programs. In his previous job in China, Guoming, a Berkeley student, had spent a total of 5 weeks in the United States for business. But that could not adequately prepare him for the intense pace of his MBA studies; though he was intent on improving, Guoming recognized that some things he might never get. Speaking of his study group in the previous semester, where he was the only non-native speaker, he observed, "You know, even though every guy, I think, is very supportive and encourage me to raise questions whenever I didn't understand totally, but I cannot, you know, always interrupt, yeah, so sometimes I will miss some points." That said, he was looking forward to being on a team with more international students, as they could help one another with the steep learning curve they all faced. This finding is consistent with the complex dynamics discussed by Parks and Raymond (2004) in their study of situated language use. The authors argue that both international and domestic students "may choose silence over interaction so as not to appear incompetent" (377). But only the international students feel compelled to stay silent because they do not want "to waste their classmates' time" (377).

The loss of voice occurred not just in the classroom or in study groups but in other crucial career-building interactions. That was one of the things Ting did not expect. She found herself hesitant to consult Northwestern's deep alumni database in job searching, a task that she would not have thought about twice in China. But

her English skills were a barrier here, in ways that she had not anticipated and which Ting was consciously trying to overcome:

> It still come back to the communication problem. I am not as comfortable as American students to directly contact [the alumni]. I am still working on it. I am trying to improve, but I think it's different from my perspectives when I was in China. I didn't realize the challenges and difficulties I need to conquer to reach the same level as communication as American students.

It is worth noting that language use was still a challenge for someone as highly motivated, responsive, and personable as Ting. Indeed, the account she shared was in direct contrast to her encounter with me. I was someone she only knew via email after answering a study recruitment email posted on a student list served by a former student of mine. I met Ting for the first time when she was in Boston for a job interview, and this is how I described our interactions in my field notes after we had a 90-minute interview followed by an impromptu dinner at a local restaurant.

Our dinner conversation was fascinating as was the interview. Ting is a vibrant person with an infectious laugh and excellent English. Although she miscued some words, like "perspectactions," Ting had a very nice feel for the language, its cadences. She was somebody I definitely would enjoy hanging out with, full of insights, and stories, and relatively open as a person.

There is a key difference between the two contexts, of course (Park and Raymonds 2007). In one, Ting was asking American strangers for help in her job search. In the other, I was asking for *her* help in telling the story of Chinese international students studying abroad. My explicit interest in her story gave Ting voice.

From Elites to the Marginalized

Certainly, the Chinese international students were well aware that the top MBA programs were *stressful* for anyone, regardless of background. As some of the respondents noted, it is difficult for anyone to be a student after working as a professional for several years. These are also intense and expensive 2-year programs, with students looking for a conduit to switch fields or fuel a more rapid ascent to leadership positions in their present field. The stakes are high from the beginning: the first year summer internship is crucial to landing a plum full-time position upon graduation. At some campuses, company recruiters are allowed to visit the campus once the school year starts – and before any of the students have had time to adjust.[7] For all these reasons, the month of February in the first year of business school, a time when students embark on off-site interviews for summer internships, is commonly known as "hell month" and the whole first year as "hell year." That said, the students we interviewed believed that the stress was more deeply felt by themselves and fel-

[7] According to one respondent at the University of Michigan, the most selective schools, e.g., Harvard Business School, are able to restrict company recruiters from coming to campus until October or November, when students are more settled, thus reducing their stress.

low international students from Asia, in particular, given the cultural, academic, and linguistic differences and the few supports offered to negotiate them. As Yun reflected in her first year interview, "Just no one seems to be thinking of you and your international background."

It followed that the loss of the respondents' voice informed a subtler but no less deeply felt transition, going from an overall elite status in China to a marginalized one in the American MBA program. This transition was especially acute for the respondents, who had come directly from China. It was not just their academic status or leadership skills suddenly morphing, an abrupt transformation in and of itself, but rather their *overall identity* as an achiever and leader. They found themselves recast from someone worth knowing and widely seen as positioned to go places to someone whom American students did not think was valuable enough to really know. This overall marginalization was shaped by the power dynamics of race, language, and nationality (Yeoh and Huang 2011), including not being seen as a valued team partner or an appropriate student club leader. According to the respondents, many of their American classmates had no desire to work abroad in China, so they saw no reason to invest precious time, a scarce commodity in the fast-paced MBA program, in cultivating relationships with Chinese students. The Chinese students found that cross-cultural understanding, framed in their curriculum as occurring between equals, was difficult to achieve in the lived experience of the MBA program. As members of the host nation, American students are in a more dominant position and so actually have the power to set the course of their interactions with international students (Trice 2004). However, the respondents found that the American students set a more closed tone than they would have liked. According to Chao, who had worked in a multinational firm in Shanghai before entering Berkeley, "a lot of American students think China is a mysterious place, and they have a lot of misconceptions about China." American students, he said, knew about the Great Wall and that "China is making everything." But they also erroneously thought that China is a unified marketplace like America, whereas there are regional differences; they overestimated the prevalence of English speaking in China and thus underestimated the help they would need from Chinese natives when doing business there.

Ting expressed a similar view but went even further in scope:

> [Americans] have about seven or eight, or up to twenty sentences about China and that's it. (IN: And what are some of those sentences?) Well, for example, like "everything made in China is cheap, and of low quality." This is raised by one of my classmates in class when we are talking about some strategy of the company, and I was definitely shocked at that time. And when we talk about China, it's all the same. "Chinese interesting," or "it's growing so fast." And "made in China." "Chinese people are shy," or "very short," "very shy."

Ting found it difficult to communicate about such misconceptions because she believed her American classmates did not want to really understand China and, by extension, her. She also did not believe her classmates were willing to acknowledge their perspective was limited. She noted, "People have different perspectives about you. You can argue about ideas, you can argue about opinion, but it's very, very difficult to change perspective." Ting realized she had underestimated how hard it would be for her to get to know, at a deep level, people from different countries,

especially from the United States. "But when I come here, I am the minority. It's really not that easy. You never really understand until you experience it." Of course, the Chinese international students had their own misconceptions of their American counterparts, as seen by their expectation that the latter would be more open and friendly. Further, as noted by Lee and Rice (2007), the respondents' perceived decline in social status may have been exacerbated by the fact that the students had been elites in their home country. What the accounts reveal is that it is too much to expect either the international or the American students to change these dynamics; rather, this was a missed opportunity for institutions to step in and manage these cross-cultural misunderstandings and provide tools for students to have meaningful dialogue (Shigaki and Smith 1997).

It was clear that short of such institutional measures, the American students did not seem especially motivated to reach out to non-Americans. Yun, another student in the Midwest, said she could understand why American students were not especially motivated to network with Chinese students, since many were not interested in working in China or Asia. Add in cultural and language barriers, and she said she understood why most American students shied away from meaningful contact. Interestingly enough, I noted in my field notes that "although she called herself quiet, Yun virtually spilled over with stories to tell me, noting the irony in the interview." Yun did become good friends with two American students, whose interest in the experiences of the non-Americans made them outliers. During dinners together, the two students openly acknowledged the struggles of international students. Yun: "They understand that wow, it's not very easy for you to come so far away from here and also, because we're not starting at the same starting lines." She was heartened to learn they understood how difficult international students found classroom participation; indeed, they contrasted that dynamic with the tendency of American students to say anything, even it was of not much consequence. "They understand that we actually think a lot before we really speak and raise our hands and then we want to make sure that what we say is smart, and it's not stupid. For them, they don't really care. Something come up here, they just raise their hand, speak up first and then think." Yun's reflections spoke to her pleasure at being seen by American peers in a way that was consistent with how she saw herself.

Certainly, the respondents' conspicuous absence from American student networks, especially ones of white Americans, was not due to lack of trying (Lee and Rice 2007). Many said they had arrived, thrilled about not only their hoped for career advancement through the MBA program but also the prospect of making friends and connections with many different people and learning different cultures. Ling said: "I was very excited about living in U.S., and I really wanted to experience the culture and to make a lot of different friends here. Because I came here want to improve my soft skills and second, to experience new things." While she knew that there would be opportunities for the Chinese international students to get together, Ling "really wanted to make more friends outside the Chinese circle and to get to know a lot of different people." She was surprised at how challenging that process proved to be, at least for the Asian international students. When asked why this was the case, Ling mentioned how Americans socialized and what they chatted about:

"Social involvement is so different – because people like to go to bars, and I really don't like to go to bar, and they always hang out in the bar and shout to each other, which is not the social activity that I experience before. And I think I don't find a lot of topics to talk with Americans."

So while it was common for respondents to report attendance at big social events, like happy hours, parties, and the like, which were also seen as networking venues, discomfort at such events was also a common complaint. Yun, for instance, would typically leave after only 2 hours because she did not like to drink to excess. She, too, had arrived with expectations of Americans that were hard for them to live up to: "From the Hollywood movies, from news, from magazines or whatever, I actually expected American people or American culture are very open to international cultures and very helpful." In her case, she also had a comparison based on living a few years in Australia. While she had found Australia to be diverse and cosmopolitan, she thought that Americans did not really think about diverse cultures. There were social circles among American women, for instance, from which she felt excluded here, because they were based on having gone to the same college in America or shopping at the same clothing stores. Yun said: "We don't share a common language; we don't share any common topics." A few, like Rong, believed being nonwhite was also an issue. He concluded of his white American classmates, "It's very hard to be their friends. Just normal friends, not the best friend."

One of our team's graduate researchers, himself a Chinese American whose family had been here several generations, wrote the following reflection after interviewing Shan, a first year student at Harvard Business School (HBS). Although Shan had previously worked abroad as a manager in Bangladesh and Malaysia, the adjustment here was different, and he saw himself having a marginalized role. The graduate researcher wrote: "I am compelled and personally moved by Shan's matter-of-fact yet deeply felt view on how he'll never 'fit in' at HBS and that the experience has been one of isolation (cultural and emotional)."

To sum up, the perceived lack of a common language or cultural repertoire with their American classmates and a sense of isolation was a very real phenomenon for the Chinese students, especially those who had arrived directly from China. The disjuncture between what respondents expected their American peers to be like and what they encountered was sharply drawn. It even resulted in feelings of perceived exclusion, whether that was the intention of the American students toward their international peers. Regardless of the reason, the lack of efforts by American students to "attempt understanding" of the international students was viewed by the latter as a rejection of their identities (Lee and Rice 2007: 399). It is also the case that different meanings are attached to friendship across cultures; further, regardless of one's cultural background, the experience of being an international student might bring with it a view of friendship as a "deep meaningful and long-lasting" relationship. Their domestic peers, however, might have a more casual view of friendship ties (Morris 1960; Rajapaksa and Dundes 2002). Again, these were issues that the students, both American and international, could not negotiate on their own, especially in the fast-paced, pressure-filled MBA program.

Challenging Even for Those Who Have Already Lived in the United States

The interviews with eight Chinese students, who had experience living in the United States, only reinforced the challenges faced by their counterparts, who came directly from China. They, too, grappled with a loss of confidence in their abilities and a loss of voice, just on a smaller scale. A key difference was these students had a certain comfort with American cultural norms that came from just having lived in the United States longer and among Americans; this comfort was a resource that helped them cope (Trice 2004). Jiao had 8 years of living, studying, and working in the United States before starting at HBS. She had earned a PhD in chemistry from Princeton and worked as a senior research scientist in suburban Boston. And Jiao said even *she* felt overwhelmed at times. Interviewed in the second year, Jiao observed: "And even being here for ten years I still feel sort of like behind. For me, I felt, time to time, I felt lost. Can I engage into certain discussions because I do not know the sort of things they are discussing about or the connotations of the words or some of the jokes: I still don't get it" (Snow Andrade 2006).

Hua similarly thought of herself as in between her American classmates and newly arrived Chinese peers. After obtaining a master's degree in Sociology from a Big Ten school, Hua had landed a job in information technology at a national insurance firm, eventually being promoted to project manager. In her words, she had the "job, car, house, the American Dream." Over the years, Hua also had become quite comfortable with Americans. It was a big deal to her Chinese classmates that she was named an associate vice president in the Consulting Club the first year and that, the following year, she was slated to serve as a vice president. This recognition signaled a level of acceptance from mainstream America, which she acknowledged was harder for recently arrived Chinese students to achieve. And yet, Hua felt that she was very much Chinese; while she was familiar with American culture, it was not completely home for her either. Somehow participating in the MBA program alongside, a number of Chinese international students made her in-between status much clearer to Hua. Referring to Americans, she said:

> Because most people in business school tend to be very articulate and I'm not [up] to that level yet. So even in group discussions, I feel like sometimes I still have trouble expressing myself in a very complicated setting. And if you talk about a very complex topic, you know, I can't use words as concisely as the American peers do, you know. So that was the problem I felt. Even though I'm talking fine now [laughter].

Recognizing that the Chinese students did not feel she was part of their group because she had been here so long, Hua nonetheless felt a kinship with them: "Emotionally, I feel closer to the international students. Even though I might not hang out with them as much, but emotionally, I still feel closer, I feel like they're my people. I don't know if you can understand all that."

A Lifeline: Chinese International Student Networks

In the absence of institutional supports and exchanges with American students that might produce useful resources, Chinese networks played a key role in helping the respondents with their transition to this new and challenging setting. Nearly three out of five respondents directly from China spoke of the strong pre-migration networks that helped them get *to* the MBA program. Not surprisingly, only 3 of the 11 respondents, who had already lived abroad, spoke about such networks. It is possible that they did not have as clear a recollection of pre-migration networks, given how much time had elapsed. Surprisingly, though, these same respondents were about just as likely to report on strong conational networks *in* the MBA program and in the United States. These findings are consistent with the concept of mobility capital, as discussed by Brooks and Waters (2010). Pre-existing networks of family, friends, and co-workers helped motivate the respondents' mobility or, at least, helped actualize their desire to study abroad and helped with their adjustment to a new national context (Favell 2008). In addition to those networks were individuals whom the respondents met online through internet communities of Chinese international students (Castells 2001). From all these sources, Dong, one of the students whom we interviewed, estimated his network included 100 Chinese international students in the United States.

Lan, an outgoing 31-year-old, was entirely educated in China. She had worked for a Chinese subsidiary of a multinational firm and had not previously lived abroad, although she once vacationed in Canada for a month. To get help with applying to American MBA programs, including how to deal with visa issues, she accessed a Chinese website, www.chasedream.com. Lan then became a part of a six-person group whom she met through this website – they met in person once to twice a week to discuss their mutual struggles. They helped one another with essay writing and mock interviewing. One of the six was accepted into Wharton, and another was accepted into the University of Michigan but could not come because of visa issues. Lan decided to come to MIT's Sloan School of Management. Before even arriving at Sloan, she met the six other incoming Sloan students from China. About 6 months into the Sloan program, the seven students remained quite close and also drew upon the existing strong network of Mainland Chinese students at the school. Mindful of the challenges, they helped prepare a brochure for newly arrived 1st years from China with everyday life information, like where to eat and where to shop for Chinese groceries. Throughout the MBA program, Lan's closest friends in the United States were conationals and an American-born Chinese, but she was not disconnected from her local American community. She volunteered as a tutor at an afterschool program through a university-sponsored initiative.

Across the Charles River in Boston, An, a similarly vivacious 28-year-old, shared a story nearly identical to Lan's. In her case, it was a loose network of alumni from her alma mater, Shanghai University, and top ten American business schools that helped her and several co-workers at a Chinese health-care firm with the application process. After she decided to come to Harvard Business School (HBS), An met and

bonded with a few incoming students from Shanghai. They flew together to the United States and, once here, helped one another with setting up their living situations. Soon, they all became part of the larger Chinese student networks at HBS, socializing frequently, for instance, going out to dinner in Chinatown every week. From this foundation, she expanded her network, joining the HBS women's group and the Asia Business Club, which further enhanced her circles through a buddy system.

Most respondents also found camaraderie with other international students. There was common ground around the difficulties with speaking up in class (and relatively poor academic performance as a result). They commiserated over what they saw as their sudden downgrading in status, from elites in their own country to marginalized students in their MBA programs. They shared the complexities of navigating visa issues before even arriving in the United States and the pressure to make good on the high expectations they had for themselves, along with those of family and friends back home. There was similar frustration with the job search, as some of the jobs were not available to international students, just American students.

It could be argued that these accounts speak to Chinese students choosing to self-isolate with other Chinese (Alexander et al. 1976; Ward and Masgoret 2004). However, that interpretation does not take into account the functions of everyday life served by conational networks, which respondents found could not be readily located elsewhere. These functions actually predate their arrival in the United States, which is why China-based social networks are so important – not only with learning about how to apply for the MBA but also to negotiate student visa applications. In essence, their adjustment to studying abroad starts once the students are accepted and choose a school, as they are then responsible for getting themselves to the United States (Lin and Yi 1997).

While the limitations of my data do not allow an investigation of whether having these conational networks precluded the Chinese students from associating with American peers, as Trice (2004) and others have found, my dataset did show the great efforts that respondents made to reach out beyond their conational networks. Again, one of the stated benefits of studying business abroad was precisely this – to *expand* one's professional and social networks. Here, the longitudinal data, e.g., interviews conducted both in the first and second years of the MBA program, proved quite useful. As noted above, during the first year, the respondents, who arrived directly from China, found this process of networking to be especially challenging, more so than they had anticipated. This stemmed both from their academic and linguistic transitions, along with the unfamiliar American cultural norms and social outlets (e.g., bars) through which such networking occurred; even the respondents, who had previously lived in the United States or in English-speaking nations, found challenges with making these professional connections through academic or social avenues, though less so than for their newly arrived counterparts.

By the second year, most of the respondents had indeed expanded their networks. Shan, the Harvard student, who had reported on his marginalization so poignantly during his first year interview, was in a different place in Year 2. He noted: "I

encountered significant culture shock the first year when I was here. I felt a bit frustrated, and I wanted to go home. But the thing is it changed so much during the second year, and I found so many opportunities here." Asked what made things easier, Shan highlighted, "The first is language, and the second thing, actually I have several American friends, So I mean, that changed me a lot." He said he was pleased with how he had ventured out of his "comfort zone" and now had friends with both American and Chinese international students.

Even so, some respondents pointed out the selectivity in their American friends, which they believed made their friends quite different from other American classmates. Shu, a Harvard student, noted that her American friends were more cosmopolitan and curious about people outside *their* own comfort zone. Her American friends either had lived abroad or had an international spouse or romantic partner. Zhu, a student in the Midwest, had previously studied and lived on the East Coast, including New York City, for 7 years. Of her American friends in her MBA program, she noted they came from similarly diverse metropolitan centers in the United States and so viewed her differently: "Again, I think they tend to be atypical and tend to be from San Francisco or New York…There are [American] people who just look at me and ignore my existence, because I look different and I'm not familiar. I really don't want to say it in that way, but it's just reality."

Probed further, she responded:

> I just don't interest them. I'm talking about girls. Yeah, like the first week we went out on a community work [project], and we're picking garbage on a basketball court, and I was with three, two western girls, and they were talking about things I had no clue what they were talking about, TV shows. It's like high-school. First 5 minutes you weren't able to participate in the conversation then you're out, and I don't really care, but it's kind of funny. And I think it's something I will always have to deal with.

Study groups, group academic projects, and student club activities emerged as key routes for this kind of networking with American peers. Given the disconnect that most of the respondents experienced with typical American forms of networking, e.g., happy hours, these seemed like an especially effective strategy for them to get to know and to be known by their American classmates. Consider the accounts of three students, who all had come directly from China and were interviewed in their second year of the MBA program. They all combined their Chinese networks with American ones, the latter of which originated from structured activities, even social ones, which provided sustained contact.

Jin, a student in the Midwest, said: "Mainly [American] people, we have worked on the same project, where we get to know each other very well, also people in my own section, we know each other. The next step are the Chinese students; we are very close-knit network."

Chao, a student in California, said:

> In my study group I'm very close to an American girl. She's the one that I talked about who grew up in New Jersey and tried to find a job there. So we were in the same study group for the first two semesters. We had three classes in common last semester so over the 2 years we spend a lot of time together. That's how we develop relationships.

Nin, another student in the Midwest, said:

> I have several groups of friends. The first group is like the Chinese group, I think it's a group of friends that I always turn to and always rely on if I need any help. So, it's like once I need anything very urgently or I need something immediately…. And the second group of friends is the group of friends I made in the section because I had my first year of class with them so we built a relationship…. And the third group of people I made through different courses and different clubs and also…social events.

Discussion

Globalization has posed both an opportunity and a challenge for elite MBA programs in American universities. It has been clear to them that they need to prepare their students to be global leaders, and the programs have tried to accomplish this aim through their curriculum and the skills that students are learning. That their student bodies include international students is also important to these goals. However, as these interviews with Chinese international students show, the programs should take a more proactive approach to globalization, as it is lived and learned in their own settings. There has been a tendency for these programs to rely on a laissez-faire model that veered toward international students figuring out on their own how to adapt to the institution and to the United States, in effect, if not intent. The findings in this chapter suggest that students developed strong conational networks in response to this institutional void. Indeed, the informal supports that incoming students arrange for themselves, both in the home country and immediately after arrival, along with those they receive from second-year conationals, are extensive and span American culture and its educational system, housing, and financial requirements. Once here, the supports are extended to include immediate and hands-on help with everyday moving or housing issues, food shopping and the transportation system, and, typically, a warm welcome event. These strategies are exactly what Lin and Yi (1997) call upon institutions to provide for all their international students through institutional mechanisms. However, other more complex topics raised by the respondents were ill-suited to only informal, ad hoc support from conationals. These include how to identify and respond to stress and marginalization and, in a more positive vein, networking opportunities (both on and off campus) and mentors and how to find help when one needs it. Again, these were consistent with Lin and Yi's (1997) recommendations for what international students should know about and which they argue institutions should target.

For international students really to be partners in cross-cultural understanding with their classmates and faculty in the moment, they need institutional scaffolding for their linguistic, academic, and cultural transitions. Several of the respondents in this study noted the effectiveness of pre-MBA summer programs for international students while also noting that they were an additional expense and that not all students could participate, given that the programs start right before the MBA. This is a time when most incoming international students were already busy trying to wrap

up former jobs and just get to the United States. The respondents who did participate had only praise for them and suggested that they should be broadened in some way. The programs were noted for giving participants thoughtful introductions to the school's academic culture (e.g., case study writing at HBS) and extemporaneous thinking (to help with classroom participation). The pre-MBA programs were essentially designed to help international students understand what would be expected of them and help them jumpstart the process of meeting those expectations. For them to express themselves and share their knowledge, they had to have the appropriate tools to be equal or proximate partners at the table.

Another recommendation was for universities to develop programs for their *school-specific* international student constituencies. International students at any one institution are not a monolithic group. Chinese international students in a Physics PhD program are likely different in personality, outlook, challenges, and goals than their counterparts in the hard driving, communication-driven, compressed MBA program. Jin noted: "I think business school students [face] more challenge than students in other schools because we have very short time frame. Other students like Ph.D have 5 years of study. But for us, it is too little time." Similarly, Jin thought that the business school's Career Office should give more guidance specifically designed for international students, at least, in the beginning, again, to jumpstart the job search process.

Ironically, for programs designed around globalization, a common complaint among the respondents was the little faculty attention paid to the needs of students from other parts of the globe. Respondents suggested that faculty be sensitive to the fact that teaching analogies drawing on popular American sports are likely to mystify international students, especially when they have just arrived (Snow Andrade 2006). Another suggestion was for faculty to assign students to diverse sections or teams along international lines so that no one international student feels isolated, as was the case with Guoming, discussed earlier (Trice 2007). Given that respondents found structured academic activities, like study groups or sections, to be a key source of their networking and friendship opportunities with American students, this seems especially crucial for institutions to consider. According to Parks and Raymond's (2004) research, the process should not stop with diversifying the team; it would also be important for faculty to gauge how these diverse teams are progressing so that the international students are seen and see themselves as valued partners (Parks and Raymond 2004). Finally, students suggested hiring more diverse faculties with practical international business and management experience. As for the curriculum, many respondents called for the inclusion of more international cases in the courses already on the books, having required courses on globalization that were truly global in outlook and not just focused on England or Europe.

Faculty need to recognize that globalization courses should include American students, too. Chao, a Berkeley student, wryly observed that while the rationale of the school's global management certificate was to provide American students with international exposure and a global vision, few American students actually took the classes. Instead, it was mostly international students who obtained the certificate. Chao viewed this as a missed opportunity for American students to know the

consequences of doing things differently from the American norm when they actually are in a position to develop global policies. Other strategies for change included more rigorous global exchange programs than sightseeing trips for MBA students during their winter or spring vacations, bringing in more international employers to recruit at schools for students (international or not) interested in working outside of the United States, and for schools with lower percentages of international students, diversifying their student bodies along these lines.

It is not just international students getting the tools to know the American students but vice versa as well. The programs should recognize that most of their American students likely have little knowledge of foreign languages or economies other than the United States and that few have probably lived abroad themselves. In this fashion, globalization will not just be a classroom topic that hopefully the students can engage well in their future work lives but part of their everyday lived experience in the present. Even an outside of school activity, like the community work project described by Zhu, might need to be structured by a discussion about the task to facilitate cross-cultural learning (Shigaki and Smith 1997); otherwise, domestic and international students might inhabit the same space and do the same task but do not necessarily dialogue in a meaningful way. Indeed, as Zhu noted, the outing can even reinforce existing barriers between American and international students.

Certainly, individual agency is important. Indeed, a few respondents we interviewed did not think that globalization was the responsibility of the schools or thought that there were only so much that schools could do. They emphasized the responsibility of the individual to effect change. Xia advised students from China: "Arrive in the States earlier, get your cable set as soon as possible, try to watch the TV everyday. If you can, spend 10 hours everyday watching TV." On a more serious note, she advised Chinese students to read American newspapers and visit popular American websites to become acquainted with American culture. Hua observed that the English classes she once took at a local church after arriving in the United States were helpful but did not really teach her fluency: "It can't be really taught. It has to be experienced. It's a process."

Yet, it is clear from this study and others like it that the processes of learning English and a new culture, for international students, and of living and learning globalization, on the part of all students, can definitely be *facilitated* by institutions. For individual engagement to really bear fruit, the opportunity for engagement has to be institutionalized and structured. Self-isolation on the part of international students clearly exists and is visible even to international students themselves. Yet, it is the less visible but compelling power asymmetries underlying such patterns – embedded as they are within institutions and shaped by social forces – that should command our attention.

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Chapter 9
American Professors' Support of Chinese International Students' Reading and Writing in Subject Courses

Xiaoqiong You and Xiaoye You

Abstract The presence of Asian students can be strongly felt in U.S. universities these days. As non-native English-speaking (NNES) students, many of them face challenges in reading and writing in English, inside and outside the classroom. Research suggests that challenges specific to Asian students include indirection in making points, lack of personal voice, and discomfort in collaborative work. While some studies have examined these students' difficulties and strategies in academic literacy, very few have explored how university subject teachers accommodate these students' reading and writing abilities to facilitate learning. We studied American professors' practices in using writing to facilitate learning at an English-medium summer school in China, a school which constitutes part of transnational American higher education. All professors came from well-ranked American universities and taught a variety of courses typically offered to freshmen and sophomores in their home institutions. The majority of students are Chinese international students returning home from North America for the summer. Focusing on humanities and social sciences professors, who made up the majority of the faculty, the study has identified several key accommodation strategies that these professors adopted for their Chinese students. We conclude the study by discussing implications for assisting Asian students with their written English in English-medium university content courses. The professors' practices also raise questions about higher education in the United States.

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Introduction

The presence of Asian students can be strongly felt in many U.S. universities these days. As non-native English-speaking (NNES) students, many of them face literacy challenges, challenges in reading and writing, inside and outside the classroom. Researchers have identified an array of challenges that NNES students often encounter in content courses, including limited command of written English, restricted goals for writing (e.g., writing for regurgitating rather than for generating knowledge), and mismatches in expectations for writing between students and teachers (Enright and Gilliland 2011; Kibler 2011; Kong 2010; Leki 2007). Challenges specific to Asian students also include indirection in making points, lack of personal voice, and discomfort in collaborative work (Carson and Nelson 1994; Connor 1996). While numerous studies have examined NNES students' literacy challenges, very few have explored how university content teachers have accommodated these students' writing abilities in English to facilitate learning. Among the available studies on academic English literacy, most have focused on secondary school and university English for Academic Purposes (EAP) courses. The widespread English-medium instruction fueled by the internationalization of higher education requires that we understand how content teachers may accommodate NNES students' written English in the university.

To explore content teachers' accommodations, as we first reported in You and You (2013), we studied American professors' practices in using writing to facilitate learning at an English-medium summer school in China. All professors came from well-ranked American universities and taught a variety of courses typically offered to freshmen and sophomores in their home institutions. The majority of students are Chinese international students returning home from North America for the summer. Such an institutional setup makes the summer school an extension of American higher education. Studying a context where NNES students constitute a majority may offer us a view on the extent to which American teachers may accommodate NNES students' literacy challenges. Focusing on humanities and social sciences professors, who constituted the majority of the faculty, the study has identified several major accommodations these professors made for their Chinese students. We conclude the chapter by discussing implications for assisting NNES students with their written English in English-medium university content courses. The professors' practices also raise questions about higher education in Anglo-American nations.

Adapting to NNES Writers in Content Courses

Due to less exposure to and less experience with various academic genres in English, NNES students may have less in-depth lexical, grammatical, and rhetorical knowledge than native-language students. Compared with the latter, they are likely to have less intuitive textual knowledge or to lack what Leki (2007) has described as a

"backlog of experiences with English grammatical and rhetorical structure to fall back on" (p. 59). In addition, Kibler (2011) found that some adolescent NNES students "shared a frustration that they do not have 'backlog' of vocabulary knowledge, saying they did not understand or know how to use the more 'formal', 'good', 'difficult', or 'big' words they felt were expected in content area writing" (p. 223).

Like some NES students, NNES students are often found to have restricted goals for writing. For instance, rather than a mode of expressing, consolidating, and constructing disciplinary content, they may view writing as a medium for reproducing information (Enright and Gilliland 2011; Kong 2010; Liu 2008; Liu and You 2008; Wilcox 2011; You 2004). For example, Kong (2010) examined the written English in biology and history classes at a Hong Kong high school; the students were all native speakers of Cantonese. Although they had received much of their instruction in English, their class writing was limited, geared more toward answering exam questions than to exploring subject matter. Rather than supporting content and language learning, writing largely served as a means for students to regurgitate memorized information and a tool for teachers to check students' retention of factual information in preparation for standardized tests. In an American school district, Wilcox (2011) also found that the attention given to preparing students for high-stakes tests was detrimental to learning, as it overrode other writing goals and stressed restricted types of knowledge and forms of writing.

Like NES writers, NNES writers are sometimes found to have difficulty aligning with their teachers' expectations for writing across the curriculum. Writing is affected by the unique instructional niches shaped by a teacher and his or her students in a particular classroom. When teacher and student expectations for writing assignments are identical or similar, the students' literacy activities can be the most effective (Harklau 1999). However, studying a linguistically diverse high school in California, Kibler (2011) found that there the NNES students' understanding of genre, such as summary, essay, and lab report, varied and only partially overlapped with that of their teachers. In addition, the students' revisions to their essays suggest that teachers' intuitive notions of content area writing, like being "clear," may be shared by adolescent NNES students but are difficult to achieve.

For NNES students, teachers are probably the most important literacy sponsors. Brandt (2001) defines literacy sponsors as "any agents, local or distant, concrete or abstract, who enable, support, teach and model, as well as recruit, regulate, suppress, or withhold, literacy" (p. 19). From a socially situated view toward academic literacy, other important sponsors include parents, school administrators, examination systems, and educational policies among others (Johns 1997). Most scholarship on how teachers sponsor NNES students' academic literacy development in the aspect of written English has focused on bilingual or immersion programs at K-12 levels in North America and Asia (Cummins 1995, 2001; Kong 2010; Parks et al. 2005; Swain and Johnson 1997), university EAP courses (Belcher and Braine 1995; James 2010; Liu 2008; Spack 1997; Tardy 2009; You 2007, 2010; Zamel 1995), writing center tutorials (Bruce and Rafoth 2009; Williams 2002, 2006), and mainstream secondary school subject courses in the United States (Chval and Khisty 2009; Enright and Gilliland 2011; Fránquiz and Salinas 2011; Gorgorio and Planas

2001; Kibler 2010, 2011). A handful of studies and reports have focused on university content courses in North America and Europe (Fisherman and McCarthy 2002; Fortanet-Gómez 2011; Harder 2009; Janopoulos 1992, 1995; Kam and Meinema 2005; Zamel and Spack 2004).

Among the handful of studies and reports, an edited collection by Zamel and Spack (2004) has provided the broadest perspective on how content teachers accommodate NNES students' literacy needs. In six personal narratives, American professors representing anthropology, philosophy, nursing, literature, sociology, and Asian American studies revealed their adaptive strategies in the areas of language, communication mode, and culture. For example, one literature professor tried to overlook the NNES students' surface-level language issues by focusing on the ideas expressed in their writings. One philosophy professor used dialogic activities to help an Indian student grasp class readings and complete writing assignments. The anthropology and Asian American studies professors encouraged the NNES students to incorporate their diverse cultural experiences into their writing. These narratives shed important light on how individual teachers engage multilingual students in subject learning using writing assignments.

Despite their rich information on how to engage NNES students, however, these narratives are limited in their ability to explicate or uncover content teachers' adaptive strategies. First, these first-person narratives have each focused on one or two case scenarios in which the professors successfully engaged the NNES students. There is no dialogue between these professors or between Zamel and Spack and the professors to explicitly address adaptive strategies in writing assignments. Second, as the NNES students were the minority in their classes, the professors hardly found it necessary to adapt their assignments to these students' literacy challenges. Almost all of the professors conclude their narratives by emphasizing how their assignments promoted learning and thus fit all students. In contexts where the NNES students are the majority, adaptive strategies may be needed. Third, the professors focused on courses at different levels, a choice which makes it hard to generalize about their adaptive strategies. Research has shown that NNES students encounter different literacy challenges in different stages of their university education (Leki 2007; Spack 1997).

Among the studies in secondary schools, content teachers were sometimes found to accommodate the NNES students by allowing them to use their first language. For example, Kibler (2010) observed NNES students using Spanish to broker English interactions at a Northern California high school. She analyzed oral interactions among five adolescent Spanish-speaking students during an extended history-related writing activity in a humanities course. Her analysis indicates that Spanish use offered strategic opportunities for student-teacher conversation and blurred traditional boundaries between "expert" and "novice" writers. The students used Spanish to assert expertise in rhetorical, academic, linguistic, or procedural elements of the task, moving between expert and novice roles. Similarly, (Fránquiz and Salinas 2011) found that when allowed to use their home language in a social studies class at a Texas high school, newcomer NNES students became engaged in their history papers and created their identity texts. Identity texts refer to artifacts that

students produce whereby they take ownership of their learning and their identity is reflected back in a positive light.

Most studies on content teachers' literacy sponsorship have either focused on the North American context or secondary school classrooms. However, English is increasingly used as a medium of instruction in higher education in non-English-dominant nations. Numerous initiatives have been implemented in Asian, European, and North American (Mexican) universities to help content teachers transition from local languages to English in their instruction (Craig et al. 2010; Fortanet-Gómez 2011; Harbord 2010; Harder 2009; Kam and Meinema 2005; Poe and Craig 2011; Wilkinson 2004). In initiatives that focused on writing across the curriculum, faculty in subject areas and language typically worked together to identify and deal with issues in English-medium instruction. For example, before implementing the Bologna Agreement (a set of reforms intended to harmonize higher education in Europe), a team consisting of content and language teachers at Universitat Jaume I of Spain discussed the results of university-wide surveys on students' needs for courses delivered in English and disciplinary differences in modes of teaching and pedagogical strategies (Fortanet-Gómez 2011).

Despite the widespread English-medium instruction in universities in non-English-dominant nations, as our review has shown, only a few studies have tangentially examined content teachers' literacy sponsorship in these contexts. Most studies have focused on either K-12 levels or Anglophone universities where the NNES students are the minority. What about teachers' adaptive strategies in university classrooms where the NNES students are the majority? Their adaptive strategies may bear implications for content teachers and academic programs in American universities, who need to instruct an increasing number of NNES international students. To understand their literacy sponsorship in university classrooms where multilingual writers are the majority, we pose the following research questions: (1) What challenges do university professors perceive in NNES students' use of written English in subject learning in non-English-dominant contexts? (2) What adaptive strategies do the professors adopt to help students achieve the standards set in their courses?

Methodology

Context and Participants

We studied American professors' perceptions and practices in using writing assignments at a summer school in Shanghai, China, in 2011. Over the last decade, fueled by economic growth and a desire for better education, a large number of Chinese students have gone to English-dominant nations for university, leading to an economic loss and brain drain. To counter these tendencies, like their peers in some Asian and European nations, Chinese universities started offering English-taught courses in the humanities, business, and medicines to both domestic and

international students at the turn of the century (Hayhoe et al. 2011; Kirkpatrick 2011). Meanwhile, some Anglo-American universities have established offshore programs in China. Internationalization of higher education has meant for China not only the global exchange of ideas, technologies, and educational practices but also a fight for a share of the highly lucrative education market. The summer school that we studied was conceived as a for-profit institution in response to these economic forces in Chinese higher education. Established by a group of U.S.-educated Chinese nationals in 2009, the school offers entry-level courses typically found in American universities. The school targets Chinese international students returning from North America for the summer, promising them that they would be able to transfer the credits gained back to their universities. Thus, the summer school constitutes an extension of American higher education.

The professors, tenured or tenure-track, come from top American universities, as determined by the *U.S. News and World Report* ranking (U.S. News 2012). In the year of this study, three professors, all in social sciences, had taught at the summer school in the previous year. Most courses offered are general education courses typically taken by U.S. students in their freshman and sophomore years, including American Culture and Society, American Government, Calculus, Classical Philosophy, English Writing, Public Speaking, Introduction to Finance, Introduction to Psychology, Introduction to Sociology, Introduction to Statistics, Introduction to Western Art, and World Politics. Having professors from reputable U.S. universities teach in the school is a way to make the courses compatible with those offered in the United States. Each professor is provided with Chinese undergraduate teaching assistants in the same or related area of study, who have studied at least one year in American universities. They are expected to help the professors prepare for everyday teaching, answer student questions, and grade papers and examinations. In the present study, we will only focus on nine professors (and their teaching assistants) in the humanities and social sciences. Among them, two are of an ethnic minority and multilingual speakers: Professor Chang originally came from Taiwan and Professor Walker is African American.[1] The rest are Caucasians and primarily English speakers, except Professor Smith, who also spoke fluent Chinese.

The summer school attracts mostly Chinese students who have enrolled or plan to enroll in American universities. The students are multilingual, typically speaking English, standard Chinese, and a local Chinese dialect (such as Mandarin, Wu, Min, Cantonese, and Hakka) or a minority language (such as Korean, Mongolian, and Tibetan) (also see a sociolinguistic profile of Chinese university students in You 2011). To ensure that students have adequate English proficiency, the school has adopted admission standards comparable to those of American institutions: the students must have a valid Test of English as a Foreign Language (TOEFL) score higher than 80 (Internet-based test) or equivalent scores in other forms of TOEFL, have a valid International English Language Testing System (IELTS) score higher than 6.0, or have studied at or graduated from an institution where English is the primary language of instruction. As most American universities allow study abroad

[1] The names of the professors used in this paper are pseudonyms.

credits for fulfilling graduation requirements and the students are able to transfer most, if not all, credits gained in the summer school to their home institutions, the school attracted more than 500 students during the year of this study.

Data Collection

The data came from several sources, including interviews (with the professors, their teaching assistants, and their students), class observations, faculty meetings, course materials (syllabi and handouts), and the students' written work. We conducted our interviews starting from Week 3 and continued until the end of the semester. We first interviewed the professors on their use of writing tasks to facilitate student learning at the summer school and their customary practice in the United States. We interviewed each of them two or three times during the four weeks. Second, we interviewed the teaching assistants about their professors' use of writing in facilitating student learning and how they graded the quizzes and exams. Third, we also interviewed seven students for their opinions about writing in content courses, their attitude toward the professors' writing assignments, and their evaluation of their own writings (see the interview questions for both the professors and their teaching assistants in You and You 2013).

We also collected student writings, observed classes, and attended faculty meetings. We collected student writings performed in and outside class in the summer school. We intended to investigate, on the one hand, how students performed the writing assignments and whether their performance had lived up to the expectation of their professors and, on the other hand, whether the writing assignments accorded with the professors' beliefs about writing in content courses. We did not collect the professors' U.S.-based assignments and had to trust their own descriptions in the interviews. We also collected the course materials, such as syllabi and handouts, which these professors used in the summer school. We observed the professors' classes (11 classes in total) each at least twice during the semester, totaling 25 observations. We attended three faculty meetings and multiple informal faculty gatherings to further understand their concerns in teaching Chinese students.

Data Analysis

To identify the professors' adaptations, we adopted the following procedure in the data analysis. First, we examined their claims about how they taught the courses and assessed student learning in both China and the United States. Second, we triangulated these claims with our class observations, interviews with their teaching assistants, course materials, and student writings; then we identified the differences in their pedagogical practices across the two locations. The differences could exist in their beliefs, perceptions of their students, pedagogical techniques, and assessment

techniques. Third, we marked the differences with codes. We then grouped the codes into similar concepts in order to make them more workable. From these concepts, categories of pedagogical adaptations gradually emerged.

The professors' adaptations could be viewed as part of a concerted effort to build a transnational learning community, where the summer school teachers and students worked together to foster learning. To build the community, both parties brought in their cultural experiences, values, and symbolic resources. To better understand their community building practice, it is worth examining their language styles and strategies. When we listened to the recordings of the interviews, classroom observations, and faculty meetings, we first noted the styles and strategies used by both parties. Then, we closely analyzed the linguistic features (such as words, syntax, formality, register) of their styles. These styles and strategies then shed light on how different styles of English are at work in the summer school.

Results

Students' Literacy Challenges as Perceived by the Professors

Our interviews and the faculty meetings reveal perceptions of multiple challenges in the students' use of English, particularly written English, in subject learning. However, we have to remember most of these challenges are also found among American college students. These challenges include limited vocabulary knowledge, unfamiliarity with thinking and communication in the disciplines, and lack of personal voice. The professors also recognized the students' low English proficiency in general and difficulty in organizing thoughts into a coherent passage, challenges we will elaborate on when discussing the professors' adaptive strategies.

A common challenge identified by the professors was the students' limited vocabulary knowledge. At the second faculty meeting held in Week 3, the professors concurred that a majority of the students lacked vocabulary knowledge, particularly that of special terms, which hindered not only their comprehension of lectures but also their classroom participation and written work. At the same time, some professors expressed the understanding that lacking knowledge of special terms was not an issue unique to multilingual students but common to freshmen who were new to a subject area. A few professors not only recognized the issue but also took every opportunity to help the students enrich their lexical knowledge. For example, Professor Jones, an art history faculty member, shared at the meeting her efforts in integrating language lessons into her teaching:

> I put *a lot* of emphasis on language here. Like I put up a sculpture today of a dying soldier. Usually in the States I will talk about pathos and things like that. And here I said okay, what does pathos mean? We have sympathy, empathy, these kinds of closed-in syndromes. What's the difference between sympathy and empathy? What's the difference between sympathy and finding something pathetic? And I feel like at the end of the language lesson,

> they've learned some subtleties of language but also they can apply these notions they identified to the work of art in the end. (July 21, 2011)

This is a first instance of a professor brokering her students' subject learning through literacy practices. She juxtaposed global concepts (pathos, sympathy, empathy, and pathetic) with a local example of art appreciation (a sculpture of a dying solder). Without understanding those global concepts as marking various types of emotional identification, the students would have a difficult time comprehending Professor Jones' lectures, demonstrating art appreciation, or expressing criticisms in their writing tasks.

Another area that the professors recognized as hindering the students from performing quality written work was their unfamiliarity with disciplinary thinking. New entrants to subject areas, the students were strangers to the reasoning patterns expected therein. Thus they sometimes could not fully comprehend the writing assignments. Several professors shared this observation in our interviews. For example, Professor Smith, a history professor, noted this transitional issue in a midterm exam. In his Chinese history course, the class studied a peasant rebellion in the late Ming Dynasty (1368CE–1644CE). In an interview, Prof. Smith commented on his students' failure to grasp the historical significance of this event in an exam question: "A lot of them have learned this, but they have learned it in a high school way, in which it's black and white, it's good, bad, without looking at the social context or the historical context in which these developments happened" (July 30, 2011). Without knowing the disciplinary ways of reasoning, the students tended to answer questions in a more simplistic manner or by ignoring the prompt.

In comparison with American academic conventions, the students were also viewed as lacking individual voice and personal reflection in their written work. Several professors expressed this opinion in our interviews. They noted that the students were good at imitating and memorizing materials but poor at expressing their perspectives on issues. For example, Professor Taylor, a political science professor, touched on this point when describing a research paper assignment in her World Politics class:

> Take a problem in contemporary world politics, global warming, or, you know, nuclear weapons, anything they want to study. Take a problem and then research, find at least two articles on each side of a controversy, evaluate them and write a paper, giving those sides and then giving your side. Giving your side is something that they have trouble with. (August 4, 2011)

The professor emphasized the importance of weighing an argument on both or multiple sides and then taking one's own stand. Like Professor Taylor, a few other professors characterized their Chinese students as feeling reluctant to state their perspectives on issues.

The professors did not simply identify their students' literacy challenges. Proactively, they developed adaptive strategies to help the students learn, and now to these strategies we turn.

Providing Support for Major Writing Assignments

Several professors provided explicit instruction for the major writing assignments. They tended to focus on helping students develop ideas and structure their essays. However, they did not feel comfortable helping students with surface-level language issues and typically asked their students to use the writing center services. The professors' in-class activities included workshops, group discussions, introducing worksheets, and providing detailed feedback on student writings.

These activities trained the students to reason and communicate within various academic fields. For example, one of the philosophy professors, Professor Chang, designed worksheets to guide her students in their reading and writing process. The purpose of these worksheets was to teach the students how to engage in an argument in philosophy. When the students read a passage, they needed to answer three heuristic questions in the reading worksheet:

- What is the thesis?
- What are the premises?
- Possible objections?

To answer these questions, the students were pushed to elevate from the local details of the passage to a global, conceptual level. When they wrote a short essay responding to a philosophical passage, they were expected to be able to address similar questions. In the draft worksheet, the students were asked to include the following sections in their essay:

- Introduction
- Summary of the author's argument
- My objection to this argument
- Response
- My reply

Clearly the second and the third bullet points in the draft worksheet were a synthesis of the three bullet points in the reading worksheet, intending a conversation with the author. The fourth and fifth bullet points encouraged the students to further their philosophical engagement with the author. To perform these five rhetorical moves, the students had to navigate between local, personal experiences and global, philosophical concepts. The draft worksheet helped the students transition from reading to writing; it also provided them an organizational frame for their essays. Throughout the semester, Professor Chang's students composed four short essays by using the two worksheets. If necessary, the professor would conference with them to improve both the substance and style of their essays.

Professor Chang attributed this regimental method in teaching reading and writing to her awareness of the students' challenges. When she taught at a private university in California, she did not use these worksheets because she team taught with a writing instructor who took care of the writing component. Later, when teaching independently at a California State University, where her students were not as strong

in reasoning and writing, she designed these worksheets to help them. Code-switching in an interview, she offered two reasons for adopting these worksheets in the Chinese context: First, philosophy papers are written differently from those in other disciplines in terms of reasoning pattern and style ("Philosophy 的 paper 与其他的学科的paper不一样" [Philosophy paper is different from paper in other disciplines]). The students needed to receive special training to be able to think like philosophers. Second, the Chinese students' English proficiency was relatively low, and they typically did not value analysis and logical reasoning in their writing ("比较低level, 不重视分析、逻辑、思考这样的东西" [low level, don't value things like analysis, logic, and thinking]). Professor Chang believed that these worksheets would assist the Chinese students and the California State University students to think and communicate like philosophers.

When the professors offered support in student writing, most of them did not feel comfortable discussing surface-level language issues. Philosophy professors Grieco and Chang offered the most written feedback to their students' writing. For example, Professor Grieco extensively commented on his students' short essays in the Introduction to Philosophy midterm. He circled or underlined various items in the essays and numbered them. In the margins or at the end, he offered several numbered comments that corresponded to the numbered items in the essays. Seldom did the professor comment on surface-level language issues, either in grading the essays or when returning them in class. For the prompt "In the lion's share of your essay, explain the argument discussed in class for why free will and determinism are incompatible," Professor Grieco offered the following comments on one student's essay, which received a B−/C+ grade:

1. But this is not what the question asks for.
2. You need to explain this.
3. What do you mean by "choice"? Why not "many" instead of "none"?
4. Theoretically but not practically predictable. You are supposed to explain this.
5. Explaining this argument is what the question asked for. You stated it, but explained nothing.
6. All this is irrelevant to the question. It is as if you did not read the question that you were supposed to be answering.

These comments strongly indicate the professor's focus on how well the student had answered the essay question. The most used words in these comments are "question" and "explain." The student was urged to explain the argument, as required in the essay question. Offering detailed comments on the students' midterm essays served as a type of instruction in philosophy writing. The students learned what the professor valued in their writing; like Professor Chang, Professor Grieco seemed to value analysis and logical reasoning.

Valuing the Students' Multilingual Resources

About half of the professors allowed, and a few even encouraged, the students to use Chinese in their written work and class discussions. They did not view Chinese as an obstacle or interference to student learning. Professor Taylor was one of them, allowing her students to use Chinese in group discussions. For example, when she assigned her students a group paper in her American Government course, she let them sit in groups to discuss how they would carry out this collective project. The students were asked to examine the movement of the Affordable Healthcare for America Act, passed in March 2010, through the American political system. In the political system chart that the professor presented in a PowerPoint slide and repeatedly referred to later, there are four components—the inputs, the decision-making core, the outputs, and the feedback. In the group that we sat with, assignment sheet in hand, the students discussed the following items predominantly in Chinese:

1. How to divide up the different sections of the group essay for each member
2. How to write up the sections suggested in the assignment sheet
3. The weight of the group essay in the final grade and the professor's practices in designing exams
4. The students' preference for short essays over multiple-choice questions on the midterm
5. The meanings of some bullet points in the assignment sheet
6. The motivations for choosing this course and the unexpected challenges
7. The structure and the length of the group essay

The list indicates that students stayed focused on the writing assignment throughout most of the group discussion; Chinese enabled them to accomplish the major goals of the group discussion. To gain a better sense of how Chinese mediated the discussion, we may examine a scenario under Item 5, when the group was discussing some bullet points on the assignment sheet:

> M: 后面的那个理论是, 利益集团、竞选、国会、 judicial、 还有那个, 还有那个官僚集团那些… [The latter part of the theory involves interest groups, election, parliament, judicial, and that, and that bureaucracy and so forth…].
>
> W: 官僚干吗啊?它到底是什么? [Why bureaucracy? What is it?]
>
> M: Bureaucracy它其实就是……就相当于代表政府的 Department of State. Bureaucracy就是一个机构, 为了去serve 某个 purpose。[Bureaucracy actually is…actually equals to Department of State, which represents the government. Bureaucracy is an organization, designed to serve a certain purpose.]
>
> W: 但是没有很大用途…… [But it is not very useful…].
>
> M: 你要理解它的…… 超三角关系, 其实就是帮政府服务的一个机构。就是把这些大的concept 解开。[You need to understand its… super triangular relationship. It is an organ to serve the government. We need to dissect these broad concepts]. (August 4, 2011)

In this brief exchange, Chinese, or an English style with Chinese syntax in dominance, performed several pragmatic functions. First, a male student directed the group's attention to the different components of the political system. Second, he clarified a difficult concept, "bureaucracy," for a female student. Third, in the last sentence, he commented on how to write the group essay—to identify the major

components of the political system and analyze how each worked in the movement of the Healthcare Act. Chinese enabled the students to delve deep into the political system chart and the writing assignments. The students effectively used their mother tongue, code-switching between Chinese and English, to achieve the purposes of the group discussion.

Professor Taylor allowed Chinese in group discussions but not in class discussions. In an interview, she said that this was because she would not be able to understand them. In the United States, she taught at a liberal arts college where the majority of her students were native English speakers. She did not allow her students to use languages other than English in class, but she was aware of bilingual professors in her college who used Spanish or allowed their students to use Spanish in content courses:

> We have had courses though in [college name] because some faculty who were bilingual in Spanish and English who worked with things like Introductory Economics in Spanish, and it was offered that way so students who were Spanish majors could get some credits towards their Spanish language. So it wasn't just heritage speakers who took this course but American students whose first language is English also took the course. And Latin American History too, I think, speaks the same language. (August 12, 2011)

Professor Taylor's remarks indicate that she had been exposed to the idea of using languages other than English in content courses. However, she viewed herself and her students in the United States as monolingual, and therefore she did not use or let her students use other languages in class. She made the change in China simply because she found herself a minority in a multilingual classroom.

In addition to allowing Chinese in group discussions, a psychology professor also allowed it in written exams. In the quizzes of his two courses, the instructions stated that "If you cannot remember the English word for a concept, you may use the Chinese word." Apparently, he wanted to accommodate students who had limited knowledge of special terms. The professor usually asked his teaching assistant to grade the quizzes; therefore bilingual answers did not pose an issue. However, while the instructions only allowed Chinese for concepts whose English equivalents the students did not remember, neither the professor nor the teaching assistant penalized the students if they used Chinese for more than these concepts and answered the question correctly. For example, a question was asked in the second quiz of the Principles of Psychology course: "How is Life Expectancy defined?" The teaching assistant placed a check mark on the following answers by two students, giving both full credits:

> Life Expectancy mean 平均寿命, or预期寿命. Life expectancy is the expected number of years of life remaining at a given age, and from birth is a frequently utilized and analyzed component of demographic data for the countries of the world.
>
> Life expectancy means how long you can expect to live, when you live, 根据测量之前人能活多长时间,以你的健康状况衡量你能活到多少岁 [To estimate how many years you will live based on, first, measuring how long the older generations have lived and, second, your health condition].

While the first answer uses a complete English sentence, the second one contains an incomplete one, with a subordinate clause being crossed out, followed by a

complete Chinese sentence. The incomplete English sentence offers an inaccurate and partial definition, which was then improved on by the Chinese sentence. In an interview, the teaching assistant explained that short-answer questions were typically used in low-level psychology courses for nonmajors in the United States. When she graded them, she looked for main points and keywords: "几个main points, 几个keywords 我看到就算对 [When I spotted several main points and keywords, I would mark the answer as correct]" (August 12, 2011). She further indicated that she might take a few points off if a student made errors in English spelling or syntax. Mixing English with Chinese was not an issue as long as the students could explain themselves clearly to her. In another interview, a student confirmed the possibility of extensive use of Chinese in the psychology exams:

> You can write Chinese in your exam… But like, it depends on what the definition of a special term is. Like, like, the questions asked, you can write in a sentence. And it can be in Chinese because the sentence contains about seventy percent of special terms... Lots of the students are, they are like, not proficient in English (August 2, 2011).

The availability of the Chinese-speaking teaching assistant allowed the psychology professor to be able to value and evaluate Chinese students' thoughts expressed in their native tongue, in spite of limited English proficiency.

Central to the professors' accommodations was the diverse English styles they shared with their students. Their fluency with these styles enabled them to appreciate and mobilize the students' multilingual resources in subject learning. A linguistic analysis of the recorded data reveals different styles among the professors' English, and the same analysis evidences the professors' variegated linguistic skills. For example, Professor Taylor's comment on her colleagues' teaching in both English and Spanish sounds formal, using multiple-layer subordinate clauses. She opted to speak formally probably because it was a sit-down interview. In contrast, in the "Students' Literacy Challenges as Perceived by the Professors" section, the professors' comments sound informal, marked by pauses, colloquialisms, and fillers, such as "like," "feel like," "things like that," "okay," and "you know." Professor Taylor, for example, exhibits these traits in the comment pointing out her students' difficulties in taking sides. On her way to class, she made the remark in an informal style. Knowing that we understand Chinese, both Professor Chang and the psychology professor's teaching assistant blended English and Chinese when addressing us. Once each of these English users' speech is transcribed as done in that section of the book chapter, it can clearly be seen as having deviated tremendously from standard English, the stylistic norm expected in student writing. Instead, their speech resembles that of students in Professor Taylor's class. Mihut (2014) argued that literacy brokering implicates emotional work or what she calls "literacy as affinity—a discursive repertoire comprised of language of empathy, personal experiences, and even social relations embedded in the literate experience" (p. 58). These nonstandard styles of English not only mediated teaching and learning but also created affinity and empathy crucial for building this transnational learning community, felt among some professors for their students as evidenced by their understanding of and efforts to help students struggling with standard written English.

Connecting to the Students' Home Cultures

In addition to the students' native language, the professors also connected the students' home culture to their teaching. For example, the art history professors arranged a day trip to the Shanghai Museum. One of them assigned her students to compare two pieces of Chinese artwork for their term paper. Professor Taylor, when assigning one of the papers in her American Government class, asked her students to "compare and contrast American and Chinese political systems by examining at least two of the following: political culture, political participations, political parties, legislatures, executives, rights, and the role of the media in the political system" (American Government Essay Assignments, p. 1).

The extent to which a professor could bring Chinese culture into his or her teaching had much to do with what the course was. There were a few courses that focused on China, such as Chinese History: Late Imperial China, Investment in China, and East Asian Economic Development. Among the courses that did not deal with China directly, Professor Walker's Principles of Sociology class used Chinese cultural materials the most extensively. The textbooks and the handouts used were published in the United States and thus largely drew upon American cultural examples. However, in our observations of her class, for nearly every concept and principle introduced, she encouraged her students to find examples in Chinese society. She assigned them to collect materials published in China for class discussions, such as newspaper articles, picture books, and advertisements. She invited guest speakers from local communities to speak to them. She asked her students to design questionnaires on sexual harassment and conduct a survey on the summer school campus. In her quizzes, Professor Walker would always ask one short-answer question related to China. In an interview, she explained the importance of local context in enabling student learning:

> Can you apply this to something? And there is a question, that's always like, about China. I explained that in the American context. Can they show me how this idea might fit China? … And more than half of the students will pick that one [question]. More than half of the students will pick something that they can then apply to China, which I appreciate. There's learning for me. But also I don't care if they have applied to Venezuela. Just show me that you have been applying with the ideas. (July 27, 2011)

The professor's remarks indicate an emphasis on her students' ability to apply ideas discussed in class to actual social phenomena in China or elsewhere. The short-answer question enabled the students to think and learn rather than to reproduce information. The option of examining their own cultures apparently was inspiring as "more than half of the students" would pick the China question.

Connecting to their home culture enabled the students to make connections between Chinese and English. When her Introduction to Sociology class discussed issues of education and human development, Professor Walker let her students watch a video online, followed by a guest lecture by a Chinese woman writer, also a former middle school teacher. Then she asked her students to discuss, in writing, the connections between the video and the lecture. The video was an animated

lecture given by a British education and creativity expert Sir Ken Robinson on changing education paradigms. The guest lecturer discussed her unique approach to teaching: Instead of teaching to the standards set by educational authorities, she encouraged her students to find their true desires and to think about the value of life. One of the students described how the guest lecturer encouraged them to take hold of their lives:

> In response to the second and third questions she brought to us, she told us several traditional Chinese concepts and sent my classmates some of her calligraphy that could embody those concepts. By "处下" (Chu'xia, literally meaning stay in low position), she said that we should keep a low profile to get adapted to our (social) environments. Also, we need to treat the changing world with inner peace ("静", Jing). She then mentioned that we should "never say 'I am busy'" ("勿称忙") because the character 忙is a combination of "忄 (meaning hear/mind) and 亡 (death/loss)", which means that if you always say busy, you will lose your mind. Besides she reminds us to think about ourselves everyday and get an insight of anything we encounter from superficial level.

The guest lecturer drew on Chinese cultural concepts as principles to deal with everyday situations. The above passage indicates that in this writing assignment, the students' composing process was multilingual and multimodal. After watching an animated lecture in English and attending a live lecture in Chinese, the students articulated the connections between the two sources in written English. In the above passage, the student synthesized the lecturer's key points in translation and transcribed the key Chinese cultural concepts. When composing for Professor Walker, who knew little Chinese, they had to adopt translation, transcription, and exposition strategies in their essays. The students came to experience, and perhaps to perceive, the importance of being able to function competently in multiple languages in the academic disciplines.

The ability to meet the students' literacy needs correlated positively with some professors' previous multilingual and multicultural experiences. These experiences had furbished the professors with necessary accommodating skills. For example, Professor Walker, an African American, studied language, gender, and identity issues in her own scholarship. She was married to an African man, and she had travelled to and worked in multiple nations. Professor Chang received academic training in Taiwan before pursuing doctoral studies in the United States. She taught for seven years in multilingual university classrooms in California before coming to the summer school. Professor Taylor was familiar with colleagues who had taught content courses in Spanish at her college. However, our observations also reveal that, which is not reported in this chapter, not every multilingual and multicultural professor showed willingness to accommodate Chinese students' literacy challenges. Those who failed to accommodate in their teaching tended to emphasize the predominance of the monolingual and monocultural mentality in American higher education, which the Chinese students had to face.

Discussion and Conclusion

The professors recognized that the Chinese students faced challenges in their English writing. However, their perceptions were typically limited to the idea that some students had a hard time constructing coherent passages and expressing personal voice, and some professors were unsure how to help students with their English. In addition to the linguistic challenges, some noted the students' unfamiliarity with the ways that scholars reason and communicate in their disciplines. They felt more comfortable addressing disciplinary conventions in the student writing. Roberts and Cimasko (2008) made a similar observation that social science and engineering professors tend to edit semantic gaps as opposed to grammatical items in NNES student writing. Previous studies in the United States have revealed that undergraduate students generally do not view academic writing in the same ways as disciplinary specialists, especially for nonmajors in general education courses (Geisler 1994; Haas 1994; Russell and Yanez 2003). They tend to view writing as a means to demonstrate their understanding rather than to consolidate and construct subject knowledge. Therefore, the Chinese students' difficulties in reasoning and communicating in specific courses may or may not be related to their NNES status (Casanave 2002). Scholars can examine how NNES students perceive and practice writing in their early years versus their later years of college, when they will focus on the required courses of their majors. Such studies will help identify the differences between the student perceptions and the content teacher expectations of academic writing in different stages of the students' university studies.

Like some subject teachers in secondary school classrooms (Fránquiz and Salinas 2011; Gorgorio and Planas 2001; Kibler 2010, 2011), a majority of the professors capitalized on the students' multilingual and multicultural resources to facilitate teaching and learning. They managed "teaching to their [students'] strengths," as Professor Walker remarked in one of the interviews. Some allowed Chinese in group discussions and in quizzes, making it an important scaffolding tool for the students to consolidate and construct their subject knowledge. In addition to recognizing the importance of their mother tongue, by connecting the students' home culture to the subject matter, the professors further attached a positive tag to local cultures and languages, a practice highly valued in English-medium instruction in non-English-dominant contexts (Harder 2009; Kirkpatrick 2011). Even in courses that did not explicitly focus on China, the students were encouraged to bring Chinese publications into class discussions and use those materials in their writing assignments, which confirmed the importance of their home cultures and languages while helping to establish important connections between Chinese and English.

Although the study has focused on American professors teaching predominantly Chinese international students, the findings bear implications for teaching NNES students in English-medium higher education. First, writing played a central role in facilitating learning. Content teachers can design a variety of writing tasks, such as personal narratives, poetry, article summaries, and research reports in their teaching, as suggested by Young (2006) and conscientiously practiced by Professor Walker in

our study. Second, content teachers are familiar with the ways of reasoning and communication in their disciplines; therefore, they can explicitly teach the disciplinary conventions through workshops, worksheets, and feedback on student writings. Third, a significant space should be given to the students' use of their other languages—not only in their writing process but also in all aspects of their literacy activities (Kibler 2010; Jäppinen 2005; You 2016). We should train our students to shuttle between their first and second language academic communities (Canagarajah 2006; Casanave 1998; Cho 2010; Gentil 2005; Jarratt et al. 2006). Encouraging the students to make connections between the subject matter and their home culture will motivate them and develop their multilingual academic abilities, such as translation skills and personal voice.

In addition to these implications for English-medium higher education in general, the study also raises questions for American universities. First, as international students continue to flood U.S. higher education, to what extent should universities and colleges also adjust their assignments to meet the needs and skills of these students? Second, if they are going to adjust their assignments, how does that change curricular objectives, course expectations, and learning outcomes? Third, if we recognize that students, both international and domestic, are able to draw resources from multiple languages and cultures to facilitate subject learning, should learning and assessment of learning be performed solely in English or based on Anglophone academic conventions? These questions beg in-depth research on how content teachers and academic programs in these institutions are adjusting or can adjust their curricular objectives, course expectations, and assignments for the increased number of NNES students (Matsuda et al. 2006).

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Chapter 10
Responding to Campus Change: Rising Numbers of Chinese Undergraduates and Michigan State University's Response

Peter Briggs

Abstract Chinese undergraduate enrollments grew at Michigan State University from 43 in the fall of 2005 to close to 4000 in the fall of 2014, representing an extraordinary increase of more than 80 times over 9 years. The purpose of this chapter is to tell the story of the issues MSU faced with the growth of the Chinese undergraduate enrollments and describe its responses from a variety of campus perspectives including international student services, central administration, admissions, residential life, academic departments, ESL services, mental health services, and community interactions.

Introduction

Chinese undergraduate enrollments grew at Michigan State University from 43 in the fall of 2005 to close to 4000 in the fall of 2014, representing an extraordinary increase of more than 80 times over 9 years. This pattern of growth of Chinese undergraduates was also experienced by many other higher education institutions around the world. According to the 2014 Open Doors report published by the Institute of International Education, the fast upward trend appears to be continuing. With 274,000 Chinese students in the U.S., China represented 31% of all international students in the U.S., and the total grew by 17% from 2012–2013 year to 2013–2014 year. The purpose of this chapter is to tell the story of the issues MSU faced with the growth of the Chinese undergraduate enrollments and describe its responses from a variety of campus perspectives including international student services, central administration, admissions, residential life, academic departments, ESL services, mental health services, and community interactions.

MSU has a long history of involvement with China and enrolling Chinese students, but the shift from a majority of graduate student population to a majority of

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undergraduate student population transpired with amazing speed. As recently as 2006, Chinese graduate students outnumbered undergraduates 498 to 92. By 2014, undergraduates outnumbered Chinese graduate students 3848 to 783. Such a rapid shift in the campus global diversity brought with it an array of challenging issues and opportunities. In general, graduate departments are deeply involved with the makeup of their programs from the initial admissions and selecting who to bring to campus to the responses when there are behavioral or other problems. Undergraduate issues differ in many respects when a centralized Office of Admissions makes the admissions decisions. In the case of rising numbers of Chinese undergraduates, the Office for International Students and Scholars was the campus unit that faced new time demands to assist with behavioral issues that were more manageable when the international population was primarily graduate students. The central questions became what adjustments should be made to accommodate the noticeable increase in Chinese undergraduates? In numerous meetings to discuss how the campus could improve services to all students, the Associate Dean for Undergraduate Studies at MSU's College of Engineering commonly observed that the top students in his college were Chinese and some at the bottom were also Chinese. This sums up the view of the full spectrum of performance by Chinese undergraduates. Many were highly successful and on track to earn degrees on a normal time schedule, but there were increasing numbers of negative stories about those who were performing poorly and encountering a variety of problems in and outside of the classroom. There were regular conversations about how best to serve the weaker students and lots of speculation about the reasons for so many academic problems. The conventional wisdom was that they were not handling their new freedom well and they seemed lost without the benefit of their parent's supervision.

Institutional Context

Today, MSU is rated among the top 100 universities in the world according to the Times Higher Education World Rankings and is a member of the prestigious Association of American Universities (AAU). It currently enrolls around 50,000 students from all 50 U.S. states and 130 countries. There is a distinguished global tradition at MSU as it proudly states in many brochures that it was the first institution in the U.S. to create a position of Dean of International Studies and Programs. The International Center, located in the middle of a very large campus, was built in 1964 and houses many internationally engaged thematic centers and service offices. With its agricultural traditions, it is well positioned and has long engaged in numerous international development projects with financial support from a variety of U.S. government agencies. It is one of only four U.S. institutions that rank in the top ten for both the number of students participating in overseas study programs and the number of international students it enrolls. The list of "talking points" for how MSU promotes itself as an internationally focused university is frequently cited as part of the

MSU brand, and current MSU President Lou Anna K. Simon regularly challenges the campus to go "from land grant to world grant" (http://worldgrantideal.msu.edu).

MSU's proud international traditions also included a rich history of involvement with China, and the list of MSU's connections with China is extensive. When China began to allow their students to study in the U.S. after the end of Cultural Revolution, the campus welcomed many Chinese students to campus beginning in the 1980s. MSU established the Office of China Programs in July 2005 to implement new China Initiatives. Creating this office was "part of MSU's long-term strategic plan. Through academic, research, and economic development initiatives and global, national, and local strategic alliances, this office aids the university to expand its presence and outreach in China." The Department of Crop and Soil Science created a dual degree program with four Chinese institutions that taught turf grass management. The infield turf at Beijing's famed Olympic stadium (popularly known as the Bird's Nest) was planted with MSU grass.

Until recently, MSU enrolled as few as 9% of its undergraduates from outside Michigan, which was the lowest percentage among the institutions in the Big Ten Conference. As with other publicly funded universities, state financial support was on a continual pattern of decline during the first decade of the twenty-first century, and campus leaders were challenged to balance issues of maintaining quality and accessibility while keeping the bottom line healthy. MSU is governed by a state-elected Board of Trustees who set the annual rates of tuition during their summer meetings. At the recommendation of the campus president and provost, in 2006, the Trustees agreed to a plan to increase MSU's out-of-state enrollments to 25% of the campus enrollments with the goal that half that total would be domestic out-of-state students and half would come from abroad. The provost at the time was promoting diversity and often remarked that he did not want MSU to be "just a big Michigan high school" where MSU students only could mingle with students from other parts of the state. He frequently remarked that interactions with people from other states and countries were helpful to the educational experience of everyone on campus and that this was the central administration's rationale for the Trustees to approve a plan for changing the campus percentage of out-of-state students.

Rising Demand for American Education Among Chinese Students

There were changes in the world that made the timing of MSU's goal to increase out-of-state enrollments highly successful. China, a country of 1.5 billion people, suffered a higher education capacity problem to enroll their graduating high school students in perceived quality Chinese universities. This is now changing as China is now actively investing heavily in strengthening their higher education sector, but the perception has been that the quality outside of China's "key" universities is not as strong and that an overseas education is higher quality. In addition, according to the

BBC story of June 2, 2015, Why Do So Many Chinese Students Choose U.S. Universities (http://www.bbc.com/news/business-32969291), Chinese students seek more freedom of choice. "They want to get out of a schooling system that uses test scores to determine the subjects students will take, which makes it difficult to change once these have been assigned."

The economic success of the market reforms implemented in 1978 had achieved extraordinary success creating new wealth and higher aspirations for middle-class Chinese. In addition, China's well-documented single-child policy meant that more Chinese could afford the increasing costs of an education abroad and the anxieties to get the best education for their children brought higher expectations for quality. As noted in November 3, 2011, article in *The New York Times The China Conundrum*, "Thanks to China's one-child policy, today's college students are part of a generation of singletons, and their newly affluent parents—and, in all likelihood, both sets of grandparents—are deeply invested in their success." At a time when U.S. universities were responding to declines in state support, there emerged a significant population with a need to find higher education options for their only offspring and had the resources to pay rising tuition costs.

In 2005, the U.S. Department of State responded to higher demand and began to increase the number of F-1 (student) visas awarded to Chinese students (https://www.nafsa.org/uploadedFiles/new_visa_validity_for.pdf?n=556). Previously, a high percentage of Chinese visa applicants were denied mostly due to the requirement that nonimmigrant visa applicants must demonstrate their intent to return to their home countries upon completion of their academic objectives. The visa issuance process is highly subjective when the consular officers must determine a student's intent to immigrate or not. Applying for a U.S. visa was, therefore, a famously stressful process due to the high likelihood of a negative result. The upward trend of U.S. student visa approvals took place at a time with rising Chinese economic success and middle-class anxieties about providing higher education for single children. This, coupled at a time when U.S. public universities sought to increase the tuition revenue with enrolling more students who could pay the higher rate of nonresident tuition, resulted in significant change.

Impact on Admissions

The university had been actively engaged in recruiting internationally for many years, but this decision now took the importance of that plan to a higher institutional priority. With a strong program for supporting second language learners, it was opportunistic that the Office of Admissions was able to take advantage of a practice of admitting international students provisionally when their academic backgrounds were solid, but their scores in the Test of English as a Foreign Language (TOEFL) or International English Language Testing System (IELTS) did not meet the campus standard to be admitted. This process of provisional admissions greatly expanded the number of Chinese students who became eligible for admission. Provisionally

admitted students were required to take an MSU exam about their English skills during their first week on campus, and the results of that test would determine if they were allowed to take full-time academic coursework, part-time academic coursework, or full-time English as a Second Language (ESL). If they were placed into the full-time ESL track, they were required to satisfy the language requirements within three semesters, or the university would rescind their offer of admission. Many new Chinese students were assigned to full-time ESL coursework to start their U.S. educational experience. Most students understood the requirements and knew that the ESL was beneficial to their success, but there were some who felt frustrated they were not earning credits toward their degree. Increased numbers of students needing ESL support also meant that the English Language Center (ELC) needed to significantly expand their staff to meet the growing ESL enrollments. Over a period of a few years, the full-time ELC faculty expanded dramatically.

As with most U.S. universities today, one of the campus priorities was to speed up the time it took MSU undergraduates to complete their degrees, and senior campus leaders regularly reported about the rates of student persistence. Time to degree became even more of a campus priority following a report from the Business Leaders for Michigan (BLM) about how the state's public universities should change to help meet the needs of a state that was suffering a prolonged economic slump (http://www.businessleadersformichigan.com/media-center/business-leaders-for-michigan-launches-performance-tracker-f.html). The BML report made a number of recommendations for the state's public universities to better contribute to Michigan's economic development that included performance tracking. MSU's annual budget request to the Governor's Office would be evaluated on some of the metrics included in the report. Provisionally admitted students were commonly taking ESL classes for a semester or a year before they could undertake full-time academic schedules, and it was not realistic that they would earn their degrees in the goal of eight semesters. Thus, at a time when the university was under more scrutiny from the state to speed up time to degree, the offsetting urgency to bring in nonresident tuition to help the budget was a striking counterbalance with MSU's statistics.

Another impact was on the Office of Admissions where staff were challenged to keep up with the rising volume of international undergraduate applications. Admissions offices are always very fast-paced operations, and international transcripts require more time to review. Added to their challenge was an active national conversation about the veracity of Chinese documents. It was well known that many Chinese families engaged the services of educational agents in China to get information and assistance when applying to universities abroad. There were many anecdotal reports and rampant rumors about who was actually completing the applications and writing the personal statements that were required. MSU's Office of Admissions found a rising number of applications in which it became clear that the student's TOEFL score was either falsified or someone else took the exam on their behalf. While the actual numbers of fraudulent documents were still quite small, it was significantly more than the university had previously experienced. Processing a very high volume of applications challenged the staff in the Office of Admissions to give as much scrutiny to individual applications in spite of a grow-

ing national conversation about fraudulent documents coming from China (http://www.businessinsider.com/college-counselors-worried-chinese-students-are-cheating-into-american-schools-2015-7. http://www.nytimes.com/2011/11/06/education/edlife/the-china-conundrum.html?_r=0, http://www.washingtonpost.com/blogs/answer-sheet/wp/2015/06/03/sat-cheating-scandal-broadens-with-indictment-of-15-chinese-nationals/, http://money.cnn.com/2014/07/01/pf/college/chinese-students-cheating/, http://qz.com/415098/8000-chinese-students-were-expelled-from-us-universities-last-year-mostly-for-cheating-and-bad-grades/, http://www.wantchinatimes.com/news-subclass-cnt.aspx?id=20150611000005&cid=1103).

Challenges Confronting Chinese Students

Once they are admitted, these Chinese students encounter various academic and social challenges on American campuses. The academic concerns centered on adjusting to college life during the first year of studies. The chief concern expressed by faculty as well as students dealt with the student's language ability. The adjustment to an academic system that values active learning and classroom participation was another significant concern. As noted in the December 8, 2010 *The Wall Street Journal* (http://www.wsj.com/articles/SB10001424052748703766704576008692493038646) "The failings of a rote-memorization system are well-known: lack of social and practical skills, absence of self-discipline and imagination, loss of curiosity and passion for learning." A topic that came up a lot was how to explain to all students about academic integrity and the importance of doing one's own work. This, in turn, leads to an emphasis on the topics covered during the International Student Orientation program. It was assumed that if the students received this information that the problems would stop, it also assumes that all students retain what is said during the first days on campus. Orientation is an extremely important program for all new students, but it is also well known that a lot of information is missed when students are jet lagged, homesick, distracted, struggling to keep up in English, or sometimes simply disinterested.

Another challenge was in the area of academic advising. A number of academic advisors expressed frustration that there was too much peer-to-peer advising taking place with students advising other students. The advisors felt that problems that emerged as students progressed toward degree completion could have been avoided if the students had followed the guidance of their departmental advisors. Students reported that the reason they avoided the advice given to them was that some advisors recommended classes that required too much writing at the start of their time on campus. That got them off to a poor relationship with the advisors they needed.

Socially, Chinese students experience frustration with their relationships with U.S. students. They would feel most friendships with Americans were not deep and stayed in the realm of being superficial. U.S. students who wanted to make Chinese friends found it hard when they observed the Chinese staying within their groups. There was risk to creating a negative stereotyping environment between groups. Campus offi-

cials were aware of the gap between diverse groups and spoke regularly about the transformative and educational nature of cross-cultural friendships as opportunities to make friends around the world. In spite of the recognition about the need for there to be improved social integration on campus, there was no structure in place to lead a process that would endeavor to make cross-cultural relationships intentional, educational, and positive. In stark contrast to the growing international influences on campus and in the community, the Division of Student Affairs and Services eliminated an office called Internationalizing Student Life that had formed in 1990 and whose mission was to help internationalize the campus. There was no wide campus discussion, public hearing, or announcement about this organizational change.

The Chinese Students and Scholars Association (CSSA) was formed in the 1980s as a support group for Chinese students, but that was when nearly all Chinese were graduate students. Seeing a need for a different kind of association that accounted for the needs of undergraduates, the Chinese Undergraduate Students Association (CUSA) came into being in 2005. They quickly became an important voice for Chinese undergraduates. More and more Chinese students were seeking ways to be involved on campus, and in a few years, three other associations formed with the goal to meet the needs of Chinese undergraduates.

One thing all the new undergraduate Chinese student groups had in common was a zeal for entrepreneurial activities that would help make the burgeoning Chinese community feel at home in Greater Lansing. Students and people in the local business community created new places for Chinese students to gather to play billiards, sing karaoke, play mahjong, and drink their favorite tea. Student clubs collaborated with some local Chinese restaurants and started several food delivery services. That allowed students to go online to make their orders and have the food brought to their apartments. Seeing the growth of a number of student-affiliated new businesses off campus (http://www.idsnews.com/article/2014/04/chinese-students-open-businesses), staff in the Office for International Students and Scholars were increasingly concerned that students would violate the terms of their student visas that were restrictive about student employment off campus. Food delivery services, karaoke bars, and places where Chinese students could gather comfortably among themselves sprang up in a number of college towns that hosted large numbers of Chinese. These business sites also have Chinese students directly to work for them. OISS staff responded with heightened levels of advising students about the limitations of off campus employment their student visas allowed.

Institutional Responses

Faculty Survey and Other Initiatives

As the campus conversation about international undergraduates grew, the faculty undertook a research initiative to get more data that would confirm what the many anecdotes around the university were saying. In the 2012–2013 year, MSU's

University Committee on Faculty Affairs (UCFA) undertook a campus-wide survey of teaching faculty to assess how they perceived the changes on campus brought on by noticeably more international (mostly Chinese) undergraduates (http://opb.msu.edu/ucfa/documents/UCFAInternationalStudentsSurvey2013Final_000.pdf). They undertook the survey following numerous committee discussions about concerns over the preparation of international students, the perceived weaker language skills, and a rising number of incidents of academic dishonesty. There was a strong need for real data to shape what were many anecdotal stories swirling around the campus. The survey was completed by more than 1200 faculty which was considered to be a very strong response as contrasted with other faculty surveys.

The results of the UCFA survey showed that the faculty supported the benefits of more international undergraduates as including the opportunities for an increased global perspective with their students and the experiences all students gain by interactions with people who are from different backgrounds and are not like them. The faculty were clear about their concerns about international students' language proficiency, writing skills, and academic dishonesty. As for what would take place in the classroom, only 24% of the MSU faculty reported being completely prepared to teach and evaluate international students in their classes. Sixty-six percent (66%) of faculty reported being somewhat or very interested in learning more about teaching and evaluating international students. Faculty suggested additional English language screening (beyond the TOEFL) in the future, as well as a closer scrutiny of the credibility and equivalency of international student academic credentials.

Many faculty commented that due to language issues, they changed their teaching to include more written methods and making lecture material available after class. Some quotes from the surveys section about adjusted classroom teaching include:

- "Less *oral information* and more *written material* (slides or downloadable files)."
- "Having a lot of *written materials* instead of relying on *verbal communication*."
- "I have begun to use Camtasia *recordings*, and I have received more comments from international students as to the benefit than domestic students."
- "Significant *visual content*, and *written content* seems to help as it is easy to talk too fast for some students."

As seen by the quotes below, both positive and negative classroom issues were identified:

- "Some [domestic students] have become frustrated with the amount of time it takes to *explain some concepts* to or *answer some questions* from international students."
- "Their presence, and need to be *provided more entry level* (undergraduate) *material* is frustrating to the U.S. students, as they already know this material, and chafe at having their time wasted with intro material that frankly, is beneath them.
- "*Class disruption* when Chinese students *translate lecture* to non-speaking students while I am giving it."

- "While I do think that their presence in the class *slows things down*, I also think the diversity they bring to the classroom is positive."
- "They generally contribute to a very positive environment of *inquiry, learning* and *respect in class*."

The survey quotes below confirm that the problems associated with language were mentioned most often:

- "Get them to *speak* and *write*."
- "It becomes difficult to know if their poor performance is due to inadequate preparation, or due to a *language barrier*."
- "Allow students to bring *dictionaries* to exams."
- "Write exams in a way that doesn't test *English proficiency* instead of course content."
- "Ask departments to give international students dedicated sections rather than mix them with American students. Then their concerns on *language* and *writing skills* can be better managed."
- "Be aware that many students have very weak *English language skills*. They are often very intelligent but do not have the words to contribute to the classroom."
- "Biggest hurdle in non-technical classes is ensuring mastery of the *language*. I have too many students who simply don't have an 8th grade understanding of the *English language*, which makes it incredibly hard to teach at both levels and keep both groups of students happy."
- "Do not cater to international students special needs. There are ample resources available on campus to assist with *English skills*."
- "You need to have different standards for *writing* with this population."

Many faculty comments in the survey advised faculty to see the benefits of international students in bringing different perspectives to class:

- "Encourage international students to share their *experience* and show how it is different from local."
- "See international students as an asset, not a burden. They have such *diverse experiences* from most of the U.S. students and these different *experiences* and *perspectives* are so valuable in education."
- "Guide American students in seeing the value in new *perspectives*."
- "Enjoy the *diversity*!"
- "Great chance for *diverse experiences*."

Faculty frequently commented that they observed Chinese students clustering with others from their country. This observation was interpreted unevenly across the campus. Some faculty worked hard to adjust their teaching to accommodate classroom dynamics brought on by more international students. Others drew conclusions that the students were working together and cast doubt if the academic work was done by the student. The issue of academic integrity is a complicated issue that brings many levels of challenges. Is the institution doing all they can to make sure students know the rules and standards when there is a growing population that

enters the university from a different educational system? Are the students taking seriously their responsibility to learn the rules of the U.S. system? When is working together good for learning, and when does it become a moment when the student is not submitting work that reflects their own thinking? Is the process to make a charge clear to faculty as well as students? This issue evokes strong feelings on all sides and needs to be clearly confronted.

There were efforts to provide professional development for faculty and staff for improved understanding of the issues that Chinese students brought to the campus. The Office of Faculty and Organizational Development (FOD) collaborated with the Office for International Students and Scholars to host a seminar in May 2011 on the topic of understanding Chinese students. The seminar was designed to show the gaps in how Chinese students and U.S. educators approach their interactions in a higher education learning community. An overview of intercultural communication and contrasting cultural differences began the day. Experts on Chinese education shared how much competition there is among Chinese students and how the Chinese educational system leads them to be deeply indoctrinated to prepare for tests. A panel of Chinese students shared their stories and stresses how they adjusted to MSU's demands for active learning and analytical thinking.

About 50 faculty and support staff attended the program as part of FOD's "Spring Institute." As the numbers of Chinese undergraduates continued to rise and the associated issues continued to escalate with the UCFA report, in fall 2013, the provost requested the FOD to organize another program that would help faculty understand this growing population. In collaboration with the UCFA and the Office for International Students and Scholars, the FOD hosted a full-day seminar in April 2014 that attracted more than 100 mostly teaching faculty. The program was similar in most respects to the Spring Institute program. It was evaluated as being extremely important to the campus with hopes of doing more on campus to improve cross-cultural understanding and assuring the campus was taking appropriate measures to address the issues.

A number of faculty proactively seized the opportunity to better understand the campus changes. Two professors in the Department of Journalism produced a documentary movie titled "Imported from China" that chronicled the rising numbers of Chinese students on campus and personalized it with compelling interviews with several Chinese students to tell how they felt. The documentary won an Emmy as it competed in film festivals around the country and was shared at many U.S. universities as a discussion starter on the same issues MSU confronted. Another Journalism faculty member involved his classes and generated a book *100 Questions and Answers about Americans* as a guide for international students (http://www.readthespirit.com/bookstore/books/100-questions-answers-americans/). The book was distributed widely across the campus and in the community at workshops dealing with diversity in serving the growing international enrollments. A professor in the Department of Speech created a model "buddy system" that would connect international and domestic students in his courses. Evaluations of his course revealed that the relationships formed in this process were the most impactful aspect of the course. A writing professor, inspired by the stories from her international students, created a website to chronicle the challenges international students faced during their transition to U.S. culture and the topic of culture shock.

Staff Response

With the growth of undergraduates, staff in the Office for International Students and Scholars (OISS) were challenged to handle more student problems on and off campus. When the Chinese community was comprised of mostly graduate students, there was a partnership in handling crisis cases with the graduate departments. That was not the case with undergraduates, and OISS found its workload dramatically increased to handle more student arrests and assist more students in critical financial problems and a variety of other problems. OISS was concerned that they were not reaching the undergraduates as too many students claimed that they were not reading the office email messages.

In the fall of 2010, OISS recruited and hired a team of seven Chinese undergraduates who would serve as an informal advisory committee to the office. Titled Project Explore, the OISS Director and a Chinese-speaking colleague in the Counseling Center met with the team weekly to discuss issues, and this enabled them to keep in touch with what was taking place on campus in the Chinese community. It was an effort to get more student engagement in the issues that the university community was facing and have a group of students guide the OISS responses to emerging issues. It was also a leadership opportunity, and the students received briefings on campus issues and training in intercultural communication. Project Explore started as an outreach experiment for OISS and formed its own traditions over time. Knowing the magnitude of how Chinese students were communicating with each other over social media, the Project Explore team created a Renren social media site. They were able to keep OISS apprised of the issues that Chinese students were sharing in public and that those who did not read Chinese would know about. OISS and Project Explore hosted a series of dinners that brought together Chinese student leaders and key administrators on campus. The goal was to develop relationships and planning to confront the issues everyone was facing. The administrators included staff from the MSU Police, Career Services, the MSU Library, and some academic advisors. This helped engage the other MSU offices and strengthened the position of OISS on campus. The Project Explore team assumed leadership for the predeparture programs that took place each summer in Beijing and Shanghai. The weekly Project Explore meetings built strong relationships and a high level of trust with OISS leadership. Of all the successes of Project Explore, the extensive time together built a strong relationship with the students and OISS, which was central to trusting each other to engage in conversations on difficult topics. Project Explore also became a valuable sounding board for ideas and issues that other units on campus were bringing to OISS, and this also expanded the team's vision of the complex nature of campus issues. The OISS Assistant Director called it a "weekly focus group" for those who wanted to know how to meet the needs of Chinese undergraduates.

OISS also saw that more international students were seeking internships and other practical experiences but that there was not enough being done in this area to serve a growing part of the university. Conversations ensued with the Director of

MSU's Office of Career Services who recognized that this growing part of the campus also needed to be served in ways that their needs were not being met. In 2011, OISS created a new advising position to bring new opportunities for international students to have access to experiential learning and internships.

Healthcare was another area of concern for OISS staff. All international students were required to purchase the MSU student health insurance plan or demonstrate that they had alternate coverage equal to the standard of the MSU plan. Aetna was the company that held the contract with MSU for student insurance, and their statistics showed that the international students used their health insurance significantly less than U.S. students. This was presumed to be the result of poor information about how to file claims. During the insurance bidding process, several companies, including Aetna, were straightforward to say that it was common knowledge within their industry that international students who were required to purchase insurance had the effect of subsidizing the domestic students on the plans. The U.S. healthcare system is very hard to explain to international students, and many Chinese viewed the student insurance requirement as just another fee that they did not fully understand or value. There was a waiver process in place that allowed international students to waive the fee for MSU's insurance if they could demonstrate they had equivalent coverage from another plan. There emerged a pattern of many Chinese students buying the least expensive plan available, so they could be waived out of the MSU insurance fee. Regrettably, it was common that students did not understand the benefit limitations of their inexpensive plans, and there were several tragic incidents with huge costs that were not covered by their insurance. Staff in MSU's Human Resources Office that administered all campus benefits were insufficiently staffed to be able to thoroughly evaluate each international student plan when a student applied for the insurance waiver. Staff in the Office for International Students and Scholars hired several graduate student interns to work with the Assistant Director with an evaluation of the insurance plans that had been approved for waivers and advocated for changes in the waiver approval process. OISS was hoping that by doing this, insurance plans whose benefits were inadequate would be deemed ineligible for the students to waive out of the MSU student insurance plan. This was an ongoing discussion with staff in Human Resources.

Rising numbers of Chinese students also brought forward rising numbers of mental health crises. The University Counseling Center was seeing a higher number of Chinese students facing issues of depression as well as the other issues often encountered by all college students. The Counseling Center hired a Mandarin-speaking counselor who collaborated frequently with the Office for International Students and Scholars and was active in her outreach to Chinese students. The psychiatry unit of MSU's Olin Health Center employed a Mandarin-speaking psychiatrist.

Of all units across the campus outside of OISS, Residential Education and Housing Services (REHS) in particular took a multifaceted approach to the issue of making their growing Chinese residents feel more at home. Leaders spoke of needing more "Chinese cultural competency" in their organization that was now serving nearly 2000 Chinese out of a total hall population of over 14,000. REHS organized a leadership group of 15 employees that visited several Chinese universities during

spring break in 2013. The 1-week trip was a powerful learning opportunity and influenced a deeper level of thinking about services to Chinese students. REHS sent two staff per year on the predeparture programs that took place in Beijing and Shanghai as a way to get more of their staff experienced with the challenges that Chinese students faced. Of particular note was the common complaint about American food. Chinese students were missing their favorite food items and had voiced these concerns for several years. The weeklong visit to Beijing changed the attitudes of the REHS leadership and soon developed new food practices in the residence halls. They created a "chef exchange" with a Chinese university, so the culinary services staff could learn how to prepare rice and other foods in the way that was better suited to the Chinese student taste. There was also made available a wider variety of healthy snacks that appealed to the Chinese students and an experimental "tea house." Some of the electronic signs posted horizontal moving messages that were moving too fast for the Chinese students to be able to read them, so the REHS staff adjusted to their need and slowed them down. Brochures and welcoming signs were increasingly bilingual. Chinese students recognized the changes, and surveys showed them to have a much higher level of satisfaction in the residence halls than before, and a higher percentage of Chinese students stayed living on campus beyond the first year.

The provost also initiated adjustments about how international students would be oriented as new students to campus. A process of centralizing services in a notoriously decentralized campus was evolving, and international students were at the forefront of this process. A campus-wide coordination committee was formed to make sure that those arriving early were fully served in a way that had not always been the case. International students arrived a week early to campus to do the academic advising and course registration that U.S. students experience during the summer. All international student orientation sessions became mandatory starting in 2013 in an effort to take appropriate measures to make sure all new students from abroad got the messages about campus issues such as safety/security, academic integrity, and opportunities to get involved in their residence halls. The Colleges of Business and Engineering enrolled the highest percentage of Chinese undergraduates and explored strategies for improving their advising services. The College of Engineering created a program during the orientation welcoming week that was dedicated to help mentor international freshmen students and begin relationships with key staff. The College of Business hired new advising staff that had either come from an international background or had significant international experience.

Community Responses

There were a multitude of off campus impacts with growing numbers of Chinese in the community. The business community experienced a new audience of consumers, and law enforcement confronted rising numbers of legal incidents.

The State of Michigan Governor promoted his vision of Global Michigan as a brand to make Michigan the most "immigrant friendly" state in the U.S. (http://www.

nafsa.org/Explore_International_Education/Advocacy_And_Public_Policy/International_Student_And_Scholar_Access_To_US_Higher_Education/Immigration_Reform_Issues/Michigan_Launches_Global_Michigan_Initiative_to_Attract_Immigrants_With_Advanced_Degrees/). This was an economic development vision as Michigan was the only state in the U.S. to lose population in the previous census and the state had been in a prolonged economic slump. The goal was to keep smart people in the state who would be more likely to innovate and create new jobs. One part of Global Michigan was the Global Talent Retention Initiative (http://www.migtri.org) as an economic development strategy to keep international students in the state. OISS affiliated with this program and created events that would help connect them with local employers (http://www.migtri.org/career-conferences/).

The Governor made multiple trips to China to strengthen business ties to the world's fastest growing economy. From the vision of Global Michigan emerged a more localized project that came to be known as Global Lansing. A number of community leaders recognized the opportunities that rising numbers of international students represented and engaged in discussions about the attributes of a "globally friendly community." Plans were formed to brand Greater Lansing as welcoming to international visitors (http://www.globallansing.com). In 2013, in cooperation with Meridian Township, the local Chinese community proudly celebrated a major Chinese New Year Festival at the Meridian Mall, and it was so well received that it became "an instant tradition" in the words of the Township's City Manager. One local developer seized the opportunity and created a new apartment complex to cater to the needs of international students by including the Chinese character for "home" (家) as its logo on its website and in promotional brochures. Property managers were renting apartments to more Chinese students, many of whom had never lived on their own before and were inexperienced at the responsibilities of taking care of a housing unit. Luxury car dealerships created special outreach events to Chinese student groups, and sales of Mercedes, BMW, Audi, Lexus, and Porsche jumped. The presence of so many expensive cars in a mostly middle-class community was new and created an assumption in the minds of many that "these Chinese are so wealthy. "There were also isolated and periodic incidents showing hostility toward Chinese. In June 2012, a number of cars in several apartment complexes housing many Chinese students were spray painted with the words "go back to China" written in Chinese" (https://www.facebook.com/ImportedFromChina/photos/a.166549866871030.1073741829.115194422006575/166549883537695/?type=1). The incidents were troubling, but there was no trend detected about deeper negative attitudes in the community. With no data to draw upon, it was hard to determine the depth of any hostility toward the greater presence of Chinese in Greater Lansing.

With all this as a backdrop, MSU's Office of Governmental Affairs had created the Community Relations Coalition (CRC) in collaboration with the Division of Student Affairs and Services that regularly addressed issues shared by both the campus and community. With rising international student issues, the CRC formed a "community stakeholders' group" in 2013 in an effort to bring together those in the community who were experiencing more interactions, positive or negative, with international students. The group included several officials from city governments, the local law enforcement, the court system, and a few influential property managers who were

leasing apartments to international students. The stakeholders' group brainstormed about how to make Greater Lansing more globally friendly community from legal, health, transportation, and business points of view. Soon thereafter, the local police departments subscribed to the service of LanguageLine Solutions (http://www.languageline.com) that would help make sure that non-native speakers understood what was taking place if they were stopped by the police or were present in a local court of law. Many in the community expressed concern about their ability to communicate with their international students. At the center of all conversations were the community outreach staff in the Office for International Students and Scholars. At the urging of the stakeholders' group, OISS outreach staff began to deliver a series of workshops to improve communications across cultures with the context that the community was in the midst of significant change with the presence of so many Chinese students. These proved to be very popular. The first one was with local property managers, and related programs were later tailored for East Lansing and MSU Police. Workshops included tips for better cross-cultural communications, but the most popular aspect of each workshop was the interaction between the audience and a select panel of international students who were pleased to share their stories of how they felt living in the community. Their stories humanized anything that might have been abstract about the tips for intercultural communication. The result of these workshops was that many local property managers elevated their cross-cultural competency by employing Chinese-speaking staff, translating contracts into Chinese and helping inexperienced Chinese renters about their responsibilities.

Conclusion

This recent wave of Chinese undergraduates seeking higher education outside their home country is historic in its size and raises a number of issues. What are the memories that Chinese students now enrolled in the U.S. higher education will take with them beyond their student days, and what lifelong attitudes are being shaped? What are the best practices that U.S. universities can implement to maximize the opportunities for student success and minimize the concerns? How can institutions prepare the campus for successful hosting a critical mass of students who come from such different learning traditions?

The highest levels of U.S. higher education are now discussing issues of comprehensive internationalization (https://www.nafsa.org/uploadedFiles/NAFSA_Home/Resource_Library_Assets/Publications_Library/2011_Comprehen_Internationalization.pdf). One aspect of how an institution operationalizes its international mission is the way its students from abroad are recruited, admitted, integrated, and served both in and out of the classroom. Thus, the stories of today's Chinese students shine a light on the character of an institution's long-term (or not) commitment to international engagement.

The above narrative about Michigan State University's encounters with the fast changes brought with increased enrollments of Chinese undergraduates just scratches

the surface of the complex issues facing MSU students and the institution. Much more could be written about the many personal stories of student experiences in and out of the classroom as well as interactions in the community. Similarly, much more could be written about the stories campus staff encountered as the campus demographics changed. Nearly all aspects of campus life were experiencing the new issues brought by Chinese undergraduates. Anecdotal stories include the successes of friendships between Chinese and U.S. students that had transformational impacts on those engaged as well as unsuccessful students who faced mental health issues in a period of transition to living in a culture other than their own. Who knows how many more U.S. students were inspired to study abroad in China, learn Mandarin, or begin their own new global perspectives based on the international experiences they gained in a residence hall or a conversation over a cup of bubble tea? Certainly, the rising numbers of Chinese students facing academic distress (probation or dismissal) must be addressed, and more research is needed about the retention of international students along with all issues related to their student success. Cross-cultural transitions are always filled with emotional ups and downs, identity confusion, reflections of personal growth, and new visions of their homeland. The list of successes and failures could go on, but the point is that there is an abundance of complexity, personal and institutional, involved with the melding of cultures on this scale.

The issues universities, especially public institutions, face today with the massive Chinese student market must bring reflection of why an institution enrolls students from overseas. That paradigm has evolved over the past 60 years. International students can be seen as guests with special needs. They can be seen as valuable educational resources that play a role in bringing global perspectives to campus. In the age of terrorism, they can also be seen as risks to national security who might be planning to do us harm. Today's paradigm appears to be an amalgamation of all these perceptions but is now dominated by the business model that perceives international students as economic exports that generate a significant revenue stream to the institution. Chinese students represent the largest market in the world of international students and are too often seen as "cash cows."

Dr. Rahul Choudaha, a well-known global higher education strategist, writes in the University World News: "in most countries, international students pay more in tuition and fees and receive less in services than their domestic counterparts. By only focusing on input metrics like recruitment goals rather than student success, institutions run the risk of damaging their reputation and competitive positioning. Institutions cannot take the academic and career success of their international students for granted." The link to Dr. Choudaha's article is http://www.universityworldnews.com/article.php?story=20151103205115498&query=investigating+international+student+success.

International education is a business and a lot of currency is changing hands. Money is flowing from many Chinese families to educational agents who advise and assist students in the application process. Cash-strapped institutions are happy to receive the full-paying students and, for public institutions, the out-of-state rate of tuition. Local business communities are benefitting from new consumers. The students from overseas bring change to the campus and community. We can learn

from different ways when the attitude is right, and this same diversity creates conflict if the attitude is not right. The challenge to this business of international higher education is to find the right balance of accommodation to this new student while staying true to its standards and educational mission.

The relationship between China and the U.S. is the most important in the world in the next 100 years. If we look ahead 30 years, these students will be influenced for better or for worse by their experiences during their highly formative educational years abroad. To make diversity and internationalization goals successful requires leadership and healthy cross campus collaborations. MSU's story outline above is ongoing. The notion of intercultural competence is still in its infancy and can be compared to the changes that the great explorers of the 1500s brought to the world. We are just beginning to understand the significance of culture as the world comes together.

Part III
Looking Ahead

Chapter 11
To Stay or Not to Stay: A Decision to Make upon Completion of Doctoral Degrees Among Asian International Doctorates in U.S. Higher Education Institutions

Dongbin Kim, Jin-young Roh, and Erinn Taylor de Barroso

Abstract Patterns of mobility of highly skilled workers and the factors that influence these patterns have changed in a number of ways over the last few decades. This study examines the stay versus return trends of Asian doctorate recipients from China, India, South Korea, and Taiwan who obtained their degree in the United States. Using logistic regression to analyze data from both the Integrated Postsecondary Education Data System (IPEDS) and the U.S. National Science Foundation's Survey of Earned Doctorates (SED), individual background variables, institutional variables, and country of origin variables were examined in terms of their effect on an individual's decision to stay in the United States after receiving a doctoral degree. Significantly different patterns of stay rates were found across the characteristics of individual, institutional, and countries of origin. Implications for policy and future research are discussed.

Introduction

As a recipient of the huge influx of international students, particularly at the doctoral level, the United States relies heavily on international students, particularly in the fields of science and engineering. Among those who received their doctoral degrees from U.S. higher education institutions in 2011, the proportional representations of international students with temporary visas ranged from 14% in the

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humanities to 52% in engineering (NSF 2012). With the help of international students, the United States has also led the world in science and technology degree productions in the midst of staggering numbers of U.S. native students who earned Ph.D.s in science and engineering fields (Bettinger 2010): The enrollment size of science and engineering Ph.D. programs in U.S. doctoral institutions increased by 61.7% during 1981–1999. The enrollment growth, however, would have remained at minimum level if international doctoral students were not taken into consideration (Black and Stephan 2007).

Focusing on the U.S. science and engineering workforce, Stephan and Levin (2003) found that foreign-born scholars represent a disproportionately higher percentage of those who make exceptional contributions to U.S. industry: Of those who have filed international patent applications as inventors or coinventors in the United States, 25.6% were foreign nationals, residing in the United States (Ewing Marion Kauffman Foundation 2007). Another study suggested that foreign-born engineers generated economic gains by contributing to industrial and business innovation, resulting in a net increase in wages for both U.S. citizens and immigrants (Chellaraj et al. 2008). It is clear that the United States has benefited from investments in education of the highly talented international students and scholars made by the sending countries (Stephan and Levin 2007).

Aside from their economic contributions, international students bring racial and ethnic diversity to our campuses, not only during their student years (Andrade 2006; Lee and Rice 2007; Olivas and Li 2006) but as faculty members. Many international students who seek advanced research degrees are likely to later become professors at U.S. colleges and universities upon graduation (Dreher and Poutvaara 2005; Kim et al. 2013). Against this background, the *Rising Above the Gathering Storm* report urged the U.S. government and the higher education system to exert a concerted effort to recruit and retain the best and the brightest international students (National Academy of Sciences 2007). Nevertheless, in contrast to the large body of literature on international mobility of higher education students (e.g., Blanchard et al. 2009; Bound and Turner 2010; Freeman et al. 2007), researchers have paid limited attention to international students' migration decisions after graduation (Kim et al. 2011).

From the sending country's perspective, international doctoral graduates who remain in their host country may represent the phenomenon known as "brain drain" due to the loss of human capital. Research indicates that students who continue their graduate education in foreign countries tend to come from higher socioeconomic status (SES) families, graduate from highly selective undergraduate institutions, and are more academically prepared with higher college GPAs than their counterparts who pursue graduate education in their home countries (Korea Research Institute for Vocational Education and Training 2007). Therefore, when the foreign doctoral graduates do not return, the home countries lose the earlier investments made in those talented individuals, as well as their intellectual capabilities. With many doctoral students from China staying in the United States after their degree completion, Zweig et al. (2008) argue that the resulting brain drain has contributed to the loss of productive labor within China's research community. This brain drain phenomenon causes the decline of potential positive externalities that highly educated people can generate in a society and lowers the return of public investment in

education (Gribble 2008; Grossmann and Stadelmann 2008). On the other hand, if individuals with U.S. doctoral degrees choose to return to their home country with more advanced training and skills from abroad, they take back human capital from their U.S. education and experience (Baruch et al. 2007; Freeman 2006). This implies "brain gain" rather than "brain drain" from the source country's perspective (Stark et al. 1997). For instance, South Korea focused on human capital development by sending highly qualified individuals abroad, particularly to the United States, and then used the acquired manpower (of individuals who returned to South Korea) as a source of brain gain for their rapid economic growth (Kim and Roh 2012).

Going beyond the dichotomy of brain gain versus brain drain perspectives, the stocks of migrants can be viewed as a "precious resource" rather than a brain drain (OECD 2008, p. 47). This is due to financial and cultural ties, as well as professional and social networks, maintained by returners or stayers with their home or former host countries that help the flow of knowledge associated with brain circulation (Gribble 2008; OECD 2008) as opposed to a brain drain.

In a global knowledge economy, the competitiveness of a nation depends on producing highly skilled workers (OECD 2009), and U.S. educated foreign doctorate recipients are the "talent" pool that many countries need in order to attain economic development (OECD 2008, p. 19). New doctorate recipients, especially in the fields of science and engineering, are the future generation of faculty and researchers for academia and the new labor supply for the knowledge economy (National Science Foundation 2012). Therefore, it is pertinent to understand the patterns of global mobility (stay or return decision) of the highly talented scientists and engineers who receive their doctorates from American doctoral institutions from both a sender and a host country's perspective.

The patterns of mobility and the factors influencing those patterns may have changed over time, due to changes in the education sector, economy, or societal and cultural atmospheres in the sending and host countries as well as the dynamic interaction between the sender and host countries on a global scale. During the most recent decade, from 2000 to 2010, China, India, South Korea, and Taiwan were the four largest senders—whose students represent nearly three-quarters of the total international students to American higher education—all of which are located in Asia (IIE, 2014; Roh 2014). As a host country, the United States has also experienced many changes in its policies and environment toward immigration. Since the 1990s, the United States has emphasized the importance of skilled migration, and this has had significant implications for highly skilled workers' migration (Brzozowski 2007). Therefore, it is worth examining the effects of the larger context on the patterns of international doctorates' stay versus return decision over the period between 2000 and 2010.

Research Questions

1. What are the stay versus return trends of Asian doctorate recipients during the period between 2000 and 2010? Are there different patterns found by countries of origin that the doctorates are from?

2. What are the specific effects of the country of origin on Asian doctorates' decision to stay in the United States?
3. How have the effects of the country of origin on Asian doctorates' decision to stay versus return changed over time?

Conceptual Framework

Human Capital Theory Human capital theory is used to understand the implications of international doctorates' decision to stay in the United States or return to their home countries; these graduates have a considerable amount of human capital, accrued from their education and training at American doctoral institutions, which could significantly affect their host and home countries' economies. Human capital consists of knowledge and skills, as well as cultural and social experiences that increase individuals' productivity, which in turn increases their lifetime earnings (Psacharopoulos 2006).

Human capital development may have a differential impact based on an individual's personal characteristics, social characteristics, or both. For example, from an individual's perspective, this impact may differ based on membership in certain subgroups. Psacharopoulos (2006) found that in human capital terms, the private rate of return for an investment in education differs between men and women. While men garner higher wages on average, the rate of return for human capital investment among women was 9.8%, compared with 8.7% for men. Given that the private rate of return is calculated by examining the extra earnings that are attributed to the higher level of education in relation to the costs associated with obtaining the education, which includes forgone earnings (i.e., opportunity costs), Psacharopoulos (2006) suggests that the higher rates of return on women's investment might be the result of lower opportunity costs associated with their education. From a different angle, if an international student earns a degree in the United States (by investing a significant amount of time and money to acquire increased human capital), as a rational economic human being, he/she would pursue employment in a location that will enhance the rate of return for his/her education. Similarly, if a new graduate perceives her monetary rate of return to be higher as a woman in her chosen field in the United States rather than elsewhere, she may focus her job search in the United States. On the other hand, if the person places more value on obtaining elite status (i.e., nonmonetary benefit) due to her unique degree, she may look to find employment in countries where her skills are less commonly available and more highly revered, despite the promise of a lower salary or fewer opportunities to engage in the high-level research she was trained for.

A study conducted by the Mellon Foundation found that returners were more likely to be in academia than those who stayed in the United States after completion of doctorates (Gupta et al. 2003), suggesting that the returners were less likely to consider higher salary than stayers (Baruffaldi and Landoni 2012). At the same time, there may be a greater incentive to pursue higher-paying job opportunities in

the United States after graduation, since a large majority of international students studying in the United Sates today are self-funded (Gribble 2008).

As individuals pursue the highest rates of return for their investment in education (either in monetary or nonmonetary term), countries also need to work to create incentives at the macroeconomic level to attract individuals with higher levels of human capital. This may include developing a research infrastructure to attract highly trained professionals, establishing national research grants to support in-country research and development, changing policy to create gender equity with regard to salary, and working with institutions to create dynamic and more holistic (monetary and nonmonetary) incentive packages to attract new graduates. Data suggest that the industrialized countries that have had the greatest success at attracting highly skilled postgraduate professionals back home were those with the most aggressive programs for supporting higher education, as well as innovation in research (Gribble 2008). According to Bowman and Anderson (1963), once knowledge levels surpass a certain point in a country, aggregate production possibilities may expand quickly. On the other hand, if a country continues to get left behind because the most highly trained professionals are making the decision to pursue their careers elsewhere, the critical threshold that is important to attracting new talent will never be reached. Less developed countries, therefore, must find ways to reverse the outward flow of highly skilled individuals.

Push/Pull Factors When considering human capital theory as a lens through which to examine the stay versus return decision of Asian international doctorate recipients from U.S. higher education institutions, we must address the push and pull factors that help inform the decision. Push factors are elements within or pertaining to a doctoral student's home country that not only influences the decision to study in the United States but also the decision to remain in the United States upon degree completion. Pull factors refer to the factors within the host country that draw a student to stay after graduation. Existing literature surrounding these factors focuses on their influence on the stay versus return decision at three different levels—individual, institutional, and country level.

Individual-Level Factors At the individual level, financial considerations (e.g., primary sources of funding during the doctoral study), opportunities for status, and membership in certain subgroups (e.g., career plans) are known to influence the stay/return decision of international doctorate recipients (Iredale 2001; Psacharopoulos 2006). Varied personal characteristics of doctorate recipients may also contribute to the stay/return decision in different ways. As previously discussed, Psacharopoulos (2006) found that gender plays an important role, as women were more likely to stay in the United States. Age, marital status, and family responsibilities are also known to influence stay rates: Those who stayed in the United States tend to be younger and are less likely to be married with dependents upon completion of their Ph.D.s (Gupta et al. 2003; Black and Stephan 2007). Parental education is also related to international doctorate graduates' decision to return: those with college-educated parents were less likely to stay than those who were first generation (Roh 2014).

The prevalence of postdoctoral research appointments in the sciences, increasingly seen as an extension of the training received in doctoral programs, may contribute to the decision to stay, at least in the short term, at an institution in the United States (Johnson and Regets 1998; Gupta et al. 2003). Many of the more well-known or prestigious postdoctoral positions are located in the United States, leading doctoral recipients to increasingly consider at least a short-term stay in the United States in order to remain competitive for academic appointments or industry positions in their field. Given that postdoctoral opportunities are more common in certain fields than others, international doctorates' stay decisions are "directly" related to the fields of doctoral training (Black and Stephan 2007). Lastly, of the international doctorate recipients, those who want to be in academic in the future were more likely to return than those who plan to work industry (Roh 2014; Gupta et al. 2003).

Institutional Level Factors Given that the U.S. doctoral education is differentiated and highly stratified (Bound and Turner 2010), human capital theory implies that international doctorate recipients who graduated from prestigious doctoral programs will have significant gains in their human capital and enhance their employability, which may influence their likelihood of staying in the United States. According to Black and Stephan (2007), international doctorate recipients who graduated from top ten doctoral programs were more likely to stay than are those attended in non-top ten programs in electrical engineering programs. On the contrary, Roh (2014) found that international doctorates from highly prestigious doctoral programs were less likely to stay in the United States.

Country-Level Factors Country-level factors can also play a crucial role in the decision-making process for new doctoral recipients. Most often, economic conditions in the home country at the time of graduation can greatly influence the decision to stay (Finn 2007a, b; Iredale 2001). As Tansel and Güngör (2003) found, when economic conditions in the home country are unstable, the decision to stay becomes far more complicated. In times of economic security in the home country, such as high demand for credentialed professionals in the student's field of study, doctoral recipients are more likely to make a decision to return (Bertram et al. 2007). Conversely, economic distress in the home country, such as a weak job market or currency devaluation, might make the choice to stay in the United States easier for international doctoral recipients.

Research Methods

Data Source This study seeks to understand the specific effect of country of origin on international doctoral recipients' decision to stay, in addition to various predictors at individual as well as country levels. For this purpose, this study requires multiple data sources for individual, institutional, and country variables. For individual variables, we used data from the Survey of Earned Doctorates (SED: 2000–2010)

collected by the U.S. National Science Foundation (NSF). The SED data is based on annual surveys of individuals who received their doctoral degrees in the 12-month period ending on June 30, between 2000 and 2010. Of the doctorate recipients from this 10-year time period, this study focused on individuals with temporary visa status. International doctorates from eight academic fields were selected for the study: agricultural sciences, biological and biomedical sciences, computer and information sciences, mathematics, physics, chemistry, engineering, and economics. Academic fields were chosen with the consideration of the sample sizes of each field and the availability of academic rankings of the doctoral programs.

Data for U.S. doctoral institutions were drawn from the Integrated Postsecondary Education Data System (IPEDS) collected by the U.S. National Center for Education Statistics and the rankings of America's Best Graduate Schools published by the U.S. News and World Report (USNWR) from 2000 to 2010. For the prestige of foreign undergraduate institutions, we collected information from the Academic Ranking of World Universities (ARWU) 2012.

In order to understand the effect of home country variables, this study focused on the four countries that produced the largest number of foreign doctoral graduates in the United States between 2000 and 2010. The four countries were China, India, South Korea, and Taiwan, all of which are located in Asia, constituting more than half (54%) of the total number of foreign doctorate recipients in U.S. higher education institutions. These four countries remained constantly the largest senders during the study period. To construct country variables, data from the World Bank and the ARWU were merged into the individual variables.

Variables The dependent variable is whether or not international doctoral graduates intended to stay in the United States after receiving the doctoral degree (stay = 1, non-stay = 0). We used this approach to follow the National Science Foundation (2010)'s definition of stayers, meaning "doctorate recipients with temporary visas who have definite commitments for employment or a postdoctoral position in the coming year and who indicated the location of their commitment is in the United States"(p. 13). The non-stayers include those who planned to leave the United States after they completed their degrees, regardless of whether they returned to their home or moved to another foreign country.

The independent variables that predict international doctorates' stay or return decision are divided into three categories: individual background variables, institutional variables, and country of origin variables. Individual background variables include age, gender, marital and family status, and parental education. Mother's and father's levels of education are combined as a single variable: If neither parent attained a bachelor's degree, the doctorates are considered to be first-generation students. If one, or both, parents attained a bachelor's degree or higher, the doctorate recipients are considered to be continuing generation. Educational background (field of study and the primary funding source for their doctoral degree) and future career plan (working in academia, industry, government, others, or undecided) variables are also included.

Institutional variables are related to the characteristics of an undergraduate and a doctoral institution. The prestige of an undergraduate institution is represented as a top 5 ranked higher education institution in one's home country according to the ARWU 2012. For example, Chinese doctorate recipients who received a bachelor's degree from Peking University, Tsinghua University, Shanghai Jiao Tong University, Zhejiang University, and the University of Science and Technology of China were categorized as having received a prestigious bachelor's degree from their home country. Institutional variables of the doctoral institutions included institutional control (public vs. private), the 2010 Basic Carnegie Classification of the doctorate-granting institutions (very high research activity, high research activity, doctoral, and others), institutional research expenditures, and the rankings of graduate programs by academic fields. All institutional data except the ranking data were from the IPEDS. For the ranking data of academic fields, this study used the annual rankings of America's Best Graduate Schools published by the USNWR from 2000 to 2010. This study defined a prestigious doctoral program as the one ranked on the top 25 lists by the USNWR, as Morphew and Swanson (2011) referred to them as an "elite group" in academic fields (p. 190).

To explore how the changes of economic conditions and career opportunities in one's home country and the United States might influence foreign doctorate recipients' stay versus return decision, this study examined country variables related to the economic conditions and R&D infrastructure. The country variables had annual values from 2000 to 2010. To take into account both the push and pull factors, the difference between the values of home country and the United States of that particular year was calculated and used as a country variable. The country variables included the difference of GDP per capita, the difference of unemployment rates, the difference of percentage of total expenditures for R&D relative to the GDP per capita, and the difference of public expenditure on education per capita.

Statistical Analysis The dependent variable of this study is whether or not international doctoral graduates stay in the United States upon completion of their doctoral degrees. Given the dichotomous nature of the variable, this study used logistic regression analysis which estimates how various predictors influence the probability of an occurrence of a dichotomous outcome variable.

$$\log\left(\frac{p_i}{1-p_i}\right) = \alpha + \beta^* IND_{it} + \gamma^* INST_{kit} + \delta^* CNTRY_{jit} + \sum_{t=2}^{11} \varepsilon^* TIME_{ti} + \sum_{k=2}^{320} \zeta^* INST_{ki} + \sum_{j=2}^{4} \eta^* CNTRY_{ji}$$

where α was an intercept, indicating the average probability of the staying of an individual i from China ($j = 1$) who earned the doctoral degree from Alabama A&M University ($k = 1$) in 2000 ($t = 1$) after controlling for all covariates. Individuals in the reference group were randomly chosen only for the purpose of comparison. The vector $\beta^* IND_{it}$ represented the individual predictors associated with the foreign

doctorate recipients' decisions to stay in the United States such as demographic characteristics, educational background, and career plan. The vector $\gamma^{*}INST_{kit}$ represented the characteristics of doctoral institutions such as institution type, institutional research expenditure, and program rankings. Last, $\delta^{*}CONT_{jit}$ was a vector of individuals' home country predictors such as economic conditions and R&D infrastructure. The variable $TIME_{ti}$ denoted a vector of time dummy indicators that control for the fixed effect of time. The variable $INST_{ki}$ denoted a vector of doctoral institution dummy indicators that controlled for institutional fixed effects. The variable $CNTRY_{ji}$ denotes a vector of country fixed effects. By adding these three sets of dummy variables, this model controlled for time-invariant unobserved effects of year, doctoral institution, and country that might affect foreign doctorate recipients' decisions to stay (Wooldridge 2009). That is, these sets of dummy variables controlled for unobserved possible biases that might lead to misleading results (Horta 2009) and adjusted estimators for the clustering of foreign doctorate recipients by year, doctoral institution, and country (Wooldridge 2009).

The model was tested with and without three sets of dummy variables to explore the year, institution, or country fixed effects. While the year and institution dummy variables explained only 1 and 2% of the variances, respectively, the country variables explained the most of the variances, at 15%. Thus, this study built three separate models—country-level model, individual-level model, and full model.

For easy interpretation, the log odds from the logistic regression analysis are converted to odds ratios (by exponentiating log odds) and probabilities. The odds ratio is a way of comparing whether the probability of a certain event (e.g., stay) is the same for two groups. For instance, an odds ratio of 1 for female (versus male) indicates that there is no difference in the probability of staying by gender. An odds ratio greater than one for female implies that females are more likely to stay than males.

Research Findings

Descriptive Finding Of the international doctoral gradautes whose countries of origin are China, India, South Korea, and Taiwan and whose academic fields of study are agricultural sciences, biological and biomedical sciences, computer and information sciences, mathematics, physics, chemistry, engineering, and economics (N = 23,422), approximately 88% decided to stay in the United States after they earned their Ph.D. This stay rate is higher than average stay rate (81%) among all international doctorate recipients (Roh 2014), suggesting that Asian PhDs from the four largest senders have higher stay rates than international PhDs in general. Figure 11.1 shows the stay rates by year from 2000 to 2010. The stay rates for Chinese and Indian doctoral graduates tend to be significantly higher than South Korean or Taiwanese PhDs. Compared to PhDs from India, South Korea, and Taiwan who showed some fluctuation over the study period, Chinese PhDs tended to show constant downward direction of stay rates, having the highest rates in 2001

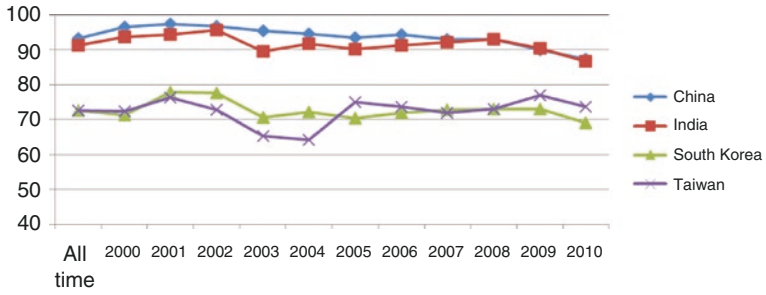

Fig. 11.1 Stay rates by year from China, India, South Korea, and Taiwan

(97%) and having the lowest in 2010 (87%). For international doctoral graduates from India, South Korea, and Taiwan, 2003 and 2004 show relatively lower stay rates than in any other years.

Table 11.1 presents the descriptive statistics of the international doctoral graduates by their stay versus return decision. The chi-square test of distribution was conducted, and the significance test results were included in the table. Overall, female international PhDs tend to have higher stay rates (91%) than male PhDs (86.8%). The gender differences, however, vary by country of origin: In contrast to the small gender differences among Chinese and Indian international PhDs, the stay rates of South Korean female PhDs were 81%, a significantly higher percentage than the 71% for their male counterparts. A little smaller, but still significant, gender difference was found among Taiwanese PhDs: 77% of female doctorates were stayers as compared to 71% of male PhDs. Again, in contrast to the nonsignificant differences by parental education among Chinese and Indian students, first-generation students tend to have higher stay rates than continuing generation among international PhDs from South Korea and Taiwan. Primary funding sources while in doctoral programs were significantly related to international doctoral graduates' stay decision. Ninety percent of international PhDs whose primary funding source was a research assistantship were stayers, followed by 89% of PhDs whose primary funding was a fellowship, scholarship, or grant. As expected, if the primary funding source was foreign government, the international PhDs were much less likely to stay with stay rates of 43.5%. International PhDs who plan to work in industry had higher (92.4%) stay rates than those who plan to pursue academic career (88.5%), and the difference was significant at the 0.001 level. While international PhDs who majored in biology or chemistry had higher stay rates (93.4% and 92%, respectively), those in agriculture (82.6%), engineering (87.6%), math (86.4%), and physics (87.4%) tended to have lower stay rates. Interestingly, international PhDs who majored economics reported to have the lowest stay rates (57.4%).

Table 11.2 presents mean differences in country-level variables by stay versus return decision. For all country-level variables, there are statistically significant differences at the 0.001 level by international doctoral graduates'' stay versus return decision: The smaller the difference of GDP per capita, the difference of unemploy-

Table 11.1 Percentage distributions of stayers: by individual and institutional variables

	All	Chinese	Indian	South Korea	Taiwan
Gender	***			***	***
Female	91.1%	94.3%	91.1%	80.7%	76.8
Male	86.8	92.9	91.2	70.8	71.2
Marital status					
Married	89.0	94.3	92.9	73.2	71.2
Not married	86.1	90.7	89.9	70.6	73.9
Having children	***			***	***
No child	88.5	92.6	91.0	72.5	74.1
Children under 6	86.3	94.4	91.4	73.0	67.5
Children aged 6–18	77.8	92.1	88.8	63.4	55.9
Parental education				***	***
Continuing generation	88.6	93.8	91.0	69.0	69.4
First generation	87.0	92.8	92.1	74.8	75.5
Prestige of BA					***
Selective BA	86.5	93.5	90.8	72.9	74.3
Nonselective BA	88.9	93.2	91.3	71.6	69.6
Primary funding source	***	***	***	***	***
RAship	90.0	94.0	92.3	76.7	78.8
TAship	85.0	91.0	87.5	65.6	64.7
Scholarship/grant	89.0	93.4	91.0	74.3	77.8
Foreign government	43.5	55.6	83.3	47.3	32.8
Self	63.2	85.1	92.1	58.4	56.8
Career plan	***	***	***	***	***
Academia	88.5	92.5	89.9	85.6	63.8
Industry	91.4	96.4	95.2	57.5	91.8
Carnegie classification	***			***	***
Research very high	90.4	93.0	93.8	69.0	52.6
Research high	87.6	93.4	90.6	72.3	72.7
Doctoral institutions	89.2	91.8	93.8	75.9	64.3
Specialized institutions	94.8	95.8	96.2	96.1	83.7
Institutional control					
Public	87.8	93.4	91.3	71.9	72.4
Private	88.4	93.0	90.6	74.3	73.3
Prestige of doctoral inst.					***
Prestigious inst.	86.5	93.5	89.8	72.7	75.6
Not prestigious inst.	88.9	93.2	91.8	72.7	70.5
Field of study	***	***	***	***	***
Biology	93.4	94.9	94.4	91.1	83.6
Engineering	87.6	94.2	92.3	69.5	72.6
Computer sciences	89.4	94.2	90.3	73.7	68.2
Mathematics	86.4	91.5	80.8	78.9	66.5
Chemistry	92.0	93.9	91.6	84.6	82.2

(continued)

Table 11.1 (continued)

	All	Chinese	Indian	South Korea	Taiwan
Physics	87.4	91.6	83.9	77.4	77.9
Economics	57.4	76.2	74.8	28.4	34.1
Agriculture	82.6	88.5	90.3	75.6	55.1

Sources: Institute for Scientific Information, Inc. and National Science Foundation, Division of Science Resource Statistics, Special tabulations. The use of NSF data does not imply NSF endorsement of the research methods or conclusions contained in this report
Note: Given that the sample sizes vary by country of origin, similar sample sizes by country of origin were randomly selected and examined for the purpose of producing meaningful significance test results by country of origin
***$p < .001$

Table 11.2 Mean differences by stayers versus returners: country variables

	Stayers	Returners	F
GDP per capita centered on U.S. GDP	−38,139,679	−33,205,577	2231.223***
Unemployment rates	5.108	4.754	335.975***
% of R&D expenditures on GDP	1.503	2.074	1388.291***
Public expenditures on education per capita	1,687,242	3,705,255	3584.861***

Sources: Institute for Scientific Information, Inc. and National Science Foundation, Division of Science Resource Statistics, Special tabulations. The use of NSF data does not imply NSF endorsement of the research methods or conclusions contained in this report
***< .001

ment rates, the difference of percentage of total expenditures for R&D relative to the GDP per capita, the difference of public expenditure on education per capita between home country and the United States, the more likely the international doctoral graduates returned to their home countries.

Factors Predicting International Doctoral Graduates' Stay Decision in the United States

Table 11.3 presents the results of three separate sequential logistic regression models for international PhDs from four countries. First of all, to understand if there are country-specific effects, country-level model 1 controls for country fixed effects. International doctorates from China were significantly more likely to stay than their counterparts from India, South Korea, and Taiwan: The odds of Chinese staying were 35% greater than international doctoral graduates from India (inverse odds ratio of 0.741 = 1.349, $p < .000$), 5.3 times greater than Korean international PhDs (inverse odds ratio of 0.189 = 5.29, $p < .000$) and 5.2 times greater than Taiwanese PhDs (inverse odds ratio of .190 = 5.26, $p < .000$).

Table 11.3 Odds ratio of staying upon completion of doctoral degree: country-level, individual-level, and full-model analysis

	Country level		Individual level		
	Model 1	Model 2	Model 1	Model 2	Full model
Country of origin (China)					
India	.741***	ns			3.955***
South Korea	.189***	.195***			.406*
Taiwan	.190***	.188***			.414*
GDP per capita differences		1.001**			ns
Unemployment rates		.917*			.685***
R&D expenditures on GDP		.776***			.737**
Prestige of BA and doc inst.					
Selective BA inst.			.843***	.898*	1.126*
Selective doc inst.			.838***	.714***	.857*
Gender: female				1.464***	1.518***
Age				.920***	.972**
Marital status: married				1.874***	1.584***
Having children					
Children under 6				.768***	ns
Children aged 6–18				.794*	.705**
Primary funding source (self or loans)					
RAship				3.726***	2.449***
TAship				2.760***	1.683***
Scholarship/grant				2.973***	1.965***
Foreign government				.444***	ns
Years in PhD				Ns	1.047*
Career plan: academia				1.303***	.563*
Field of study (engineering)					
Biology				2.131***	2.112***
Computer sciences				1.240*	ns
Mathematics					
Chemistry				1.541***	1.516***
Physics				.809*	ns
Economics				.241***	.222***
Agriculture					
Log likelihood					13192.423
Nagelkerke R square					.171
N					23,422

Sources: Institute for Scientific Information, Inc. and National Science Foundation, Division of Science Resource Statistics, Special tabulations. The use of NSF data does not imply NSF endorsement of the research methods or conclusions contained in this report

Note: Only the independent variables that are significant predictors of stay versus return decision are presented with odds ratio in the table

***< .001

When country variables were entered into the country-level model 2, the significant effect of country fixed effect (India) disappeared, meaning that when country variables are assumed to be equal, international PhDs from India were not significantly different from Chinese international PhDs in their stay decision. On the other hand, international doctoral graduates from South Korea and Taiwan were still significantly less likely to stay than Chinese PhDs, even after controlling for country variables.

As the differences in GDP increase, the odds of international doctorates staying in the United States increased (odds ratio = 1.001, $p < .01$). On the other hand, the unemployment rate centered on the U.S. unemployment rate and the R&D expenditure centered on U.S. R&D expenditure were negatively associated with the international PhDs' odds of staying in the United States (unemployment rate odds ratio = .917, $p < .01$; R&D odds ratio = .776, $p < .001$).

The individual-level model 1 estimates the effects of prestige of undergraduate and doctoral institutions on international doctoral graduates' stay decision. Both the prestige of undergraduate (inverse odds ratio of .843 = 1.18, $p < .000$) and that of doctoral (inverse odds ratio of .838 = 1.19, $p < .000$) institutions were significant predictors of international PhDs' stay decision, indicating that the odds of individuals from nonselective undergraduate and doctoral institutions staying in the United States were 18% and 19%, respectively, greater than those of international PhDs from selective undergraduate and doctoral institutions.

In model 2, additional individual variables were entered in model 1 to examine if the unique effects of prestige of undergraduate and doctoral institutions remain statistically significant even after all other individual variables assumed to be equal. Interestingly, both the prestige of undergraduate (odds ratio = .898, $p < .05$) and that of doctoral institutions (odds ratio = .714, $p < .001$) remained significant even when all other individual variables were controlled for, suggesting that international doctorates who are from selective undergraduate or doctoral institutions were less likely to stay than their counterparts who were from less selective undergraduate or doctoral programs.

On the other hand, none of the characteristics representing doctoral institutions, other than the prestige, was a significant predictor of stay decision. For other individual variables, having a research assistantship as a primary funding source was a strong predictor of international PhDs' stay decision (odds ratio = 4.088, $p < .000$), followed by scholarship/fellowship/grant (odds ratio = .3092, $p < .001$) and teaching assistantship (odds ratio = 2.871, $p < .000$) as compared to those whose primary funding source was self, family, or loans. As expected, if the primary funding sources were foreign government, international PhDs were significantly less likely to stay (odds ratio = −.812, $p < .001$). The field of study was also an important predictor of stay rates: International PhDs who majored in biological/biomedical science (odds ratio = 2.131, $p < .001$), computer science (odds ratio = 1.240, $p < .05$), and chemistry (odds ratio = 1.541, $p < .001$) were more likely to stay in the United States than their counterparts whose major was engineering. It is worth noting that career plan has a unique effect on international PhDs' stay decision: The odds of international

PhDs who plan to work in industry staying were 22% greater (odds ratio = 1.303, $p < .000$) than those of PhDs who plan to be in academia in the future.

Full model presents the estimates of the predictors that take into account variables from country-level and individual-level models. South Korean and Taiwanese international PhDs, with all things being controlled—even if they have exactly same individual, institutional, and other country variables—continue to be uniquely different from their counterpart Chinese PhDs: Korean and Taiwanese PhDs were less likely to stay in the United States than Chinese PhDs. The opposite is true for Indian PhDs. In addition, two country variables, the difference between the R&D expenditure of home country and that of the United States (odds ratio = .737, $p < .05$) and the differences between unemployment rates of home country and that of United States (odds ratio = .685, $p < .001$), were significant predictors of international PhDs' stay decision.

It is particularly worth noting that while the unique effects of prestige of undergraduate and doctoral institutions remain statistically significant even after all other individual and country variables were controlled for, the effects of prestige were opposite for undergraduate versus doctoral institutions. If international doctoral graduates graduated from highly prestigious undergraduate institutions, they were more likely to stay (odds ratio = 1.126, $p < .05$), and if they graduated from highly prestigious doctoral institutions, they were less likely to stay (odds ratio = .857, $p < .05$).

Of the demographic characteristics, female international PhDs had 51% greater odds of staying than their male counterparts when all things being equal. International PhDs who were older and having school-aged children were less likely to stay than those who were younger and having no dependent children. If the primary funding sources were research assistantship, teaching assistantship, and scholarships, international doctoral graduates were significantly more likely to stay than those who were supported by family/self or loans. The significant negative effect of foreign government as a primary funding source in individual-level analysis (i.e., no country variables were entered in the model), however, disappeared in the full-model analysis. This suggests that there was significant interaction between country-level variables and the foreign government as a primary funding source for international doctoral graduates' stay decision.

Similarities and Differences in the Predictors of Stay Versus Return by Country of Origin

To examine further whether significant predictors explained by the full model varied by country, four separate logistic regression analyses were conducted for international doctoral graduates from China, India, South Korea, and Taiwan. The results suggest that the factors predicting one's stay in the United States varied by country, indicating that the country of origin had a unique contribution in explaining the variances (see Table 11.4).

Table 11.4. Odds ratio of staying upon completion of doctoral degree: by country of origin

	China	India	South Korea	Taiwan
Gender: female	1.385***	1.390*		
Age	.963**			
Marital status: married	1.538***	1.622***	1.760***	
Having children				
Children under 6				
Children aged 6–18				
Parental ed: continuing generation				
Selective BA institutions			1.450***	
Years in Ph.D.	1.076*	1.085*		1.107*
Primary funding source				
RAship			2.003***	1.790*
TAship				
Scholarship/grant				
Foreign government	.027**	.030***		.154**
Career plan: academia	1.822***	2.434***	.180***	6.408***
Prestigious doctoral inst.	.273**	.709**		
Field of study (engineering)				
Biology	1.341*	2.429***	2.392***	3.295***
Computer sciences		.673*		
Mathematics		.512**		
Chemistry				3.862**
Physics		.387***		
Economics	.161***	.242***	.201***	−1.553(.212)***
Agriculture	.410***			
Log likelihood	5302.909	2726.047	3035.792	1220.932
Nagelkerke R square	.109	.114	.260	.318
N	13,081	5623	3360	1358

Sources: Institute for Scientific Information, Inc. and National Science Foundation, Division of Science Resource Statistics, Special tabulations. The use of NSF data does not imply NSF endorsement of the research methods or conclusions contained in this report

Note: Only the independent variables that are significant predictors of stay versus return decision are presented with odds ratio

***< .001

China Among Chinese doctorate recipients, female doctorate recipients were more likely to stay in the United States relative to male doctorate recipients (odds ratio = 1.38, $p < 0.001$). The older doctorate recipients tended to stay less (odds ratio = 0.96, $p < 0.01$), and married doctorate recipients were more likely to stay in the United States (odds ratio = 1.538, $p < 0.001$). While having a selective bachelor's degree from China did not predict the odds of staying in the United States, those who received their doctoral degree from prestigious doctoral institutions were less likely to stay in the United States. The primary funding source for their Ph.D.

studies did not predict their decisions to stay in the United States, except for foreign government as a funding source. When Chinese doctorate recipients were funded by the Chinese government rather than by their family, their own resources, or a loan, the odds of staying in the United States decreased 73% (odds ratio = 0.27, $p < 0.05$). Chinese doctorate recipients who majored in biological/biomedical sciences had 1.3 times higher odds of staying in the United States compared to those who majored in engineering (odds ratio = 1.34, $p < 0.01$). On the other hand, the odds of staying for Chinese doctorate recipients in economics were 84% less than those in agriculture (odds ratio = 0.16, $p < 0.001$). Chinese doctorate recipients who planned to work in industry had 82% greater odds of staying in the United States relative to Chinese doctorate recipients whose career plans were in academia (odds ratio = 1.82, $p < 0.001$).

India The female doctorate recipients from India were more likely to stay in the United States relative to their male counterparts. Married Indian doctorate recipients had 62% greater odds of staying in the United States compared to their non-married counterparts (odds ratio = 1.622, $p < 0.001$). Like Chinese doctorate recipients, Indian doctorate recipients who received their doctorates from prestigious doctoral institutions were less likely to stay in the United States. The odds of staying in the United States declined 30% when Indian doctorate recipients graduated from the most prestigious Ph.D. programs relative to Indian doctorate recipients who did not graduate from the most prestigious Ph.D. programs (odds ratio = 0.709, $p < 0.05$). Indian doctorate recipients whose career plans were in industry had two times higher odds of staying relative to counterparts whose career plans were in academia (odds ratio = 2.434, $p < 0.001$). Indian doctorate recipients who majored biology were significantly more likely to stay than other Indian doctorate recipients whose major was engineering (odds ratio = 2.429, $p < .001$). By contrast, Indian doctorate recipients who majored computer sciences, mathematics, physics, and economics were all less likely to stay in the United States than their counterpart Indian doctorate recipients who majored in engineering.

South Korea Interestingly, international PhDs from South Korea present some unique patterns, different from their counterparts from China, India, and Taiwan. First, Korean international doctorate recipients graduated from highly selective undergraduate institutions were significantly more likely to stay than their counterparts who graduated from less selective undergraduate institutions in South Korea (odds ratio = 1.450, $p < 0.001$). South Korean doctorate recipients who planned to work in industry were less likely to stay in the United States, compared to other South Korean PhDs who planned to work in academia (odds ratio = 0.180, $p < 0.001$). South Korean doctorate recipients who were funded by research assistantships rather than their family, own resources, or a loan had about two times higher odds of staying in the United States (odds ratio = 2.003, $p < 0.001$). Like international PhDs from China, India, and Taiwan, South Korean doctorate recipients who majored in biological/biomedical sciences had two times higher odds of staying in the United States relative to those who majored in engineering (odds ration = 2.392, $p < .001$). Again, like Chinese, Indian, and Taiwanese doctorates, Korean doctorate

recipients whose major was economics were significantly less likely to stay in the United States than their counterparts who majored in engineering.

Taiwan Like Korean international doctorate recipients, foreign doctorate recipients from Taiwan were more likely to stay in the United States if their primary funding source was research assistantships (odds ratio = 1.790, $p < .05$). Similar to Chinese and Indian doctorate recipients, Taiwanese doctorate recipients who planned to be in industry were more likely to stay in the United States than their counterpart Taiwanese PhDs who planned to be in academia (odds ratio = 6.408, $p < .001$). Interestingly, however, in contrast to other international PhDs from China, India, and South Korea, marital status was not a significant predictor of Taiwanese PhDs' stay decision. Among Taiwanese doctorate recipients, those who majored in biological/biomedical sciences, chemistry, and economics had significantly different odds of staying from compared to those who majored in engineering (odds ratio = 3.30, $p < 0.001$ for biological/biomedical sciences; odds ratio = 3.862, $p < 0.01$ for chemistry; odds ratio = 0.212, $p < 0.001$ for economics).

Discussion and Conclusion

For the last 400 years of her history, with its advancement and long-time dominance in the global political economy, the United States has drawn individuals from various backgrounds from all over the world. As the capacity of knowledge production is considered crucial in maintaining the nation's global competitiveness in the knowledge economy in the twenty-first century, however, the inbound mobility of knowledge workers has become a topic of particular interest in the United States (Auriol et al. 2013). Nevertheless, little research has examined the patterns of mobility of international doctoral recipients who completed their doctoral education from U.S. higher education institutions. Recognizing that more than half of all foreign doctorate recipients from U.S. higher education institutions are from the four Asian countries—China, India, South Korea, and Taiwan—this study exclusively focused on individuals from the four countries and uncovered the factors that influence their expected stay rates in the United States.

Among international doctoral graduates who were temporary visa holders at the time of graduation from academic years 2001–2010, this study finds significant differences in the stay rates by the countries of origin: Chinese doctoral graduates showing stay rates significantly higher than those of India, South Korean, and Taiwanese doctoral graduates. However, when the country variables (e.g., GDP per capita differences or unemployment rate differences) were assumed to be equal in the country-level analysis, the differences in the stay rates between China and India disappeared, meaning that the reason why Chinese international doctoral graduates presented higher stay rates than their counterpart Indians was mainly due to the differences in the country-level variables. The significant differences between PhDs from China versus South Korea and Taiwan, however, remain statistically significant.

More interesting was finding that Chinese international doctoral graduates were even less likely to stay in the United States than Indian doctoral graduates when all country as well as individual variables were assumed to be equal in the full-model analysis. From the descriptive statistics in our study and in other publications (e.g., Finn 2012), China is known to have the highest stay rates than any other countries. However, our finding from the full model suggests that when all country and individual characteristics were assumed to be equal, Indian doctoral graduates were actually more likely to stay than Chinese doctoral graduates. One possible explanation for this might be related to the fluency of English. Indians tend to have strong English language skills, which may play a significant role in their greater likelihood of staying than their counterparts from other countries.

Differences in the factors predicting expected stay rates were discovered from the four separate regression analyses by countries of origin. For example, gender did not play a significant role among South Korean and Taiwanese; however, Chinese and Indian female doctoral graduates were more likely to stay in the United States than their male counterparts. This finding might be related to the advancement of women's rights or socioeconomic status of women in the selected countries. Both South Korea and Taiwan are categorized as newly developed nations, as compared to China and India, considered developing countries during the study period. As a newly developed nation, South Korea or Taiwan may present favorable working conditions and work opportunities for women, especially those who received doctoral degrees from the United States. As developing nations, however, China or India may still have disadvantages or even discrimination against women, and this kind of negative atmosphere in their home countries may create a desire for Chinese or Indian woman doctorate graduates to stay in the United States where women's right and social status are considered more favorable (Cohen 2006).

Interestingly, having an undergraduate degree from a selective undergraduate institution was not a significant stay predictor, with the exception of doctoral graduates from South Korea for whom graduating a selective undergraduate institution put them in a favorable position to be more likely to stay in the United States. On the other hand, all things being equal, Chinese and Indian doctoral graduates from a selective doctoral program were less likely to stay than their counterpart Chinese or Indian graduates from a less selective program. South Korea and Taiwan have made significant improvement in their higher education sector during the 1970s and 1980s, earlier than China or India, both of which joined the efforts to build their own higher education system in the late 1990s and 2000s. Therefore, during the study period (2000–2010), China and India may need highly capable talented individuals who received their doctoral degrees from a selective doctoral program in the United States. For instance, in 2008, China launched the "Thousand Talents Program" luring China's brightest and most talented individuals back to China. With these scientists, China began to build their own top-class, world-class universities (Engardio 2009). Efforts to recruit the best and the brightest scientists, particularly from China and India where the stay rates have been historically high, may have something to do with the negative effects of graduating from a selective doctoral program on the stay rates for the individuals from these countries.

As we discussed previously, South Korea and Taiwan have been using the human capital they have gained by having their own people who received advanced doctoral education in the United States returned back home to their country for their economic and social advancement. This might be one of the reasons why South Korea and Taiwan historically have lower stay rates than other nations. This suggests that while China and India tend to have high stay rates over the study period, this trend may change as these countries continue to develop economically and make advancement in their education sector. Against this context, it is worth nothing that the stay rates of Chinese international doctoral graduates manifest continuing downward. Along the same line, Fin (2012) argued that expecting foreign doctorate recipients to stay in the United States no longer seems to be a near certainty. Therefore, the findings of this study suggest that the United States needs to be alert and act quickly to keep these talented knowledge workers from leaving to pursue opportunities in their home countries (Wadhwa 2009).

First of all, the United States needs new recruiting and retaining policies for international students including reforming visa policies to maintain research excellence in the U.S. sciences. To retain those who came to the United States, policy could specifically target the foreign doctorate recipients in STEM fields and offer a more clear and viable path for this group to remain in the United States after they complete their degrees. Though a graduate with a temporary visa can stay and work between 12 and 29 months in areas related to his or her studies (USCIS 2012), the U.S. science and engineering industry still argues that unlike the United Kingdom or Canada, the U.S. government lacks dedicated visa programs that would help afford highly talented foreign students a smooth transition to the U.S. workforce (Partnership for a New American Economy 2012). Decreasing an uncertainty of status by removing the caps on H-1B visas or providing job opportunities before they completed their degrees would help encourage the foreign doctorate recipients to stay in the United States. For example, Canada allows Ph.D. students in STEM fields to become permanent residents while they are still in school (Payton 2011).

The large number and high stay rate of Chinese doctorate recipients in this study suggest that the U.S. science and engineering enterprise is increasingly dependent on them to maintain its excellence and leadership. Clotfelter (2010) argued that this growing dependence on foreign students is one "sign of vulnerability of the American hegemony" and raised concerns about the slowdown of foreign students flowing into the United States (p. 14). This study detected a slowdown of stayers among Chinese doctorate recipients from 2007 to 2010 as the returners increased. India followed a similar stay pattern as that of China from 2008 to 2010. If this trend continued in the future, research and academic work in the United States would need to adjust to decreasing supply of new doctorate recipients in STEM fields until an alternative source could be found (Clotfelter 2010).

To decrease the high dependence of the U.S. science and engineering enterprise on graduates from a particular country such as China and India, U.S. higher education institutions could strive to diversify the country of origins of their students at the recruitment stage. This study found that China had the largest number of foreign doctorate recipients from U.S. institutions. China dominated the study sample by

40%, followed by India (16%). If China continued to dominate the population of foreign doctorate recipients in U.S. higher education institutions, the impact of China could become critical to U.S. higher education and the U.S. labor market. The high stay rate of Chinese doctorate recipients could decline as China's economic, social, and political environments continue to improve. Thus, U.S. higher education institutions need to recruit graduate students from more diverse countries to decrease the dependency on a particular country. More importantly, the United States should look closely at the pipeline that produces Americans with Ph.D.s in STEM fields (Bettinger 2010) and seek to improve the pipeline in order to increase domestic students in STEM fields (Freeman 2006). Moreover, giving more research fellowships to American students at the graduate school level and providing opportunities to do independent research early in career could increase the U.S. supplies to the STEM fields (National Academy of Sciences 2005).

From sending countries' perspective, this study suggests that they should make every effort to improve their higher education sector and create R&D employment in industry in order to decrease the brain drain of their doctorate recipients in STEM fields in the long term. For instance, foreign doctorate recipients from China, India, and Taiwan who planned to work in industry were more likely to stay in the United States, while those from South Korea who planned to work in industry were less likely to stay in the United States, indicating the importance of creating career opportunities in home countries by fostering strong R&D industries. After all, the higher odds of staying among Chinese and Indian doctorate recipients were related to their high tendency to work in industry, and the United States offers much better R&D job opportunities compared to their home countries. Johnson (2002) argued that investing heavily in both higher education and R&D infrastructure would influence the flow of a country's highly skilled workers and eventually reverse that pattern. That is, to attract these highly skilled workers, a country needs to be able to offer good employment opportunities for their doctorate recipients and returning scientists and engineers, such as higher salaries, high-quality research facilities and infrastructure, a research environment that values collaboration between academia and industry, and promising career prospective (Finn 2010; Gribble 2008; Johnson 2002). For example, domestic investment by industry and government in South Korea drove that country's development of high-technology capabilities (Lazonick 2007). In the 2000s, multinational corporations increasingly opened R&D facilities in South Korea to access highly skilled labor (Lazonick 2007). By developing a strong R&D sector and providing favorable working conditions and incentives that would encourage transnational investment and entrepreneurship, the sending countries could facilitate the return migration of their natives (Gribble 2008).

Directions for Future Study

While this study offers important conceptual implications to better understand global mobility of highly skilled knowledge workers and policy implications for sending and host countries, it also has limitations that lend to opportunities for

future study. First of all, this study used "expected" stay rates as a proxy of actual stay rates. While prior research, including this study, tends to use "intentions" as an alternative of "actual" mobility, due to the limitation of the existing data (e.g., Kim et al. 2015), intentions are different from the actual behavior. Even if international doctoral graduates "planned" to stay in the United States, if there are strong pull forces from their home countries, they might be easily swayed by and eventually go back to their home countries. According to a recent report from NSF (Chang and Milan 2014), there are noticeable differences between expected and actual stay rates as time since graduation increases for doctoral graduates holding a temporary visa. This suggests that only a fraction of individuals who initially planned to stay eventually stay in the United States. Given that individuals' mobility decisions are the results of interaction between push (e.g., not being able to secure jobs in the host country) and pull (e.g., family ties in the home country) forces and there should be a "trigger" that eventually determines the actual stay or return decision, future study may need to examine longitudinal data that collect information about actual stay rates by following them at multiple time points after graduation. Recognizing the importance of understanding global mobility that goes beyond the United States, the NSF recently began to collect data—the International Survey of Doctorate Recipients (ISDR)—from the individuals who received their doctoral degree but eventually left the United States. Therefore, future research that uses ISDR data and examines the patterns of actual mobility and the factors that influence the patterns will expand our current understanding that is limited to the "expected" stay versus return behavior.

The ISDR data also offers continuing research opportunities that go beyond studying mobility pattern. One important rationale for the study—understanding stay versus return decision of international doctoral graduates—is based on assumption that these individuals are highly capable individuals who are sought after by both sending countries and the United States. However, do they continue to be productive? Are they making breakthrough research findings? Are there any differences in the productivity between those who return back home versus those who stay in the United States? This type of research could yield important insights into how the country context plays a role in individuals' career development and productivity.

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Chapter 12
Asian Alumni in America and Their Leadership Skills

Martha A. Garcia-Murillo

Abstract In this chapter, we focus on international alumni—students from other countries who graduated from U.S. universities—and their leadership skills as they leave the university. The goals were, first, to identify the elements of leadership that international alumni found that they most needed after graduation, and second, to see how competent feel they were in these skills immediately after graduation. The research relied on both qualitative and quantitative data involving alumni from Asia.

From the survey, we learned that no single skill is more important than the others, and in fact, all of the most highly rated skills represent the spectrum of soft skills that one would expect to have in a professional setting. Of these, the students wished they had learned more about communication skills, conflict resolution, and goal setting.

From the interviews with Asian alumni who took a leadership program, we learned that the students had learned about themselves and had learned from each other about their different cultures. They mentioned the skills they had acquired for working in groups and the communication and interactions that helped them build confidence and take initiative, which also transferred to their workplaces after they graduated.

The study results show that most of the skills alumni perceive to be important in the workplace can be learned more systematically in a leadership program. The benefits that students receive from these programs, as well as the benefits that the university can receive from graduating students with these skills, should give higher educational institutions a motivation to implement these programs, if not broadly, at least for the segments of their international population that need them the most.

As soon as students are ready to graduate, universities need to be concerned with two aspects of their success. One is their ability to find a job; the other is the manner in which they might continue to engage with the university as alumni. Both elements are important, as these can affect, for example, the ranking of a university and its ability to continue to attract students and resources. Students' success at getting jobs depends not only on the knowledge they acquired from their college education but also from the soft skills that enable them to contribute to, and grow in, their

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organizations, skills that collectively are part of leadership (i.e., communication, time management, creativity, developing social capital, and taking the initiative, among others). Since their graduation, our students have become leaders in politics, business, and academia throughout the world. This chapter, thus, focuses on international alumni, in this case, students from Asia, and on the extent to which American institutions have prepared them in terms of leadership skills. We hope that students find that the efforts and sacrifices they made to come to the U.S. have paid off. The goal was to identify the elements of leadership—primarily the soft skills students struggle with—that international alumni found to be needed most in their workplace and, second, to determine how competent they felt with these skills immediately after graduation. This is important, considering the differences between their home cultures and American culture and the significant learning that needs to happen for them to feel comfortable operating in the U.S. These soft skills can affect their ability to find a job and operate successfully in the workplace.

We find that, while their degrees give them subject matter expertise, students from Asia face challenges in developing their soft and leadership skills, which may impair their employment opportunities. This is because these students come from cultures that are very different from U.S. culture, yet most of them desire to stay in the U.S. (Han et al. 2015; Yan and Berliner 2011). While these graduates adjusted to the U.S. educational system, their scant exposure to work outside of the university limits their learning of the soft skills valued in the workplace. Even with these challenges, little is done to prepare these students with these skills. Few institutions provide structured leadership programs or curricula (Cress et al. 2001). This is because there is a wide perception that, simply by attending school, students can develop leadership skills through trial and error and that leadership training is not within the purview of universities. Institutions are thus reluctant to invest in the resources needed to instill these skills in their students. However, given society's need for individuals who can help solve complex economic, political, societal, and environmental problems, this reluctance to establish more formal leadership programs should be set aside.

One of the challenges that this study faced stemmed from a lack of previous research, on two fronts. First, as Binard and Brungardt (1997) indicate, there is very little research about the impact of leadership programs in general. Second, there is not much research about international student alumni and the impact that having attended an American university has had on their professional careers.

This study is grounded in research from Landrum et al. (2010). Their work looks at multiple skills relating to both leadership and content knowledge, with a focus on U.S. alumni. In contrast, this chapter will focus only on leadership skills and international alumni. It will address the following research questions:

- To what extent do international alumni from Asia perceive that their academic studies have prepared them with leadership skills?
- Can a leadership program during college be helpful to them after graduation?
- What suggestions can international alumni offer to colleges and universities to help impart leadership skills to students?

Because of the lack of scholarly work on international alumni, this chapter relies on research that relates to alumni in general and on the academic literature on leadership.

International Alumni

For the purpose of this paper, I define *international alumni* as international students who graduated from an American university and who are working either in the U.S. or in their home country.

Most of the literature about alumni is about native students who graduate in their home country. This is particularly true in the U.S., where alumni associations have had a long tradition. They were established in the 1800s (Dolbert 2002), and their impact has been felt in many aspects of higher education. Any university administrator knows that alumni are important partners to higher education. They can contribute time and resources to support university programs and initiatives. They can provide a credible voice, serve as strong advocates and spokespersons to recruit students, act as guest speakers, provide advice to current students, open doors to graduates looking for jobs, and collaborate with faculty on mutual research interests. As Dolbert (2002) indicates, alumni can be "influencers" or "representatives." As influencers, they have power or prestige, contacts, and relationships that can help support students and faculty. As representatives, they have a history of involvement with alumni associations and/or affiliated groups and are often elected to alumni boards in recognition of their loyalty and service. Alumni are also important partners because they sit on college boards and provide advice and expertise to the upper administration that can help determine the strategic direction of the university (Weerts 1998).

Little research focuses on international alumni, which is surprising, considering that they affect the university simply by being associated with the name of their alma mater. They also have opinions about their campus experience, which they are likely to share with young people in their home countries. Our objective as educators in institutions of higher learning is thus to make sure that students are well prepared in their fields and have the skills necessary to succeed after graduation. This will become increasingly important as universities become more global and as the mobility of students continues to grow.

Given these benefits, it is in a university's interest to support its international students while they are on campus and to give them the knowledge to succeed in their profession while also providing them with the skills to be "influencers" and getting them engaged with the university and their communities at large.

Intercultural Differences in Leadership

For the purpose of this chapter, I use a slightly modified version of Hilliard's (2010) definition of leadership, which states that a leader is an individual who is able to motivate himself or herself and others, is able to collaborate, and has the appropriate skills, knowledge, and attitude to move their peers to accomplish their individual, as well as collective, goals. Culture, on the other hand, is defined by Hofstede (2001) "as collective programming of the mind" (p. 1). Leadership, as regards our Asian students, has much to do with their soft skills and their ability to take the initiative and work with others to accomplish mutual goals within the organizations where

they work. People cannot thrive alone; we rely on others for our individual and collective success and, in this process, we form relationships with rights and obligations that define our identity. This identity, to a certain extent, gives a person the security of knowing how to properly behave and get the resources that he/she needs (Pendakur and Pendakur 2005). Scholars who believe in the existence of cultural differences (Hofstede 1993; Jackofsky et al. 1988; Ronen and Shenkar 1985; Triandis 1993a) would argue that one's leadership practices are defined by one's cultural background. Culture consists of a series of structures that define the behavior of people in relation to objects, institutions, ideas, and values (Hurduzeu 2015). These structures are then manifested in symbols such as language rituals and dress codes and are transmitted through generations. Culture influences the behavior of people and affects the manner in which they think, perceive, and work with others. Among the earliest contributors to our understanding of culture, in the 1980s, are Geert and Gert Jan Hofstede and Minkov (2010), whose observations began to distinguish the patterns of behavior people display, given their cultural contexts and histories.

In the academic literature, we find that certain elements of leadership are affected by culture. The problem, though, is that much of the literature on leadership has emanated from the West. In this respect, a recently published book by Phillipson and Phillipson (2014) states that "[r]esearch that focuses on cultural differences in conceptions of leadership is in its infancy" (p. 42). In the academic literature, scholars who affiliate with the notion of cultural differences in leadership styles often comment about the individualistic nature of the U.S. culture (Dorfman et al. 1997). As described by Hofstede, individualistic cultures are characterized by people who focus primarily on the self and immediate family and on loose relationships with others. In their communications, one often finds the use of the word "I," and they are more direct. Leadership is normally conceived of at the individual level, where achievements are measured on the basis of dominance, trust, and charisma (Littrell 2002).

Contrary to individualistic societies, where the centrality is an autonomous individuality, in collectivist cultures the focus is the collective (family, tribe, work organization, state, ethnic group, etc.), with perceived strong interdependencies (Triandis 1993b). In Asia, where many countries are collectivist-oriented, people are expected to agree with the majority, and decisions are made by an authority (vertical collectivism) or by consensus (horizontal collectivism) (Triandis 1993b). In this context, people who disagree are ostracized (Triandis 1993b).

In China, the notion of moral leadership values is learned not only as a vocational tool but also as a form of character building. A moral leader is to be benevolent; abide by his or her duty; observe rites; and achieve wisdom, courage, and reliability (Wong 2001). This duty is understood to be given to the government through the family. Individuals take life as given, without analyzing it or challenging it. The opposite is the case in the Western tradition. "The ancient Chinese were very different from the ancient Greeks in both subject content and in method of thinking. The Greeks developed an early interest in the universe and in a logic which laid the foundation for the development of the Western worldview. Logic remains essential in Western philosophical training to this day (Russell 1961). This is not so for the Chinese" (Wong 2001, p. 310). In the Confucian tradition, one does not challenge or analyze authority (Li, Remedios, & Clarke, Li et al. 2014).

Cultural scholars Cheng et al. (2013) associate East Asian nations with a paternalistic style. This style relies on authority, strong discipline, and a fatherly atmosphere based on strong moral integrity. An authoritarian style is embedded in a hierarchical structure, where the leader has control and power, and subordinates are expected to comply (Aycan 2006; Cheng et al. 2004). The role of the leader is thus to set rules, determine responsibilities, and issue punishments and rewards (Aycan 2006; Farh et al. 2004). Successful leaders are expected to be supportive and paternalistic, whereas in individualist cultures, a leader values individual achievement and participation. In a high-power distance culture, subordinates expect the leader to be autocratic, while in a low-power distance culture, subordinates are expected to be consulted. The benevolence associated with paternalistic leadership comes from the principles of Confucian philosophy, specifically the notions of reciprocity, care, and nurturing. The benevolent leader is expected to be concerned with the wellbeing of subordinates, even beyond the workplace (Cheng et al. 2004; Farth and Cheng 2000). The moral character dimension of paternalistic leadership is also rooted in the Confucian tradition, where the leader is expected to possess a strong moral character and serve as a role model to others by acting with high integrity and virtue (Farh et al. 2006; Weiming 1997). This paternalistic style has been found in China, Japan, South Korea, and Taiwan, all countries with strong Confucian traditions (Cheng et al. 2013). Of course, these are not monolithic societies, as their economic and political circumstances differ and thus have an impact on their styles. As Cheng et al. (2013) point out, Japan has the concept of *Wa*, which refers to collective responsibility and horizontal harmony. This differs from the South Korean concept of *Inhwa*, which emphasizes interpersonal connections, and this in turn differs from the Chinese version, which tends to be more authoritarian and emphasizes vertical decision making through *Guanxi*, social networks and influential relationships Cheng et al. (2013).

These patterns of behavior are replicated within academic contexts. According to Chen (1998), Chinese students avoid standing out, and their self-efficacy tendencies are to maintain harmony. This, Chen argues, differentiates them from their American counterparts, who attach more importance to independence and competition (Chen 1998).

From a leadership perspective, not being aware of these cultural elements can result in ineffective behaviors. For example, it may be inappropriate for a leader to use a participatory and consensus approach in a paternalistic culture, as he or she may be perceived as weak. Analogously, in the U.S. context, a leader with more authoritarian tendencies can encounter significant pushback and conflict from subordinates.

We see the prevalence of these cultural traits in students from Asia. For example, in an academic setting in a paternalistic culture, the teacher is a respected figure. Students with this mindset believe that their role is to listen and may consider it a lack of respect to look their teacher in the eye, and hence they may hesitate to ask questions or offer an opinion (Cox and Yamaguchi 2010; Huang and Brown 2009; Lee and Carrasquillo 2006). Teachers are perceived to be authorities in their subject areas. This stands in contrast to expectations in the U.S., where students are expected to speak up and challenge, in order to contribute to, and participate in, the learning process. If the paternalistic patterns of the students above are not corrected while at an American university, they may be carried over into the U.S. workplace, where there is a cultural expectation for workers to contribute.

The Need for Leadership Skills and the Role of Universities

Cultural understanding is necessary because American academic, social, and professional expectations differ from those of Asia (Eland et al. 2009; Swift 2016). It is quite normal for people migrating to another culture to deploy in the new environment behaviors they learned in their home country. For example, in the U.S. academic environment, Asian students are afraid to ask questions of their teachers or of library staff, in order not to appear ignorant (Koenigstein 2012). These behavioral patterns can lead to much frustration, as actions that enabled these students to succeed in the past may not be as effective and may actually limit their success in an American university and later on at work after graduation. As Connerley and Pedersen (2005) indicate, even when we recognize that new ways are better, it is not always possible to replace our cultural habits or abandon them for new ones. An awareness of U.S. culture helps to reduce the impact of culture shock on our Asian students, facilitates their integration with domestic students, and helps them to be more effective leaders in a U.S. context within academic and professional settings. Scholars have found that leadership training will become increasingly necessary to help individuals to be flexible, to design creative solutions to the challenges they face and, ultimately, to effect positive change in today's fast-paced society (Ingleton 2013). This call for leadership skills has come not only from scholars. The Council for the Advancement of Standards (CAS) has indicated that "colleges need to develop not just better, but more leaders. ... [S]tudents must be better prepared to serve as citizen leaders in the global community" (Miller 1997, p. 196). The need for leadership training is even more pressing for Asian students, as they need not only to learn these skills but also to learn them within the context of U.S. culture.

Given the increasing number of students from Asia in American universities, we should take advantage of the opportunity to "empower students by helping them develop the talents and skills that will allow them to become effective social change agents" (Astin and Astin 2000, p. 12).

There is, in fact, some research that supports the belief that students learn leadership skills simply by being in college, even in the absence of structured leadership training (Pascarella et al. 2005). Leadership skills can be learned through faculty mentors (Antonio 2001), through multicultural discussions (Kezar and Moriarty 2000), and through opportunities to volunteer in the community (Avalos et al. 1999). The problem with trusting progress in leadership development to unstructured programs is that leaving opportunities to chance can deprive the least outgoing, potentially introverted students of occasions to learn and practice leadership skills (Zimmerman-Oster and Burkhardt 1999).

While it is more desirable to have structured programs that last for an extended time and that are carefully integrated into the curriculum (Rosch and Caza 2012), there is evidence suggesting that even short programs can result in greater leadership ability in the students who participate, compared those who do not (Haber 2011). One could argue that the aims of a short leadership program are to provide students with information that can at least raise their awareness and motivate them

to learn more and to try to build on the knowledge and skills that they have acquired while at the university. This being the case, we would expect these individuals to continue to learn about leadership over time and move up professionally. Given the potential benefits, we need to specify what these skills are.

Components of Leadership Training

While much attention has been placed on hard skills, Landrum et al. (2010) showed that when students were asked about the specific skills that they needed in order to feel prepared for their jobs, the majority of those they listed were soft skills. Similarly, (Evers et al. 1998), studying the competencies needed by businesses, found that, contrary to their expectations about technical skills, the skills in which new employees were found to be lacking fell under four generic competencies: managing oneself, communicating, managing people and tasks, and mobilizing innovation and change. These skills were also found to be desirable for lifelong employability, and the authors recommended that higher education teach them.

It is not surprising to find that studies assessing leadership programs have found that the participants exhibited greater civic responsibility and better leadership skills, multicultural awareness, understanding of leadership theories, and personal and societal values (Cress et al. 2001). These positive changes were found to be persistent; longitudinal studies have demonstrated that students who had participated in leadership programs scored better on the measured leadership outcomes of "increased self-understanding, ability to set goals, sense of ethics, willingness to take risks, civic responsibility, multicultural awareness, community orientation, and a variety of leadership skills" (Zimmerman-Oster and Burkhardt 1999, p. 222).

Similarly, a detailed study by Zimmerman-Oster and Burkhardt (1999) showed that leadership programs have significant positive and measurable impacts. In this respect, they found that

> [o]utcomes reported by at least one half of the programs included: increased commitment to service and volunteerism (86%), improved communication skills (85%), a higher sense of personal and social responsibility (79%), an increased sense of social/civic/political efficacy (79%), improved self-esteem (74%), improved problem-solving ability (73%), increased social/civic/political activity (70%), an increased sense of being galvanized for action (67%), an increased desire for change (62%), improved ability to vision (57%), improved ability to be issue- focused (54%), improved conflict resolution skills (54%), improved likelihood of sharing power (52%), [and] improved interaction with faculty (p. 56).

These benefits stay with students after graduation, and the involvement that they had with their universities is more likely to remain with them, while they also contribute to their organizations and to society in general.

Leadership is not a single skill; it encompasses a number of soft skills and benefits. In this study, we focus specifically on the skills listed below because they are

associated with areas where international students have the most difficulties (Selvadurai 1992; Sherry et al. 2010; Yan and Berliner 2011; Yeh and Inose 2003).

Communication Skills For a long time, communication skills have been recognized to contribute to a person's professional and personal success (Katz 1955). The Association to Advance Collegiate Schools of Business International includes oral communication skills among its accreditation standards (AACSB International 2013). It is particularly important for universities to develop communication skills in their Asian student population because cultural differences, as well as unfamiliarity with the English language, can increase incidents of misunderstanding and impair work performance, both before and after graduation (Butz and Askim-Lovseth 2014).

Confidence Recent research has shown that self-efficacy is one of the main contributors to a person's psychological success (Bandura 1997). The self-efficacy of Asian students, for example, can be compromised when they realize that the skill sets that worked for them in their home country are no longer effective, and this can result in stress and anxiety (Telbis, Helgeson, & Kingsbury, Telbis et al. 2014). In this area, the process of cultural adaptation, and academic and sociocultural adjustment, can negatively affect their confidence (Hyun, Quinn, Madon, & Lustig, Hyun et al. 2007).

Conflict Resolution It is common for groups to experience conflict. This is even more likely if a group contains members from multiple backgrounds, so that language and cultural differences can result in misunderstandings. We know, for example, that groups with foreign undergraduates have higher levels of anxiety than their American counterparts (Singhal 1978). Different nationalities also have different views about conflict and whether or not it can be resolved (Scorzelli 2012). Having some training in conflict resolution can especially help students from Asia to work more productively and effectively once they graduate, as it will give them the tools to address conflict independently of their cultural beliefs about it.

Creativity This skill is getting much attention around the world, as has been made evident by studies that point to a consensus about the need for education to cultivate creativity (Craft 2006; Ferrari et al. 2009; Loveless 2002; National Advisory Committee on Creative Cultural Education 1999), as a tool needed "to solve pressing contemporary problems" (Newton and Newton 2014, p. 575). The challenge for Asian students is that creativity is defined differently in different countries. In the West, people look for novelty, originality, and appropriate problem-solving solutions. In the East, the emphasis is on usefulness and appropriateness; this is a form of product-oriented creativity, as opposed to the more process-oriented creativity that prevails in the West (Morris and Leung 2010). In this respect, international students could benefit by expanding their definition of creativity to include Western elements, particularly, if they intend to stay in the U.S.

Goals In any profession today, to ensure lifelong, self-directed learning, it is essential that students learn to self-monitor through self-assessment and the setting of goals. These are known as career development skills (Sung et al. 2013). The ability

of a person to self-regulate by setting goals and monitoring their own progress improves their knowledge by focusing their efforts and improves the lifelong learning skills they need to keep up to date in any profession.

Time Management The ability of a person to allocate tasks in a way that optimizes the returns of goal achievement differs across cultures because of both cultural and contextual factors. Hall (1984) distinguished cultures in terms of their notions of time as monochronic (one task/person at a time) and polychronic (multiple tasks/persons attended at the same time). Individuals with better time management are better at predicting how long it is going to take them to accomplish a task, which can make them more effective when deciding to take on projects.

Social Capital The relationships that people develop are essential to helping them adapt to their life circumstances (Coleman 1988). This is important for Asian students, who are in a different country and need to develop relationships that can help with the adaptation process. This is particularly problematic when we have large populations of both Indian and Chinese students, who tend to socialize almost exclusively with their national peers (Johnson and Sandhu 2007; Yan and Berliner 2011), which could be because of the anxiety and uncertainty associated with relating to people from another culture (Neuliep and Ryan 1998). In addition, it is through social capital that international students can acquire resources, not only in the form of opportunities to engage in projects and experiences while in school but also in the form of resources that can help them make connections that will benefit them when they seek employment after graduation. In a professional context, a strong base of social capital can expand a student's access to clients, suppliers, and career opportunities.

Working with Others The ability to work with others is an essential skill in any context. In fact, today we find that companies are taking advantage of Big Data to identify people with complementary experiences and skills that can ensure the success of team projects. Much group work is done in academic contexts and continues in professional settings. Groups are of such importance in work life that countless books and articles have been written about the factors that affect their success and failure (Belbin 2010). The literature also indicates that there is a natural reluctance on the part of international students to engage and mix comfortably with local U.S. students (Ahlfeldt et al. 2005; Burdett and Crossman 2012), which calls for university efforts to encourage their contributions.

It should be noted, nonetheless, that many of these components of leadership that prevail in the West have an individualistic basis. If we are to learn from our international students, we need to incorporate the aforementioned definitions of leadership that put greater emphasis on the community. For example, during Dean Moon's administration in the Harvard Business School, the school adopted a communal definition of leadership that stated, "[L]eadership is about making others better as a result of your presence and making sure that impact last in your absence." Other small adjustments included paying attention to the language that was used in classes to make sure that it was inclusive of both women and international students. They also created opportunities for small groups to work together over long periods of

time, to allow students who did not feel comfortable speaking in front of large classes to contribute. This two-way street, the main premise of this book, entails a concerted effort for us, in American universities, to learn from our Asian students and from the strengths that Asian cultures bring to notions of leadership.

Methodology

This study relied on a mixed-method methodology that included phone interviews with alumni who came from Asia and a survey on leadership skills learned while in college.

First, we conducted interviews with alumni who had taken a leadership and culture program when they were students at Syracuse University. The leadership and culture program entailed eight face-to-face sessions, which covered the skills identified in this chapter. The sessions took place on Fridays, when most students did not have classes. They had to do readings about the topic of the day and then attend the class sessions, where the topics were illustrated through role-playing, simulations, games, and discussions. The participants were solicited through a general invitation and then selected into the program after their application and an assessment of their leadership skills were reviewed. Because the applicants self-selected, it is likely that the results exhibit some biases. For example, if they had a heightened awareness of cultivating leadership more than others, then this self-selection might have created a positive bias. If they felt weak or potentially vulnerable, and thus in need of more support, it could have created a negative bias. The program bears no curricular credits, and students come on a voluntary basis. Approximately 100 students have taken the program, all of whom were contacted by email to set up telephone interviews. As can be expected, some alumni continued to use their student email addresses, while others had stopped using it. Twelve alumni agreed to be interviewed; the interviews lasted between 30 and 40 min. The notes from these interviews were then coded using Qualitative Data Analysis (QDA) Miner. Because I was the developer and had led several of the sessions in the leadership and culture program, I recruited two graduate students to conduct the interviews, in order to avoid any biases from the students' talking to their former professor and to ensure greater honesty.

We also deployed a survey that used an instrument designed by Landrum et al. (2010) to assess work readiness. Their paper, entitled "Alumni Perception of Work Readiness," relied on previous studies of work readiness – specifically, studies by Evers et al. (1998), Heckert (1984), and the Council of Chief State School Officers (1995) – to identify dimensions of workforce readiness. This instrument was selected because it fits the research goals of this study, (1) it focuses on alumni, and (2) it includes a diverse set of skills, three-quarters of which fall into the leadership category.

Through the university's Alumni Office, the survey was sent by email to alumni who had graduated during the previous 10 years. Because the alumni population included American students, the survey was sent to graduates from a technology master's degree program in which more than 90 percent of the students come from

Asia. Twenty-three students completed the survey (which is an indication of the difficulties that universities face in trying to connect and engage with their international alumni). The survey was conducted during the summer months from May to July.

The average age of the respondents was 29 years of age, with 26 being the youngest and 36 the oldest. Of the respondents, 86 percent lived in the U.S. The average number of years that the alumni had been with their current employer was close to five. All of the alumni had graduated from the university more than 4 years earlier. China and India were the home countries of 90 percent of the respondents; one was from Malaysia, and the rest (2) did not identify their country of origin.

The participants rated their perceived level of preparedness expected in the workplace and their own perceived level of preparedness at graduation, using the scale 1 = low, 2 = medium, and 3 = high.

The survey included three sections. The first listed a series of skills, and respondents had to rate the level of preparation that they thought would be expected of them for each skill in the workplace, and then, in the second section, they were asked how prepared they felt they had been for those same skills right after graduation. The third part asked the respondents to rank skills based on importance.

The survey was shortened to include only the first two sections. However, before I modified the instrument, I conducted a test with the original instrument. The results showed that the length was a challenge, as four of the five surveys returned were not valid. The survey was thus shortened, taking into consideration the problems observed with the test (see Appendix 1, which maps Landrum's work force readiness instrument to leadership traits identified in the leadership literature).

Results

Figure 12.1 shows the averages for all of the questions in each of the leadership categories in the survey.[1] The first thing to note is that, of the 33 skills listed in the nine categories, 29 were ranked above 2.5, which shows the high value that alumni perceived them to have in the workplace. It can be said, from the perspective of our Asian alumni, that employers expect well-rounded individuals who are able to operate with confidence (2.83), have strong social capital (2.77), work well with others (2.75), and are able to set and accomplish their goals (2.75). It should be noted that the majority of the respondents work in the U.S.

In regard to confidence, to a certain extent, the results are consistent with the values of U.S. culture, as confidence is reflected in the survey through the inclusion of elements found in individualistic societies, such as demonstrating initiative, being motivated, persevering, having self-discipline, and functioning effectively in stressful situations.

In the U.S., it is not uncommon for employees to be assessed on their performance. This entails, for example, goals to produce a certain set of deliverables for

[1] Appendix 1 presents the ratings for all of the items in the survey.

Fig. 12.1 Average ratings of leadership skills: perceptions of what skills and qualities are expected in the workplace vs. perceptions of level of preparedness

the key stages of a project. Thus, it may not be unusual for companies to expect their employees to have a similar set of personal goals. In other cultures, the expectation is for superiors to dictate tasks, and our Asian students may have been educated in a system that operates this way. However, once they enter the workforce in the U.S., they need to develop an individual sense of direction.

Developing social capital was a highly scored skill. In the U.S., as in other countries, the types of relationships that people develop with others can facilitate certain tasks and support personal achievement. This may be why we see a high rating for this skill.

Another highly rated skill was working well with others; this also is not surprising, as it is not unusual in the workplace for employees to work together on projects.

In regard to the perceived level of preparedness in these skills after graduation, the results show that these are self-motivated individuals who are able to work independently with little supervision. They believe that they had these skills when they graduated and find them to be valuable in the workplace as well. We see, in the results (see Appendix 2 for item-level results), that these individuals, because of their background, are more conscious and sensitive to cultural differences and, possibly also due to their sojourning experience, that they are more easily able to adapt (scores 2.65 and 2.7, respectively). Their experiences as international students also give them a broader perspective, which they are then able to apply to other contexts.

Because of our desire to develop, while Asian students are at the university, the skills that they will need in the workplace, we had to determine which skills they believed they were weak in upon graduation. Of particular interest are skills that are

highly ranked for the workplace but with which students were found to be underprepared at graduation. As shown in Fig. 12.1, the skills that the students believed they lacked preparation for were communication (2.3), conflict resolution (2.2), goal setting (2.5), and social capital (2.5).

Given that English is not the first language, it is not surprising that, even after having spent at least two years in a U.S. college, the respondents still believe that they could have been better prepared. In the workplace, they find themselves meeting with clients, preparing reports, and doing presentations, all of which require good communications skills.

In regard to conflict resolution, this is one of the skills that any student, much less a student from Asia, is rarely exposed to. However, conflict abounds and in societies where the group is more important than the individual, knowing how to handle conflict is perceived to be a very important skill. In the U.S., conflict is expressed much more directly, and some international students may not feel comfortable doing that.

From these results, we find that there are areas where universities can help international students to learn and practice leadership skills, particularly areas where they could perform better, such as managing conflict and areas with the greatest gap between what was perceived to be expected in the workplace and the respondents' perceived preparation (a 0.38 difference). In these instances, at a more granular item-level rating (see Appendix 2 for item-level results), the students felt less prepared for functioning effectively in stressful situations (a 0.6-point difference) and setting priorities and allocating time effectively (a 0.55-point difference), both of which are associated with time management skills. Also in the item-level results, other areas that display the largest differences are handling conflict maturely (a 0.55-point difference), participating effectively in discussions (a 0.4-point difference), and applying thinking/problem-solving skills (a 0.35-point difference).

In addition to asking about the skill sets needed in the workplace, we also asked whether respondents thought a leadership program would have been beneficial. All of the respondents answered "yes." Two additional items were included. One was "I believe that my degree in the United States provided me with the knowledge and skills to be professionally successful." On a Likert scale of 1 to 5, with 1 being "strongly agree," the average was 1.75 (all of the students selected "strongly agree" or "agree"). The other item was "I am happy with my decision to study in the United States." The average was 1.25 (two-thirds of the students selected "strongly agree" and one-third selected "agree"). This shows that, overall, our Asian alumni were highly satisfied with the education they received.

Interviews About the Effectiveness of a Leadership Program

Taking cultural context into consideration, in this study, we conducted interviews with students who had taken a ten-week leadership program at the university to determine whether they believed it had provided them with the leadership skills to help them succeed in a U.S. cultural setting.

Interviews helped to provide a more in-depth understanding of the numbers obtained from the survey. The alumni offered details about how the skills they learned in the leadership program were useful to them during their time at school and how they were being applied after graduation. Of the 12 alumni interviewees, all lived in the U.S. at the time of the interviews. They had all graduated at least 2 years before. Of them, eight were men. To facilitate the identification of themes in the students' comments, I analyzed the data using QDA miner, a content analysis application, which enabled me to more easily identify patterns. The analysis consisted of noting the frequency of comments on a given theme and then selecting the ones that were the most representative.

In the interviews, we asked the alumni about the things they remembered about the program. Since it had been several years since they graduated, the assumption was that if they remembered something, it was because it had made an impression. The main themes that emerged from the interviews concerned interactions with other people, which had improved the students' ability to work, communicate, learn, and appreciate others from different cultures. The comments were:

> the main skills I learn were teamwork, think wise, time management and communication
>
> ---
>
> Interactions with others: speaking to others, customers, teammates, hiring managers
>
> ---
>
> remove the Stage fear. Reading and doing creative things in each class are helpful for interviewing
>
> ---
>
> The listening activities
>
> ---
>
> Working with new people each time and all about them, their ethics and ideas.
>
> ---
>
> Interactions with international students, embrace different culture, relax
>
> ---
>
> lots of activities which involved many interactions
>
> ---
>
> learned how to listen to different opinions and become more open minded.

In regard to goals, one of the alumni remembered the vision board, which was intended to help them visualize their long-term goals. He said:

> We did a game: A picture where we put down things you wanted to attain. You drew yourself doing something you wanted to do in the future, it helped students vision their future. High-level/general ideas/dreams never changed, I sometimes look at the picture to remind me of that dream.

Next, the students were asked about the benefits they had gained from the leadership program. The content analysis found that they had acquired an appreciation of leadership skills. These are some representative quotes:

> Better understanding of leadership, the importance of leadership, especially for students from Asia. In the education system in China, leadership is hardly mentioned, helping students build leadership skills is not important in China.
>
> ---
>
> Leadership skills are what most companies are looking for. For technical positions: 40% technical skills; 60% personalities and soft skills
>
> ---
>
> Soft skills like group skills and presenting which are helpful for the current work.

In addition to mentioning an appreciation of these soft skills, they also commented about the things they had learned about themselves. Since a main objective of a university education is to provide students with knowledge of the subject matter of the students' major, self-awareness happens only if the students take time to reflect about their personal growth. In a leadership program, there are opportunities to do this more formally and more often. On this point, the students commented:

> …be aware of yourself, who you are and who you want to be
>
> Manage oneself to behave professionally
>
> Identification of personality traits (Myers Briggs) and working with them as well as others who have contrasting traits.

Several of them alluded to the academic benefits that they had obtained from having taken the program. This, of course, was the initial intention of such an effort, to help them adapt to their new environment. In regard to this, the alumni remarked:

> I began taking initiative after taking the leadership program
>
> It helped me reach students outside my program of studies. Got the chance to work with different groups and better my communication
>
> ---
>
> Yes both during and after studies. I was switching majors from Computer Science to Information Management and the Leadership Program gave me a lot of confidence.
>
> ---
>
> Safe environment to practice making mistakes, giving presentations, learn about different cultures
>
> It was key in building my confidence while in the program. This went a long way in my ability to converse with others and face challenges.

It is clear from the comments that these alumni believed that the program helped them gain confidence and do things that they may not done otherwise. Because the

program was voluntary, there were different levels of engagement, but some students went above and beyond what would have been expected of them. One student, for example, said that after realizing the importance of leadership, she initiated a Chinese student organization in her school, which has been growing rapidly.

The alumni were then asked about their perceptions of how the program benefited them in the workplace after graduation. The main theme that stood out in their observations was an appreciation of their having learned to work more effectively with others and of having learned to communicate and lead teams. Regarding the skills they learned, they wrote:

> All the projects I is working on are group-based, deal with others... those are the things he learned from leadership program
>
> ---
>
> The teamwork activities were beneficial
>
> ---
>
> …as an entrepreneur I am leading a team of 15 people on a start-up program on an app development program, some skills ... like leadership are helping me to grow
>
> ---
>
> I am currently coordinating global project, and what I learnt from leadership program has helped me how to communicate with people from different culture, understand different ideas.

The last set of questions was about the things the respondents wished the program had incorporated. In their recommendations, they said they would have liked more outside speakers, including their teachers. On this point, they responded:

> Recruiting: have some previous students sharing their experiences, what they have learned from this program, get leaders and people from the IT field to give lectures and sharing experience,
>
> ---
>
> Invite professors for to conduct different sessions. Give students chances to interact with professors in a non-academic environment to lead casual sessions
>
> ---
>
> Find alumni to mentor the current students.

They also wanted more scenarios:

> The class should have had a leadership exercise where the person is put in charge of a group for a day/hour with different variables the leader needs to manage
>
> ---
>
> I would have also liked more games which make people interact with others and take charge of situations
>
> ---

> Help you to position and know about yourself and explore your potentials by making you stand in certain positions and analyzing your personality to categorize yourself: nine types of personalities.

The interviews indicate that, for the most part, the program was helpful to the participants during and after their studies. They gained an appreciation for leadership and learned skills more systematically than if they had not taken the class. The program gave them an opportunity to learn about themselves and others. They alluded to their group work and the appreciation they got from interacting with different cultures. These skills were successfully transferred to their workplace, and some even took action to engage more fully in areas of leadership, such as the Chinese student who founded a Chinese association within her school.

Conclusion

This study is one of the few in the academic literature that has addressed international alumni and leadership skills. The research relied on both qualitative and quantitative data to get an understanding of the skills alumni perceived to be useful after graduation.

From the survey, we learned that no single skill is more important than the others, and, in fact, all of the most highly rated skills represent the spectrum of soft skills that one would expect to have in a professional setting. Of these, the students wished they had learned a bit more about communication skills, conflict resolution, and goal setting.

From the interviews, we learned that the students had learned about themselves and had learned from each other about their different cultures. They mentioned the skills they had acquired for working with groups and the communication and interactions that helped them build confidence and take the initiative, which also transferred to their workplaces after they graduated. The alumni who completed the survey commented that they needed more help with time management skills, which were among the skills also mentioned during the interviews. Among the things that the alumni wished they had experienced were more interactions with outside speakers and simulations of real-life scenarios.

The results of this study show that most of the skills alumni perceive to be important in the workplace can be learned more systematically in a leadership program. The benefits that students can get from these programs, as well as the benefits that the university can obtain from graduating students with these skills, should give higher educational institutions a motivation to implement these programs, if not broadly, at least for the segments of their international population that need them the most. Although the empirical analysis in this chapter focused on Western notions of leadership, it is noted that there are other definitions of leadership, such as those from Asia that should be taken into consideration, given the multitude of students who come from those cultures and populate our campuses today. This is even more

important at a time when economies are global and technology has minimized communication barriers across the world.

In this book, we focus on students from Asia, a population that has the greatest difficulties, due to the imposing cultural differences that exist between their societies and that of the U.S. In their case, having a program that is able not only to explain and make them aware of the differences but also to provide leadership skills will help them grow more confident about taking advantage of the many additional benefits that they can obtain from the university and from the U.S. communities in which they live after graduation.

These integrated programs also give domestic students an opportunity to connect with Asian populations that may feel disconnected from the rest of the campus. A leadership program can accelerate learning and improve students' appreciation of the institution's efforts to serve them better, while also giving the rest of us an opportunity to learn from them. An investment in the success of these students can pay off in the same way that American alumni associations have, helping universities by producing alumni who can serve as mentors, speakers, advisors, and global advocates.

Appendices

Appendix 1: Mapping of Landrum's Work Force Readiness Instrument to Leadership Traits

Leadership skill	Survey item on Landrum's instrument
Communication	Participate effectively in discussions
	Present information verbally to others; receive and use both positive and negative feedback
Confidence	Demonstrate initiative, motivation, and perseverance
	Demonstrate pride in accomplishment
	Evaluate own interests, strengths, and weaknesses
	Function effectively in stressful situations
	Possess a positive attitude toward work
	Possess self-discipline, including punctual attendance and dependability
	Possess the ability to work with supervision
Conflict management	Accurately monitor others' emotional states
	Handle conflict maturely
	Identify and resolve sources of conflict between oneself and others or among other people
	Regulate your emotions effectively
	Respond appropriately to constructive criticism

(continued)

Leadership skill	Survey item on Landrum's instrument
Creativity	Apply information to new or broader contexts
	Apply knowledge from formal educational experiences (if applicable)
	Apply thinking/problem-solving skills to technology situations
	Consider and evaluate alternative solutions, weighing their risks and benefits
	Contribute ideas as well as answers regarding problems
	Identify, prioritize, and solve problems
Culture	Adapt to change
	Appreciate the importance and value of humor at work
	Respect the opinions, customs, and individual differences of others
Goal setting	Monitor progress toward goals
	Demonstrate loyalty to the organization and its goals
	Work to help achieve organizational goals
	Take steps to achieve career goals
Leadership	Act responsibly and conscientiously
	Demonstrate self-motivated learning
	Gather information efficiently
	Give direction and guidance to others (if applicable)
	Make defensible/appropriate decisions
	Motivate oneself to function at optimal levels of performance
	Possess the ability to work without supervision
	Provide leadership and followership as appropriate
	Work independently
Managing time	Manage several tasks at once
	Set priorities and allocate time efficiently in order to meet deadlines
Social capital	Demonstrate highly developed social skills
Working with others	Participate in reaching group decisions
	Teach and learn from others on the job
	Work well with others

Appendix 2: Scores for each of the Leadership Skills Associated with each of Nine Categories

Skill set	Category of leadership	Expected level in the workplace		My level of preparedness at graduation	
		Work Mean	SD	Mean	SD
Participating effectively in discussions	Communication	2.7	0.47	2.3	0.66
Presenting information verbally to others	Communication	2.6	0.6	2.45	0.6
Receiving and giving positive and negative feedback	Communication	2.55	0.69	2.15	0.75

(continued)

Skill set	Category of leadership	Expected level in the workplace		My level of preparedness at graduation	
		Work Mean	SD	Mean	SD
Having self-discipline, such as through punctual attendance and dependability	Confidence	2.95	0.22	2.75	0.44
Acting responsibly and conscientiously	Confidence	2.95	0.22	2.85	0.37
Having a positive attitude toward work	Confidence	2.85	0.37	2.7	0.57
Demonstrating initiative, motivation, and perseverance	Confidence	2.85	0.49	2.7	0.57
Functioning effectively in stressful situations	Confidence	2.8	0.52	2.2	0.7
Evaluating your own interests, strengths, and weaknesses	Confidence	2.6	0.6	2.35	0.49
Handling conflict maturely	Conflict management	2.7	0.47	2.15	0.75
Responding appropriately to constructive criticism	Conflict management	2.6	0.6	2.35	0.67
Identifying and resolving sources of conflict	Conflict management	2.55	0.6	2.2	0.83
Applying thinking/problem-solving skills	Creativity	2.9	0.31	2.55	0.6
Identifying, prioritizing, and solving problems	Creativity	2.85	0.37	2.6	0.5
Contributing ideas as well as answers regarding problems	Creativity	2.65	0.59	2.65	0.59
Applying knowledge from formal educational experiences	Creativity	2.45	0.6	2.45	0.69
Applying information to new or broader contexts	Creativity	2.45	0.6	2.6	0.5
Respecting the opinions, customs, and individual differences of others	Culture	2.9	0.31	2.7	0.57
Adapting to change	Culture	2.75	0.55	2.65	0.67
Appreciating the importance and value of humor at work	Culture	2.3	0.73	2.3	0.66
Taking steps to achieve career goals	Goals	2.75	0.55	2.4	0.68
Monitoring progress toward goals	Goals	2.75	0.44	2.55	0.6
Possessing the ability to work without supervision	Leadership	2.8	0.52	2.6	0.5

(continued)

Skill set	Category of leadership	Expected level in the workplace		My level of preparedness at graduation	
		Work Mean	SD	Mean	SD
Demonstrating self-motivated learning	Leadership	2.7	0.57	2.75	0.44
Working independently	Leadership	2.65	0.59	2.6	0.6
Providing leadership and followership as appropriate	Leadership	2.6	0.5	2.45	0.51
Giving direction and guidance to others (if applicable)	Leadership	2.45	0.6	2.35	0.75
Highly developed social skills	Social capital	2.8	0.41	2.45	0.6
Managing several tasks at once	Time management	2.75	0.44	2.526316	0.61
Setting priorities and allocating time efficiently in order to meet deadlines	Time management	2.75	0.55	2.35	0.59
Participating in group decisions	Working with others	2.85	0.37	2.5	0.61
Working well with others	Working with others	2.85	0.37	2.842105	0.37
Teaching and learning from others on the job	Working with others	2.55	0.6	2.55	0.51

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Chapter 13
Conclusion

Yingyi Ma and Martha A. Garcia-Murillo

Abstract This concluding chapter identifies a series of common themes discussed across the previous chapters in this book. We follow the life cycle of international students, from the time they begin considering their options for studying abroad to the time they complete their studies. What students seek prior to arrival is a high-quality education and a global experience. Both goals are contingent upon successful integration into American universities, which is the focal inquiry of the second section. This section provides empirical evidence for the academic and social challenges that Asian international students experience, as well as some innovative solutions and strategies suggested by faculty and administrators to support international students. These innovative strategies also exemplify the spirit of the two-way street of learning between American universities and Asian international students. The final section looks ahead, after graduation. In sum, this book highlights that there is a lack of knowledge about and institutional support for international students from Asia. Thus, we hope that this book can inspire higher education institutions to make positive changes to the international student experience.

This book starts with a central thesis: Learning should be a two-way street between American universities and Asian international students, but in reality, a one-way adjustment and adaptation on the part of international students often prevails. This study underscores the significance of two-way learning, not just for Asian international students but also for American students. In particular, some American students come from highly segregated high schools, and for them, college may be the first environment where they meet many students unlike themselves, including foreign students. This lack of exposure to diversity makes two-way learning even more imperative for American students. All the chapters presented in this book feature the

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voices of Asian international students, insights into their experiences, and knowledge about them, so that American universities can learn about and from them, to truly live up to the global learning goals that these international students aspire to and that American universities preach about.

The criticism that internationalization at American institutions of higher education focuses more on revenue than on providing support to international students is not new. What is lacking is a sense of the real experiences and knowledge of international students; the journey that they go through is barely understood. This book provides an in-depth account of international students from Asia who decided to come to study in the U.S. and then reflected on their experiences here in America. The voices that we hear throughout these chapters can inform administrators and educators and help them to design environments and interventions that address the problems highlighted by the authors.

As we analyze the content of these chapters, we find a series of common themes. In this conclusion, we highlight these, following the structure of the book, from the time when the students are considering their options for studying abroad to the time when they complete their studies.

Prior to Arrival: Seeking High-Quality Education and Global Experience

The chapters in this section focused on the processes prior to studying abroad and revealed what international students and their parents look for from their study abroad experiences. They highlighted two major goals that students and their families seek: a high-quality education and a global experience. They view American higher education as the embodiment of both.

For many of these students, a high-quality education is hard to obtain at home, and thus they are looking for alternatives abroad. Several Asian countries, including China, India, and South Korea, have a gruesome, test-oriented educational system, which culminates in the college entrance examination. Students often feel stressed and ill-suited to the educational system in their home country, and they think there are more educational opportunities in America. However, they are often not familiar with the educational system there. Due to their unfamiliarity with, and uncertainty about, the American educational system, Asian international students and their parents often resort to rankings for help. The problem with focusing so much on this metric is apparent. American universities that are not always on the top of the list have to reach out more to international students to let them know the uniqueness of their institutions. Chapter 2 indicates that close to 40 percent of respondents indicated that their parents initiated the idea of study abroad. As such, reaching out to parents in Asia could be an effective way to disseminate information about American universities and help Asian international students make informed decisions. This will become increasingly important as American universities experience greater competition from other universities at home and abroad in attracting international students.

There are other factors that students consider when selecting a university and a program. For many of them, going to the U.S. might be an opportunity to change an educational and career trajectory. This is especially the case for Asian international students, who initially may have been pressured by their parents into a STEM field. As Chapter 3 has shown, they are looking for opportunities to complement their undergraduate degrees or expand beyond them. Universities could therefore emphasize the flexibility of their programs and the opportunities they afford to get students into new fields that really meet their interests and satisfy their needs.

We often assume that international students are wealthy. For some, this is the case. However, it is deeply problematic to assume that international students are uniformly wealthy. As shown in Chapter 3, many Indian students, have contracted loans to pay for their education, which is a source of anxiety for these students. Chapter 4 also shows that Chinese students are well aware that they are unlikely to get financial aid, and the anticipation that their family will have to pay for everything is a great challenge and source of stress for them. Merit-based scholarships are extremely limited for international student, who are often not eligible for need-based scholarships. If American universities could provide greater support for some of these less financially able students, we could diversify international students by socioeconomic status and potentially increase the quality of the international student body.

Another common theme in these chapters is the students' desire for a global experience. Chapter 3 employed the concept of cosmopolitan capital to describe the desire of female Indian MBA students for knowledge about global business trends and access to colleagues and alumni from across the globe, and they think American universities are the best place to achieve this. In a similar vein, Chapter 4 showed that prospective Chinese students enthusiastically anticipate being international citizens through their study abroad. However, this goal is not necessarily within reach, and Chinese students expressed concern that some universities already enroll too many Chinese students, which makes it challenging to interact with students from different backgrounds to have a real global experience. University leaders want to make sure that their campuses are indeed diverse but, more important, that they should develop programs and experiences that can deliver on the global learning the Chinese students came here for. Chapter 4 suggested having Asian Americans act as cultural bridges between Asian international students and other American students, due to their shared cultural ancestry to a certain extent. This would require universities to have more synergistic activities that would enable connections and collaborations among different units.

In sum, what students are seeking prior to arrival is a high-quality education and a global experience. Both goals are contingent upon successful integration into American universities, which is the focal inquiry of the second section. Without successful social integration, the initial goals of gaining a quality education and a global experience will be compromised.

While on Campus

This section provides empirical evidence on the academic and social challenges that Asian international students' experience, as well as some innovative solutions and strategies suggested by faculty and administrators to support international students. These innovative strategies also exemplify the spirit of the two-way street of learning between American universities and Asian international students.

Language and cultural barriers are omnipresent for international students, especially for those from non-English-speaking countries. Korean students struggle in the classroom, but this is also a problem for students from China, as mentioned in various chapters in this section. These language barriers have ripple effects on the students' experiences at multiple levels, both academically and socially. Students are keenly aware that they tend to be passive and quiet in the discussion-oriented American classroom, which negatively influences their academic performance. Chapter 10 reported that Chinese students are aware of this challenge, so they try to avoid writing-intensive courses.

As much as international students are aware of these challenges and barriers, faculty and staff are not sure how to cope with them. For example, Chapter 10 mentioned a faculty survey at Michigan State University that showed that only 24% of the faculty felt prepared to teach and evaluate international students, and 66% were interested in learning how to do this better. As Chapter 7 shows, Korean students reported that their professors were not aware of the linguistic and cultural challenges they faced but concluded instead that the students had not worked hard.

Once they become aware of the challenges that these talented students face as they pursue their studies, universities need provide greater support to faculty to help them handle these challenges. For example, universities need provide their instructors with classroom techniques to help international students understand writing, class, and teamwork expectations and encourage assignments that allow for collaboration between domestic and international students. Chapter 5 provided a great example of a semester-long ethnographic project, in which pairs of East Asian international students and American students teamed to explore each other's culture. As a result, students gained cultural knowledge, and stereotypes of Asians were replaced by more differentiated views. Chapter 9 detailed how professors capitalized on students' multilingual and multicultural resources to facilitate teaching and learning. As one of the professors remarked in an interview, they were "teaching to their [students'] strengths." The significant space given to students' own languages and cultures encouraged them to make meaningful connections between the subject matter and their own cultural backgrounds. These strategies may not be appropriate for all courses; nonetheless, they show respect for, and recognition of, Asian international students' cultural and linguistic assets. This is especially needed, because, as Chapter 8 reported, even in elite MBA programs in the U.S., where learning about and enacting globalization remain one of the core program missions, Asian international students find little appreciation for the knowledge they bring with them. This reveals the deep-seated institutional expectation of one-way learning.

Therefore, as reported in Chapter 9, the American faculty's efforts to recognize the knowledge and assets of international students are nothing short of a paradigm change, from one-way learning to two-way learning.

Academic challenges aside, social challenges are sometimes more personal and defining. Given that acquiring global experiences is one of the cornerstone goals of studying in the U.S., as reported in the first section, achieving this goal is no easy feat. Asian international students report that they often lack a sense of belonging, as shown in Chapters 7 and 8. For example, Chapter 8 reported on a study of Chinese students in elite American MBA programs, who are supposed to be more motivated than other international students and socialize with diverse friends, as this is a key global skillset and part of their learning goals. However, Chinese MBA students experience a loss of voice and status: from being elites to outsiders. This is because they have reached high academic and social status in their own countries, but when they get to an American classroom, they soon begin to feel inadequate. This sense of inadequacy results from, and is reinforced by, the expectation that learning is one-way, and they have little to contribute to the learning of American students. Sometimes, discrimination could only exacerbate this sense of inadequacy. Without conscientious efforts on the part of institutions to prevent it, discrimination against international students, based on national origins, can prevail. Chapter 6 described the struggles of Pakistani graduate students to challenge and negotiate the negative constructs surrounding their national and religious identity within the context of the War on Terror. The author argues that these students experience the Duboisian notion of double consciousness in viewing their contested identities from the host culture's perspective. These chapters all call for proactive institutional efforts to facilitate teamwork and promote social interchanges between international and domestic students.

Students experience extends beyond campus; their lives revolve around other spaces in the community as well. In Chapter 10, we learned about the many changes that happened in Lansing to accommodate the needs of the high number of Chinese students who were suddenly attending the university. Clearly, economic factors were a driving force, as these students became important consumers. The changes, as we saw in that chapter, were not entirely harmonious. This chapter highlighted how universities could try to forge collaborations with the community to prepare them for a greater influx of international students.

After Graduation

The last two chapters of the book looked ahead after graduation, addressing international students' plans for the future regarding whether to stay in the U.S. or return to their home country and featuring alumni as they reflect on the extent to which their American education prepared them for the job market. Both of these are highly significant issues, yet they remain largely understudied.

Chapter 11 examined the expected stay rates among doctoral international students from China, India, South Korea, and Taiwan. The stay rates are phenomenally high, especially among Chinese and Indian students; however, it is worthy of note that they are all doctoral students. Similar national data on master's or bachelor's degree earners among international students are lacking. International doctoral students are predominately in STEM fields, and with the shortage of American domestic students in STEM, and the availability of research and academic opportunities in the U.S., international doctoral students' stay rates are likely to be higher than those of lower-degree earners. However, it entails quality national and longitudinal data to confirm this. Although the stay rates among Chinese and Indian doctoral students are high, Chapter 11 also noted that the trend is declining, driven by students' home countries' active efforts to attract talent back home.

Chapter 12 provides a rare examination of how well international alumni felt their studies in an American university prepared them for a job in the U.S. The questions revolve around the soft skills they acquired. It is of particular interest whether, and to what extent, they have overcome the cultural and language challenges they experienced while at college. The findings in Chapter 12 showed that, while they do feel they acquired some of these skills, they also believe they could have been better prepared, not surprisingly, in communications and conflict resolution and in knowing how to define clearer goals and develop stronger social capital. This is not surprising, as we saw in the previous chapters that many international students face challenges to their integration into campus social life. This is really an acute issue, as it not only influences international and domestic students' social experiences but also dampens international students' career opportunities later.

Chapter 12 documented a leadership program that has had a positive impact on international students' perceived preparation for their current job. In addition, such a program can be a great opportunity for a university to begin to develop closer relationships with its international alumni, which is often a population neglected by professionals working in alumni relations. This proves to be increasingly unfortunate, as the international student population is on a steady increase and as these students take on increasingly important roles, both domestically and globally.

In sum, this book highlights that there is a lack of knowledge about, and institutional support for, international students from Asia. Thus, we hope that this book can inspire higher education institutions to make positive changes to the international student experience and, better yet, to develop long-term relations with international students as alumni. These students have walked a path toward the U.S., and we should build a path toward them as well.