

VEILED INCIVILITIES: INTERNATIONAL STUDENTS AND
CAMPUS/CLASSROOM CLIMATE AT PREDOMINANTLY
WHITE UNIVERSITIES

by

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A dissertation submitted to the faculty of
The University of Utah
in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

Department of Education, Culture, and Society

The University of Utah

May 2016

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ABSTRACT

This dissertation adds to the literature on campus climate in higher education in the United States, by 1) focusing on international students, especially those from China and Saudi Arabia, and their perceptions of the classroom climate as the racialized Other, in particular, their feelings of being welcomed or not welcomed; and 2) examining their perceptions of, and reactions to, pedagogical practices and peer behaviors that marginalized and/or included them. The mixed-methods study was conducted at three predominantly White institutions in the Intermountain West, utilizing the theoretical framework of campus climate and the White racial frame. Qualitative and quantitative data found the international students to be somewhat ambivalent in their perceptions of the campus climate, reporting that it was both welcoming and unwelcoming. Perceptions of the classroom climate were found to be associated with those of the campus climate, with the role of the professor as essential to their feeling welcomed in the classroom. Some international students sensed a "fake friendliness" in their interactions with American classmates. In addition, these non-native speakers of English, as symbols of the ethnic Other, experienced the same type of discrimination as domestic minority students in higher education, in the form of veiled and unveiled incivilities (i.e., microaggressions and blatant hostility). The quantitative data specifically found that 1) female internationals were less likely to feel welcomed in the classroom than males and 2) almost all of the international respondents benefitted from group projects. The data also found evidence of linguo-

racism in the classroom. Recommendations are offered for higher-education administrators to diversify their campuses, make them more multicultural and inclusive, and provide opportunities for faculty and students to learn about their Whiteness and its influence on classroom climate for international students.

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ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I would not be at this juncture in my life without the generous social capital (Bourdieu, 1986) that has been bestowed upon me. In the late 1990s, Donna Deyhle, Professor in Education, Culture, and Society (ECS), came to my university to discuss her research in Utah with Native-American students. I had recently moved from Miami and was unfamiliar with research, especially qualitative methodologies. She made it come alive for me and made me realize that research can have a concrete effect on people's lives. Years later, after the death of my husband, I took a class in ECS as an un-matriculated student, first with Doris Warriner and the following semester with William A. Smith. They opened my eyes to worlds I had not known and they challenged me intellectually. Doris then helped me craft my application to the PhD program in the department, and I was accepted in 2007. I subsequently took courses with other faculty in ECS and I have learned so much from them. Audrey Thompson pushed me to be a better writer and kept me aware of my Whiteness. Without her, I would not have received the Ruth Landes Grant (a program of the Reed Foundation), which helped me finish my research. Ed Buendía's enthusiasm and pragmatism inspired me to continue writing draft after draft of the dissertation, a Sisyphean task. The other members of my committee also added to my social-capital "portfolio": Verónica Valdez advised me early on in the dissertation process and gave me detailed written feedback at the end of the process. Enrique Alemán (Ethnic Studies) taught me how to be a better, more thoughtful listener. Ming Wen (So-

ciology) was invaluable in helping me with the quantitative analysis, as were Susan Durham and So-Jung Lim (Utah State University).

Other friends helped me persist. Dr. Connie Haack-Hurlbut, my childhood friend and role model from Wisconsin, with her unending cheerfulness, supported me throughout this project. In addition, friends and former colleagues served as inspirations: the late Dr. Cheryl Benz, another joyous spirit I was lucky to know, and Drs. Cynthia Schuemann and Susan J. Carkin served as outstanding role models. My "study buddy," Ariel Blair, who is also working on her doctorate, kept me on track as well.

Moreover, I am appreciative of the directors and staff of the international student offices at the three participating universities, who allowed me access to the respondents for the survey.

Lastly, the international students who volunteered to participate in this project: Thank you. *Xie xie. Shukraan.* Your willingness to help and to share your thoughts, feelings, and experiences with me made this dissertation possible.

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

You cannot cross a river without getting wet. South African proverb

When undergraduate students from the United States consider going abroad to study, their parents generally assume that they will be treated well by the host country. In contrast, parents in other nations, for example, China, India, and South Korea, when considering countries for their children to study abroad, are often fearful about sending them to the United States, especially after seeing violence such as school shootings in the news (Fischer, 2013). Students themselves often perceive the US to be a dangerous place. Results of a recent survey by the International Institute of Education show that students in the three countries sending the highest number of university scholars to this country, China, India, and South Korea, differ in their opinions on whether the US is a safe place to study. While 60% of the students in India felt that the US was a safe place to study, 24% of the respondents in South Korea thought it was safe, and only 14% of the Chinese students thought so (Figure 1). Canyon University (a pseudonym), in the Mountain West, takes pride in its ranking of being one of the safest campuses in the United States, which is attractive to parents of international students. Even so, those parents have reason for concern: according to the FBI, in 2013 the third most frequent location for hate crimes in

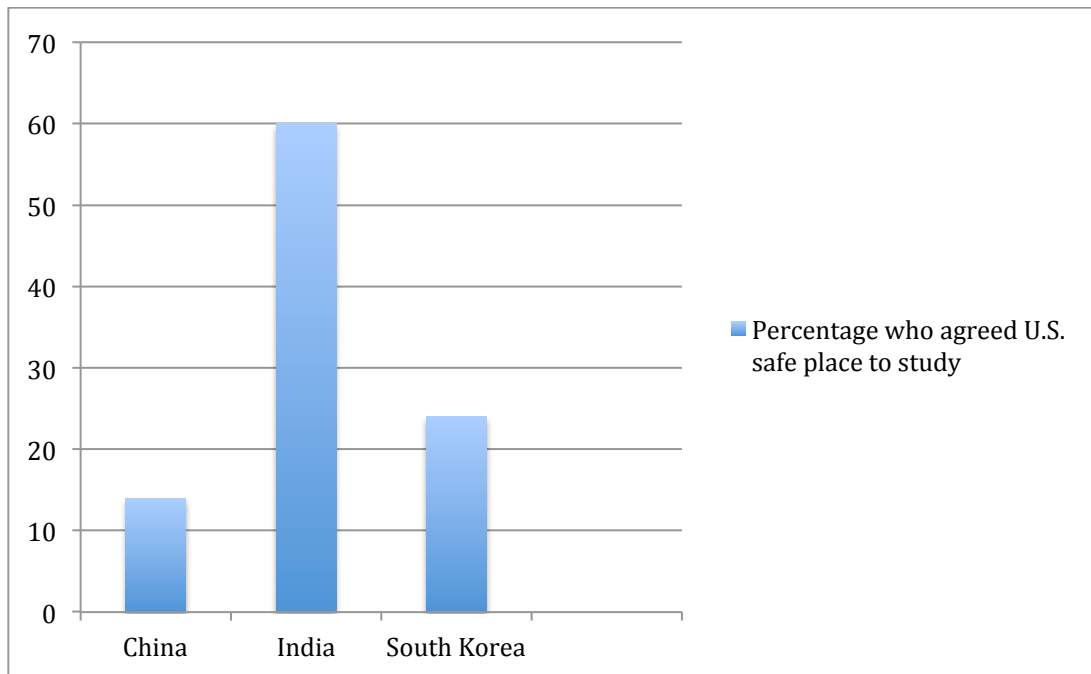


Figure 1. International students' perceptions of US higher education: Percentage of students who thought the US was a safe place to study (IIE, 2015)

the US was schools, colleges, and universities.

This statistic would certainly not surprise most parents of domestic students of color in the US. Indeed, the literature on domestic minority students has shown prejudicial treatment and racist environments on historically White campuses for African Americans, Asian Americans, Latinas/os, and Native Americans (Cabrera, Nora, Terenzini, Pascarella, & Hagedorn, 1999; Chesler, Lewis, & Crowfoot, 2005; Harper & Hurtado, 2007; Hurtado, Milem, Clayton-Pederson, & Allen, 1998; Park, 2009; Poon, 2010; Reid & Radhakrishnan, 2003; Swim, Hyers, Cohen, Fitzgerald, & Bylsma, 2003; Yosso, Smith, Ceja, & Solórzano, 2009), yet little research has been conducted with international students and campus climate, particularly national groups such as the Saudis or the Chinese (see Lee & Rice, 2007). My intention was to investigate how international students,

particularly the Chinese and the Saudis, perceive the campus and classroom climate at predominantly White universities. How welcomed do these students feel on campus and in the classroom? Are their perceptions of the climate similar to those of domestic minority students? This dissertation adds to the higher-education literature on campus and classroom climate by investigating this previously ignored group.

Climate was first studied in disciplines outside of higher education and, like an organization's culture, is a complex and nuanced construct. Peterson and Spencer (1990) defined culture as "the deeply embedded patterns of organizational behavior and the shared values, assumptions, beliefs, or ideologies that members have about their organization or its work," while "climate is the 'atmosphere' or 'style'" (pp. 6-7) of the organization, which includes an individual's sense of belonging.

Hurtado et al. (1999) have expanded on the definition of *climate* as it relates to university campuses and situated it in a broader context (see Figure 2). Moving from the socio-historical level, to the institutional level, to the racial/ethnic group level, and then down to the individual student, campus climate for each student is influenced by numerous variables. First, government policies affect access to the university for different racial/ethnic groups. These policies, in turn, are influenced by the history of how these groups have been treated by society. Then there is the history of the institution: How inclusive or exclusive has the university been in its mission, policies, rituals, and traditions? A university's structural diversity refers to the numbers of students, faculty, and staff who are African American, Latina/-o, Native American, or Asian American, as well as other underrepresented groups. The third box in Figure 2 relates to the behavioral dimension (i.e., the quality of social interactions a student has with members of her/his own

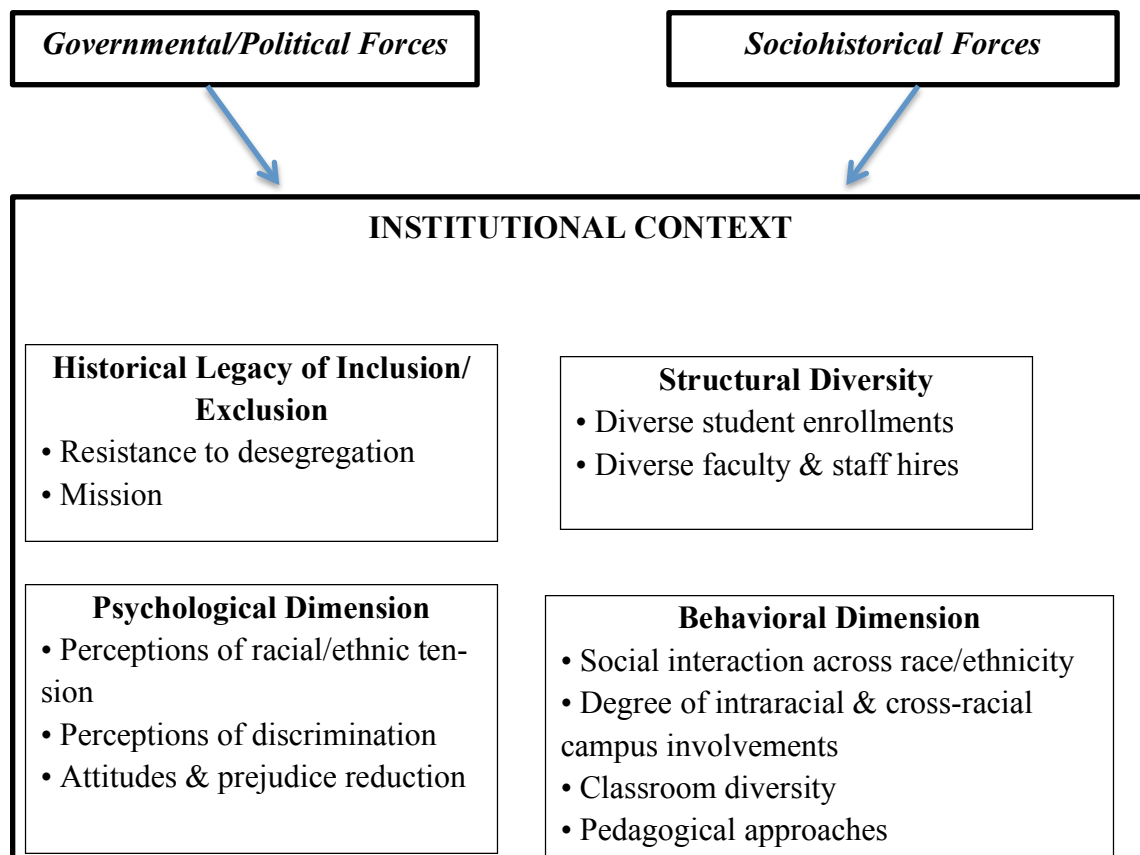


Figure 2. Campus-climate framework (adapted from Hurtado, Milem, Clayton-Pedersen, & Allen, 1998)

racial/ethnic group, as well as with members of other groups). It also includes classroom diversity, which, besides epistemologies and student-faculty interactions, means that the curriculum includes a variety of perspectives, such as ethnic-studies courses that focus on the scholarship of African Americans, Latinas/ -os, Native Americans, and Asian Americans. The final element influencing the climate of diversity is the psychological dimension, which involves a student's perceptions of racial tension on the campus, of discrimination at the university, and of the attitudes/prejudices of others towards her/his ethnic group. All of these elements affect how a student perceives the campus climate and to what extent that student feels he/she *belongs* there. It is that sense of belonging that I see

as the core of campus climate.

My research used a small part of this model as the theoretical framework, that is, the psychological, or "felt" climate, how international students feel welcomed--or not--at the university. Based on Popkewitz's (1998) inclusivity-exclusivity of schools, Gitlin, Buendía, Crosland, and Doumbia (2003) describe the discursive and structural practices that paradoxically both welcomed and "unwelcomed" ESL students. Unlike the middle-school students in their ethnography, the university students in my research were not immigrants. They were in this country for a university education and most of them planned to return to their native countries. The concept of belonging, which is always included in campus-climate studies, is temporal in that all college students, whether they be Americans or international sojourners, are on campus for only a few years' time, yet it is a formative period of their lives. While my research examined the "micro" of individual student perceptions of the classroom, it did so within the "macro" of the larger socio-historical forces of the Hurtado et al. campus-climate model. Thus, underlying this campus climate framework is what sociologist Joe Feagin calls the White racial frame:

. . . there is in North America and elsewhere a dominant, White-created racial frame that provides an overarching and generally destructive worldview, one extending across White social divisions of class, gender, and age. Since its early development in the seventeenth century, this powerful frame has provided the vantage point from which White Americans have constantly viewed North American society. Its centrality in White minds is what makes it a dominant frame throughout the country and, indeed, much of the Western world. Over time, this powerful frame has been elaborated by, and/or imposed on, the minds of most Americans, becoming thereby the country's dominant 'frame of mind' and 'frame of reference' in regard to racial matters. (Feagin, 2010b, p. 10)

In the broad racial framing of society, White Americans have combined at least these important features:

1. racial stereotypes (a beliefs aspect);
2. racial narratives and interpretations (integrating cognitive aspects);
3. racial images (a visual aspect) and language accents (an auditory aspect);

4. racialized emotions (a 'feelings' aspect); and
5. inclinations to discriminatory action. (Feagin, 2010b, pp. 10-11)

The discriminatory actions of the White racial frame can be either overt or covert, and at this point in the nation's history, they tend to be more of the latter, that is, in the form of what Chester Pierce (1974) coined as *racial microaggressions*:

These assaults to black dignity and black hope are incessant and cumulative. Any single one may be gross. In fact, the major vehicle for racism in this country is offenses done to Blacks by Whites in this sort of gratuitous never-ending way. These offenses are microaggressions. Almost all Black-White racial interactions are characterized by white put-downs, done in automatic, preconscious, or unconscious fashion. These minidisasters accumulate. It is the sum total of multiple microaggressions by Whites to Blacks that has pervasive effect to the stability and peace of this world. (p. 515)

Feagin uses the house rather than the disease metaphor (of cancer) because racism is part of the foundation of American society, or the basement--not simply a tumor that can be extracted. What my research investigated is how racism is manifested at the individual level, "in the parlor," so to speak. By using this theoretical framework, I assumed that most of the White Americans my international participants have had contact with see them as the racialized and/or ethnic Other. I recognized that assumption while I approached this project with an open mind, planning an interpretivist inquiry (Glesne, 2011, p. 24).

The state universities where this research was conducted are referred to as *Historically White Colleges and Universities (HWCUs)*, or postsecondary educational institutions . . .

whose histories, traditions, symbols, stories, icons, curriculum, and processes were all designed by Whites, for Whites, to reproduce Whiteness via a White experience at the exclusion of others who, since the 1950s and 1960s, have been allowed in such spaces. (Brunsma, Brown, & Placier, 2013, p. 719)

HWCUs differ from PWIs (Predominantly White Institutions) in that the former may have a large number of minority students (e.g., the University of California-Davis), but their history and campus climate continue to be White (W. A. Smith, personal communication, May 4, 2011). However imprecise the term may be, *PWI* is used more frequently in the higher-education literature. Gusa (2009) described the campus climate of predominantly White institutions:

Today's PWIs do not have to be explicitly racist to create a hostile environment. Instead, unexamined historically situated White cultural ideology embedded in the language, cultural practices, traditions, and perceptions of knowledge allow these institutions to remain racialized . . . PWIs become alienating spaces of hegemonic power. (p. 465)

The bar graph in Figure 3 shows the Whiteness of the student bodies at the schools where this research was conducted: Wasatch, Canyon, and Zion Universities. In the fall semester of 2013, the total number of students at these universities were 31,520; 17,009; and 26,532. Of those, ethnic minority and international students comprised a small portion. Table 1 shows the percentages.

The surrounding communities of these universities are also predominantly White. According to city-data.com, the populations of the three cities are 64%, 79%, and 62% White. In this ocean of Whiteness appears a small island of color, represented by Americans who are of African, Hispanic/Latina/o, Asian, Pacific Islander, or Native American descent, as well as international students.

Utilizing the Hurtado et al. (1999) campus-climate framework, as well as Feagin's (2010b) White racial frame, I will now delineate the purpose of the study and the research questions the dissertation sought to answer.

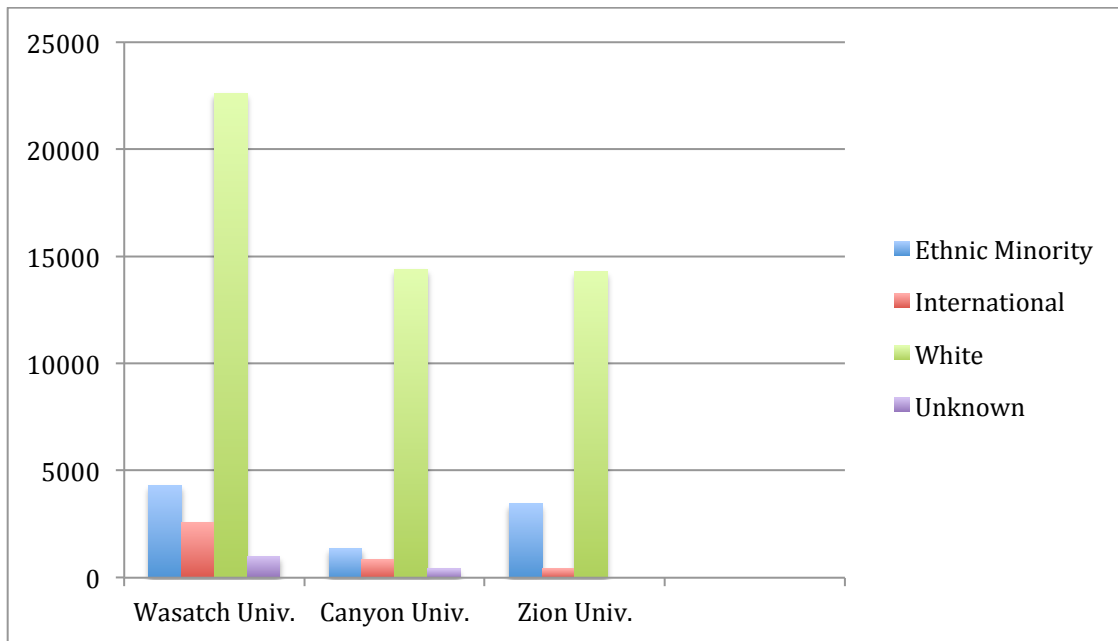


Figure 3. Fall 2013 enrollment by race/ethnicity: Three state universities in Utah

Table 1. Diversity of students at three state universities (percentages)

	<u>White</u>	<u>Ethnic Minority</u>	<u>International</u>
Wasatch Univ.	72	14	8
Canyon Univ.	85	8	5
Zion Univ.	54*	13	1.6

* 31.5% of the students answered "Unknown."

Purpose of Study

The purpose of this study was to 1) examine international students' perceptions of the practices and actions of domestic instructors and students as they affected the classroom climate of their undergraduate classes, especially those students from China and Saudi Arabia, at three predominantly (and historically) White state universities in Utah; and 2) investigate how these students perceived and reacted to pedagogical practices and/or classmates' behaviors that marginalized and/or included them.

The extent to which the international students felt welcomed on campus and in class represents the psychological dimension of the Hurtado et al. (1998) campus-climate framework. Also psychological in nature is the American students' deeply embedded White racial frame (Feagin, 2010b). The psychological dimension of students' attitudes and perceptions of discrimination affects the behavioral dimension of campus climate in individuals' social interaction across race/ethnicity, as well as their classroom interactions and their perceptions of pedagogical approaches.

Research Questions

1. Students from the People's Republic of China and the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia are among the largest populations of F-1 scholars in the US. As undergraduates at historically White universities in the US, what pedagogical practices do they see as contributing to a positive/ negative classroom climate, and why? How welcomed do these students feel in their classes?
2. White American students may act in ways that are interpreted by the racial/ethnic Other as welcoming or unwelcoming. Which characteristics and behaviors of American peers do the international students identify as such?
3. How do the international students' perceptions of the classroom/campus climate and of their American classmates/teachers differ with respect to their native country/language, gender, marital status, major, racial/ethnic identity, and other demographics? What patterns emerge and what do the patterns suggest about creating a positive classroom environment for international students?

Overview of Study

The focus of the research was the international, particularly Chinese and Saudi, students' perceptions of interactions in the classroom as the ethnic/racial Other. Non-native English-speaking undergraduate students at three historically (and predominantly) White state universities in the Mountain West were asked in an online questionnaire how welcomed they felt on the university campus in general, but particularly in one class, that is, the one they felt was the most welcoming, and what characteristics of and behaviors by their American classmates and professors contributed to the positive climate. In addition, seven students, four from the People's Republic of China and three from the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia, were interviewed in order to obtain a more robust understanding of these individuals' experiences in American higher education.

The results of this dissertation show that in general, American students were at least accepting of the non-white ethnic Other, if not welcoming, but it often appeared to be a superficial friendliness, what one Chinese informant called "fake friendly." Like domestic minority students, some of the international students were targets of both overt and covert acts of discrimination, or unveiled and veiled incivilities. In addition, I argue that the classroom experience, in particular, the teacher, was a crucial component of how these international students perceived the campus climate.

Significance of Study

From the perspective of higher-education administrators, this study is significant fiscally, pragmatically, and ethically. All over the country, universities have cut their budgets and raised tuition. Consequently, administrators have started competing for in-

ternational students who are able to pay high, out-of-state tuition (Clark, 2012; Fischer, 2012; Hudzik, 2012). In the state of Utah alone, foreign students spent almost \$193 million dollars in 2012-13 (IIE). Moreover, diversity is now valued in higher-education institutions, and international students contribute to that diversity. University administrators often equate internationalization with study abroad, that is, sending American students to other countries for a short period of time (ACE, 2008; CIGE, 2012). In doing so, they ignore a growing proportion of their students who can provide an international aspect to their campus's diversity. Pragmatically, if administrators take a broader perspective, they will see the future implications of how these students perceive the campus climate. After graduation, the majority of international students will return to their native countries. Their attitudes towards the US will affect how they conduct business with us if they are involved in the corporate or financial sectors of the country. They also will influence how they deal with the US government if they work in the political, economic, or diplomatic sector of their native countries (Spaulding & Flack, 1976). It will affect what information they share with their peers in science, business, education, medicine, law, journalism, art, engineering, government, and other professions. Ethically, universities have an obligation to ensure that *all* of their students are welcomed on campus, a place where they should feel that they truly belong.

The *raison d'être* of the higher education is scholarly inquiry, teaching our future citizens, and service to the community, whether that community be local, professional, regional, national, or international. The three universities where I conducted my research are public institutions that educate young people from other states and countries. All of them have a responsibility not only to prepare students for a career but also to develop

their intellectual and moral capacities. This includes teaching them about being socially responsible citizens of the world--not just their hometown, state, or country. A liberal-arts education, the basis of the American university, is all about opening up students' minds to broader thinking.

Finally, it is in the best interest of humanity if our institutions of higher education promote international goodwill. If left uncontrolled, prejudice, part of the White racial frame, can lead to horrific consequences. Consider, for instance, the Holocaust against the Jews in Germany, and more recent atrocities in the Sudan, Myanmar, Rwanda, and the former Yugoslavia. These national pogroms began with a single action. Lest this be interpreted as hyperbole, I will provide a more immediate example. In November of 2013, three White male American freshman at a state university near San Francisco were caught harassing their African American roommate by calling him "three-fifths" (in reference to the original US Constitution's counting slaves as 3/5 of a person), writing "N*****" on the wall of the dorm room, displaying the Confederate flag, and putting a bicycle lock around his neck. This allegedly had been occurring with impunity over a period of months. It was not discovered until the parents of the Black student visited the dormitory (CBS, 2013).

If this is to be prevented from happening again, and from escalating to another level, we must learn to be better citizens. As the former US Ambassador to the United Nations (1993-1997), Madeleine K. Albright, said,

The gap between how we see ourselves and how others see us has become a chasm, dangerously so. US military and economic power notwithstanding, we cannot be secure without the respect, support, and yes, the affection, of people in other lands. (Kohut & Stokes, 2006, p. ix)

The following chapters are organized as such: Chapter II includes a review of the literature on international students as well as campus climate; Chapter III describes the qualitative and quantitative methods, the procedures, and some of the data analysis; Chapters IV and V render the results of the data in two main themes; and Chapter VI discusses implications and recommendations for higher-education faculty and administrators

CHAPTER II

WHITENESS: AN IDEOLOGY OF INTOLERANCE, INVISIBILITY, AND INEQUALITY

Life without literature is death. Latin proverb

This chapter reviews the literature on international students, campus/classroom climate, and teaching practices, all in the context of the White racial frame. The literature about campus climate was selected because it offers a way of conceptualizing a culture of macro and micro forces in higher education. The literature on teaching practices is included in this review because it examines the dynamics of the classroom climate. Finally, Whiteness is reflected in these bodies of literature because they all exist in the context of White hegemony and exhibit some degree of intolerance, invisibility, and/or inequality. Thus, with each body of literature, I explain how it relates to the White racial frame. I begin with a discussion of the literature on international students.

International Students

Formerly known as "foreign," *international students* are scholars who come to the United States as *sojourners* (nomenclature from the intercultural communication literature), with the intention of returning home after graduation. They hold I-20 visas from

the US government and since September 11, 2001, are held to strict regulations by the Transportation Security Administration, part of the Department of Homeland Security. According to the Institute of International Education (IIE), in the academic year 2013-14, the number of international students in the US was at an all-time high of 886,052, or 4.2% of the higher-education total.

Edmonds, the founder of the International House in New York City in 1928, may have been the first to study--and welcome--foreign students in the US (Bevis & Lucas, 2007). Since then, most research has been done as doctoral dissertations in education or psychology, and often written by international students themselves (Altbach, 1991). In their comprehensive literature review, Altbach, Kelly, and Lulat (1985) classified the studies on international students into 37 categories. I will limit mine to four: those that deal with 1) adjustment/adaptation, 2) engagement, 3) campus climate/perceptions of discrimination, and 4) Saudi and Chinese students. These categories are related to the focus of my study, that is, international students' perceptions of being welcomed or unwelcomed in American higher-education classrooms, where the intolerance, invisibility, and inequality of Whiteness has been the norm.

Adjustment/Adaptation

All university students must adjust to the uncertainties of a new environment when they arrive on campus, but international students confront even more stressful challenges than domestic students. Perhaps that is the reason for the high number of studies on foreign students' acculturation and/or adjustment, not just recently, but historically (Altbach et al., 1985; Goyol, 2002; Hsu, 2011; Klineberg & Hull, 1979; Liu, 2001;

Selltiz, Christ, Havel, & Cook, 1963; Spaulding & Flack, 1976; Weller, 2012; Xia, 1991). The unit of analysis in these studies generally has been the adaptation of individual students from abroad. This psychological approach is based on Lysgaard's (1955) U curve, popularized by Oberg (1960) as culture shock: sojourners often experience a euphoric "high" when they initially come in contact with a new culture. Later in the sojourn, when they are confronted with the challenges of unfamiliar tasks such as participating in social situations or completing routine errands in another language, the euphoria is quickly replaced by feelings of frustration and utter vanquishment (the bottom of the U). Gradually, their psychological state improves (the adjustment phase), and with time, they can go on to "master" the new culture. Empirical research to validate this theory has been erratic; when reviewing the sojourner literature in management, psychology, and the social sciences, Black and Mendenhall (1991) found evidence both supporting the U curve and disputing it. Xia (1991) found no support of the theory in her research on Asian students and their adjustment to the culture at the University of Wisconsin-Madison. Regardless of whether the adjustment follows a U, J, or W curve, some kind of "adaptive cultural transformation is inevitable" (Liu, 2001).

Not surprisingly, many early studies investigated international students' adjustment as it related to proficiency in English and knowledge about the US system of higher education (Altbach et al., 1985; Klineberg & Hull, 1979; Selltiz et al., 1963; Spaulding & Flack, 1976). The field held that language ability as it related to cultural adjustment and academic success was critical for student success. It is the reason for the establishment of the Intensive English Program at Canyon University in the early 1970s, as well as hundreds of other intensive English programs across the country (UCIEP). Correspondingly,

some educational institutions in the US made changes to accommodate those foreign students whose language skills needed improving. English proficiency continues to be studied at the turn of the 21st century as it relates to adjustment problems (Poyrazli, Bullington, & Pisecco, 2001) or to international students' overall satisfaction with their academic experience (Otsu, 2008). In this body of research, too, the unit of analysis has been individual international students.

In addition to language proficiency, a number of other factors have been investigated as they pertain to the cultural adjustment or adaptation of international students. Three conclusions are manifest in this literature: the longer the sojourn, the better the adjustment; the older the student, the more positive the adaptation; and the closer the sojourner's culture is to the host culture, the easier the transition (Altbach et al., 1985; Klineberg & Hull, 1979; Spaulding & Flack, 1976). These studies have not always recognized that international students do not come here as blank slates. On the contrary, they are often better prepared academically than their American counterparts. For example, the Council on Foreign Relations, which ranks countries on educational outcomes based on test scores, high-school graduation rates, and the number of students who go on to study in college, found that four of the top five countries were Asian (South Korea, Hong Kong, Japan, and Singapore), while the United States ranked number 17, just above Hungary and Slovakia (Coughlan, 2012). The fact that many international students come from countries with rigorous academic backgrounds is essentially ignored in the literature on international students in the US--another indication of Americans' White ethnocentric view of other countries (Feagin, 2010b, p. 151).

In summary, research conducted in the area of cultural adjustment has generally

viewed international students' cultural differences as problems to be solved, or as gaps to be narrowed. Like domestic students from non-White ethnicities, international students are seen as being culturally deficient. American academia has the power to exclude these "aliens" until they move closer to the norm of Whiteness (Gusa, 2010). Once they adapt to the way of the White man (by assimilating to American culture and learning the English language), it is assumed they will be academically and socially successful.

The literature on adjustment/adaptation reflects the White racial frame and its inherent intolerance. This aspect of Whiteness, intolerance of difference, and its accompanying demand for conformity and assimilation, are present at all levels of US society. At the highest level, those in power have been White males who have imposed their ideology, often violently, on the Other (Chesler et al., 2005; Doane & Bonilla-Silva, 2003; Feagin, 2010b; Lipsitz, 1995; McIntyre, 1997; Mills, 2003; Omi & Winant, 1994; Said, 1978; Scheurich & Young, 2002; Smedley & Smedley, 2012). This intolerance and insistence on conformity are exemplified at the institutional level of society as well. Until the late 1960s, after the civil-rights movement, colleges and universities in the US enrolled almost exclusively White, Protestant, middle- and upper-class males who came from all-White, able-bodied, heterosexual, Protestant, middle- and upper-class communities (Altbach, & Lomotey, 2002; Feagin, Vera, & Imani, 1996; Smith). Few women and almost no people of color either attended or were employed at postsecondary institutions, resulting in a "history of exclusion" (Milem, Chang, & Antonio, 2005, p. 17).

William Edward Burghardt Du Bois (1960), who studied at Harvard in the late 1800s, was extremely resilient in confronting the blatant racism of the time, and similar to most international students today, focused on his academic pursuits. I do not presume

that the context in which Du Bois attended Harvard was similar to that in which international students attended American universities in the early 21st century. Du Bois studied at Harvard 1888-1890, after the Civil War and Reconstruction, at a time when many Whites considered the "Negro" not even human.

Moreover, with the recession of the 1880s and a severe depression in the 1890s, Whites were economically embattled, bitter, and enraged; they were more than willing to flay a scapegoat. The Negro became that scapegoat and for the next four decades endured an era of intimidation, torture, lynching, gross discrimination, and unheralded psychological brutality. (Smedley & Smedley, 2012, p. 243)

In such an environment, Harvard was extremely progressive in enrolling African Americans, but even now American universities, which pride themselves on that same progressive ethic, have not yet *de facto* arrived there.

In later chapters, I will be citing and situating Du Bois; there are several reasons for doing so: 1) because he is the first academic to write about White people (other African Americans graduated from Harvard, but only he wrote about his experiences); 2) because he himself was an international sojourner: after graduating from Harvard, he received a scholarship to study in Germany, where he felt more welcomed than in America (Du Bois, 1968); 3) because he, as well as Frederick Douglass, had an international worldview (he not only traveled extensively, but also founded an international Pan-African Congress which first met in Paris in 1919 [Du Bois, 1968]); 4) because he believed in a liberal-arts college education for his people (like bell hooks, he was a true American intellectual); and 5) because he used the metaphor of the veil (Du Bois, 2009), but in his case it symbolized what separated Whites and Blacks in the US and in my case, it represents what is concealing the true racism in the hearts of contemporary Americans.

I recognize that adjustment/adaptation is a normal part of living in a new country,

but I do not share the ideology of intolerance. Rather, I argue that it is not only the sojourner who needs to adapt, but also the individuals and institutions in the host country (American Council on Education; Jayakumar, 2008; Otten, 2003). In other words, I see the relationship as reciprocal, with both parties acting as representatives of their countries and cultures, and both learning from each other (Borgford-Parnell, 2006; hooks, 1994; Ladson-Billings, 1999).

Engagement

The previous body of literature examined the changes international students made in order to be successful in a new environment. This second category of literature, engagement, or what Astin (1993) calls involvement, took a look at how diligently the students worked and how involved they were in college, in other words, the time and effort students exert in their college career towards academic goals. It includes attending classes, studying, and participating in student organizations and educational activities. Almost all of the research on the engagement of international students in the US employs secondary data from the National Survey of Student Engagement (NSSE), and the vast majority employs Astin's (1985) theory of student involvement. The theory is based on the I-E-O model: Input (student characteristics coming into college); Environment (type of institution, peers, activities, faculty, policies, educational experiences); and Outcomes (change/growth as measured by self-reported psychological and behavioral data). It was designed for "typical" college freshmen (i.e., 18-year-old Americans who have recently graduated from high school and are enrolled full time at institutions of higher learning). That is, White, English-speaking, middle-class, heterosexual, able-bodied students are

being privileged as the norm, and the Other is being treated in a colorblind fashion. Ironically, the unit of analysis in these engagement studies has been individual international students--not the typical American student on which the model was based. It is assumed that the same model can be used for them even though they do not have the same educational, linguistic, or cultural background as the typical college freshman. That a student, for example, from one of the 56 ethnic minorities in the People's Republic of China can be "plugged into" the same model as a young boy from a small town in Idaho can be logical only to a monocultural White researcher (Bonilla-Silva & Zuberi, 2008).

Other quantitative studies also investigated international students' involvement while in US colleges. Using NSSE data and Astin's theoretical framework, Korobova (2012) and Zhao, Ku, and Carini (2005) compared American students' level and type of engagement with that of international students, finding that when they were freshmen, the international students were more academically engaged, but by the time they were seniors, both groups were similar in their academic and social engagement. Irungu (2010) also used NSSE data and Astin's theory of student involvement. She studied international students at research universities and the relationship between their engagement and perceived academic, personal, and social outcomes. Her results were that the best predictors of positive outcomes were 1) a supportive campus environment and 2) the level of academic challenge. None of these studies examined race/ethnicity, cultural differences, or discrimination, aspects of the campus climate that my research addressed.

As already noted, the first two spheres of research about international students (i.e., adjustment and engagement) are psychological. Both of them put the onus on the students for their satisfaction with the university experience. The expectation is for the

students to conform to the social and academic norms of the predominantly White world of US academia. This is a modern, cultural-deficit view of the Other, assuming that s/he needs to assimilate to the White-majority culture in order to be successful in American higher education.

Central to the construct of Whiteness is ethnocentrism, the assumption of superiority by Whites, who take it for granted that the racial/ethnic Other is inferior and treat her/ him as such. This often occurs unconsciously because of the invisibility of Whiteness (addressed later in this chapter) and the tendency for Whites to think racism exists only at the individual level, not at the institutional, societal, or civilizational levels (Scheurich & Young, 2002). It is problematic if, for example, a university instructor truly believes that s/he is not racist and fails to recognize that racism persists at higher levels in our society. "Consequently, as long as White faculty stop with an individual-level understanding, racism will be left to permeate the university deeply and pervasively" (Scheurich & Young, 2002, p. 221). Unfortunately, the inequality of Whiteness prevails on predominantly White university campuses (Bush, 2011; Chesler et al., 2005; Chesler, Peet, & Sevig, 2003; Feagin et al., 1996; Gusa, 2010; Marx, 2006; Scheurich & Young, 2002; Yosso et al., 2009). This aspect of Whiteness, inequality, is clearly evident in the contemporary literature on campus climate, the topic of the following section.

Campus Climate: Perceptions of Discrimination

I next address literature on international students' perceptions of discrimination and on Chinese/Saudi Arabian students. For the most part, this literature reflects a major paradigm shift from modernity to a more critical worldview. The latter is influenced by

academics throughout the 20th century (e.g., African American scholar, W.E.B. Du Bois, [1903], sociologists such as Robert E. Park [the Chicago School], philosophers of the Frankfurt School [Giroux, 1983], linguist Franz Boas [1940], educator Paulo Freire [1968], and lawyer Derrick Bell [1987]).

The focus of this body of literature has been at the institutional level and the common denominator is, for the most part, the racism of the White racial frame. In this literature on campus climate and perceived discrimination, much more research has been done with domestic students of color at predominantly White universities in the United States (Cabrera et al., 1999; Chesler et al., 2005; Esquivel, 2010; Fincher, 2014; Harper & Hurtado, 2007; Hurtado et al., 1999; Park, 2009; Poon, 2010; Reid & Radhakrishnan, 2003; Swim et al., 2003; Yosso et al., 2009). International students, however, have not been completely ignored. Many researchers have studied international students as one homogeneous group (Altbach et al., 1985; Cho, 2009; Hsu, 2011; Irungu, 2011; Klineberg & Hull, 1979; Selltiz et al., 1963; Spaulding & Flack, 1976); many more have looked at graduate students (Diangelo, 2006; Liu, 2001; Perucci & Hu, 1995; Tummala-Narra & Claudius, 2013); some have focused on specific nationalities/ethnicities (Goyol, 2002; Neider, 2010; Poyrazli et al., 2001; Weller, 2012; Yuan, 2011; Xia, 1991); and a few have analyzed the linguistic aspect of discrimination (Lindemann, 2005). The common framework of these studies has been the modern view of the international non-White student as the Other (Said, 1978).

This literature helped me to locate the unwelcoming elements of White American students' behavior. Though it is mixed in terms of controlling for different populations, ranging from English-as-a-Second-Language students to those who are in graduate

school, the findings are similar: perceived discrimination is a recurrent phenomenon throughout the country. The discrimination occurs at all levels: in personal interactions with other students, faculty in the classroom, university staff on campus, and in the local community. Using the theoretical framework of social interactions and identity development, Hardy (2012) conducted interviews and focus groups with international students about their daily interactions at SUNY-Buffalo. International female STEM (Science, Technology, Engineering, Mathematics) students reported gender discrimination in the classroom by teachers. One, a Bulgarian PhD student in neuroscience, reported that her mentor assumed she could not grasp complex mathematical or engineering concepts as well as her male classmates. Another, an outgoing Muslim woman from Indonesia who wore the *hijab*, was stereotyped by her American professors as being shy and oppressed (in this woman's case, she did not feel oppressed until she came to the US!). This perceived sexism is another manifestation of the White racial frame in that women of color in this country have to deal with "gendered racism" (Essed, 1991; Feagin, 2010b) and the stereotypes that accompany it.

Other studies investigated the social environment of American higher education for international sojourners, defined as personal encounters with Americans inside and outside the classroom. Lee and Rice (2007), for example, studied neo-racism at a university in the Southwest and described acts of discrimination perpetrated upon international students of color. They interviewed 24 students from 15 countries, and the students who were perceived as non-White (i.e., from Mexico, India, and the Middle East) faced outright hostility both on and off campus. In contrast, those students from Canada, the Netherlands, Germany, and New Zealand experienced positive treatment. The White

American campus climate (and that of the off-campus community) does not appear to be as welcoming to students from other countries as it could be. It does, however, reflect the ideology of the White racial frame (Feagin, 2010b) in American society.

The students' perspectives of these interactions are often the focus of this research. A number of studies have sought to understand how international students react when faced with a hostile campus climate. Employing the rejection-identification model, Schmitt, Spears, and Branscombe (2003) found that non-White international students, like domestic students of color, self-segregated in order to protect themselves from a hostile campus environment in the Midwest. Not only do the students of color self-segregate, but the American students also keep to themselves in their own predominantly White cocoons. This self-segregation is yet another manifestation of (and perpetuates) the inequality of Whiteness (Bonilla-Silva, 2014; Bush, 2011; Chesler et al., 2003; Chesler et al., 2005; Tatum, 2003).

Much of the racist behavior by White Americans is triggered by phenotype, or physical characteristics such as skin color, facial features, and hair texture and color. Not surprisingly, at UCLA post-September 11, Hanassab (2006) found that students from Africa and the Middle East experienced more discrimination than those from other regions of the world. When asked about discriminatory treatment in interactions with faculty, university staff, students, and when applying for a job, the international students reported that of those four groups, the most discrimination was perpetrated by their classmates. This widespread discrimination reinforces the ivory-tower image of American colleges and universities as hegemonic White spaces (Brunsma et al., 2013; Gusa, 2009; Lee & Rice, 2007; Parks, 2007; Poon, 2010).

In addition to being discriminated against because of their race/ethnicity, international students have been victims of linguistic discrimination or linguicism (Skutnabb-Kangas, 2000), what Lippi-Green (1997) calls language subordination, the "auditory aspect" of the White racial frame (Feagin, 2010b). Linguicism is defined as "ideologies, structures, and practices which are used to legitimate, effectuate, regulate, and reproduce an unequal division of power and resources (both material and immaterial) between groups which are defined on the basis of language" (Skutnabb-Kangas, 2000, p. 30). Like racism, linguicism can be overt, covert, or "hidden, unconscious, invisible and passive" (Skutnabb-Kangas, 2000, p. 109). In the following examples, it is clear that linguicism is operating at all of these levels, as if being a native speaker of English were a prerequisite of Whiteness. Lindemann (2005) found American undergraduate students exhibited linguistic prejudice, rating Chinese accents, as well as others that were not Western European, as stigmatized. Other examples of linguicism include undergraduate international students interviewed at a state university in Delaware who reported that they were perceived as "dumb" because of their accents (Afflick, 2009). Similarly, Japanese students at a predominantly White university said that their American classmates made fun of their English (Bonazzo & Wong, 2007). This also happened to the immigrant students at a college in Oregon (Boesch, 2008). The "auditory aspect" of the White racial frame is pervasive on PWI campuses in the United States, as is the perception of White native speakers of English being superior to non-native speakers of the language.

The third domain of research on international students related to my topic is concerned with academic sojourners from the People's Republic of China and the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia.

Chinese and Saudi Students

The majority of research has looked at international students as one homogeneous group, though some recent studies have focused on specific nationalities, such as Ghani-ans (Fischer, 2012), Japanese (Bonazzo & Wong, 2007), and Turks (Poyrazli et al., 2001; Tatar, 2005). Because of the high number of students from China and Saudi Arabia in intensive English programs like the one in which I teach, as well as my personal interest in these two nationalities, I examined the classroom-climate perceptions of these two groups to see how they are similar to or different from those of other nationalities. By and large, the literature on students from the People's Republic of China falls into the pattern of cultural adjustment/adaptation, while research on Saudi students, because of historical events, has focused on identity and discrimination. Studies on Saudis and other nationalities from the Middle East, for the most part, relate to religious identity. I will begin with a historical review of the literature.

In 1972, Kang wrote that Chinese students at the University of Minnesota were perceived as the Other, which led to their forming their own ethnic community, or what was defined as self-segregating. Over 40 years later, Weller conducted a mixed-methods study at the University of Cincinnati focusing on both undergraduate and graduate students from China. In addition to completing a survey, students participated in an online discussion forum. The major findings were that this group of international students had not been able to acclimate to campus culture. "The primary limitations for Chinese students included feeling that they did not understand American culture, generally possessed weak to moderate English language communication abilities, and had a natural tendency to associate primarily with other Chinese students" (Weller, 2012, pp. ii-iii). This is one

of the few studies to examine international students' perceptions of the classroom climate and feelings of being welcomed. The Chinese students consistently responded 5-8% less positively to survey questions than other international students. For example, while 80% of the other international students felt welcomed and accepted by the university, 72% of the Chinese students felt that way (Weller, 2012, p. 126). This university, however, did not require that the students take ESL courses; the ESL program appeared to be optional for them. It would be expected, then, that their English proficiency might be lower than needed for studying in an American university. In another study using narrative inquiry, Hsieh (2007) researched one female Chinese student in an American university who internalized the inferiority with which her classmates identified her due to her silence in class discussions. Hsieh concluded that it was not the student's culture that rendered her silent, but how she was "framed" by her White classmates. The power dynamics of the classroom and how it affects international students are what I, too, studied, but with college undergraduates, to see if the same pattern of being unwelcomed is prevalent at three PWIs in Utah. The unit of analysis was the classroom (i.e., the perceptions of the climate by the foreign Other). Few have investigated this topic at this level of analysis.

As for students from Saudi Arabia, they, along with other Arabs and Muslims, have been racialized and demonized in this country since September 11, 2001 (Akram, 2002; Nydell, 2006). Though their numbers on US campuses have increased sharply, not much research has been done concerning this particular group. Using postcolonial theory, Neider (2010) interviewed students of Middle Eastern heritage at Washington State University (4 of the 12 participants were Saudi). What emerged from her ethnographic fieldwork were themes of identity, myths, and physical spaces, all of which contributed to

a climate of Whiteness for the students. Taking a more adjustment/ adaptation view, Tummala-Narra and Claudius (2013) conducted a qualitative study with Muslim graduate students, only one of whom was Saudi. Their research took a psychological approach, finding racial, more than religious discrimination, as well as social isolation and a need for social support. Shaw (2010) looked at Saudi students in particular, but studied their positive adjustment to the American academic system. Other research has been done with students from Saudi Arabia who were studying in Australia (e.g., Alhazmi & Nyland, 2013), looking at their transition to a mixed-gender environment from the gender-segregated society of Saudi Arabia.

In summary, what the literature so far tells us about campus climate for international students, especially those who are socially constructed as the ethnic Other (e.g., the Chinese and Saudis), is that White hegemony permeates historically White colleges and universities. We know that for these students to be successful, they need to adapt to a new culture and be proficient in a new language, which will shape their new identities. They also need to be engaged socially and academically; this engagement is either encouraged or impeded through the campus climate. I argue that by the time international students have made it to their junior/senior year, issues such as adjustment and English-language proficiency, though ongoing, have generally been worked out. For the most part, they are serious students and are engaged academically. My purpose was to look beyond those topics and investigate how welcomed or unwelcomed these students felt in one of their classes. Did their professors and classmates make them feel welcomed?

The literature on discrimination and Chinese/Saudi students reflects the intolerance and inequality of Whiteness, but from a critical perspective, as does the following

literature on classroom climate.

Classroom Climate

An important part of the campus climate is what happens in the classroom. Information about classroom interactions can be gleaned from international student comments made in qualitative studies (Cho, 2009; Hsieh, 2007; Lee & Rice, 2007; Liu, 2001; Nelson, 2010; Yuan, 2011), but they have not been the primary focus of the studies. Another drawback has been that the participants have ranged from all ESL students (Cho, 2009), to a combination of undergraduate and graduate students (Hanassab, 2006; Schmitt et al., 2003; Weller, 2012), to all graduate students (Diangelo, 2006; Liu, 2001; Tummala-Narra & Claudius, 2013). My intention was to focus on international students, in particular, those of color from China and Saudi Arabia, at the micro level of student-to-student and student-to-teacher engagement in the undergraduate classroom, looking at Othering and how these students perceive it and react to it.

In addition to the literature on international students, I reviewed literature on teaching practices in higher education inasmuch as my research questions involved classroom climate and how the students perceived the teacher.

Higher-Education Pedagogy

The literature on pedagogy is included in this review because it addresses the practices that students see as contributing to a positive/negative classroom climate. In general, the literature on pedagogy in higher education also reflects a White, colorblind worldview. For instance, Ken Bain in *What the Best College Teachers Do* (2004) cites

literature on domestic ethnic minority students in tertiary educational institutions, but he does not address the Whiteness of the faculty in academia, nor does he mention the increased diversity of the student body or how the predominantly White faculty are expected to deal with that diversity. The exception to the Whiteness ideology is found in the more contemporary studies that take a critical view of the world. I will first review the literature on Whiteness and how it is reflected in pedagogy, and then discuss the studies on critical pedagogy.

Whiteness as Invisible

The literature on teaching practices in higher education has generally been "Whitely" (Pratt, 1991) and has been a reflection of the invisibility of Whiteness (Andersen, 2003; Bonilla-Silva, 2014; Bush, 2011; Chesler et al., 2003; Doane, 2003; Frye, 1992; Gusa, 2010; Kincheloe et al., 1998; Lipsitz, 1995; Marx, 2006; McIntyre, 1997). White people simply do not see their Whiteness; to be White is just "normal," therefore unmarked, natural, and so taken for granted that it is not talked about. In the words of Toni Morrison (1992),

Deep within the word 'American' is its association with race. To identify someone as a South African is to say very little; we need the adjective 'white' or 'black' or 'colored' to make our meaning clear. In this country it is quite the reverse. American means white. (p. 47)

It is assumed that if someone is from the United States, s/he is White; the word *White* is not used. Only the Other is marked linguistically. This invisibility is one aspect of Whiteness.

Instead of *invisibility*, Peggy McIntosh (2003/1988) uses the word *denial* in her classic piece on White privilege. She begins by describing male privilege and the extent

to which men refuse to admit they are over-privileged in society. "These denials protect male privilege from being fully recognized, acknowledged, lessened, or ended" (p. 94). She then goes on to examine the everyday effects of her own White privilege, realizing that it is "an invisible package of unearned assets that I can count on cashing in each day, but about which I was 'meant' to remain oblivious" (pp. 94-95). Like sexual orientation, if White privilege is not talked about or questioned, then the status quo is maintained and those in power stay in power. This invisibility of Whiteness is exemplified in the literature on international-student engagement, as well as the literature on higher-education pedagogy.

According to neurological research, strongly held beliefs such as the White racial frame "are deeply embedded in the neuronal structure of human brains" (Feagin, 2010b, p. 15). Whiteness and racism are so strong that they shape people's lives and identities (Frankenberg, 1993) and like gender are impossible to escape (Frye, 1992). Whiteness is so omnipresent that most of us are blinded by our Whiteness (Doane & Bonilla-Silva, 2003); that is, we literally do not see the racism in our behavior and/or language. Though not often acknowledged, "*White' is ubiquitous*" (Andersen, 2003, p. 24) in this country yet has "*an everything-and-nothing quality*" (Kincheloe, Steinberg, Rodriguez, & Chenault, 1998, p. 37), everything in that it permeates society, and nothing in that Whites fail to see it. Whiteness scholars agree that Whiteness is hegemonic, historical, social, economic, political, structural, and that it cannot be separated from White racism.

Pedagogical Practices in Higher Education

Generally, the empirical studies on pedagogy have utilized 1) qualitative methods to analyze teaching practices and/or teachers' characteristics or 2) quantitative methods with secondary data such as NSSE. Only those researchers who took a critical theoretical framework studied students and/or teachers of color. The others often never mentioned race, gender, or ethnicity (a Whiteness-as-invisible ontology).

Some research on pedagogy in higher education examined the qualities and practices of award-winning faculty. Kellett (2010), for example, interviewed faculty who had won excellence-in-teaching awards, observed their classes, and spoke with their students, but she did not address student diversity at all. Moore (2013) examined how faculty who had been recognized for their teaching excellence used inclusive strategies under a model called Universal Design Instruction (UDI). The UDI model was supposedly based on a social-justice framework, yet Moore claimed that it "transcended" race, gender, ethnicity, etc., and he ignored those topics. Of the four humanities and social-science professors he studied, only one discussed race and ethnicity with her students, and that was because her sociology course was about immigration. Finally, Wise (2013) studied the development of faculty as they moved from novices to "distinguished collegiate educators." She, too, did not include ethnicity, race, social class, gender, sexual orientation, or physical ability in her work. None of these studies acknowledged Whiteness or White privilege, illustrating the hegemony of the unexamined cultural norm (Rodriguez, 1998).

Another qualitative study providing information about award-winning teachers was conducted at the University of Washington by Borgford-Parnell (2006). It is curious to note that in his introduction to pedagogy and higher education, he describes the huge

diversity disparity on American college campuses between the student body and the faculty. The former has become much more culturally diverse, while the latter has remained mainly White and male. Borgford-Parnell then goes on to say that women and ethnic minority students can be negatively impacted by prejudiced instructors and "research indicates that even those faculty members who may be otherwise committed to the ideals of racial and gender equality are seldom prepared to confront these issues in their classrooms" (p. 18). The topic is then dropped; in one of the subsequent interviews, a social-science professor of color brings up the topic of social justice and mentions race, gender, and ethnicity because he teaches a course on those topics. Otherwise, Whiteness remained invisible throughout the rest of the text.

One of the characteristics of excellence in teaching in nearly all of the literature is that the classroom is learner centered, that there is active learning, and that students take responsibility for their learning. Grillos (2007) studied learner-centered education (LCE) at Arizona State University by observing classes, interviewing students and teachers, and analyzing documents. He found that LCE had advantages over teacher-centered approaches. This qualitative study, like the previous research, did not address Whiteness or race or ethnicity, allowing Whiteness to remain invisible.

In her quantitative study on faculty development practices and teaching, Bates (2010) used the NSSE benchmarks of effective educational practice: "level of academic challenge, active and collaborative learning, student interaction with faculty members, enriching educational experiences, and supportive campus environment" (p. 160). The teachers at the high-performance schools she studied were committed to their work, actively engaged students in the classroom, were strongly involved in innovating the cur-

riculum, had academically rigorous classes, accommodated diverse learning styles, and generally spent more time with students. The only reference to non-White students in this study was that faculty at those highly ranked universities created a classroom climate "free of prejudice and discrimination," but Bates did not say how this came about. Again, Whiteness was not addressed.

Finally, the recent literature that examined classroom practices in higher education through a critical lens acknowledged that race, ethnicity, and gender matter. For the most part, these studies confirmed the same personal qualities and teaching practices of excellent faculty in the previously cited research, but in addition, these university instructors were knowledgeable about the history and present reality of systemic racism and sexism in this country, and they tried to learn about the unique backgrounds of their students. Using a variety of qualitative research methods, Stone Norton (2008) investigated Latina/o students' perceptions of inclusive faculty and found that inclusive faculty were caring, respectful, authentic, and valued life-long learning. Inclusive faculty also showed "basic knowledge of Latina/o cultures, the power of socio-economic status and race at predominantly White affluent institutions, and conflict management skills" (p. iii). In her book, *Teaching to Transgress*, bell hooks (1994) exemplifies the values and practices of excellent inclusive, antiracist teachers. In her own university teaching, hooks follows the themes of TFD, or Teach For Diversity (Ladson-Billings, 1999), adapting them to her college/university context: 1) schools are communities and teachers need to understand the communities they teach in (or in this context, the campuses they teach on; 2) methodology is less important than a "humanizing pedagogy" (Bartolomé, 1994); 3) teaching is a *practice*; and 4) self-reflection is key. The theme in the entire TFD program is that "Eve-

ryone is a learner" (p. 238). All of these themes, except perhaps for the first, are present in the previously cited literature on classroom pedagogy and excellence in higher education.

What was lacking in the literature was a systematic view of what happens in the classroom with undergraduate students who represent the non-White, foreign Other, and how they perceive the campus climate. This dissertation adds to the literature on international students and their experiences in higher education in the United States, by 1) focusing on students from China and Saudi Arabia and their perceptions of the campus and classroom climate as the racialized Other, in particular, their feelings of being welcomed or not welcomed; and 2) examining their perceptions of, and reactions to, pedagogical practices and student and teacher behaviors that marginalized and/or included them.

Conclusion

Since the early years of this country, the political, economic, and social power has been in the hands of White males, and the ideology of Whiteness continues today. Three aspects of that Whiteness are apparent in the literature on international students, classroom pedagogy, and campus climate: intolerance, invisibility, and inequality. With the exception of the literature on campus climate/discrimination and critical pedagogy, the foci of both early and more recent research have been what could be called the "awkward accommodation" of international students to academic culture in the US; that is, the responsibility has been placed on the Other to accommodate to "the (White) American way." Not many studies have examined the institutional mechanisms of marginalization, and few have looked specifically at the *habitus* of students and faculty in the undergradu-

ate classroom, the topic of my research.

I agree with Ladson-Billings (1999) that everyone is a learner and that White faculty, students, staff, and administrators need to learn about their oppressive Whiteness and take action to change the climate on their campuses and be more welcoming. This is in line with the main goals of the Association of American Colleges and Universities (AAC&U):

- LEAP: Liberal Education as a Global Necessity
- Quality: 21st Century Markers for the Value of US Degrees
- Equity: Innovation, Inclusive Excellence, and Student Success
- Social Responsibility: Integrative Liberal Learning for the Global Commons

As members of AAC&U, the three universities where this study was conducted have a responsibility to disrupt the status quo of Whiteness and move toward these goals.

There are those who would argue that state universities were founded for the citizens of each state and that our primary responsibility is to the tax payers of that state. That isolationist argument, in my view, goes against what a liberal-arts education is all about and harkens back to the thinking of the early 20th century. This view might be explained by a recent op-ed piece in the *New York Times*: "Globalization can have the paradoxical effect of fostering intense localism and nativism, frightening people into taking refuge in small like-minded groups" (MacMillan, 2013, p. A23). It is a provincial view that directly opposes the mission and values of American higher education.

The following chapter describes the qualitative and quantitative methods used to conduct the research.

CHAPTER III

METHODS AND PROCEDURES

Measure twice, cut once. Slovakian proverb

Methods

This research project used mixed methods to describe international students' perceptions of the campus and classroom climate at three predominantly White universities in Utah. Purposive sampling was chosen in order to collect data from students who were representative of the target population. The sample population consisted of international students at three state universities in Utah who identified as undergraduates and non-native speakers of English (NNSs), with the target population being non-native English-speaking undergraduate international students at predominantly White universities in the United States. International students at Canyon University, Wasatch University, and Zion University (all pseudonyms) were invited to participate in an online questionnaire about their experiences at those institutions. Subsequently, I interviewed 11 students from Saudi Arabia and the People's Republic of China; seven of those interviews were included in the analysis, all from Canyon State University. Quantitative methods were used to see the relationships among the variables (Research Question #3, below). Qualitative methodology was included in order to get a more detailed and nuanced picture of

these students' experiences in the classroom and their perceptions of what being welcomed and/or "unwelcomed" looked like (Research Questions #1 and #2, below) at three predominantly White state universities in the Mountain West region of the United States.

Data on the psychological and behavioral dimensions of the Hurtado et al. (1998) campus-climate framework were collected to measure the international students' attitudes and perceptions of discrimination (psychological), as well as teaching practices, personal interactions, and student conduct that they observed and/or reported (behavioral).

Quantitative Methods

Campus-climate surveys. More than 600 American universities administer student questionnaires such as the National Survey of Student Engagement (NSSE), to over 1.5 million students. Another approximately 300 institutions administer the College Senior Survey by the Higher Education Research Institute (HERI) at UCLA to almost 300,000 college seniors. These comprehensive surveys ask students about their academic achievement, campus interactions, emotional and cognitive development, values, political views, career goals, and satisfaction with their college experience. A number of the questions in this research were taken from these questionnaires. However, because my study focused on international students at three predominantly White institutions and the climate of their classes, additional questions were included in the survey (see Appendix B).

National surveys such as HERI often ignore or misidentify international students. For example, the College Senior Survey: Diverse Learning Environment does not ask the students if they are foreign-born on a student visa. Instead, it groups all Asian Americans and Asians together, as well as African Americans and Blacks. That is, American-born

Blacks are in the same racial category as Africans, Jamaicans, and Cubans who identify as Black. The only ethnic group it partially disaggregates is that of Hispanics: students can identify as Puerto Rican, Mexican, or Other Latino (but that also means that Cubans, Guatemalans, Colombians, Peruvians, Dominicans, et al. are in the same group). The University of California Undergraduate Experience Survey (UCUES, 2008) does not even include a question about student visas--it assumes that the students are all citizens. And the Michigan Student Study given at the University of Michigan (Gurin & Matlock, 2004) surveyed some international students in their freshman study, but later did not include nondomestic students in their senior survey. My questionnaire differed from these in that it not only allowed the students to self-identify in multiple racial/ethnic categories, but it also permitted the students to enter the name of their native country and the language(s) in which they communicated best. In addition, I asked them how Americans saw them (i.e., as White or non-White). Race and ethnicity are nuanced concepts and they require more in-depth exploration than simply one single box to be checked in a questionnaire.

The international other. The questionnaire that I developed asked about international students' perceptions of the campus climate (Hurtado, Milem, Clayton-Pedersen, & Allen, 1999; Reid & Radhakrishnan, 2003) and the classroom climate of one of their classes (i.e., the one they viewed as the best insofar as how welcomed they felt). Many questions are from established, validated sources: the Higher Education Research Institute (HERI, 2012) at UCLA, the National Survey of Student Engagement (NSSE, 2012), the University of California Undergraduate Experience Survey (UCUES, 2008), and the Michigan Student Study (Gurin & Matlock, 2004). In addition, students were asked

about their unique position as foreign sojourners and in some cases, as the racial Other. Open-ended questions were included in order to obtain a more complete description of the international students' experiences at one of the predominantly White state universities in Utah.

My goal was to focus on the "nitty-gritty" of the classroom, so I examined the components of the psychological and behavioral dimensions of the campus-climate model by Hurtado et al. (1999): perceptions of discrimination (psychological), classroom diversity (behavioral), attitudes (psychological), and pedagogical approaches (behavioral). These were operationalized by asking the respondents about their feelings vis-à-vis the conduct of their professors and their White American classmates. aspects of the behavioral and psychological dimensions of the campus-climate framework. In the questionnaire, the students were asked if they had observed and/or personally experienced discrimination on campus, and if so, how it made them feel and what actions they took. They were also asked about pedagogical practices and their perceptions of the professor and their White American classmates, who have been socialized with the worldview of the White racial frame (Feagin, 2010b).

Qualitative Methods

" . . . the interview is a virtual window on experience, a kind of universal panopticon" (Holstein & Gubrium, 2003, p. 10).

The personal interview, so pervasive today in a variety of domains, is a modern invention, ensuing from a view of the individual as being an agent capable of self-scrutiny and of articulating her/his personal feelings, opinions, and experiences (Holstein

& Gubrium, 2003). This method of data collection was chosen in order to delve into the personal classroom experiences of international students and to learn about their feelings of being welcomed or unwelcomed by their professors and White American classmates.

In the personal interviews, one of the questions was *What does the teacher do to make you, as a Chinese/Saudi student, feel welcomed in that class?* Similarly, I asked what the American students in that same class did to make the student feel welcomed and unwelcomed. Moreover, in the interviews I asked the students to talk about a class in which they did *not* feel welcomed (see Appendix D).

I view the knowledge produced from the interviews as a result of my interactions with the students. As Cole (2003) described the work of anthropologist Ruth Landes, this knowledge is "neither objective nor subjective but the product of an intersubjective research process dependent upon the respective relationships with her informants and on the 'situated position' of those informants" (p. 247). My relationships with the informants ranged from being complete strangers to having a teacher-student amicability. They were female (43)/male (50), of diverse ages (from 19 or younger to in their 30s), from different socioeconomic statuses and family backgrounds (low income/poor to wealthy), of varying levels of English proficiency, with unique personalities and life experiences. What they had in common, however, was the experience of being the foreign Other at a predominantly White American university.

I took a phenomenological approach (Husserl, 2001) to the interviews, aligning myself to Kvale and Brinkmann's (2009, p. 28) 12 aspects of the qualitative interview: life world, meaning, qualitative, descriptive, specificity, deliberate naiveté, focus, ambiguity, change, sensitivity, interpersonal situation, and positive experience. In sum, I

asked the students about their everyday world, interpreting meaning from what they told me about their personal experiences. The interviews sought to gain textured information about specific actions and situations in the students' lives. As an interviewer, I attempted to be open to new information and to focus on specific themes, yet realizing that the conversation would stray from the topic of the research questions. Ambiguity and contradictions are part of what makes us human. The process of interviewing may change the thinking of the interviewees, and I would add that in my case, as the interviewer, I, too, learned from these young people. The information gleaned from the interviews was a product of interpersonal, and in this case, intercultural communication. Finally, I would hope that the interviews were a positive, insightful experience for the students.

My Positionality

I identify as a White, middle-class, middle-aged woman, an anti-racist (van Dijk, 1993) humanist (Said, 1978) who struggles to achieve a positive White identity (Kendall, 2006). This identity, of course, influenced my positionality as a researcher. I took an interpretivist ontological approach, believing that reality is complex, fluid, and socially constructed (Glesne, 2011). In dealing with human beings and their diverse cultural backgrounds, I felt obligated to recognize not only individual agency among my research participants, but also context, whether it be social, geographical, and/or historical. For me, that meant a phenomenological approach, using the words of the participants to narrate their own realities. In addition, I took a critical perspective in this project (Delgado & Stefancic, 2001; Ladson-Billings, 1998; Tate, 1997).

Critical students and teachers are prepared to situate learning in the relevant social contexts, unravel the implications of power in pedagogical ac-

tivity, and commit themselves to transforming the means and ends of learning, in order to construct more egalitarian, equitable, and ethical educational and social environments. In this sense, the term *critical* contrasts with terms like detached, objective, dispassionate, instrumental, practical, and descriptive, which have informed "noncritical" traditions of L2¹ practice from the modernist philosophical perspective. (Canagarajah, 2005, p. 932)

Nevertheless, I believe that in the social sciences we can use the tools of postpositivism, or logical empiricism, to approximate an understanding of the truth (Glesne, 2011) while at the same time chiseling away a bit of the master's house (Lorde, 1984). In other words, I took a pragmatic approach to the project (Dörnyei, 2007). I recognize my privilege as a White woman, and I took as much care as possible to be humble in my presumption to speak for others (Alcoff, 1991).

As I worked on this project, my committee brought to my attention my own Whiteness, which is still often invisible to me. I, too, and my "scientific gaze" have been shaped by structural forces (Bonilla-Silva & Zuberi, 2008, p. 18), and I realize I need to interrogate my own Whiteness at a much deeper level. Social class, race, and gender are powerful, intersecting forces. The more I read, the more I learn about myself as a White, middle-class, heterosexual, able-bodied woman. In the words of Beverly Tatum, "Unraveling and reweaving the identity strands of our experience is a never-ending task . . . We continue to be works in progress for a lifetime" (2003, p. 88).

Perhaps my Whiteness has made me even more critical, even cynical, in the sense that I judge others (Pratt, 1991) more harshly than I should. I grew up in a small city in Wisconsin, watching the Vietnam War and the civil-rights movement on the television in one room, while my parents were in another. We never spoke about what was going on

¹ L2: second language

in the bigger world outside our White bubble, especially if it was something negative. So maybe I was inured to all of the suffering in the world, thinking it was just normal for those White police officers on the news to set their German shepherds on those Black people in the South, and it was just normal for those young soldiers to be maimed and killed in Vietnam. I now know better. When Republican candidates for the 2016 Presidential election respond to questions about gun violence by saying, "Oh, bad things happen in the world," I recognize a Whiteness denial that we cannot do anything about serious social problems. We *can* do something, but first we need to acknowledge that the problems exist.

I was fortunate to be accepted into the PhD program in Education, Culture, and Society. For the past nine years, I have been reading about racism and Whiteness, not only in this country, but in Canada, Great Britain, Denmark, the Netherlands, and Australia. My own personal experiences corroborate that this racist behavior is not uncommon at predominantly White universities. In 2007 for a project in one of my courses, I planned to conduct a focus group at Canyon University, which resulted in a lengthy interview of two African American female undergraduate students. They recounted story after story about how they were mistreated by Whites, both on and off campus. On more than one occasion, they were refused entry into a party if there was more than one young Black woman at the door of the house. Another time, when one of them accidentally bumped into a White coed, she assaulted her physically. The two Black women shared similar feelings to those expressed by the African American students in Swim et al. (2003) and Smith, Allen, and Danley (2007). They were angry and *hated* being here. Even though they had full, four-year scholarships at the university, they were planning to

transfer out of state, to a campus and community that would be more welcoming and less threatening. As for black misandry (Smith et al., 2007) that, too, is evident on my campus. Several years ago, a young African American football player was convicted of the rape of a White woman he was dating. He is now in prison, a victim of the US "justice" system. His entire life was crushed by the White racial frame. It breaks my heart to see such treatment of young people who are in college, trying to better themselves. The pain of those injustices may have also influenced my approach to this research.

In addition to class, race, and gender, my role as faculty at one of the public universities added to the complexity of the psycho-social dynamics between me as researcher and the interview respondents. There was an unequal power relationship in that 3 of the Saudi interviewees had been students of mine in the intensive English program (IEP), and the 4 Chinese respondents were aware that I was a teacher there. For the previous 7 years, I had been the director of the program, which put me in a position of advocacy for international students, yet simultaneously in a position of authority. It is likely that this affected the extent to which some of the students felt free to criticize during the interviews.

Research Questions

1. Students from the People's Republic of China and the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia are among the largest populations of F-1 scholars in the US. As undergraduates at historically White universities in the US, what pedagogical practices do they see as contributing to a positive/ negative classroom climate, and why? How welcomed do these students feel in their classes?

2. White American students may act in ways that are interpreted by the racial/ethnic Other as welcoming/unwelcoming. Which characteristics and behaviors of American peers do the international students identify as such?

3. How do the international students' perceptions of the classroom/campus climate and of their American classmates/teachers differ with respect to their native country/language, gender, marital status, major, racial/ethnic identity, and other demographics? What patterns emerge and what do the patterns suggest about creating a positive classroom environment for international students?

Participants

Survey Respondents

Of the undergraduate students who completed the questionnaire ($N=93$), 56% attended Wasatch University, 31% were enrolled at Canyon University, and 13% were studying at Zion University. Fifty-four percent were male and 46% female. They represented a total of 29 countries; a large majority ($N=40$) were from the People's Republic of China (43%), followed by Saudi Arabia ($N=8$) and South Korea ($N=8$). The remainder of the respondents came from a wide variety of countries (e.g., Armenia, Belize, Cameroon, Ethiopia, and Mongolia [see Appendix JJ]). Tables 2 and 3 show the geographic regions that are represented by those countries.

As for race/ethnicity, 85% of the respondents indicated that Americans saw them as non-White, with a large number, 68%, self-identifying as Asian ($N=63$). The others identified as Black ($N=3$), Brown ($N=11$), White ($N=14$), and Other ("Venezuelan" ($N=1$))

Table 2. Profile of student survey respondents

Demographic	Frequency	%
Gender		
Female	43	46
Male	50	54
Age		
19 or younger	13	14
20-23	61	66
24-29	16	17
30-39	3	3
Class		
Freshman	13	14
Sophomore	21	23
Junior	31	33
Senior	25	27
Other	3	3
Country		
Africa	3	3
Asia (East & S.E.)	54	58
Europe (Eurasia)	6	6
Latin America	13	14
Middle East & South Asia	17	18
University		
Wasatch University	52	56
Canyon University	29	31
Zion University	12	13
Major		
Business	42	45
HaSS (Humanities & Social Sciences)	13	14
Engineering	9	10
Computers	8	9
Sciences	6	6
Mathematics & Statis- tics	5	5
Not indicated	4	4
Aviation	3	3
Health	3	3

Table 2. Profile of student survey respondents

Demographic	Frequency	%
Race		
Non-White	79	85
White	14	15
Language accent		
Foreign accent: No	19	20
Foreign accent: Yes	74	80
Religion		
None	61	66
Other	32	34
Years here		
Less than one	19	20
One-two	43	46
Three-four	28	30
Five-six	3	3

Table 3. Population distribution & actual sample size (percentages)

	US International Student Enrollment (2012-'13)	Sample Student Enrollment
China	53	43
India	21	3
South Korea	16	8.6
Saudi Arabia	10	8.6

and "White: Brazilian" ($N=1$). Table 2 shows their response to the question regarding race, *How do you think Americans see you, as a White person or a non-White person (Asian, Brown, Black, or Middle Eastern)?* In sum, the sample was highly Asian, with only 3 Africans and 14 Europeans.

The data for "Language Accent" represent the students' responses to *When Americans hear you speak English, do they know you are not from the US?* For a list of the languages in which the students indicated they communicated best, see Appendix J.

Interviewees

Seven students at Canyon University were interviewed 1.5-2 hours each. One male and 3 female participants were from the People's Republic of China; 3 male interviewees were from the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia. They were representative of the quantitative sample in that 4 of them are male, 5 were ages 20-23, 4 were from China, 5 had majors in the business school, 2 were juniors, and 3 had been here 1-2 years (see Table 2). I chose a pseudonym for each. The interview data were coded according to how the students perceived the campus and classroom climate, particularly their perceptions of the instructor and the White American students in one class.

Procedures

Access to Site and Institutional-Review-Board Approval

In order to gain access to the international students at the three universities, I first met with the directors of the international student offices (ISOs) at Wasatch University and Zion University to explain the topic and methodology of my dissertation, and to ask their permission to conduct the research. At Canyon University, I emailed the International Student Office and applied for approval from the Institutional Review Board (IRB). The ISO was already familiar with my project inasmuch as I had conducted the first pilot study there in spring of 2013. Everyone was willing to help, and I offered to share my findings with all three campuses.

Late January 2014, I submitted my application for permission from the Institutional Review Board at Wasatch University. I also contacted the IRB offices at Canyon University and Zion University to inform them of my project. The approval, rather, the exemption, was not received until late February, only after I telephoned the office to inquire about the status of my research proposal.

Pilot Studies

In order to insure the psychometric quality of the questionnaire (Dörnyei, 2010), two pilot studies were conducted, one in the spring of 2013 and the other in late February of 2014. The first study sampled sophomores at Canyon University (at the time I had planned to study only juniors and seniors for the actual research). For the second study, international graduate students at Wasatch University served as informants. All international students on that campus were sent an invitation email by the international student

office, requesting that the graduate students on F-1 visas who were non-native speakers of English complete the online questionnaire and give their feedback on the questions themselves. The students were given the opportunity to have their names entered in a drawing for a \$75 gift card or charitable contribution. At the end of the questionnaire, the students could volunteer to be interviewed in person, give their feedback on the telephone, or reply in writing (via email). Twenty-six students completed the questionnaire. Of those, 7 were interviewed in person, 3 gave their feedback via email, and 1 was interviewed over the telephone (see Appendix C).

Six of the interviews took place in a café on campus. I was aware of the need to develop rapport with the students in a short period of time (Ryen, 2003), so I first made small talk with each of them before asking their opinions about the questionnaire. Generally, the students' comments were positive and their feedback was extremely helpful. The overwhelming majority of the students said that the most meaningful questions were those about discrimination. My impression was that they were comfortable speaking with me, particularly one Chinese student, who revealed to me that he was gay, but that he had not told his parents. He shared his life story with me and explained how difficult it was for him to have a social life in the US. The 7th interviewee, a postdoctoral student from Iran, asked me to meet him at his workplace in another building on campus. He sensed that we were of a similar worldview, and thus, was extremely talkative (Weinberg, Williams, & Pryor, 1994). Sharing a number of personal stories from all over the country, he told me that he often *felt* that he was the victim of racial microaggressions (Pierce, 1974) but that he was not always sure.

Based on the students' feedback, I deleted a number of questions and made

changes to others. The revised questionnaire better reflected the focus of the research (i.e., the classroom) and the unit of analysis, the classroom climate, in particular, the perceptions of the climate by international undergraduate students (see Appendix A). Part one asked about their general satisfaction with the university, discrimination they have observed and/or experienced, their interactions with other groups of students, and their feelings of being welcomed or not. Part two asked about their most welcoming class and the behaviors of the professor and their White American classmates. The last section of the questionnaire elicited demographic information about the respondents.

Data Collection

Quantitative procedures. For the actual dissertation research, a similar process to that of the pilot studies was followed. The quantitative sample included those students at Canyon, Wasatch, and Zion Universities with F-1 immigration status who were classified as undergraduates and enrolled in non-ESL courses. The first week in March, the international student office at each institution sent the invitation email message to the students with a subject line, "Attention, Undergraduates." The invitation emails for both the pilot studies and the actual research project contained a link to the Qualtrics website. Once the students gave consent, by clicking on a "yes" button, they were directed to the questions. If they used the same computer, they could log out and continue answering the questions at a later time and/or day.

Students who completed the questionnaire and sent me their contact information were entered in a drawing for a \$100 gift card at a business of their choice, or for the money to be donated to a charity of their choice should their name be drawn. In addition,

I contacted the presidents of the international student organizations who had replied to my initial email about the pilot study, asking them to encourage the members of their clubs to complete the questionnaire. A professor from the People's Republic of China assisted by forwarding the invitation to Chinese students at Wasatch University on her electronic mailing list.

A total of 153 students clicked on the link to view the questionnaire, but only 65 students actually finished answering all of the questions. Because of the low response rate, as well as the unfortunate timing (the week of midterm exams and the week before spring break), I extended the deadline. The international student offices sent out a second invitation email, and I asked some of the international student-presidents to encourage the members of their organizations to complete the questionnaire. Fortunately, the software allowed those students who had begun to answer the questions to log in and continue from where they had left off. Unfortunately, it took one international student office almost a week to send the email, and the director of another office decided not to send the message, saying the students were too busy that week preparing for their annual international event. As a result, I extended the deadline a second time until the end of the week *after* spring break.

The data for the completed questionnaires ($N=107$) were downloaded from the Qualtrics website and transferred to Stata via Excel. I deleted the responses of students who answered they were graduate students, as well as those of two students whose responses appeared two times. This resulted in a total number of 93 undergraduate students. The targeted sample size was 200, with a sampling distribution somewhat similar to that of the international student enrollment in the US for undergraduate students, but

the IIE enrollment numbers included both graduate and undergraduate students (see Table 3).

The student enrollment from China and Saudi Arabia closely paralleled the numbers of the targeted population, which is good because my intention was to highlight these two groups. However, the sample numbers for South Koreans and Indians were low. I am aware that the vast majority of students from India study here as graduate students--not undergraduates--so I was not too concerned about the low number of Indian students in the sample. Like the sample size, the number of South Korean students was 50% of the targeted number.

I then assigned value labels to the responses (e.g., *yes/no*, *never/not often/sometimes/frequently*) and copied and pasted the text responses into a Microsoft Word document for later coding. I reverse coded the variables that measure the international students' perceptions of negative behaviors (e.g., *The teacher has a narrow-minded view of the world*). All of the codings, then, were consistent, with 1-2 meaning a negative perception and 3-4 a positive one.

The variables that were originally in Qualtrics as ordinal or nominal appeared in the Stata software as "string" variables, so I converted them back to ordinal and dichotomous variables. I then converted the ordinal variables to dichotomous variables so that the two negative responses (e.g., *Very dissatisfied* and *Dissatisfied*) were aggregated, as well as the two positive responses (e.g., *Satisfied* and *Very satisfied*). The dataset included two outcome variables, one ordinal and the other dichotomous. In Stata, I examined both the ordinal and the dichotomous models to see if there were any differences between the two.

Additionally, I used NVivo to code the comments that students made in the online questionnaire. For both the quantitative and the qualitative procedures, the participants' privacy and the data's confidentiality were ensured per the IRB's requirements. The data were kept on my laptop computer at home and my desktop computer at work; both require a user to enter a password.

Qualitative procedures. The criteria for being interviewed were that the students be 1) undergraduates, 2) non-native speakers of English, and 3) from Saudi Arabia or China (including Taiwan and Hong Kong). At the end of the online questionnaire, the respondents were asked if they would be willing to be interviewed. If they agreed, they entered their email address. Through the Qualtrics website, I had access to the students' individual responses.

I contacted 11 students who appeared to meet the above criteria, 4 females and 7 males. Six of the students were from China, and 5 (all male) from Saudi Arabia. Originally I had planned to interview students only at Canyon University, but because of the low response rate from Saudi students, I emailed students at the other two universities asking them if they could meet with me. One Saudi student at Wasatch and another at Zion University consented. The other 3 Saudis were former students of mine whom I had emailed, asking for their assistance. They agreed to be interviewed and completed the online questionnaire beforehand. All of the interviews were conducted in a quiet study room in the university's library at a time that was convenient for the students.

The interviews were all recorded with a digital voice recorder, and they were semistructured (Glesne, 2011). In other words, I followed a list of prepared questions (see Appendix D), but at the same time, if the student wanted to share other information

with me, I let her/him lead me in other directions. For instance, Ming, an economics major from China, avidly shared her roommate experiences with me and returned to that topic throughout the interview. Weiwei, another Chinese female majoring in accounting, was ardent in her comparison of Canyon University and the community college she had previously attended. After listening to these digressions, I would return to the interview questions, which were designed to activate elements of the Hurtado et al. (1999) campus-climate framework, the psychological dimension of the student's feeling welcomed or unwelcomed in the classroom, as well as the White racial frame (i.e., the Whiteness of the American students). Besides the interview protocol, I prepared individual questions for each interviewee based on her/his responses to the questionnaire items. For example, if I needed clarification or elaboration on what the student had answered online, I brought those questions to the interview. This is an excerpt from the transcription of the interview with Yang, a male student from China majoring in engineering (*I* refers to the interviewer and *R* to the respondent, Yang): "I: When I asked you for an example of discrimination that you had observed, you said, 'inappropriate language, offensive gestures,' . . . R: Mhm. I: 'Ignorance.' R: Yeah. I: Can you tell me... what you were thinking about?" Thus, I structured the interviews, but in a manner that allowed the respondents to express themselves as freely as possible.

In addition, in the interviews I tried to be mindful of the qualities of a good interviewer as being anticipatory, taking on a learner role, being analytic, patiently probing, being nonthreatening and aware of power and hierarchy, as well as being caring and grateful (Glesne, 2011). I met with each informant in a quiet room in the university library that was somewhat private (the door was closed but one wall was all glass). In the

short time allotted (60-90 minutes), I attempted to build trust with each student by finding something we might have in common. With the Chinese students, that meant cities and/or universities in China or teachers and/or students that we both knew. As former director of the Intensive English Program, I have traveled to China many times, so I am familiar with universities there that have a special program with Canyon University. I also know some of the English teachers there. The interviews began with "small talk;" I asked the students about their hometowns and majors. I made small talk with them about that and about the Chinese food that I tried. I know a few phrases in Mandarin, and I tried to pronounce them with the correct tones, which the students seemed to appreciate, and if I had not been to their hometown or university, I tried to find something else we might have in common. For example, if they took classes in the Intensive English Program, I asked about their experiences there and the teachers they studied with, or I asked them if they knew former students of mine from China. As for the Saudi students, all of them had been students of mine in the Intensive English Program, so I was genuinely interested in catching up with them and their experiences at the university. Many students who complete the program do not come back to the offices of the program, so I often do not see them until they graduate. This was a great opportunity to speak to students who were in the fray, so to speak, of their undergraduate course work, and to find out how they were doing in their major studies. Two of the Saudis had visited my office to chat several times after completing the program, and 1 of them I sometimes ran into at the local gym, so I felt that I had good relationships with them. This was evident during one of the interviews when Azzam, a business major, felt comfortable enough to criticize a scheduling decision I had made as the director of the program. I would conjecture that

the nature of the questions also contributed to the trust factor. For instance, my asking about discrimination communicated to the students that I was taking a critical approach to the study.

I had planned to offer the students the option of writing their answers and of using their native language when they could not express a thought or feeling in English (see interview schedule in Appendix D). That, however, was unnecessary; all of the respondents seemed comfortable speaking to me in English. In the questionnaire, too, all of the respondents answered the open-ended questions in English. The final question, *Is there anything else you would like to share about your experiences at this university?*, explicitly instructed them that they could answer in English or their native language. Only 3 students made comments in a language other than English (i.e., Chinese, Portuguese, and Swedish).

Four of the interview respondents were former students of mine, 1 from China and 3 from Saudi Arabia. Two of the Saudi students periodically visited my office just to chat, so I knew them fairly well (1 of them, after the interview, invited himself to my house, saying he wanted to see how Americans lived). I inferred that the other students also trusted me. Not only did they agree to be interviewed, but they also shared stories which were critical of White American students, professors, and the university. Because of a problem with the digital recorder, one of the interviews with a Chinese student was not recorded. That she agreed to meet with me again to answer the same question was, I inferred, an indication of her trust.

In order to keep the communication flow more like a conversation than an interview, I made "mental notes" (Lofland & Lofland, 1995) of body language, subtle ges-

tures, etc. and recorded them as soon as the interview ended and my memory was fresh. In addition, I tried to be sensitive to cultural differences by looking through the "lens of hospitality" and being cautious, respectful, generous, and humble (Glesne, 2011, p. 180).

During each interview, I took notes, focusing on the student's responses, body language, emotions, and possible contradictions. Later, immediately after each interview, I recorded my impressions of the student and her/his responses. An example:

As a [university in Beijing] student, Ming did not take ESL classes here, but in China. Her spoken English was weak (I might say intermediate-level college ESL), halting, full of "umms," "mms," and stutters, but she clearly wanted to tell me her story.

She has chubby cheeks with dimples and was wearing a stylish black hat (I don't know the name, but it's like a man's fedora, only smaller, worn closer to the head). She used what I interpreted as Chinese gestures, putting her hands on her cheeks and sucking air in loudly.

What a brave young woman. She had a positive attitude, saying that this is a time to grow up and become an adult. Despite mistreatment by a rude roommate and some girls in the dorm, she admits that other Americans have been good to her.

[A later entry:] As I'm transcribing, I have noticed that Ming took advantage of my pauses to jump in and offer a new thought, experience, or observation. Seemed eager to share.

After writing my impressions, I composed a summary of the interview and emailed it to each student, asking for her/his corrections. Six of the 9 students made changes to the document and returned it to me. Two of the respondents met with me again to give their feedback in person. I asked them to check a summary rather than the transcription--I was more concerned that my interpretation of the content was accurate than the respondents' actual words.

Qualitative researchers recognize that they bring their own biases and preconceptions to their work. Thus, for that work to be valid, they need to practice reflexivity and acknowledge their subjectivities (Glesne, 2011). As I reflected on my field notes, I be-

came aware of two biases on my part: 1) my antipathy towards the underlying White chauvinism of what I refer to as the "missionary mentality," and 2) my own stereotypical thoughts (Kumaravadivelu, 2003). The stories that the 3 Chinese females told me about White American students in the dormitories mistreating them and/or their friends were a familiar narrative, one that I had heard over the last 17 years as a faculty member and 7 years as the director of the intensive English program at Canyon University. It saddened me to hear about this continuous abuse of such sweet, brave, and intelligent young people. As for the second subjectivity, I had planned to interview only those students who marked *yes* to the question about their English proficiency, *When Americans hear me speak English, they know I'm not from the US*. Then I discovered that 4 of the students who had volunteered to be interviewed had answered *no* to that question: 3 from China and 1 from Saudi Arabia. I disagreed with the latter's assessment of his English language proficiency, but not with the former students'. Not only were those students fluent in English, but they were outgoing and quite talkative. I realized that by limiting my interviews to only those who met that criterion, I was adhering to the stereotype of Chinese who struggle with the language and are not sociable or self-confident. As a result, I removed that criterion for choosing students to be interviewed.

As I reflected on the first interviews, I noticed that they were too much like a conversation and not enough like an interview. Instead of probing to get information, I was reacting to what the respondent said as a friendly interlocutor, and I talked too much. In subsequent interviews, I tried to be a better listener--and a less active participant in the conversation.

Quantitative Data Analysis

In order to meet internal consistency reliability requirements, I constructed multi-item scales to measure the international students' perceptions of 1) the professor's characteristics and pedagogical practices, both positive/negative, and 2) the welcoming/unwelcoming behaviors of the American students. I included in the scales only those items that had a Cronbach's alpha coefficient of .60 or higher, which shows a moderate correlation; Dörnyei (2010) recommends a coefficient of .70, but nothing below the .60 level (see Appendix F). For ordinal models, ordinal logit regression models were conducted using Stata software (Version 12.1). For dichotomous outcomes, logit regression models were conducted to test the sensitivity of study results to different modeling strategies. Implicit in these nonlinear probability models is the assumption of a natural ordering from low to high in the outcome variable (e.g., *strongly disagree* to *strongly agree*) but that the distances between the levels are unknown.

Dependent variables. Two dependent variables were examined. First, the students' feeling welcomed on campus was measured by the survey item, *How much do you agree or disagree with the following statements? I feel welcomed in the campus community at this university. Strongly Disagree, Disagree, Agree, Strongly Agree.* In the regression analysis, this was an ordinal-scale item; the strong negative response was coded as 1 and the strong positive response was coded as 4.

The students' feeling welcomed in one class was measured by the item, *How much do you agree or disagree with the following (about the class you have chosen as the most welcoming)? I feel welcomed in this class. Strongly Disagree, Disagree, Agree, Strongly Agree.* This item was also treated as an ordinal scale, with 1 corresponding to a

strong negative response and 4 to a strong positive response.

Independent variables. The students' perceptions of the professor's personality and attitude, her/his teaching practices, and her/his negative qualities and behavior were all aggregates of survey responses (see Appendix F). The respondents' perceptions of their American classmates' positive and negative characteristics and behaviors were also measured by two indices (Appendix F). These items were treated as an ordinal scale, 1 representing a strong negative response and 4 a strong positive response.

Discrimination and feelings of exclusion were gauged by the questions *Have you personally experienced discrimination because of race/culture, language, religion, gender, or sexual orientation? Yes/No* and *I often feel excluded by White American students in my classes. (Strongly) Agree/ (Strongly) Disagree*. The first item was dichotomous and the second was ordinal. Appendix E lists the frequency distributions of the students' responses.

Control variables. The control variables included gender, age, class standing (*freshman*, sophomore), amount of time in the US, marital status, living situation, native country, religion, socio-economic status, fluency in English, major, and whether Americans saw the students as White or non-White. Because of the low response rate ($N=93$) and lack of variation among the responses, I combined countries and majors into categories. I then ran statistical models using ordinal logit odds-ratio models. An example of a question for the demographic variables is . . .

Which of the following best describes your family's social class? 1=low income or poor, 2=working class, 3=middle class, 4=Upper-middle or professional class, 5=wealthy.

For the country variable, I combined the individual nations into five geographic categories: Africa, Asia (East and Southeast), Middle East (and South Asia), Europe, and Latin America (Table 4). Later, because of such low numbers in the statistical analyses, I reduced the categories to four by combining Latin America and Europe (Table 5). The responses for the students' majors, a nominal variable, were classified according to the disciplines in Table 6. I subsequently reduced the number of major categories to four: Business, Humanities and Social Sciences (HaSS), Engineering and Aviation, and Other (Table 7).

Table 4. Respondents' geographic regions

	Frequency	Percent
Africa	3	3.2
Asia (East & Southeast)	54	58.1
Europe (Eurasia)	6	6.4
Latin America	13	14
Middle East & South Asia	17	18.3
	93	100

Table 5. Respondents' geographic regions (Revised)

	Frequency	Percent
Africa	3	3.2
Asia (East & Southeast)	54	58.1
Latin America & Europe	19	20.4
Middle East & South Asia	17	18.3
	93	100

Table 6. Respondents' majors

Major	Frequency	Percent
Aviation	3	3.2
Business	42	45.2
Computers	8	8.6
Engineering	9	9.7
HaSS*	13	14
Health	3	3.2
Math & Statistics	5	5.4
Sciences	6	6.4
Not indicated	4	4.3
Total	93	100

* Humanities and Social Sciences

Table 7. Respondents' majors (Revised)

Major	Frequency	Percent
Business	42	45
Engineering & Aviation	12	13
HaSS*	13	14
Other	26	28
	93	100

* Humanities and Social Sciences

Statistical analysis. Sequential ordinal logit models were fit for the dependent variable of feeling welcomed in class, a four-level ordinal scale with 1 indicating *Strongly disagree* and 4 indicating *Strongly agree* to the statement *I feel welcome in this class*. First, teacher factors were examined (Model 1) and then factors related to the American students (Model 2). The significant covariates in those models were examined in Models 1 & 2.

For the dependent variable of feeling welcomed at the university, two ordinal logit models were fit, with 1 signifying *Strongly disagree* and 4 *Strongly agree* to the statement *I feel welcome in the campus community at this university*. Model 3 examined the students' feeling welcomed in class and Model 4 looked at discrimination and feeling excluded by their American classmates. Appendix G contains the Stata commands and results.

Qualitative Data Analysis

I followed a systematic transcription process (Silverman, 2000). Using ExpressScribe[®] and Dragon[®] Dictate for Mac (Nuance, 2014) software, I transcribed the nine interviews (Appendix H) by transferring the audio files from the Olympus[®] Digital Voice Recorder to ExpressScribe[®]. I then listened to the recordings on my laptop com-

puter and alternated between entering text on the keyboard and dictating what I heard with the Dragon[®] voice recognition software. In order to be as accurate as possible, I followed Poland's (2003) recommendations, as well as his abbreviated system of transcribing. Later in the process, because of one respondent's excessive use of "Uhhhhhh" and "Mmmmm," I stopped transcribing the paralinguistic of that individual.

After completing the transcriptions, writing analytic memos (Marshall & Rossman, 2011), and reflecting on the interviews, I did the initial coding according to themes I saw in the data, as well as in vivo quotes, that is, writing the words of the respondents themselves (Saldaña, 2009). The subsequent cycles of coding were done with the assistance of a graduate student from China, focusing on the themes that were more directly related to my research questions. The criteria for selecting this assistant were that s/he be 1) familiar with qualitative research coding, 2) sensitive to the experiences of international students in Utah, and 3) knowledgeable about either Chinese or Saudi culture. The student had worked on a qualitative research project at a large university in a major US city for 3 years, so she was familiar with the coding process. We worked via email, coding the eight interview transcripts, sending the documents back and forth, and refining the codebook (Appendix I). In addition, we met several times to discuss the codes and adjust them. A conjectural interrater reliability agreement would assuredly be above 90%.

As for the qualitative data interpretation, I followed Welsh's (2002) recommendation to use both human and electronic methods. The data from the coded interviews were entered into NVivo software, and I created matrices to be able to visualize the respondents' comments. I then used frequency counts to see numbers and the distributions

among the participants (Marshall & Rossman, 2011). Later, after encountering technology problems, I coded the text entries from the questionnaire in Microsoft Word and did frequency counts by hand to find patterns.

Problems. Information from three of the interviews was not included in the study for different reasons. The first interview was conducted with a Saudi student, eager to speak, who was a junior. He often gave responses not at all related to my questions. I showed him the printout of his online responses and he did not understand many key words (e.g., *discrimination*, *knowledgeable*, and *challenging*). I felt that his listening comprehension and lack of vocabulary made him a less than valid respondent. The second student, a Chinese female, met with me in a study room in her dormitory. She, too, seemed eager to share her experiences at the university; however, she was a PhD student, so I did not include her responses in either the quantitative or qualitative data.

When I interviewed a male Chinese student who had been in one of my IEP classes, I learned that he had started a Master's program at USU, so I did not include his information, either. I did, however, learn from him that a White male (American) professor had been sexually harassing female Chinese students. I reported this information to the Affirmative Action/Equal Opportunity office, and a few weeks later, the student and I visited the director, who informed him of the responsibilities of the AA/EO and of the options that the female students could pursue. She also informed me that I would be protected from any retaliation on the part of the professor, whom I know and have worked with.

Later, I decided not to include data from a fourth student because he attended Wasatch University whereas the others were enrolled at Canyon University. In addition, the

data from him were minimal; he had made very few comments. He was the first student I spoke with, so the interviewer's inexperience could have been to blame for the paucity of his responses.

In addition, I had to contend with problems related to technology. After working over 6 months with NVivo software for the Mac, I discovered that all of the text I had coded from the questionnaire comments disappeared from the document (or "project" in NVivo jargon). QSR technical support informed me that there was a syncing problem with other software, Dropbox, so I followed their recommendation and redid the coding for the questionnaire comments in NVivo. Then I discovered that not only did that text disappear from the document, but all of the interview data from months earlier was gone as well. Thus, I had to manually code the questionnaire comments (a third time) using Microsoft Word.

Rapport. Four of the interviewees were former students of mine, 1 from China and the others from Saudi Arabia. I had a friendly relationship with 2 of the Saudis, who occasionally stopped by my office to visit. The other 2 Saudi students were less forthcoming, and I struggled to restrain myself from being too aggressive in my questioning, for fear of alienating them and thus causing them to hold back even more. As for the other interviewees, all from China, I was under the impression that they were, in general, enthusiastic about sharing their stories with me. In my notes, I wrote, "I noticed that Ming took advantage of my pauses to jump in and offer a new thought, experience, or observation. Seemed eager to share."

Triangulation. After coding the interview data, I classified the results into themes, according to the research questions. I then wrote a summary of the results and

used a form of triangulation (Denzin, 1978) to validate my interpretations. I asked the participants to meet with me as a focus group (Morgan, 1997). Three Saudis and 1 Chinese student agreed to meet during lunch in a small conference room on campus to read the document and respond to my questions about the accuracy of my summary. The only change they suggested was not to be redundant in using the word *White* when describing American students.

Conclusion

In conclusion, this was a mixed-methods study at three predominantly White state universities in Utah. I approached the research using a critical, phenomenological perspective. The objective was to explore the perceptions of classroom climate by the international Other (i.e., non-native English speakers) and their feelings of being welcomed or (un)welcomed by their White American classmates and professors. After conducting two pilot studies, I revised the original questionnaire. Problems included a low response rate (most likely due to the length of the questionnaire), especially by Saudi students, and technological obstacles. Purposive sampling resulted in a total of 107 respondents (93 undergraduates) completing the online survey, while 7 undergraduate students from Saudi Arabia and the People's Republic of China participated in semistructured interviews. The sample size for the quantitative data came close to the recommended minimum for descriptive studies (100) and was almost double that for correlational studies (50) (Fraenkel & Wallen, 2009). This sample size is not uncommon in the field (e.g., Goyol, 2002) surveyed 130 African students, and both Hsu's (2011) and Otsu's (2008) quantitative sample sizes were 115.

The following two chapters discuss the results of research vis-à-vis the predominant themes that emerged from the data.

CHAPTER IV

WELCOMING, BUT . . .

The cat is friendly, but scratches. Spanish proverb

The data from this mixed-methods study tell a story of the foreign Other confronting the Whiteness of American society, as seen in international students' reported perceptions of the undergraduate students at Canyon, Wasatch, and Zion Universities. The White American students did not always act in ways that welcomed the international Other; however, the teacher in at least one of their classes did. In short, the international students felt both welcomed and unwelcomed on campus and in at least one of their classes (they were asked to select their most welcoming class). The faculty were clearly perceived as being vital to the welcoming perceptions of international students, while the behavior of their White American classmates was not as important, nor was it as welcoming. Nonetheless, the international students' comments indicated a desire to interact with their American peers. One pedagogical practice that nearly all of the students enjoyed and learned from was working on a group project. This suggested that they responded positively to a "humanizing classroom pedagogy" that recognizes that students and teachers are all learners (Bartolomé, 1994; hooks, 1994; Ladson-Billings, 1999).

Part of the welcoming/unwelcoming was an ambivalence toward their White

classmates' behavior. The international participants sensed that their welcoming was not always genuine; rather, they perceived a "fake friendliness" on the part of many American students. The other theme that emerged from the data was that similar to domestic minority students at predominantly White universities in the US, international students of color experience veiled and unveiled incivilities in the form of microaggressions and blatant discrimination (the topic of Chapter V). Fortunately, this finding was not the norm, but nearly one third of the respondents reported having observed discrimination on campus, and over one quarter reported having personally experienced discrimination. These numbers may not be statistically significant, but they are high enough to cause concern: one out of three and one out of four international students had either witnessed or endured negative treatment because they were seen as the foreign Other.

I use here the terms *veiled* and *unveiled incivilities*, meaning those discourteous or rude acts by Whites that may be unintentional (*veiled*), but perceived by the Other as uncivil, as well as behavior that is intentionally hurtful or outright rude (*unveiled*). Most of the respondents indicated that they felt welcomed on campus and in one classroom, which was a result of their being treated with *civility*, behavior that would be expected of White college students and faculty. This civil behavior is characteristic of Whiteness and the White racial frame: Whites see themselves as being virtuous (Feagin, 2010b; Kendall, 2006). Notwithstanding, the word *civil* suggests only the barest observance of accepted social usages; it often means neither polite nor rude (American Heritage). It is this connotation that many of the international students intuitively sensed about the Americans' "fake friendliness."

This chapter begins with the findings regarding the classroom climate and the be-

havioral dimension of the campus-climate framework (Hurtado et al., 1998), summarizing and analyzing the respondents' perceptions of their most welcoming class. It then describes their feelings of more generally being welcomed on the campus, arguing that 1) the students felt both welcomed and unwelcomed, and 2) they perceived a "fake friendliness" in the behavior of their White American peers. The uncivil behavior perceived as discriminatory due to the students' ethnic, racial, linguistic, sexual orientation, or religious backgrounds (the psychological dimension of the campus-climate framework) will be examined in Chapter V. Inasmuch as negative behavior is described in both chapters, there will be some overlap, with veiled and unveiled incivilities appearing in this chapter also.

Classroom Climate

In both the survey and personal interviews, the respondents were asked to choose a class that for them was the most welcoming and answer questions about the professor, her/his teaching practices, and the American students in the class. The questionnaire asked the participants about the most welcoming class only (see Figure 4); the students who were interviewed were also asked to comment on their *least* welcoming class. The data show that the students' perceptions of feeling welcomed were due more to the professor than to the White American peers.

As Figure 4 shows, over 90% of the survey respondents indicated that in their most welcoming class they either agreed or strongly agreed that they felt welcomed, they were respected, their culture was respected, and the classroom environment was positive.

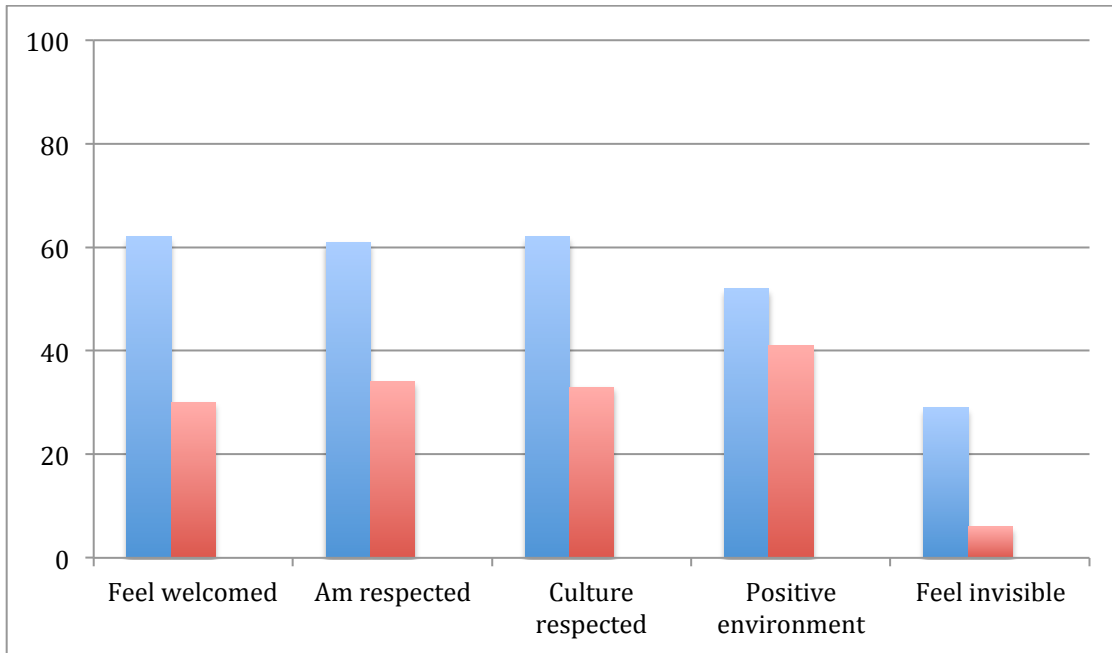


Figure 4. Responses about the students' most welcoming class: Percentage of international students who agreed (blue)/strongly agreed (red) that they felt welcomed, respected, etc.

How much do you agree or disagree with the following (about the class you have chosen as the most welcoming)?

I feel welcomed in this class.

I am respected in this class.

My culture is respected in this class.

The classroom environment is positive.

I often feel invisible in this class.

It was clear from their responses that this was truly a welcoming classroom.

The high percentages of students reporting positive responses would be expected inasmuch as the students were asked to choose their most welcoming class. Fifty-four percent of the respondents reported they felt welcomed in the class selected, and 41% strongly agreed they felt welcomed, resulting in a total of 95% positive responses, similar

to the results of the subsequent three statements. The last statement, however, shows some contradictory results. Thirty-five percent agreed or strongly agreed they felt invisible in the class; those respondents were asked a follow-up question, whether feeling invisible was good or bad and why. A majority (58%) replied it was bad: "bad, lonely and do not want to study" and "Americans sometimes don't talk with asians, it feels bad (sic)." Twenty-one percent responded it was good to be invisible, and another 21% replied "Other;" "It depends on the class;" and "depend on day (sic)." Here again we find some ambiguities in the international students' responses. The classroom environment was positive, the students felt welcomed and respected, but over one third of them often felt invisible, and a majority of those said that was negative. Only 1 student explained that she was shy; the others wrote about their negative feelings. This is consistent with the responses to another question, *How often have you been ignored by American students in this class?* Twenty-seven percent of the respondents answered *sometimes* or *frequently*. It appears, then, that in general, the students saw their most welcoming class as having a positive climate, but even so, over one third of them felt ignored by their American classmates.

Classroom Climate: Professor is Key

The positive. After transferring from Fisk University to Harvard, W.E.B. Du Bois wrote, "My salvation here was the type of teacher I met rather than the content of the courses," describing how William James and other professors invited him to their homes for dinner. Du Bois was on a mission, so to speak, to get an education.

I spent a great deal of time in the library and did my assignments with thoroughness and with prevision of the kind of work I wanted to do later.

From the beginning my relations with most of the teachers at Harvard were pleasant. They were on the whole glad to receive a serious student, to whom extracurricular activities were not of paramount importance, and one who in a general way knew what he wanted. (Du Bois, 1960, p. 370)

Du Bois felt welcomed by the teachers at Harvard because he was there to study hard and learn. This same attitude of being serious students and focusing on their academic goals was evident in the language and demeanor of the Canyon University students I spoke with. They reported that in their most welcoming classes, the professors were knowledgeable, equitable, patient, helpful, and friendly. Secondly, the teachers related to the students by disclosing personal information and they interacted with students during class. The students I interviewed were also asked to identify their *least* welcoming class, but they were hard-pressed to do so. One student chose a class with a bad teacher, but it was not really un-welcoming. (Lucy, a business major from China, said that one of her professors just sat in front of the class and shared personal stories with the students. After three months of classes, they each had only about three pages of notes.) Another said that in one of his classes the teacher graded the international students unfairly. Nonetheless, this treatment paled in comparison with rude faculty at other institutions (Hanassab, 2006; Lee & Rice, 2007; Neider, 2010). The faculty at these three universities should be commended for this positive behavior.

Similar to the results of the qualitative data, 88 of the 93 questionnaire respondents agreed or strongly agreed to feeling welcomed in class. In most cases, their perceptions of the classroom climate did not differ with respect to their native country/language, gender, marital status, racial/ethnic identity, or other demographics. Not surprisingly, the degree to which the students felt welcomed in the class they had chosen had a statistically significant association with their general feeling of being welcomed at the university (see

Table 8, Model 3). The results of the ordinary logit model examining the association between how welcomed the students felt on campus and how welcomed they felt in one class showed a statistical significance at the 1% level ($p = .001$) with an odds ratio of 3.43 and a 95% confidence interval of 1.80-8.20 (Table 8, Model 3). This would be interpreted as: for every one-unit increase in international students' feeling welcomed in one class, the odds of their overall feeling of being welcomed at the university would be 2.43 times higher, given that the other variables in the model are held constant. In simpler terms, the more welcomed a student felt in class, the happier s/he felt about the campus. This is reflected in the behavioral dimension of the campus-climate framework (Figure 2), that is, the pedagogical approaches. Clearly, what faculty do in the classroom matters.

Table 8. Odds ratios of international students' feeling welcomed: Ologit models

	Model 1 Classroom climate	Model 2 Classroom climate	Models 1 & 2 Classroom Climate	Model 3 Campus climate	Model 4 Campus climate
Teacher personality	20.8*** (2.80-154.63)		18.35*** (5.20-64.74)		
Teacher practices	1.16 (0.18-7.54)				
Negative teacher practices	1.07 (0.49-2.33)				
American classmates		4.35** (1.19-15.89)	1.72 (0.42-6.99)		
American classmates (negative)		2.00** (1.08-3.70)	1.47 (0.73-2.95)		
Feel welcome in class				3.43*** (1.80-8.20)	
Experienced discrimination					0.80 (.29-2.20)
Feel excluded by Americans					1.73* (0.95-3.14)
Age	1.49 (0.70-3.15)	1.19 (0.60-2.34)	1.49 (0.71-3.12)	0.70 (0.34-1.42)	0.75 (0.38-1.47)
Female	0.32** (0.12-0.90)	0.48 (0.19-1.18)	0.33** (0.12-0.93)	0.80 (0.32-1.98)	0.70 (0.28-1.71)
No religion	1.86 (0.64-5.39)	1.40 (.51-3.80)	1.92 (0.65-5.74)	0.66 (0.26-1.71)	0.84 (0.33-2.13)

95% confidence intervals in parentheses. *Significant at 10%; **Significant at 5%; ***Significant at 1%.

Note: See Appendix G (Stata Commands and Results) for Standard Errors.

The teacher's personality/attitude, as defined above, was statistically significant at the .01 level (see Table 8, Model 1), but due to the small sample size and the lack of variation in the responses, the odds ratios, standard errors, and confidence intervals were unusually large. For example, in the ordinal model, for each unit higher in the teacher personality/attitude rating, international students were nearly 20 times more likely to feel welcomed in the classroom, holding all other variables in the model constant (see Appendix G for standard errors). Thus, these statistics may not be as meaningful as they would be if the sample size had been bigger. They do show, however, the importance of the teacher in the students' perceptions of the classroom climate. Model 1 examined the association between teacher characteristics and classroom climate; Model 2 looked at the association between student behaviors and classroom climate. When the two models were combined (Models 1 & 2 in Table 8), only the teacher variable stayed significant at the .01 level. This is evidence that the students perceived the teacher as playing a vital role in creating a positive or negative classroom climate.

The qualitative data from the interviews at Canyon University also showed that the professors were more welcoming than their White American classmates. The respondents made 33 positive comments about the faculty and 13 negative comments. In contrast, there were 26 positive comments about the White American students in their classes but 41 negative remarks. For instance, one student from China pointed out the positive qualities of her business professor in a class with a lot of international students:

I feel like she is always so patient with us because sometimes it's very hard for us to try to say something, try to make ourselves clear. And she's always willing to listen, and she's eager to help us to, um, solve our problems. And, um, so and some of us will go to her office at office hours to maybe ask questions or something.

Lucy underscored that the teacher was patient with the students' language differences, was a good listener, and was available and willing to help the students with their problems. She gave the example of a problem she had with formatting on her laptop which was causing her to lose points in the class. She went to the professor's office with her computer to show her that she was not able to do what the professor was requiring, and the teacher, along with a colleague, attempted to solve the problem. Different students gave different explanations for why they perceived certain professors as being welcoming. Some reasons had to do with their personalities and the way they treated the students, others related to their classroom practices, and still others appeared to be a combination of the two.

Two of the professors that the students perceived as welcoming had spent time working in the People's Republic of China. That they had this in common with the interview respondents was seen positively by the students. These professors deviated from the White racial frame in that they likely had a more cosmopolitan worldview than those teachers who lacked extensive international travel experience.

Weiwei realized the importance of the professor's attitude in creating a positive classroom environment for her. She emphasized the patience and relaxed paced of this teacher:

I think the teacher's attitude towards students will determine the environment . . . in class. Um, other domestic students, I would say more domestic students in that class. There were like 25 students . . . Only three or four of us are international. But they're still like, there to answer any question . . . not like rushing, like rushing through . . . thinking that, "Oh, you're slowing the entire class down." I think [teacher's name]'s attitude about . . . students, treating them all equally, and listen very carefully, and try to encourage students, kind of help the students to have a really good study environment and class environment as well.

Weiwei appreciated that this teacher took time to listen to the international students and treat them with respect. Teachers often feel the pressure to "cover the material" and do so quickly, but this professor did not do so. Instead, he allowed for class time that involved student participation. The international students would not be expected to be as fluent in English as the native speakers, so they may take more time to articulate their thoughts, which the American students could interpret as "slowing the entire class down." This teacher, however, was not judgmental; he treated all of the students equitably, and that made Weiwei feel more confident.

While Weiwei appreciated the patience and encouragement of her finance professor, Azzam, a Saudi Arabian student, valued a relaxed atmosphere and the teacher's sense of humor in his human-resources management class:

She's fun; she talk; she's not like other teacher always serious, all the time about the, the class subjects. Uh, she sometimes say stuff funny and make stuff to make the class feel more welcome and humor (sic). And, with most of my other classes, it's just serious and it's rarely that you find a teacher who laughs, smile to you (sic).

Azzam chose this class because of the environment the teacher created for the students. Like the professors in Ken Bain's research (2004), she did not take herself too seriously and tried to make a personal connection with the students. In addition, she did not distance herself from the students, trying to act like the "all-knowing one." Rather, she communicated to the students that they were all at the same level.

Thus, the Chinese and Saudi students recognized that the teacher was the key to creating a positive and welcoming classroom climate. The professors they chose seemed to develop a trusting, open relationship with their students (Bain, 2004) and practiced a "humanizing classroom pedagogy" (Bartolomé, 1994). Instead of activating the arro-

gance of the White racial frame, these teachers appeared to practice humility. The students connected with these professors and learned from them in a singular way. "The best teaching is often both an intellectual creation and a performing art. It is both Rembrandt's brush strokes and the genius of insight, perspective, originality, comprehension, and empathy that makes a Dutch Master" (Bain, 2004, p. 174). The welcoming learning environment that these professors created influenced not only how the students perceived the classroom but also how they saw the campus climate.

The eight award-winning teachers who were interviewed and observed at the University of Washington exhibited many of the characteristics of excellent teachers in other research, but in addition, "these teachers held a sense of awe and respect for the powerful possibilities inherent to teaching" (Borgford-Parnell, 2006, p. 292). They were aware of their important role and practiced what the researcher called a *pedagogy of larger concerns*. The professors looked at teaching from a larger perspective than just doing a job. They realized how important they were in the learning process and they took that very seriously.

In my research, the top three qualities that the students valued in their professors were equity, patience (being a good listener), and helpfulness or encouragement. The first value was apparent inasmuch as one of the questions I asked was if the teacher in their most welcoming class treated all of the students equally. However, the other characteristics were generated by the students themselves--they were not primed or prompted. Weiwei described her favorite teacher in the college of business. Notice how sensitive this professor is to the students' needs:

Maybe because of his age, but I just think he's awesome. He will listen very carefully about every--like about every question. And he makes sure

that he understands it and he always encourage students to ask questions. He would stop anytime, and he always tells students that "You can stop me anytime when you want to know . . ." which I don't find very often in the classes. . . Other teachers just go, "Blah, blah, blah. OK, see you next time." . . . I think [teacher's first name's] attitude about... students, treating them all equally, and listen very carefully, and try to encourage students, kind of help the students to have a really good study environment and class environment as well (sic).

Weiwei described her favorite professor, who was retirement age, as a good listener who took the time in class to answer any and all questions. She contrasted him with other teachers who rushed through the material and did not take the time to understand the students' questions, to encourage them, or to create a positive classroom environment. She called him her mentor and said that she met with him in his office; he advised her on her future career and because of his experience in Hong Kong, was knowledgeable about possible jobs she would be qualified for when she graduated. He did not exemplify the White racial frame, but he did play an important role in making Weiwei feel welcomed, not only in his class, but also on campus. Perhaps in addition to the professor's international experience, his calm, encouraging manner was what attracted Weiwei. This was similar to how one of the excellent college teachers in Ken Bain's study (2004) said of law professor, Derrick Bell: "he has such a sharp mind, but he is also so decent to his students. He treats them with respect and concern" (p. 149).

The next three characteristics the international students thought were positive in their professors were that they related to the students by disclosing personal information, that they were friendly, and that they interacted with students during class. Lucy, also Chinese, chose a class taught by another professor from the college of business as her most welcoming. It is clear that this teacher is passionate about teaching and keeps her students' attention piqued. Lucy emphasized how animated this teacher was and how she

energized a large class:

Um, so my instructor was [name of teacher], and she was, this very, um, very energetic and positive person. She's always able to make her class very active. And so we have her every Monday, Wednesday, and Friday, and on Monday she gave us this, uh, big lecture, . . . um, in this very big classroom, and she would have Power Points, and sometimes she would have like quizzes, pop-up quizzes . . . um, and she would . . . um, have students participate in the class, and, on Wednesdays and Fridays, those are, um, recitation classes. And she would--sometimes she would bring like small prizes. Or sometimes, like, when she's trying to explain something, she would bring things. Like this one time she brought bananas to classroom. And she said, "This is just like the bananas," and, and she gave us, every one of us, a banana. So, that was pretty fun. And like I said, she's very positive and energetic, so she's always able to make students or herself, most, most of the time, laugh. So, yeah, I feel like that's a very good teacher and that's a very good class.

Like Azzam, Lucy appreciated this instructor's sense of humor, as well as the fact that she created a lively classroom atmosphere, one that was highly interactive. She explained abstract concepts by bringing concrete, everyday objects to the class. Although the teacher did not take a critical approach in her pedagogy, she exhibited the "enthusiasm and vitality" of the exemplary African American teachers in Ladson-Billings' (1995) research. She was "positive and energetic" and made the students laugh. Like award-winning university teachers, the business instructor provided multiple ways for the students to learn and communicated her passion to the students (Borgford-Parnell, 2006). The business teacher exemplified what was for Lucy a positive pedagogical approach in the behavioral dimension of the campus-climate framework.

Figure 5 shows the results of the quantitative data regarding the international students' perceptions of the teacher in what they identified as their most welcoming class.

It is curious to note the responses to the four characteristics with the lowest ratings. Of all the students who disagreed with these statements, not one student *strongly*

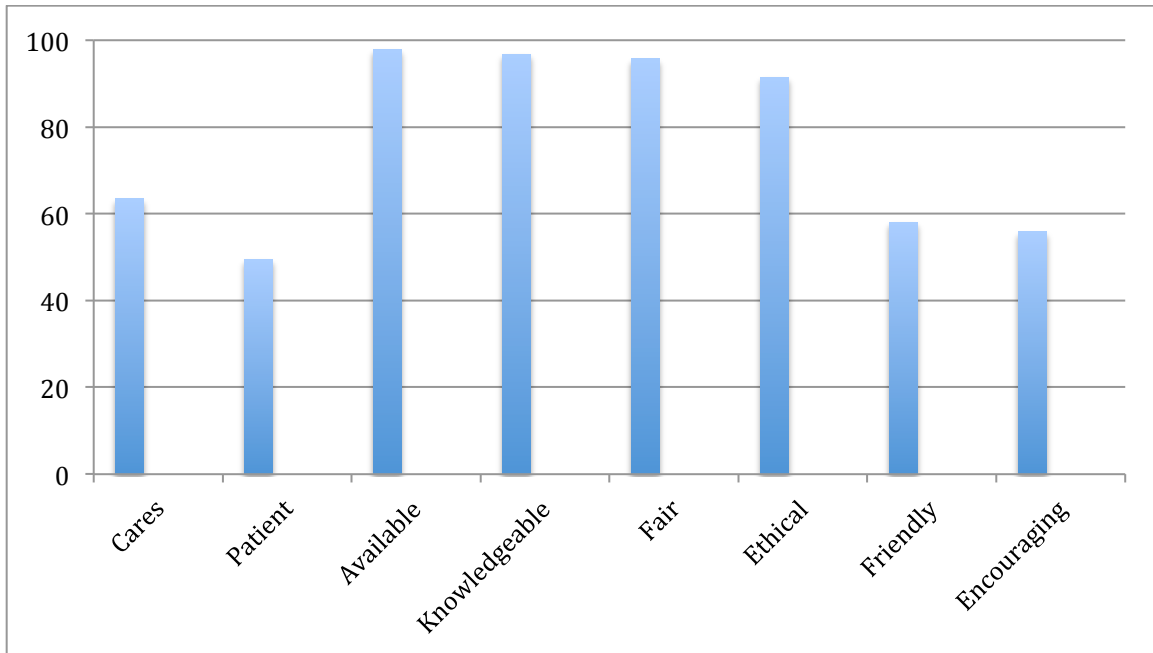


Figure 5. Positive teacher characteristics in most welcoming class: Percentage of international students who agreed/strongly agreed that the teacher cared, was patient, etc.

disagreed with any of the statements, *The teacher cares about the students and their learning; the teacher is patient with international students; the teacher is friendly; or the teacher encourages the students to participate in class.* In contrast, 55%, 53%, 51%, 50%, and 47% of the students strongly agreed that their teacher was knowledgeable, available, ethical, and fair, respectively, with total agreement of over 90%. It appears that the characteristics more closely related to affect (i.e., caring, patient, friendly, and encouraging) have room for improvement. These are the same traits that are part of a "humanizing classroom pedagogy," which recognizes the value of emotions as part of human interactions (Bartolomé, 1994).

The psychological dimension of the campus-climate framework (Figure 2) includes attitudes, which can be positive or negative. If the attitudes of the faculty toward the Other, and this may mean the female Other, too, are not perceived as positive and caring, the student will not feel as though s/he belongs there. Emotions need to be discussed

because as part of the human experience, "they work in harmony with the intellect, and are indispensable to the functioning of the whole mind" (Pinker, 1997, p. 370). In order to create a climate of inclusion, faculty need to take an interest in their students' academic and personal problems (Hurtado, 2002). Bartolomé (1994), too, addresses the importance of affect in student-teacher relationships and encourages a humanizing classroom pedagogy. "Human essence is relational and can be defined in terms of universal emotions that bind people together" (Kim & Park, 2008, p. 500). This psychological dimension of campus climate will be addressed in Chapter V.

The negative. In addition to the positive characteristics and actions of the teacher, her/his negative behavior and attitudes were measured, which did not appear to be statistically significant in Model 1. This variable was a composite of several items (see Appendix F). Again, this was the students' most welcoming class, so it would be expected that their responses regarding the teacher would be positive, not negative. Even so, almost one third of them replied that they thought the professor had a narrow-minded view of the world. Being narrow-minded is part of the intolerance of Whiteness that is camouflaged by a "color-blind" view of the world (Frankenberg, 1993; Gusa, 2010). Chesler et al. (2003; 2005) found that White college students were "unaware" and "blind" to anything outside of their own White bubble. I was interested in knowing if the respondents saw the White American teachers the same way.

This worldview, or perception thereof, could very well be a product of the White racial frame (Feagin, 2010b).² Drawing on data from the Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching, Altbach and Lewis (1998) wrote that of the 14 countries sur-

² This is hypothesizing on my part from other research; I did not interview faculty as part of this project.

veyed, the American professors were ignorant of foreign languages, rarely traveled abroad, and largely ignored the work of their international counterparts. The authors concluded that this resembled neocolonialism, a policy whereby a major world power uses economic and political means to perpetuate or extend its influence over less developed nations. The ideology of neocolonialism may be what is occurring in the classroom as well, that is, an attitude (on the part of the professor and American students) of their White superiority. This is apparent in American professors who train international graduate students to be EFL (English as a Foreign Language) teachers in their countries (Liu, 1998), as well as European professors who tend to view their international students from a deficit perspective (Tange & Jensen, 2012). The White racial frame appears to be buttressing the campus-climate model in the attitudes (psychological dimension) of the predominantly White faculty at these higher-educations institutions.

It is not only the teacher's knowledge, personality, attitude, demeanor, and worldview that affect the classroom climate, but also their teaching practices, the topic of the following section.

Pedagogical Practices

The positive. It was clear that the international students preferred an interactive classroom, one in which they could meet and work with their American classmates, as well as the teacher. Azzam, a business major from Saudi Arabia, talked about one of his undergraduate classes that had more than 100 students. The professor divided the students into groups of 10. Azzam had previously told me that he generally kept to himself ("I just go to class, do my things, I leave"), yet he enjoyed the opportunity to interact with

his classmates. "It was good chance to get to know American students, and also some international students." Yang, too, told me that the professor in his most welcoming class not only encouraged the students to interact, but also planned a variety of pedagogical activities. He chose one of the general-education courses as the most welcoming and enjoyed being engaged in group work, a debate, and learning from guest speakers:

So, I guess it was the structure of how, of, of the class, like part of the syllabus, like we were required to, like have group work; we were required to like go on a debate; and, like, they invited, like, like, um, like researchers, guest speakers to come in and show us real things. So, that was good.

Like the Chinese students that Valdez (2014) interviewed, these students valued peer collaboration and class discussions. Yang appreciated the variety of assignments and classroom tasks that the teacher had planned, in addition to the connection s/he tried to make between the academic subject matter and the real world. It was evident from the international students' responses, both from the questionnaire as well as the personal interviews, that they were serious scholars and active participants in their learning. This is congruent with other research, particularly investigations on Chinese students (Grimshaw, 2007; Shi, 2006).

Three of the four Chinese students commented that when they first arrived, they were not accustomed to informality of the American university classroom, in which the students actively participate, perhaps even challenging the professor. Engaging in a comparative remark, Lucy contrasted how active American students were in the classroom versus how passive students in China were. The professors in China lectured, but the students rarely asked questions:

Yeah, so it's very different. So you need to not just study for the test; you need to learn how to work as a team. And you need to get used to, um, what it's like here at American universities. . . any class in Asian countries,

it's more like teachers are standing in front of the classroom, you know, like teaching and writing things on the board. And we would just take notes, and . . . We don't really ask questions. And if we do, we need to like raise our hands and, and tell the teacher and say, "Yes, please, and you can ask your questions." And, most of the time, we would be like silent or just be doing this, and writing or taking our notes. But I've noticed here in American class, it's so different. Um, students are able to just ask or say things. Um, they're able to, they can ask questions and they can . . .

This was a real paradigm shift for Lucy. She pointed out a fundamental difference between the typical Chinese classroom and that of the US, saying that students in the People's Republic of China generally sit quietly and take notes while the professor stands in the front of the class lecturing. In contrast, American students ask a lot of questions and work on teams; value is given to communicating and contributing to the discussion. Even though the culture of the classroom differed from that of China, the students appeared to have adapted to the American educational system. Lucy seemed to enjoy the freedom of the American system. She commented, "But I quite like the education system here in United States because I feel like students will feel more at ease or something, more free or something." Ming's opinion, too, was that she was learning more here than she would have at her university in Beijing. The quantitative data showed similar results: 82% indicated that they were satisfied or very satisfied with their overall academic experience in the US. Again, the faculty at these institutions deserve to be commended.

By being more "free" as a student here, Lucy referred to American students' asking questions in class and having discussions with the teacher. She was not accustomed to that, but both she and Ming liked it. They, along with Yang, preferred a more active than passive educational model even though it was more work for them. The freedom seemed to empower Lucy. She said that she now takes more responsibility for her own learning because she knows it is important for her future. She reads newspapers and

watches television programs related to finance and business. Ming said that in her major, economics, the professors did not assign group projects, but the finance majors often collaborated on projects. She had two papers to write that semester, which was difficult for her, but she recognized that her parents worked hard to support her, so she was going to work hard, too: "to work harder, the habit, I will use it, it's very important to me after my graduation, on my working (sic)... in my future."

With regard to other pedagogical practices, 76% of the survey respondents reported it was important to them that the teacher know their name, and a majority thought it was important to see connections in the class materials (readings, films, discussions, and lectures) to their own experiences. Over half of them indicated that they valued being asked to share their international and personal perspectives in class, and over 70% reported that it was important to interact with the teacher. This was consistent with the qualitative results, as well as other literature on international students (Beck, 2008; Valdez, 2014). The international students at a Canadian university valued similar teaching practices (teacher-student interactions, connecting the subject matter with the real world, challenging assignments) and characteristics (a sense of humor, being fair):

Students were very clear about what helped them to be successful in their classes. Good teaching for them meant that professors used interactive methods, brought in interesting examples, real-life examples, and case studies, and had a good sense of humour. Professors who spent time with their students and were available and accessible to them earned students' respect, and were able to facilitate learning success. Students appreciated the challenge of hard work and course content, but also expected fair assessment practices. (Beck, 2008, p. 211)

To reiterate, it is clear that students who come to North America from other countries are prepared to work hard to be successful academically. They appreciate an active and collaborative classroom where the teacher challenged them, spent time with them, and made

the subject matter meaningful. It was evident that for the international students at Canyon University, what the teacher did in the classroom mattered. The extent to which they felt welcomed in the class was associated with their perceptions of the broader campus climate. This finding clearly conforms with the campus-climate framework (Figure 2) and the pedagogical practices (the behavioral dimension) influencing how the students perceived the campus climate.

One of the pedagogical practices that the students were asked about was a group project. Parallel to the qualitative data, the questionnaire responses show that 97% of the 67 students who worked on group projects in their most welcoming class found the activity to be positive. When asked to explain why they thought the group project was positive or negative, 61 students wrote something positive, 2 students wrote negative comments, and 4 students wrote something positive and negative. The highest number of positive comments related to teamwork and learning; the international students said they learned about working on a team through the group project. Many comments were also made regarding the opportunity to interact with American students and that it was a great learning experience for them. One South Korean student wrote, "I can help American students about some parts such as math or conceptual things that I'm strong at, and they help me out with what they have strongly (sic), like writing skills." Next in order of frequency were positive comments about the White American students, such as, "We discussed the issues in class and there didn't seem to be any friction. Even when someone in the group would disagree with the whole group the points of view were respected and the discussion were engaging and edifying (sic)." Many comments were also made about improving communication skills and benefitting from active learning. Emphasizing the

camaraderie and work accomplished in a group, one student commented, "We get along and get things done, open to ideas, and no one slacks off (sic)." Five students made friends with others through the group project, and 3 students said that learning as a group is simply "more fun." It was clear that the international students benefitted from their participation in group projects.

This finding that almost all of the international students found group projects to be positive contrasts with Ilona Leki's study, in which the non-native English speaking participants were not only dissatisfied with group work with their American peers, but often dreaded it (Leki, 2001). One possible explanation for this difference might be the sample that I engaged. Almost half of the respondents were studying business; they might have valued group work because it is so common in big corporations. Another possible reason for this difference could be, at least at Canyon University, the American undergraduates who were returned LDS (Latter Day Saints) missionaries may have had more empathy for what the international students had to face living in a different country and culture.

The negative. As for negative experiences with a group project, 2 of the international students responded in the online questionnaire that their American classmates "basically ignored" them (see below). Two students remarked that language and culture were often impediments to successful group work with Americans. An undergraduate from India recognized the positives and negatives of group work, writing, "Group projects are frustrating when not everyone is committed, which is often the case. But they are valuable and great at the same time." Another student from the Dominican Republic wrote how he and a Japanese student were marginalized by the three Americans in their

group:

It was positive because we got to do the work. But we were two international students in the group, me (a Dominican) and one with Japanese background and the other three that were from Utah. The one with Japanese background and me felt uncomfortable sometimes because the group ignored our opinions with the presentations. They three got to be friends and socialized (sic) more among them than with us two.

The Dominican and Japanese students were excluded by the White American students in their group and clearly made to feel that they were outsiders. Their opinions were ignored and they were not included in the friendly relationship that developed among the Americans. Even so, the Dominican man saw the group project as positive. A Chinese student had a similar experience: "Mostly positive. there is only this one time, group of 12 and i m the only one who is not american. They basiclly (sic) just ignore me, and do not listen at all. I guess they dont care (sic)." Both of the students who were targets of unveiled incivilities overlooked the negative treatment by the American students, preferring to focus on the positive learning experience of the group project. They did not allow their White peers to interfere with their getting an education.

What is most likely at work here is the White racial frame, in which racial narratives of "rugged individualism" predominate. One of the values of individualism is competition, pervasive throughout North American society (Jandt, 2013, p. 216). In describing Europeans' imperialism of the 17th through the 19th centuries, Joe Feagin wrote, "The individualistic Protestant ethic did not create their aggressive capitalism, but did foster certain values associated with capitalism, including a greedy individualism that contrasted with the more collectivistic values of the majority of the world's peoples" (2010a, p. 62). The university classroom is certainly one site in our society where competitiveness is performed. It would be in their own self-interest for Americans to help the

international students if they were completing a group project, for their grade depended on the performance of all the participants. Thus, a combination of individualism and interest convergence (Bell, 1980) may have been at play in the group projects.

The fact that the aforementioned students chose to overlook the exclusionary treatment by their American classmates calls into question how we should interpret the survey responses, which were overwhelmingly positive. Bonilla-Silva and Forman (2000) argue that students respond to survey questions in a more politically correct way than they do in interviews. Dörnyei (2010) calls this *social desirability* or *prestige bias*. Given that the students were asked about sensitive topics such as discrimination, this type of bias may well have occurred and we should take that into consideration when interpreting the data.

Some negative comments were made by both the survey and the interview respondents related to the course subjects and/or content. At times, the students did not like the subject (e.g., math) or found it difficult. Other times, the professor was not sensitive to cultural differences. One student said that as someone who had not been raised in this country, when the professor or the textbook used exclusively American-based examples, she was always at a disadvantage in the class. This was echoed by a survey response that suggested that some teachers use examples in class that privilege the American students, thus helping them to succeed while simultaneously hindering the foreign students:

Some professor examples in class are oriented to set the difference between local students who will succeed and those who wouldn't, pointing to certain characteristics (mostly related to background, language and writing skills). Obviously the Handicap is tied to ones who aren't native English speakers therefore International Students (sic)..

According to this student, by highlighting the characteristics of successful students, some professors inferred that the international students, who supposedly lacked those characteristics (i.e., foreign, non-native English speakers and writers), were given the message they were going to fail. Likewise, more than 50 years ago, South Asian students at the University of Pennsylvania were disturbed by "the unwarranted arrogance and intellectual provincialism of certain representatives of the American educational system" (Lambert & Bressler, 1963, p. 43). More recently, Valdez (2014) found that same insensitivity on the part of the faculty at a university in the Southwest. Chinese students there were at a complete disadvantage in one class in which the instructor introduced an activity requiring familiarity with North American pop culture. It appears that the White racial frame continues to support some of the ethnocentric pedagogies and epistemologies of the faculty at these American universities.

Overall, the data showed that welcoming professors and a positive classroom climate affected the way these international students felt about the campus climate. Besides the teacher, students contribute to the welcoming/unwelcoming of their peers in the classroom. The following section describes how the White American students made their international peers feel welcomed or unwelcomed in class.

Classroom Climate: American Students

Like the seven interviewees, the 93 survey respondents expressed more negative views about their White American classmates than about the teacher. For example, while 32% of the international students agreed or strongly agreed that the teacher in their most welcoming class was narrow-minded, over half, 51%, thought the American students had

a narrow-minded view of the world (Figure 6). As I explained earlier, being narrow-minded, or perceived as such, is part of the White racial frame. Michelle Obama alluded to it during her 2015 commencement address at Tuskegee University when she addressed the daily "stings" she and other African Americans endure when Whites make judgments about them "based on their limited notion of the world." Another difference between the responses about the teacher and the American peers related to being ignored. When asked how often they had been ignored by the teacher, 15% said *sometimes*, but none responded *frequently*. That number rose to 27% when the international respondents were asked about their American classmates. The quantitative data showed that same pattern in the international students' answers to how often they had heard the students or teacher express offensive views about race, gender, politics, religion, immigration status, language or accent, socio-economic status (SES), or physical ability. Except for offensive comments related to SES, the American students were negatively rated almost double the ratings of the faculty (see Figure 7).

Both the Hurtado et al. (1999) campus-climate framework and Feagin's (2010b) White racial frame may help explain the foreign students' negative perceptions of their White American classmates. First, their perceptions fit the psychological dimension of the campus-climate framework, as well as the behavioral dimension of interactions across race and ethnicity. Moreover, according to Feagin, the White racial frame prevents most Whites from having successful interactions with the racial or ethnic Other because Americans' social networks are racially and ethnically homogeneous (McPherson, Smith-Lovin, & Cook, 2001). Additional research shows that having lived in an all-White environment their entire lives, White American college students are frequently awkward in

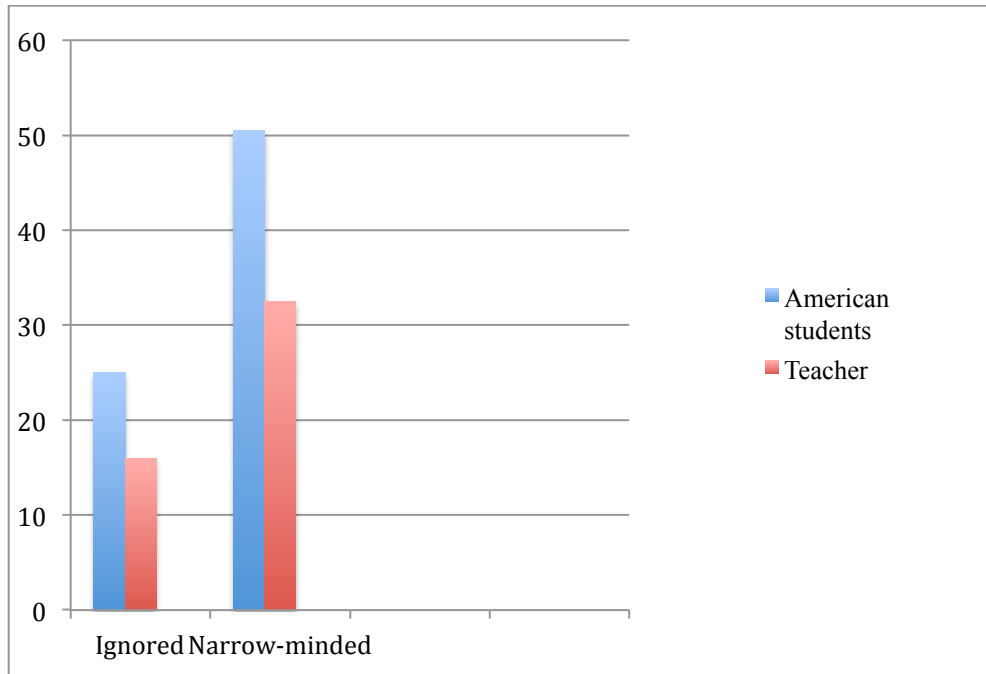


Figure 6. Percentage of *Sometimes/Often* responses to *How often have you been ignored by the students/teacher in this class?* and *Agree/Strongly agree* to the statement *The students/teacher have a narrow-minded view of the world.*

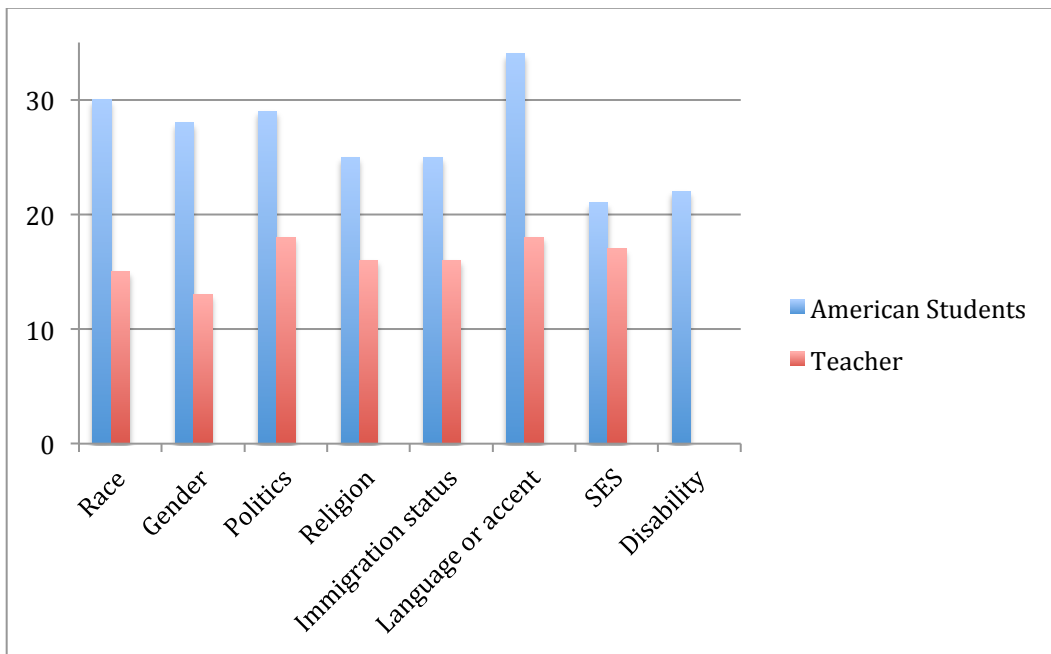


Figure 7. Percentage of *Sometimes/Often* responses to *How often have you heard the teacher/students in this class express offensive views about race, gender, etc. . . ?*

the presence of the racial/ethnic Other and often have an "assumption of superiority" (Chesler et al., 2005), which the international students evidently discerned. In the 2013-14 academic year, 79% of the White American students at Canyon University were from Utah, which means that except for the returned missionaries, like the students in the Chesler et al. study (2003), most have spent their lives in a White bubble.

In the classes that the international students chose as their most welcoming, the White American students were seen as generally friendly and patient when they heard the accents of the foreign students. They agreed that the Americans listened carefully when international students spoke in class, that they were open to learning from other students in the class, and that they made them feel welcomed. These responses contrasted with those to the more general question about being excluded by their White American classmates: 37% *agreed/strongly agreed* to this statement; 3 of the 7 interviewees also *agreed* that by and large, the American students excluded them. These perceptions of microaggressions are consistent with the campus-climate literature examining domestic minority students and the White racial frame. For example, minority students at the University of Michigan reported that they felt excluded from peer interactions with Whites (e.g., in study groups [Chesler et al., 2005, p. 104]). This marginalization in the form of ethnic microaggressions is the topic of Chapter V.

The positive. The data show the professor plays a major role in creating a welcoming climate in the classroom for the international Other, which does not preclude the less important role of the American students. Not all of the respondents saw their White classmates as "fake friendly" (they gave the impression that they were friendly, but they were not genuine or authentic in their behavior). In fact, the norm in the context of the

classroom was that they were perceived positively (Figure 8).

To measure positive classroom behavior of American classmates quantitatively, the independent variable in statistical Model 2 was x_1 , an aggregate of questions describing the students' American peers (See Appendix F, Model 2).

When asked what the White American students did to make class feel welcoming for them, the Chinese and Saudi students' most frequent responses were that the Americans were friendly, helpful, and nonjudgmental. Lucy said that before coming to the US, she and her friends thought that American students would be judgmental of Asian students:

It turns out we are wrong; because most American students, or Americans I met here, are super friendly. And, um, so sometimes it's hard for us to understand and to keep up in class, and we would have study groups someti--not just for, not just among us, um, international students or Chinese

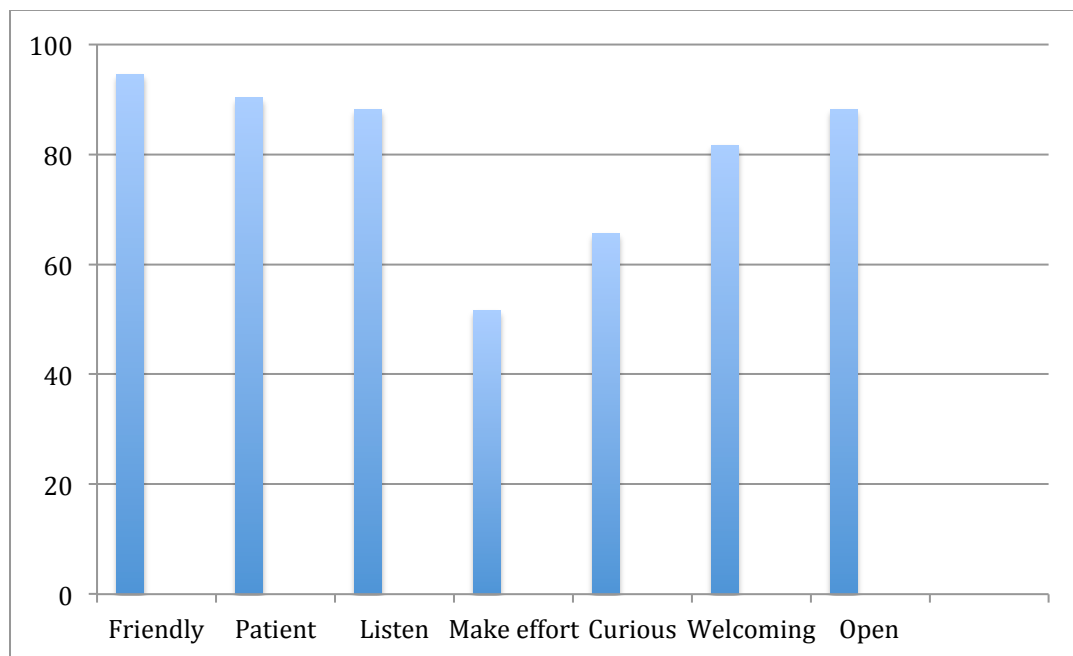


Figure 8. Positive student characteristics in most welcoming class: Percentage of stu-

dents who agreed or strongly agreed that their White American classmates were friendly, patient, etc.

students. We would have study groups with American students as well. And they are being really helpful, like . . . um, they are very patient and they're willing to, um, like tell us, explain things to us. That's very, um kind of them, I think. And they're being really very, um, welcoming.

It was clear that Lucy, though she had expected otherwise, perceived her American classmates in a positive light, saying that they helped her and other Chinese students in study groups. It is possible that these American young adults were truly welcoming and kind, but it is also possible that they were on their best behavior because they were in a public space where others could see--and judge--their actions. In other words, they were performing their civility on the "frontstage" (Goffman, 1959). Houts Picca and Feagin (2007) theorize that when Whites are on the "front-stage" of everyday life, they "intentionally present an altered image of themselves or their views when around people of color" (p. 43). The image of helping an international student with schoolwork would reinforce the "sincere fiction" that they were truly virtuous.

In the qualitative data, the second most frequent positive responses regarding the American students were that they were patient with their foreign classmates and they were active learners, both in and out of the classroom. Lucy, a finance major, looked at them as good role models in that they were focused not on just studying for the impending test, but on doing extra reading outside of class to prepare for their future careers:

'Cuz I feel that they've been interested in what they're learning right now for a long time, and they would, I don't know, like, read newspapers, or watch, um, financial channels or something . . . to learn stuff, not just for the test, but for their future job or something. And that's what, that's something I'm trying to do. I don't want to be just studying for my test. I want to be prepared, um, for my, um, future jobs. So I think that's something that we are not as good as, um, American students are.

Compared to Chinese students, Lucy thought her American classmates were thinking beyond their classes and attempting to learn outside of class, too, in order to be better prepared for their future professions. She admired their motivation and was trying to emulate them. Of all the interviewees at Canyon University, Lucy was the most positive, and her perceptions of her American classmates coincided with how Whites see themselves as a group, that is, "good and virtuous" (Feagin, 2010b, p. 96; Kendall, 2006). When they are in the social "frontstage," they may succumb to social pressures and try to be as "colorblind" as possible (Houts Picca & Feagin, 2007). In general, the 93 questionnaire respondents agreed with the students from China and Saudi Arabia who were interviewed at Canyon University (see Figure 8). However, there was also evidence that this friendliness may not have been sincere. Note that the one item referring to actual behavior--rather than personal characteristics--*They make a special effort to interact with me in class*--had the least level of agreement by the international students. This could be an indication of the "fake friendliness" that some of the respondents brought up. The Americans appeared friendly, but it may have been a superficial friendliness.

"Fake friendliness." The second highest number of negative comments that the Chinese and Saudi students made about their White American counterparts related to their not being genuinely friendly. Weiwei called them "fake friendly." She told three different stories, two of which occurred in the classroom context. One semester the international student office worked with a communications professor to encourage social interaction between American and international students. The American students in the class were required to meet with an international partner and participate in three-four activities on campus. Weiwei really liked her American partner: "It was really good hang-

ing out with her." When Weiwei suggested the two get something to eat together, the American enthusiastically agreed, but as soon as Weiwei signed the paper that her partner needed to get credit for the communications class, "she just like, completely vanished." This made Weiwei feel as though she had been "used" by the American partner.

Weiwei, who had a part-time job working with international students on campus, also broached the "fake friendly" topic when discussing the LDS religion. Other internationals told her that the local students were friendly for a few months, but as soon as the foreign students indicated a lack of interest in their church, the so-called friendship ceased to be:

I have students come to me saying-- they're just simply too scared of talking to the local, the domestic students. 'Cuz most of them are LDS here, and from Utah. They were friends with you for awhile, for quite a bit, maybe for let's say for one semester. And when you say you don't want to go to church, what I heard from them is that they just completely withdrew. This quote quote (sic) friendship.

Some international students sought Weiwei's advice because she worked in an office providing services to undergraduates on campus. She, too, was a foreign national and had been in the US longer than most of them. It was not clear from her comments why the students were afraid to speak to the local students. It could have been because they were afraid that as soon as they said they did not want to attend their church, they would lose them as friends, or it could have been for some other reason. She herself had roommates who were LDS and invited her to church activities, but after being polite and attending a few times, she simply refused to go.

When I recounted the above story to Salim, a Saudi majoring in aviation, he agreed that the American students were nice until they saw that he was not interested in their religion. "Yeah what you said is true, about what the other guy said. . . They will

still nice, but not as much as before (sic)." As noted previously, the quantitative data show that over 90% of the respondents indicated that their American classmates were friendly, yet half of them (49%) disagreed or strongly disagreed that the American students made a special effort to interact with them in class (Figure 8). A similar number (51%) agreed or strongly agreed that their American classmates had a narrow-minded view of the world. The same contradiction surfaced during Salim's interview. Salim agreed that he felt welcomed, but he also agreed that he felt excluded by White American students in his classes. That seemed to be contradictory, so when asked, he explained, "I feel welcomed every time at any class, but I believe the Americans don't want to interact or start conversation with international student. I try my best to get involved in any group project or participation." This sentiment of Americans smiling but keeping their distance seems to parallel the quantitative data, evidence of the "fake friendliness."

Central to the White worldview is the value of individualism, a term that did not exist until Alexis du Tocqueville used it to describe the White Americans of the late 18th century. Geert Hofstede (2001) used the terms individualism and collectivism to describe cultures. In his classic study on cultural differences among countries, Hofstede found the United States to be the most individualistic of the 53 countries studied. He defined individualism as standing for "a society in which the ties between individuals are loose: Everyone is expected to look after him/ herself and his/her immediate family only (p. 225)." The perception of "fake friendliness" may have been an indication of the "loose ties" between individuals that the international students in this study encountered on campus.

Concurring with this American value, W.E.B. Du Bois (1960) wrote that he was seen as individualistic, too--he was intent on his education and his future. Like most in-

ternational students, he was at the university to learn. "I do not doubt that I was voted a somewhat selfish and self-centered 'grind' with a chip on my shoulder and a sharp tongue" (p. 369). Perhaps in the aspect of individualism, he resembled his White American (male) classmates more than the international Other.

As the Chinese Other, Yang questioned why he was the one who had to initiate conversations with White Americans at the university, saying that American students were "self-focused and self-centered." "You know, it's always us; we have to make that first move, and go up to them and say, 'Hey, hey, nice to meet you.'" In his engineering classes, he reported, "Everybody's just focused on their own work." Weiwei mentioned that even the faculty here were individualistic, "too busy doing their own thing," except for the professor that she chose for her most welcoming class, who took time to meet individually with students. She considered him an exception to the norm.

This White individualism--and White privilege--of American college students is found frequently in the literature on Whiteness and racism. McKinney (2005) studied college students who wrote autobiographies about their Whiteness, revealing a lack of awareness of the Other and self-absorption in their own little worlds. Doane and Bonilla-Silva (2003) argued that Whites don't see the world racially, so they don't see the advantages they are granted because of their Whiteness. "This promotes a worldview that emphasizes *individualistic* explanations for social and economic achievement, as if the individualism of white privilege was a universal attribute" (p. 14).

An alternative interpretation for this perception of "fake friendliness" may be found in the local subculture. Two of the interviewees, one Chinese and the other Saudi, broached this topic of Americans not being truly friendly when they were talking about

the LDS culture. Weiwei, for instance, told me about an American classmate with whom she had kept in contact, and as a sidebar she noted, "But she wasn't from Utah, and she's not LDS as well--*not* stereotyping, just saying . . . (chuckles)." Weiwei knew it was bad to stereotype, but she pointed out that the student who showed her signs of a genuine friendship (keeping in contact) did not belong to the local LDS culture. Her being rebuffed by the American student (the one who "vanished" after the communications class) affected the way she acted in subsequent classes. After saying that she felt she had been used, Weiwei became defensive, revealing her hurt feelings:

Um, I'm used to it, and I'm still like that; I only talk about work. I only go to a study group if we're not friends. And outside of class, I may say "hi," but I wouldn't talk anything other than that. (sic) I'm just like "bye." (said in a very serious, clipped tone of speech)

Weiwei seemed to generalize that other students might "use" her again, so she protected herself from future emotional harm by being business-like ("I only talk about work") with American students. She was civil ("I may say 'hi'"), but she was not going to risk getting hurt again.

The negative. To measure the negative perceptions of American classmates in the quantitative data, the independent variable was measured as an aggregate (see Appendix F, Model 2b).

Model 2 examined the association between the international students' feeling welcomed in the classroom and their positive and negative perceptions of their White American students. The results of the ordinal logit regression model show that the perceptions of American students' behavior, both positive and negative, had a statistically significant and independent effect at the .05 level. With each one-unit increase in the international students' self-reported perceptions of American students, the odds of feeling welcomed in

the classroom were 3.35 times greater for the variable measuring positive behavior by the Americans (see Table 8).

In addition to the statistical models above, which examined the independent variables of the professor and the American students separately, I fit an ordinal logit regression model with the significant x variables together. In other words, I was curious about what the results would be when both the significant teacher variables and the significant American-classmate variables appeared in the same model. The y variable remained the same (i.e., the international students' feeling welcomed in the classroom). The independent variables were the teacher's characteristics, the American students' positive qualities, and the American students' negative behaviors (significant in Model 1 and Model 2 of the ordinal-logit model, Table 8). When the significant variables in Models 1 and 2 were fit in a separate model, the variable measuring the teacher's characteristics continued to be statistically significant in the model, while the variables related to the American classmates' behavior were no longer significant. This means that for every one-unit increase in the rating of the teacher's positive characteristics (being knowledgeable, caring, fair, available, etc.), the odds of a student's feeling welcomed in the class were 17 times higher, holding constant the other variables in the model (Table 8, Models 1 & 2). The variables related to the pedagogical practices and negative teacher behavior did not have a statistically significant effect on how welcomed the students felt in class, nor did the variables measuring the positive and negative behaviors of the American students (see Table 8, Models 1 & 2). Again, with such high odds ratios, coupled with high standard errors and confidence intervals, these statistics need to be interpreted with caution.

I would speculate, though, that it is easier for students to ignore their classmates

than it is for them to ignore the teacher. In a lecture class especially, all the attention is on the professor, and if there is no pair or group work, the students are not required to acknowledge their classmates. While he was at Harvard, Du Bois, who believed in racial segregation, consciously did just that. In effect, this proud and self-confident African American strutted into the parlor, dismissing his White, male classmates, and focused all of his attention on the professors:

In general, I asked nothing of Harvard but the tutelage of teachers and the freedom of the laboratory and library. I was quite voluntarily and willingly outside its social life. I sought only such contacts with white teachers as lay directly in the line of my work. (Du Bois, 1960, p. 366)

Like Weiwei, Du Bois was "all business;" he did not care about socializing with his peers. Rather, he treasured the opportunity to interact with the faculty and make use of the academic facilities. He was there to get an education.

In addition to the teacher variable being statistically significant when Model 1 and Model 2 were combined in the ordinal-logit model, another statistically significant variable was gender. For females, the odds of feeling welcomed in the class were lower than for males. Males were twice as likely as females to report a positive classroom climate. This held true in Model 1 as well (Table 8). The reasons for this are not clear, but one of them could be the White racial frame. Of the full-time faculty at Canyon University, over 90% are White and 66% are male. Many of the White male faculty members could be discriminating against the international female students. Hardy (2012) found academic discrimination in the classroom against two female STEM (Science, Technology, Engineering, and Math) students at SUNY-Buffalo. One male professor assumed a Bulgarian student could not grasp complex mathematical or engineering concepts (she attributed this to her gender). Another male professor ignored a female Muslim Indonesian student,

who wore the *hijab*. She was constantly overlooked when playing a game in class, which resulted in her losing class points and thus, lowering her grade. If they were discriminating against these students, it very well could have been unintentional, that is, *veiled incivilities*, or microaggressions, the topic of Chapter V.

The results of the quantitative data analyses above also mean that regardless of the behavior of their White American classmates, these international students can--and do--feel welcomed in the classroom if they perceive the professor as knowledgeable, fair, available, ethical, friendly, patient, caring, and encouraging. The other qualities that the qualitative data revealed were that the teacher be a good listener, interact with the students, and disclose personal information. It appears, then, that for these international students, the positive behavior of the instructor was the most important variable vis-à-vis classroom climate.

Classroom Climate: Other Factors

The positive. Besides the teacher and the students in a classroom, other factors contribute to the climate. In the Hurtado et al. (1999) framework, the diversity of the students is one of those factors. Two of the Chinese students interviewed thought that a more diverse group of students (i.e., one that represented a variety of cultures) improved the classroom climate. They had both lived and studied in more ethnically diverse communities (Weiwei, in the US, and Yang, in Africa) and they benefitted from that diversity. Three comments were made about the opportunity to communicate with the instructor as well as the other students. For example, having an online forum was considered positive in their learning experience. And Yang preferred working on a group project in his

Environmental Sustainability class, rather than working alone:

I liked the, um, the, the group-work part because, you know, instead of working alone on something, there's a group you can work with and how to get it, how to get it work done (?), and you also get to make new friends, which is the good . . . , which is, which is what I like.

A particularly sociable young man, Yang was smart, self-confident, articulate, and he knew what he wanted. He exemplified the polar opposite of the stereotype of the passive, shy Chinese student who does not participate in class discussions and lacks critical-thinking skills (Kumaravadivelu, 2003). Like Weiwei and Lucy, he was outgoing, fluent in English, and resembled the active, questioning language learners in China that Grimshaw (2007) and Shi (2006) investigated. It is understandable that he would enjoy collaborating with his peers on a group project and making new friends in the process.

Diversity was clearly on the students' minds when they were asked in the online survey to explain how other international students at the three universities made the classroom climate better or worse. 88% of the 93 respondents replied *better*, and when asked why, the majority of those students said that international students provide cultural diversity and diversity of thought to the classroom. One student from the Dominican Republic wrote, "Their ideas are totally different and innovative to what the class is used to see (sic). Because they come from a totally different environment, the way they perceive ideas is opposite to local culture." Moreover, a number of the international students felt that being in class with other internationals helped them as psychological support: "other international students were a good support group for me in class and helped me ease into the classroom environment." And the third most common theme in the comments was that international students were active learners. They are "prepared for the class and asks thoughtful questions (sic)." In summary, as one French student put it so succinctly,

"more diverse, more opinions, more growth."

The topic of cultural diversity is part of the structural diversity and behavioral dimensions of the Hurtado et al. (1999) campus-climate framework (i.e., diverse student enrollments and classroom diversity [Figure 2]). The international students in this study recognized the importance of a diverse student body in their academic development. This is supported by empirical research that shows *all* students benefit both socially and academically from a more ethnically diverse campus (Gurin, Dey, Hurtado, & Gurin, 2002). Regrettably, this was not the case at these predominantly White universities.

Human beings are complex creatures, and while most exhibit a fundamental social motive of self-enhancement (Fiske, 2000) and behave themselves in public, others do not. I now turn to the negative comments the international students made about their White teachers and classmates at the three Mountain West universities.

The negative. In the qualitative data, a lack of ethnic diversity was one of the factors contributing to a negative classroom climate. Ming felt quite anxious in her large biology class, not just because she found the subject difficult, but also because of the high number of White American students surrounding her, especially during exams. She was the only Chinese student in the group.

The negative comments about the students' classes did not always relate to classroom climate per se. For instance, 4 of the students, 2 Chinese and 2 Saudis, were well aware of the reputations of their nationalities, and they expressed a desire to be positive representatives of their countries. Nevertheless, other students, they felt, were not so virtuous in their behavior. One of the students from China felt somewhat ashamed that her compatriots sat in their own ethnic bubble in one of her business classes, often putting

their backpacks on empty desks nearby to save them for other Chinese students. And 1 of the students from Saudi Arabia lamented that some of the Saudi students, here on a generous government scholarship, were enjoying their time here instead of studying. By drinking alcohol and taking drugs, he said, "They're destroying our reputation."

To summarize, the international students perceived the classroom climate at Canyon, Wasatch, and Zion Universities as both welcoming and unwelcoming. They indicated that the role of the professor was particularly important in creating a positive climate and that some of the American students were "fake friendly."

Campus Climate

The international students who participated in this research conducted in the early 21st century were redolent of W.E.B. Du Bois at Harvard University in the late 19th century. Sometimes seen as a curiosity and not taken seriously as scholars, they had to work hard to adjust to a new language and academic culture. Both Du Bois and the international sojourners who participated in this research had to confront the walls of the White racial frame.

As Figure 2 (campus-climate model) shows, how students perceive the campus climate is affected by macro and micro forces. This research focused on the psychological and behavioral dimensions of the framework and found that 92% of the international students at three predominantly White universities in the Mountain West of the United States felt welcomed and 82% were satisfied with their overall academic experience. Nevertheless, a lower percentage rated their *entire* experience positively: 79% of the survey respondents assessed it as *Good* or *Excellent*, but only 43% of the Chinese and Saudi

interviewees at Canyon University did so (see Table 9). In addition, over one third of the students (37%) agreed or strongly agreed that they were marginalized by their White American classmates. More than a quarter of them had observed and/or experienced discrimination on campus because of race/culture, language, religion, gender, or sexual orientation. Similarly, the qualitative data show that the 4 Chinese and 3 Saudi students interviewed at Canyon University all agreed they felt welcomed on campus; however, 2 of them were not satisfied with their overall academic experience. One Chinese student did rate her entire experience at the university as *Excellent*, 2 of the Saudi students rated theirs as *Good*, but the remaining 4 students answered their entire experience has been *Fair*. For the most part, the international students interviewed at Canyon University thought the campus was welcoming, though only 1 was enthusiastic in her responses. All 7 agreed that they felt welcomed at the university--not one of them, however, *strongly* agreed to feeling welcomed on campus. In summary, the campus climate appears more positive than negative for this group of students; like W.E.B. Du Bois, they were allowed inside the house, but they felt ambivalent about their hosts' reception.

The ambivalence felt by the international students may stem from the fact that PWIs (predominantly White institutions) are White spaces where Whiteness and the ideology of Whiteness prevail (Gusa, 2010). The best-case scenario may be that not only Blacks, but also Native Americans, Latinas/os, Asian Americans, Pacific Islanders, and the international Other are treated as guests on campus, but the reality is more that they are tolerated--not warmly welcomed. A recent Freshman and Sophomore Survey at Canyon University indicated that 76% of the students were from the state of Utah (24% of them from the local community). They were similar to the students interviewed at the

Table 9. Interviewee and survey responses to questions about feeling welcomed

Item	Respondents	<i>Strongly disagree</i>	<i>Disagree</i>	<i>Agree</i>	<i>Strongly agree</i>
<i>I feel welcome in the campus community at this university.</i>	Interviewees <i>n</i> = 7			7 (100%)	
	Survey respondents <i>n</i> = 93	2 (2%)	5 (5%)	58 (62%)	28 (30%)
<i>How would you evaluate your entire experience at this university?</i>		<i>Poor</i>	<i>Fair</i>	<i>Good</i>	<i>Excellent</i>
	Interviewees <i>n</i> = 7	0 (0%)	4 (57%)	2 (29%)	1 (14%)
	Survey respondents <i>n</i> = 93	1 (1%)	19 (20%)	51 (55%)	22 (24%)
<i>Overall academic experience</i>		<i>Very dissatisfied</i>	<i>Dissatisfied</i>	<i>Satisfied</i>	<i>Very satisfied</i>
	Interviewees	0 0%	2 29%	4 57%	1 14%
	Survey respondents	1 1%	16 17%	55 59%	21 23%
<i>I feel comfortable at this university campus.</i>		<i>Strongly disagree</i>	<i>Disagree</i>	<i>Agree</i>	<i>Strongly agree</i>
	Interviewees	0 0%	0 0%	3 43%	4 57%
	Survey respondents	1 1%	7 8%	56 60%	29 31%
<i>Have you ever observed discrimination at this university?*</i>		<i>Yes</i>		<i>No</i>	
	Interviewees	2 29%		5 71%	
	Survey respondents	28 30%		65 70%	
<i>Have you ever personally experienced discrimination at this university?*</i>		<i>Yes</i>		<i>No</i>	
	Interviewees	0 0%		7 100%	
	Survey respondents	26 28%		67 72%	
<i>I often feel excluded by White American students in my classes.</i>		<i>Strongly agree</i>	<i>Agree</i>	<i>Disagree</i>	<i>Strongly disagree</i>
	Interviewees	0 0%	3 43%	4 57%	0 0%
	Survey respondents	4 4%	31 33%	42 45%	16 17%

* because of race/culture, language, religion, gender, or sexual orientation

University of Michigan in that they have lived their entire lives in a White bubble, hearing White-framed narratives about people of color, feeling superior to them, and not seeing a racialized world:

Growing up with everyday processes of segregation, lacking contact with racially (or socioeconomically) different peers, being exposed to various forms of racism and racial tokenism, and not being educated meaningfully about race and racism deeply affect white students' social identity--their sense of themselves as well as their relations with others. In their homes, schools, and communities these students acquired habitual attitudes, expectations, and ways of making meaning about their world. White students were socialized to not see themselves as having a race and did not understand their own (and their communities') exclusionary attitudes and behaviors. This message was reinforced unconsciously and uncritically within dominant cultural narratives about people of color that were primarily negative. (Chesler et al., 2003, p. 223)

The invisibility, intolerance, and inequality of Whiteness are seen in this description of American college undergraduates. White students' social networks (neighborhoods, schools, churches) are completely White, but they see this as normal. Their Whiteness is invisible to them ("socialized to not to see themselves as having a race"), as is their intolerance for difference ("did not understand their own . . . exclusionary attitudes and behaviors"). They are also unaware of the inequality of US society (the "primarily negative . . . dominant cultural narratives about people of color").

Not only are these young people often blinded by their Whiteness, but they are also probably existing in "survival mode." College is a rite of passage--and often a trying one. For most Americans, it is the first time in their lives that they are living away from their families, deciding who they want to be as adults, and trying to survive physically, psychologically, academically, and socially. Only half them will graduate in 6 years' time, and as many as one in three drop out of school after their freshman year (US News & World Report, 2016). The pressure for them to succeed, combined with a White, indi-

vidualistic worldview, would logically result in more self-serving behavior.

Conclusion

Over 90% of the international students in this research study reported that they felt welcomed on the campuses of Canyon, Wasatch, and Zion Universities, but with reservations: 62% of the students agreed with the statement *I feel welcomed in the campus community at this university*, while only 30% *strongly* agreed. The interview participants, 3 males from Saudi Arabia, 1 male from China, and 3 female Chinese undergraduates, as well as the 93 international students who completed the online questionnaire, felt both welcomed and unwelcomed on campus.

Like W.E.B. Du Bois, who was an undergraduate at Harvard in the late 19th century, these students, more than half of them from East and South Asia, represented the Other to their predominantly White American classmates. They perceived the campus and classroom climate much like domestic racial and ethnic minority students. In other words, they felt that they were accepted by the White American students, but not truly welcomed. Some sensed a "fake friendliness" on the part of their American peers, saying that they showed outward signs of friendliness, but they were shallow and short-lived. The Hurtado et al. (1999) campus-climate framework (Figure 2) helps to explain how macro and micro forces syncretize to produce a general feeling of belonging: the diversity of the campus and classroom, the attitudes of the teacher and students, the pedagogical practices, and the perceptions of discrimination. The survey data revealed that the students' perceptions of belonging on campus were associated with the extent to which they felt welcomed in at least one class.

As for their most welcoming class, 4 of the students chose a general-education course (math, English, and environmental science), while 3 chose a course in their major (business school). Thirty-nine percent of the students who completed the online survey also chose a general-education course as their most welcoming, whereas 51% chose a class in their major. Not surprisingly, of all of the complex variables that contribute to a student's sense of belonging, the most important appeared to be the professor. Both the quantitative and qualitative data revealed many more positive perceptions of the teacher than of the American classmates. The top three qualities that the interviewees valued in their professors were equity, patience (being a good listener), and helpfulness or encouragement. Over 90% of the survey respondents agreed that the teacher in their most welcoming class was fair (i.e., equitable), as well as available, knowledgeable, and ethical, but the characteristics related to affect were rated much lower (63% or fewer of the students agreed, but not one student *strongly* agreed, that the professor cared about the students and their learning, was patient with international students, was friendly, or encouraged the students to participate in class). In addition, there were indications that the White racial frame was still evident. Even though the class was their most welcoming, an unexpectedly high number (32%) agreed or strongly agreed that the teacher had a narrow-minded worldview. With regard to classroom practices, the international respondents preferred an interactive classroom in which they could share their international perspectives. They overwhelmingly agreed that they learned a great deal from group projects and they enjoyed interacting with their peers. They also wrote that they would benefit from a more diverse classroom.

The international respondents' perceptions of the classroom climate did not differ

among demographic groups such as age, native country/language, marital status, major, or racial/ethnic identity. The only demographic variable that was significant was gender. The quantitative data showed that the odds of feeling welcomed in class were lower for females than for males. Unfortunately, I did not ask the students about sexism in the classroom, nor did I examine the gender of the welcoming professors. Nevertheless, this finding may be due to unequal treatment of female students by faculty.

The following chapter will examine the second theme that emerged from the data, that is, veiled and unveiled incivilities, reflecting the psychological dimension of the campus-climate framework.

CHAPTER V

VEILED AND UNVEILED INCIVILITIES

The tongue is like a sharp knife; it kills without drawing blood. Japanese proverb

The previous chapter discussed the first theme of the dissertation data (i.e., that the international students at Canyon, Wasatch, and Zion Universities felt ambivalent about the campus climate). In other words, they perceived it as both welcoming and unwelcoming. This chapter discusses the second theme: like domestic minority students, international students on these campuses have experienced veiled and unveiled incivilities in the form of microaggressions and outright discrimination. This theme is related to the psychological dimension of the Hurtado et al. campus-climate framework (1998) and the discriminatory behavior ensuing from the White racial frame (Feagin, 2010b). Incivilities were not the norm in the data, but they appeared frequently enough to deserve attention.

Covert and Overt Discrimination

Like international students in the past, the students in this research have had to adjust to a new life in a far-away country, with all the unsettling occurrences of a vastly different culture. Regrettably, that culture has a long history of discrimination and op-

pression of the ethnic and racial Other (Doane & Bonilla-Silva, 2003; Feagin, 2010a, 2010b; Lippi-Green, 1997; Omi & Winant, 1994; Smedley & Smedley, 2012). Frederick Douglass, who was probably the first person of color in the US to write about White Americans, and who, as a former slave, knew firsthand of the brutality of White people (Douglass, 1855), spoke about their fundamental need to be superior to others:

Human nature is proud and perverse among the low as well as among the high. A man must be low indeed when he does not want some one below him. If he cannot have an Irishman, he wants a negro; and if he cannot have a negro to command, he would like to have a dog! Anything to be above something; but just now these unhappy people see nothing solid below themselves, and consequently, do not know to what the world is coming. (Douglass, 1877, p. 126)

Douglass recognized that for their own self-esteem, White men needed to see some other group below them. If they did not see themselves superior to some other group they could maltreat, they were at a loss. He wrote the speech during the time of Jim Crow, when overt discrimination was the norm in this country. Today, covert discrimination appears to be the norm, especially on American college campuses, and the White racial frame persists (Bonilla-Silva & Forman, 2000; Cabrera et al., 1999; CBS, 2013; Chesler et al., 2003; Chesler et al., 2005; Dyer-Barr, 2010; Feagin et al., 1996; Fincher, 2014; Gusa, 2010; Parks, 2007; Reid & Radhakrishnan, 2003; Smith et al., 2002; Smith et al., 2007; Swim et al., 2003; Villalpando, 2003). Students at predominantly White universities may act on that same need for in-group superiority when they discriminate against the ethnic and/or racial Other.

As evidenced in the comments of the international students about the discrimination they observed and experienced in the US, they not only had to adapt to a new culture and language, but like domestic minority students, some of them had to endure prejudi-

cial treatment by White Americans. This chapter begins with a pattern of discriminatory behavior on campus that emerged from the data and then continues with an analysis of the discrimination according to the most frequent types that the international respondents encountered on campus and in the classroom.

I define the term *veiled/unveiled incivilities* as those discourteous or rude acts by Whites that may be unintentional or covert (*veiled*), but perceived by the Other as uncivil, as well as behavior that is intentionally hurtful, overt, or outright rude (*unveiled*). Fortunately, a majority of the respondents indicated that they felt welcomed on campus and in one classroom, which is a result of their being treated with *civility*, behavior that would be expected of White college students and faculty.

The items on the questionnaire were as follows:

Have you ever observed discrimination because of race/culture, language, religion, gender or sexual orientation in your time at this university?

[If *yes* . . .] Please give one or more examples of what you observed and how it affected you.

Have you ever *personally* experienced discrimination because of race/culture, language, religion, gender or sexual orientation in your years at this university?

[If *yes* . . .] Please give one or more examples of what you experienced and how it affected you.

The respondents were not given a definition of the term *discrimination*, which may have biased some of their responses. That, however, does not appear to be the case based on the examples provided in the online questionnaire, which indicate a clear understanding

that the respondents were treated differently because of their group membership as the Other. Table 10 shows the numerical results by percentage of the students who indicated they had observed or personally experienced discrimination at their university.

The good news is that the majority of the international students (approximately 70%) neither observed nor experienced discrimination on campus. A higher number of international students at Zion University, 50%, reported that they had observed discrimination on that campus compared to the other universities (Table 10). The sample size ($N=12$), however, was too low for this statistic to be very meaningful. Overall at the three institutions, 30% of the students said that they had observed discrimination at their university, with 28% responding that they had personally experienced discrimination because of race /culture, language, religion, gender, or sexual orientation (the bad news). The experienced-discrimination variable was statistically significant at the .10 level in the binary logit model (Table 11, Model 4). In other words, the odds of students feeling welcomed on campus were lower for students who had experienced discrimination on campus, all other variables being constant. This finding is congruent with the psychological dimension of the campus-climate model (Hurtado et al., 1998): negative experiences affected how these international students felt they belonged--or did not belong--on campus.

As for the qualitative data, 3 of the interviewees from the People's Republic of China had observed discrimination on the Canyon University campus, but none of the 7 had personally experienced discrimination (notwithstanding, in the interview, 1 Chinese student described incidents that would unmistakably qualify as discriminatory). Thus, we can infer that the Americans on these three campuses treated the majority of these international students with civility.

Table 10. Percentage of students who perceived discrimination

	<u>Observed discrimination</u>	<u>Experienced discrimination</u>
Wasatch University	21	23
Canyon University	38	28
Zion University	50*	50*
Total	30	28

* $N = 12$

Table 11. Odds ratios of international students' feeling welcomed on campus

Model 4	Ologit Campus climate
Experienced discrimination	0.80 (.29-2.20)
Feel excluded by Americans	1.73* (0.95-3.14)
Age	0.75 (0.38-1.47)
Female	0.70 (0.28-1.71)
No religion	0.84 (0.33-2.13)

95% confidence intervals in parentheses. *Significant at 10%;

Significant at 5%; *Significant at 1%.

(See Appendix G (Stata Commands and Results) for Standard Errors.)

For the 30% of the students who did perceive discrimination, an analysis of their comments revealed similar patterns in the types of discrimination, the perpetrators, the locations, and the reasons. The two most frequent types of discrimination, either observed or experienced, were verbal assaults and microaggressions, and the most frequent perpetrators were American students (followed by faculty and staff). The location that was cited the most often was the classroom, and the highest reported reason was race or ethnicity (see Figure 9).

A total of approximately 44 examples were given of discrimination the students

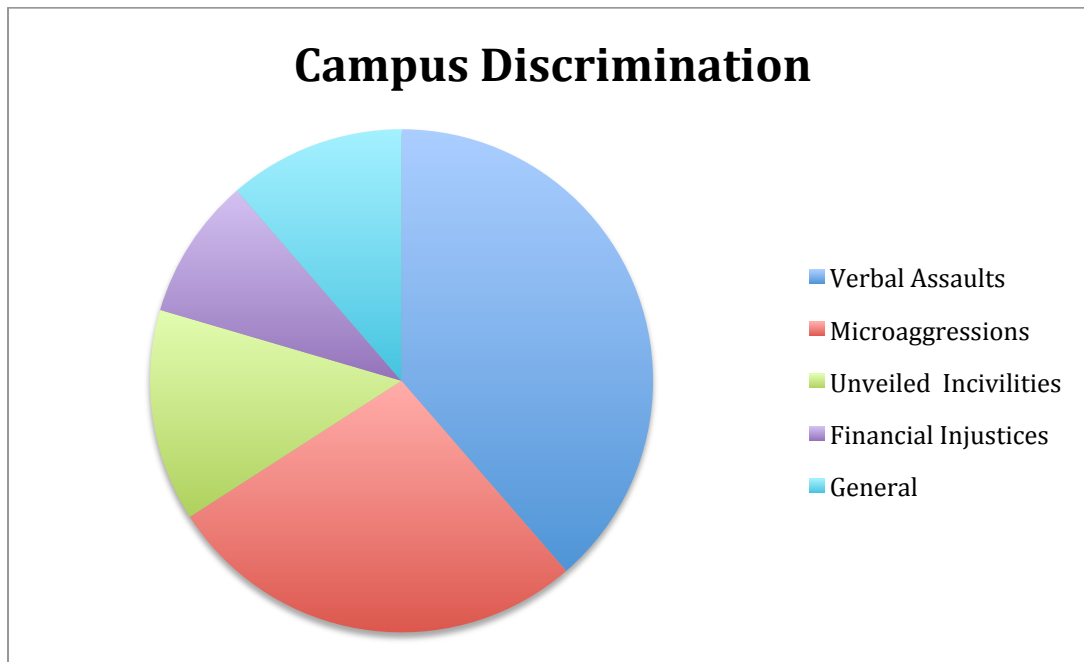


Figure 9. Types of campus discrimination reported by international students

had observed on campus. They were categorized by type, location, perpetrator, and reason. The types, in order of frequency, were verbal, microaggressions, "unveiled incivilities," financial injustices, and general (Figure 9), which I define later. The number of microaggressions is not exact inasmuch as these behaviors are often "invisible manifestations" (Sue, 2010, p. 40) of discrimination and may not be perceived by the targeted individual. The locations, in order of frequency, were in class, off campus, and in housing (dormitory or apartment). The perpetrators included White students, professors, university staff, and one African American student. Finally, the students' perceived reasons for the discrimination were race/ethnicity/country of origin, language, religion, gender, sexual orientation, and other (e.g., because of age, height, or introverted personality). The categories are explained below, followed by an analysis of each.

The first three types of discrimination in Figure 9 are at the individual level of

racism, while the fourth type, financial injustices, is at the institutional level (Scheurich & Young, 2002).

The first category, representing the most frequent in the data, is *verbal assaults*. These are actions in which insensitive or rude language was used (e.g., teasing, using ethnic slurs, or making disparaging comments about a student's country). The second category, *microaggressions*, refers to behavior or language that the perpetrator is often consciously unaware of, such as staring, ignoring an individual, not wanting to work in a group with an international student, or not inviting the student to a party (*veiled incivilities*). The next most frequent type of discrimination is what I call flagrant or *unveiled incivilities*, that is, rude behavior, such as bringing a boyfriend to the dorm room (for intimate relations) without telling the international roommate beforehand--and then acting as though she were not in the room. Following that classification is *financial injustices*: 4 students wrote that it was difficult, if not impossible, for them to find employment on campus or to apply for scholarships because of their international status. Finally, *general* refers to those comments that did not specify the discrimination, for example, "racist" or "treated badly." The first three categories are discussed below.

Verbal Assaults and Linguicism

Verbal assaults. Verbal assaults could be classified as overt discrimination (*unveiled incivilities*) or as microaggressions (*veiled incivilities*). Because of this overlap, I have categorized them as verbal assaults: they were interpreted by the respondents as verbalizations that offended them and attacked their group identity (Lippi-Green, 1997, p. 24).

Weiwei, one of the interviewees, reported that she was offended by comments made by some White American students. In the questionnaire, she responded that she had *sometimes* heard American students express offensive views about political beliefs. When asked about this in the interview, she took on a belligerent tone and pointed out some social problems of capitalism such as homelessness and a poor diet. Apparently, Americans had criticized the communist system, which she defended by pointing out that under communism, people were not "sleeping in the streets" and that people in China, even if they are poor, eat healthy food, whereas here in the US, people eat unhealthy fast food:

Yeah, um, the expensive--uh, I mean, example I gave you last week was about Tibet. And communism, Communists. . . They talk about that a lot, but it's none of their business, really. We can say communism is horrible. You say it's great. We still have people sleeping in the streets. Don't have enough money to just have food. And a lot of people eat at McDonald's because they can afford it, but McDonald's make them sick. And it's not just like adults, it's like a family of two or three. I don't think you're doing very well, either, then why are you stepping into OUR business?

Weiwei's language break-down in this part of the interview exposed the strength of her feelings. She spoke English with near-native fluency, yet in this excerpt, she uttered shorter phrases, dropping the subject of a sentence, for example, and confounding words such as *expensive* for *example* and *we* for *they*. She was criticizing capitalism as well as expressing how chauvinistic and hurtful American students could be. Her nervousness probably stemmed from both her hurt feelings and the fact that she was speaking to an American who might have taken offense at her criticisms of society in the US

Weiwei also reported that a professor in a business class had made sarcastic comments about communism and Tibet. She felt judged by him and thus withdrew from class discussions. The comments were undoubtedly offensive, and the respondent was

emotional as she expressed her feelings that the professor had no right to criticize her country, her home, especially with respect to sensitive political topics such as Tibet. She was proud to be Chinese and felt strongly that Tibet was part of her country:

So we take our country as our home. You don't step into a home, like you don't step into someone's house and started talking about how their family should work out. Then why are you telling me that communism is... Even though you are being sarcastic or like funny about it . . . That's not something that you should be making fun of. And about Tibet, you say we should free Tibet. Even the leader of Tibet, yeah, that's right. We are not letting him back into the country, that's (inaudible) of the government. But . . . he still insists and emphasize on the peace in the country, in the nation and the diversity, and say Tibet is part of China. Then what's your problem?

Using the metaphor of a home, Weiwei felt that as an outsider, the professor had no right to barge into her house and criticize the way her family lived, just because it was not the way he lived. The professor who offended Weiwei was in the minority; none of the other interviewees reported this kind of behavior by faculty. Nevertheless, this instructor, whom Weiwei viewed as the embodiment of ethnocentrism, who was White, male, and of the dominant local culture, clearly used his "bully pulpit" to communicate that White American capitalism was superior to Chinese communism. At the same time he was reinforcing his solidarity--and the majority of his students'--with the in-group, while disparaging the Chinese out-group (Allport, 1954). His unwelcoming words reveal the deeply embedded Eurocentric worldview, the White monocultural paradigm of a predominantly White university (Gusa, 2010). In the quantitative data, 2 other students wrote that professors made derogatory comments about them in class. One said, "negative comments about certain religions, including mine, by the professor, which made me feel uncomfortable and it was just unfair and it made others judge me." At UCLA, too, Hanassab (2006) described White instructors who made disparaging remarks about the

international students' religions and countries--like the teacher at Canyon University, they did so in front of the class--clearly an unveiled incivility.

Linguicism. Ironically, as successful as he was at the university--and as prolific a writer he would become--Du Bois (1960) wrote, "It was in English that I came nearest my Waterloo at Harvard." Unlike the international sojourners in my research, however, he did not report hostile language mocking that "is usually linked to other important racialized stereotyping and imagery that Whites hold in their negative framing of those Americans of color" (Feagin, 2010b, p. 115), as well as those people of color who are not American. This hostile behavior related to language is known as linguicism. Latinas/os and other domestic minority students are still victims of linguicism on American college campuses (Parks, 2007). It is the "auditory aspect" of the White racial frame (Feagin, 2010b).

Linguicism, or what Rosina Lippi-Green (1997) calls "language subordination," would be classified by Sue (2010) as *verbal microassaults* related to language. These are

conscious, deliberate, and either subtle or explicit . . . biased attitudes that are communicated to marginalized groups through environmental cues, verbalizations, or behaviors. They are meant to attack the group identity of the person or to hurt/ harm the intended victim through name-calling, avoidant behavior, or purposeful discriminatory actions. (p. 28)

These verbal microassaults were evident in both the quantitative and the qualitative data. Most of them were related to the fact that the victims were non-native speakers of English. In the quantitative data results, language was the topic with the highest number of negative responses regarding the American students and offensive remarks made in class (compared to remarks about gender, sexual orientation, religion, race/ethnicity, physical abilities, or immigration status). Over one third of the survey respondents said that they

sometimes or *frequently* heard their White American classmates make offensive comments vis-à-vis language or accent. Linguicism also appeared in the qualitative data, particularly in the case of Ming. Because she struggled with English, Ming felt under attack when the Americans in her classes glared at her. "When I don't understand what they say, sometimes they use critical eyes. I don't like it." Ming was describing the White students' nonverbal communication, which is indicative of the White racial frame (Feagin, 2010b, p. 134). They were most likely revealing their impatience with having to deal with a non-native speaker of English, and for Ming it was hurtful.

Of those examples in the quantitative data that related to verbal assaults, half of them referred to being laughed at, teased, or made fun of. A Dominican student wrote, "Subtle things, as rejection looks, mates that don't pay attention when one is talking, teasing about pronunciation (sic). Little things that made me feel ashamed and that sometimes keep me from participating in class." Another student from China wrote, "One of my roommate ridicule someone whose English is not very good. He and his friends question someone are gay and discrimination against him" (sic). This ridiculing is a manifestation of the White racial frame, as well as part of the campus-climate framework, that is, the perceptions of discrimination (the psychological dimension). The effects of these unveiled incivilities are clearly negative. In the case of the Dominican student, the abuse affected his class participation, interfering with his learning and perhaps affecting his grade. The Chinese student's roommate ridiculed a non-native speaker (NNS) of English in front of him, also a NNS. Was the intention to communicate to him that he, too, was inferior? Asserting his White, male hegemony, the roommate was also sending the message that it was unacceptable for the Chinese student--or anyone else--to be anything but

heterosexual and fluent in English.

The intention of the joking by the White American students was unmistakably derisive and hurtful. The individuals interpreted the joking to mean that they were the deficient Other because their English was not like that of a native speaker. The use of humor to ridicule non-native speakers of English has occurred in universities not only in the West, but also on the East coast (Afflick, 2009), the West coast (Boesch, 2008), and the Southwest (Shuck, 2006).

From an early age, Americans are taught that standard American English is superior to other accents. Lippi-Green (1997) analyzed movies and cartoons on television that socialize American children to various accents, linking them to stereotypes. In the Disney movie, *Aladdin*, for example, all of the protagonists speak in standard American English, whereas the "bad guys" all speak with foreign accents. This is evidence of the intolerance and superiority of the White racial frame. White native speakers of English consider themselves superior to non-native speakers: "Caucasians retain a privilege widely perceived to be a natural outcome of certain characteristics thought to be intrinsic to American-ness, nativeness (in English), or Whiteness" (Shuck, 2006, p. 259). Orelus (2013), who is from Haiti, writes about his own experience as non-native speaker of English at a school in Massachusetts. After he gave a presentation in class, a female classmate shouted out that she didn't understand a word he said. The teacher reacted by doing nothing; the young man was so humiliated that he refrained from speaking in class after that. The unveiled incivility was ignored by the teacher, thus giving the White American student's crude behavior *carte blanche*.

Linguicism, or what Macedo et al. (2003) call *linguoracism*, as part of the ethno-

centrism and xenophobia of Whiteness, not only occurs at the micro level of the individual, but it is also present at the macro level of government policy. Political movements such as the English-only crusade are clearly intolerant of the ethnic and linguistic Other and hearken back to colonialist ideology, the foundation of US society (Macedo et al., 2003). In the US today, 31 states have declared English to be their official language, many of them passing the legislation in the 1980s and '90s (Washington Post, 2014). Instead of promoting a pluralistic and multilingual nation, these laws perpetuate the close-minded, monocultural Whiteness that is "America."

In this research, linguoracism manifested itself in more than one way. In her interview, Weiwei reported that American students laughed when a Chinese student was reading aloud from a PowerPoint slide in one of her classes. In addition, when Americans complimented her on having no accent in English, in the next breath they often criticized the language skills of other international students, saying they were barely comprehensible. Weiwei interpreted this not as a personal compliment, but as a collective insult. Yang, another Chinese student, brought this up, too. Like Weiwei, he had almost native fluency in English, but when Americans saw his Asian facial features, they assumed he didn't speak English (a stereotype, or part of the "beliefs aspect" of the White racial frame). He explained his frequent encounters with Americans who react incredulously when they are confronted with a Chinese face speaking fluent English. It runs counter to their stereotype of Asians having heavy accents and/or difficulties with the language. He seemed to take it in stride ("I'm kind of used to it . . ."), yet he wished Americans could see him and other Asians as individuals who are not really so different from them and who do not always fit their stereotypical view:

Like, um . . . so you know, like, I guess it comes with like, the this stereotypes they have about about us, about Asians . . . Like, "Oh," we're supposed to, to like look in a certain way, we're supposed to speak in a certain way. And we're supposed to, like, to be like, um, you know, to just be different . . . from, from the Americans. It's clear, it's quite surprising . . . when, like, an American walk up to me, and we're having a conversation, and like, "Huh! Where'd you learn your English?!" It's like they didn't expect me to speak English like that. So they wonder, like, "OK," so "Where're you from?" "You know, I'm from China." "Oh, OK!" It's . . . I know, like, they're accepting it because they *see* me there now, but they, like, in their heads, they're like, "No, they don't speak . . ." I: (Laughs.) R: You know. So it's . . . I know. I'm kind of used to it, so . . . it's all right, I guess. But I mean, I mean, but if, if they could just like, you know, like, like, like see every Asian like the way they see every American. That would be a great start.

Weiwei and Yang's fluency in English clashed with the Americans' stereotypical view of Chinese speakers. They were exceptions to the rule, anomalies like Barack Obama and Oprah Winfrey (Feagin, 2010b). Allport explained this phenomenon as "re-fencing. . . Categories are stubborn and resist change." When we encounter an exception to our categorizing, the category (or stereotype) becomes even stronger:

There is a common mental device that permits people to hold to prejudgments even in the face of much contradictory evidence. It is the device of admitting exceptions . . . Let us call this the 're-fencing' device. When a fact cannot fit into a mental field, the exception is acknowledged, but the field is hastily fenced in again and not allowed to remain dangerously open. (Allport, 1954, p. 23)

As a result, the American students who met Weiwei and Yang retained their original categorizing of Chinese as not being able to speak English well, placing them into the "exceptional" category and maintaining the deeply entrenched stereotype. For Weiwei and Yang, this meant dealing with this reaction to their language proficiency on a regular basis. Much like racial battle fatigue (Smith, 2004), the stress from this continual offense by ignorant White students must be exhausting.

To summarize, the verbal assaults that the international respondents experienced

were a result of the White racial frame that is embedded in predominantly White universities in the US. Some of these assaults were due to language and others were of a more general ethnocentric nature. The majority of the verbal assaults were perpetrated by students.

The second most frequent category of discrimination that the international students indicated was that of microaggressions, the topic of the following section.

Microaggressions: Veiled Incivilities

Microaggressions are behavior or language that the aggressor is often unaware of, such as ignoring a person or staring at her/him. These "veiled incivilities" may not be intentional on the part of the aggressor, but on the part of the receiver, they are both hateful and hurtful. As manifestations of ethnocentrism, they W.E.B. Du Bois (1960) faced what would be called racial microaggressions when he attended a social event even though he was somewhat a celebrity at Harvard:

I escorted colored girls to various gatherings, . . . Naturally we attracted attention and the Crimson noted my girlfriends. Sometimes the shadow of insult fell, as when at one reception a white woman seemed determined to mistake me for a waiter. (p. 366)

As a student at Harvard, Du Bois deserved to be respected at a college reception, yet it seemed impossible to a White woman that an African American at such a prestigious institution could be anything other than a servant. Over 100 years later, this same microaggression, or so-called "mistake" made by White people, occurred to Michelle and Barack Obama, before they became First Lady and President of the United States (Tuskegee Virtual TV, 2015).

As Michelle Obama told the graduates of Tuskegee University at their com-

mencement, microaggressions, "those daily slights," continue to be perpetrated on people of color today, including university students (Vega, 2014; Yosso et al., 2009), and on the Internet (Dyer-Barr, 2010) as well. Some of these are particularly hateful, such as a comment on Facebook threatening to use a tomahawk against a Sioux student who defended the removal of a Native American name for the university athletic team (Dyer-Barr, 2010).

D.W. Sue (2010) expanded on the construct of microaggressions to include microassaults, microinsults, and microinvalidations. Microassaults are like "old-fashioned" racism in that they are deliberate, hostile, derogatory acts with the intention to hurt the victim. These are what I call *unveiled incivilities*, the topic of the following section. They send the message of rudeness and insensitivity, while microinvalidations are communications that "exclude, negate, or nullify the psychological thoughts, feelings, or experiential reality of a person of color" (p. 29). The international participants in this study recognized these microaggressions. In fact, the highest number of comments the Chinese and Saudi interviewees made about their White American classmates' contributing to a negative classroom climate involved offensive remarks and/or behaviors.

In the classroom: American students. In the quantitative data, there was also evidence of microaggressions in the classroom. The results of the question on discrimination the students had observed yielded examples by 11 students that were coded as microaggressions. Those 11 students made 17 comments about microaggressions, such as American students' staring at them, not wanting to work in a group with them, ignoring them, and not inviting them to parties. Seven of the examples were about American students' microaggressions, while four were about the teacher, two about the staff, and four

were general (e.g., "racist" or "treated badly").

The qualitative data also revealed a number of unwelcoming behaviors that could be interpreted as microaggressions. Ming's oral English proficiency was not as high as the other interviewees', but she was sensitive to nonverbal communication in the social environment of the college classroom. She said that some of her American classmates were rude and offensive when they rested their feet up on a chair in classes. She also recounted that three female classmates glared at her and other Chinese students. "American girl, she use critical eyes to look at Chinese" (sic). The former example may just be a cultural difference in that many Americans act much more informally in public than people in other countries. However, the latter example of the young American women using "critical eyes" I interpreted as a microaggression. Ming used that phrase five times in the interview, when describing negative behavior of American females.

Like the African American, Latina/o, and Asian students in other studies (Fincher, 2014; Hosan, 2010), Ming, from China, felt that she was treated like an outsider. She was given cold glances or "hate stares" by some of her White American classmates at Canyon University, who were sending the same unwelcoming message to Ming: *You don't belong here*. She visibly felt uncomfortable and under attack. The American students at Canyon University are situated in a privileged, in-group position there. Many are from the local community or nearby states, and 85% are LDS, or Mormon. They often attend classes and events at "the Institute," a building that appears to be part of the campus but belongs to the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints. Except for the returned missionaries, many of these students have lived very sheltered lives and may have not interacted with anyone from another country. Unfortunately for Ming, it was easier

for them to remain with their in-group (Allport, 1954). They resembled other White undergraduate students in other parts of the country who have also lived their lives in a White bubble (Chesler et al., 2005; McKinney, 2005).

When asked in the survey if they often felt excluded by their White American classmates, over one third of the students (37%) agreed or strongly agreed with the statement. Three of the 7 interviewees (43%) also agreed that they felt excluded; the others disagreed, but none of them *strongly* disagreed with the statement, which may indicate some ambivalence. Feelings of not being included could be an indication of what Sue (2010) calls *microinvalidations*, messages that "exclude, negate, or nullify the psychological thoughts, feelings, or experiential reality of a person of color" (p. 29). This is further proof that the psychological dimension of the campus-climate framework (Hurtaido et al., 1998) is associated with the extent to which students feel welcomed on campus. In addition, the exclusionary behavior by the White students is another manifestation of the White racial frame.

Similarly, domestic students of color also feel marginalized by their White classmates. Latina/o undergraduates at three prestigious universities in the US suffered daily psychological stress as a result of continual microaggressions by Whites (Yosso et al., 2009). African American students at the University of Michigan reported that they felt excluded from peer interactions with Whites (e.g., in study groups [Chesler et al., 2005]).

In the classroom: Professors. Some of the examples of microaggressions in the quantitative data occurred in the classroom. Of those 28 students who responded they had observed discrimination on campus, 11 gave examples of behavior that was coded as microaggressions. Four of those comments pertained to a professor. Of the 26 students

who answered they had personally experienced discrimination, only two of their examples related to microaggressions by a teacher. For example, a Chinese student majoring in accounting wrote, "the professor is not patient in explaining questions to us but very patient to americans."

As stated earlier, there were more positive than negative comments about the faculty in both the quantitative and qualitative data. In the latter, the most frequent negative remarks were that the faculty 1) viewed the Chinese stereotypically and 2) did not give the students in their classes enough information about activities on campus and rules at the university. The majority of these comments were made by 2 students, Yang and Weiwei; the latter had transferred to Canyon University from another school and had had a much better experience at the other college. (I must add parenthetically that Weiwei also made the highest number of *positive* comments about the teacher.) She reported that in one of her classes, a group of Chinese students always sat together. Before the first exam, the professor separated them, but she did not separate the White American students. It was obvious that the teacher viewed the Chinese as cheaters. Weiwei had seen Chinese students at the other college try to cheat. "It's kind of a shame to me because I know that's our reputation." She obviously saw herself as representing her country and wanted Americans to see the Chinese in a positive light.

The teacher in Weiwei's class singled out the Chinese students when she could have treated all of the students the same. If this was the first test of the term, as the student indicated, the instructor could not have had any evidence that the Chinese students would try to cheat. It is more likely that she was suspicious because she saw those students sitting together as a Yellow Peril stereotype (Shah, 2003). In other words, they

were seen as sneaky and deceitful. If so, this illustrates the beliefs aspect of the White racial frame. Naturally, the White American students sitting together was just "normal" to her, while the Chinese students exhibiting the same behavior was seen as a problem.

One of the Saudi students, too, reported that he thought one of his teachers had discriminated against the international students in her grading, always giving the American students higher grades, regardless of performance. Azzam recounted that the students in this class were required to complete a group project. The evaluation of the project was supposedly on group--not individual--performance, yet he and another international student received lower grades than their White American counterparts. He spoke about the professor's not being fair in her grading:

She, we work outside of class so, so she doesn't know who's doing what. She's only grading us depending on what we did, and should be fair for all. What I saw was the . . . American student get better grade and than, what, the one that I get. And it wasn't, the grading wasn't on individual per-, performance. Was on the group performance. So, . . . I think that, that class, I, I felt the teacher wasn't fair with me. . . . But I, I was asking the American student. Mostly they get better, better grade, most of the time.

Azzam thought the teacher was unfair in her grading because the Americans in his group received higher grades than he did, and the teacher had told them they would not be graded individually, but as a group. Unfair grading by instructors in American universities is not uncommon in the literature about international students (Lee & Rice, 2007; Mukminin & McMahon, 2013), nor is it in the research on domestic students of color (Chesler et al., 2005; Smith, Yosso, & Solórzano, 2007). If the students' perceptions are correct, it could be that the teachers were acting on the beliefs aspect of the White racial frame. That is, they may have assumed that because the students were not native speakers of English, they were deficient and did not deserve the same grade as the White American

native speakers.

Another Saudi student noticed that one of his teachers in the intensive English program (English as a Second Language) was also discriminatory. After taking roll, if a student arrived late, s/he would always be sure to mark a female student wearing a *hijab* tardy on the roll sheet. In contrast, when any other student came late to the class, s/he did nothing. Abdulhakim, an economics major, thought that the Muslim student was being unjustly targeted. As a teacher myself, I do not always remember to mark students late, but it is possible that the visual aspect of the White racial frame was at play. That is, the *hijab* made the Muslim student more visibly the Other to the White teacher, so s/he was more aware of the student's tardiness. Regardless, Abdulhakim *perceived* the behavior as discriminatory.

Off campus. In his book on racial microaggressions, D. W. Sue (2010) writes that oppressed groups have a "heightened perception and wisdom" regarding prejudice and discrimination. Abdulhakim exemplified this heightened perception in that he was surprisingly savvy about modern racism in America and its more subtle manifestations (Bonilla-Silva, 2014; Bowman & Smith, 2002; Chesler et al., 2003; Chesler et al., 2005; Feagin, 2010b; Feagin et al., 1996; Myers, 2003). When describing White Americans, he said, "They act . . . not racism, but inside they are racism (sic). . . Their speaking is very nice, in the body language, but you *feel* the racism." This is almost the same language that an African American student's parent used to describe the unwelcoming campus climate at another state university: "It's like a thing that you can feel" (Feagin et al., 1996). Abdul recounted two incidents of racial microaggressions; both occurred off campus, one in a medical clinic and another in a retail store.

To summarize this section, the second most common type of discrimination the international students reported (after verbal assaults) was microaggressions, or *veiled incivilities*. The everyday "white put-downs" (Pierce, 1974) that are communicated to domestic minority students are also targeted at the international Other. The White racial frame, with its beliefs, images, emotions, and inclinations to discriminatory action (Feagin, 2010b), appears to be so deep in the psyche of White people that they are not aware of the pain they inflict. Motivated by the ethnocentrism and linguisticism, aspects of the White racial frame, the veiled incivilities were much more often perpetrated by the students' American peers than by the faculty; nonetheless, they had an effect on the students' emotional and mental well-being, the psychological dimension of the campus-climate framework (Hurtado et al., 1998).

The next section describes more blatant discrimination that the international students reported, that is, *unveiled incivilities*.

Unveiled Incivilities

The third most frequent type of discrimination, after verbal assaults and microaggressions, was that of *unveiled incivilities*, or blatantly rude behavior aimed at the ethnic Other, such as discarding a gift from an international roommate or throwing away the Taiwanese student's food and writing her an abusive message. Also in this category is stealing, slamming doors, running away, and assaulting someone physically.

At Harvard, W.E.B. Du Bois lived a rather segregated life, distancing himself for the most part from his White classmates. Perhaps that is the reason for the absence of unveiled incivilities in his writing. The most blatant racist behavior he wrote about was

that of a Southern visitor to one of his classes who refused to sit next to Du Bois (to his credit, the professor, who had invited the visitor, asked him to leave). More than a century later, White American college students' behavior toward the Other appears to have deteriorated. Not only are domestic minority students suffering abuse by their White peers in person, but it is also occurring on the Internet (Dyer-Barr, 2010).

On campus. The unveiled incivilities appearing in the data on international students occurred outside of the classroom, where perpetrators feel relatively anonymous and safe (Sue, 2010). On the campus of Wasatch University, a Kurdish student from northern Iraq wrote that when he told Americans where he was from, they often reacted in an agitated manner:

I was walking with two of my friends. There was a woman near [campus building] passed us and asked us where are you from? My friends answered Peru and Brazil. Then she asked me where I am from and I told her where I am from. As soon as I answered she got scared and ran. Asking me where I am from is the toughest question for me in this country.

The reason for the woman's fear is not clear: Was it because of the war in Iraq? Because the student was Muslim? Middle Eastern? Obviously, he represented Said's (1978) Other, but for her to react by running away seems an extreme reaction. Apparently, from the student's remarks, other Americans have reacted in a similar fashion.

Another extreme example of a manifestation of an unveiled incivility was given by a Chinese student: "I have been punched by a guy in the face. It happened on the campus. He said a lot of insulting language, and discrimination" The attacker may have used ethnic slurs, which are not commonly taught in ESL classes, and the student was probably not familiar with American hate speech, but he understood the punch in the face. Fortunately, this story was the exception: of the 32 examples of discrimination that

the students reported, only 2 mentioned being physically assaulted. The other example was that a student from Japan was "pushed away by a Caucasian girl at [name of campus event], even though I didn't have any intention against her, or I didn't even look at her, it happened out of blue." These sudden, violent assaults have certainly had dire psychological effects for the victims.

Off campus. Similar to other studies (Bonazzo & Wong, 2007; Hanassab, 2006; Lee & Rice, 2007), the most deplorable incivilities took place in student housing and off campus. Highlighting particularly blatant racism, one student wrote, "At the bust stop (sic), in the early hours male drivers stops their car almost in front of a foreign person, staring in sign of reprobation at the non-White person for a few minutes, even saying some kind of curses." This aggressive behavior by Whites is what domestic minority students, particularly African Americans, have to tolerate on a daily basis, especially in the form of slurs (Chesler et al., 2005; Feagin et al., 1996; Smith et al., 2007; Swim et al., 2003; Yosso et al., 2009).

In student housing. Unveiled incivilities also occurred in student dormitories at Wasatch and Canyon Universities. The most appalling behavior by White students towards the international students occurred in female student housing. In her interview, Ming insisted on returning to the topic of housing; she was anxious but relieved that she was going to move out of her current dormitory and have a single room the following semester. Her American roommate kept her up late at night by keeping the lights on in the room and making noise. In the morning, she would wake her up with an alarm on her cellphone, which would go off continuously, while Ming was trying to sleep. The American said that she needed the alarm to ring a long time; otherwise, she would continue

sleeping. Ming offered to set an alarm and wake her up, but the roommate refused. In addition, Ming had given her roommate a gift from China. Later, she discovered that the young American woman had discarded it. One could argue that this conduct was simply rude, not discriminatory, but it was clear from her tone of voice and emotional distress that Ming perceived that her White American roommate's incivilities were ascribed to her ethnicity. This inconsiderate behavior clearly could be classified as a *microinvalidation* (Sue, 2010), because Ming's concerns about needing to sleep were negated or nullified, and her gift was treated like trash. Her roommate's selfish actions were truly *unwelcoming*.

In addition, Ming described hostile behavior towards a Chinese friend who lived in another dormitory. During spring break, she cooked food that she planned to eat the following week. "When Americans come into her apartment, when her roommates come to her apartment, . . . they throw her food away. (sic)" A similar incident occurred to one of the survey respondents at Wasatch University, who wrote, "One of my roommate spread her perfume in my room after I ate my local food." This behavior is clearly an unveiled incivility. It illustrates how deeply ingrained the White racial frame is--affecting a person's basic sense of smell--and triggering such a vehement reaction.

Weiwei also recounted hostility by White American females toward Chinese women in student housing. In general, she thought American students were loud ("they party a lot"), and the rules were not enforced, which disturbed the international students. One of her Chinese friends, who took a nap in the afternoon, was rudely awakened by her American roommate--and her boyfriend--who would go to the room in the middle of the day without warning--or asking--the Chinese student. The most contemptible behavior,

however, was perpetrated on three female students from China, and the university staff neglected to deal with aggressive physical and verbal abuse by an allegedly mentally ill American roommate:

the American girl was like so rude to the Chinese girls, like say *F* words. . . Really rude to them, eat their food without asking, use their things without asking, and then just leave the mess there. . . almost the end of the semester, the girls were like crying, and had collected all the proofs that how horrible the American girl was. They recorded. . . Just that one American girl and three Chinese girls living there. She's just like horrible to all of them, and she made an excuse saying like she has early stage of autism. So she's acting aggressively, but um, when they went to talk about it, she wasn't like that to any of her AMERICAN friends. And all the manager did after the initial meeting, was say, "Work it out." That's just outrageous. That's NOT acceptable. That's the best you can do, then you shouldn't have your job. You shouldn't be paid for it. And, um, so they collected the proof, they recorded the American girl yelling at them, being just verbally violent to them, and. . . The thing--but it's kind of sad that they have to do it, they have to collect all of the proofs to say how horrible it is. It's like the management just didn't care about it or just don't trust them. In your first experience to American culture, like THAT, I don't think I would ever come back to the country again.

Weiwei knew that it was the responsibility of the dormitory staff to ensure a safe living area for all the students. Nonetheless, the Resident Assistant failed to address the problem. The Chinese students were not treated respectfully, one of the basic elements of the university's student code of conduct. Essentially, the Chinese women were ignored even though they had physical evidence in the form of videos showing the American's ugly comportment. Perhaps it was because the RA assumed they would not complain, or that the RA did not know how to deal with the situation, that she simply told the students to solve the problem themselves. I agree with Weiwei that the RA, by telling the women to "work it out," was not doing her job. This was not a minor incident like leaving wet towels on the floor. It involved criminal acts (e.g., theft and assault). Like the previous example, the Chinese students' concerns were negated or nullified, clearly a microinvalida-

tion (Sue, 2010) by the White RA. Exacerbating this abuse of the Chinese students was the fact that *they* were asked to move. The university allegedly gave them an excuse about the American student's parents' having paid for the room in advance. Prolonged treatment like this is obviously going to affect the psychological stability of any student, as well as their overall view of the campus climate.

This incident from Canyon University, like the following from Wasatch University, illustrates how Whiteness is embedded in the ideology of the university staff. It was evident in the comments written by an Iraqi student, who was also assaulted by his roommate. He reported the crime to the police, yet he was the one who was evicted and required to pay a large fee:

My roommate assaulted me and I called the police he was charged by the police. Also, he was under warrant to be arrested by the police. He was using drugs in the apartment and when he assaulted me he was under influence. I showed my police report to the university housing which stated that I was the victim. The university housing evicted me and asked me to pay for the rest of the contract 2000 dollars. Now I am not allow to apply for university housing and not get closer than 500 feet to any housing building. I believe the main reason the university had done this to me was because I am a foreigner and the other person was not. Because of this issue I had done terrible in that semester. I think the university must educate their employees a little more. I wanted to sue the university but I was worried even the courts here might treat me as a foreigner and I lose, so I moved on.

He added, "I had done terrible in that semester," evidence of the negative ramifications of such a stressful experience.

The abovementioned flagrant incivilities exemplify two-faced racism (Houts Picca & Feagin, 2007). When White Americans are on the "frontstage" (i.e., performing in public, such as the classroom), they do not act in blatantly racist ways because it is no longer socially acceptable to do so. Nonetheless, when they are in a private location, or backstage, alone or with their White friends, their true racist feelings are displayed. The

examples above, of the White students abusing their international roommates, occurred on the "backstage" of the dormitory, a relatively private space. The psychological stress that ensued affected the student's performance in the classroom.

Resilient Resistance

In response to the veiled and unveiled incivilities, the Chinese and Saudi students at Canyon University exhibited what Yosso et al. (2009) call "resilient resistance." The Latino/a students who participated in focus groups at elite universities shared their stories of emotional stress and psychological pain as a result of being the targets of three types of microaggressions: interpersonal microaggressions, racist jokes, and institutional microaggressions. The students responded by building their own community and critically navigating between multiple worlds.

This resilient resistance was much like how W.E.B. Du Bois survived, and even flourished, at Harvard: "I was firm in my criticism of White folk . . . and all too willing to consort with my own and to disdain and forget as far as was possible that outer, whiter world" (pp. 366-7). That attitude of disdain was apparent in the comments of the Chinese and Saudi students who, like Du Bois, had transferred from other schools. Because they had studied elsewhere, or, in Yang's case, had lived abroad previously, they shared a broader, more critical perspective and faced with veiled and unveiled incivilities, were able to rally. For example, during her interview, Weiwei said

Like for me, if I read, they giggle, I don't really care. (huffs) I'm going to say, 'I'm not going to see you ever in my life. If you're not behaving the best of the humanity, well YOUR problem. Somehow it's going to stop you and stand in the way, but not ME.' (huffs)

Weiwei was not going to allow the bad behavior of the Americans to stand in her way. In

my reflexive journal after talking with Weiwei, I wrote, "Definitely influenced by liberal values of (name of city). Couldn't understand why people in Utah were against gay marriage and abortion. 'How could they criticize China for its one-child policy?'" Yang, too, resisted the power of the White racial frame. He was active in international and other diversity clubs, he criticized the American media for being parochial, and after the tape recorder was turned off, he said something to the effect that English was his fourth language. "How many languages does the average American speak?" Weiwei and Yang, like Du Bois and more recently, the Caribbean international students at the University of Florida (Malcolm, 2011), refused to succumb to the hegemonic Whiteness at the university. They clearly did not see themselves as inferior to the White American students.

Abdulahkim and Salim were less disdainful and more compassionate towards the White American students. Strong in their Muslim faith, they seemed to feel pity for the young LDS students. "I don't blame them; this is their job," said Salim about the missionaries. Abdulhakim was almost paternalistic in his advice to incoming students from Saudi Arabia: "Be patient with missionaries." The Saudis seemed to forgive the unwelcoming behaviors of their White American peers. They also clearly saw themselves as sojourners, which may have strengthened their resilience. Abdulhakim, for instance, did not limit his imagination to the local, but took a broader, more global perspective toward his experience here:

For me, I'm, I thinking, as, as, I'm a bird. I can go anywhere what I want. . . That's it. Don't ask me where is the good place. Everywhere I will enjoy my life. I will be here short period of life. I am in America, or I am in Saudi Arabia, I will be happy where I am.

Abdul realized that his future may be in his native country, in the United States, or perhaps a different country. He ended with "I am happy everywhere. I'm a bird. Every-

where, I can be."

Group Differences

Though Lucy was the most positive in her comments about American students, as a group, the Chinese were much more critical, and the Saudis were much more reticent. I propose three reasons for this. First, as I stated previously, as a novice researcher, I did not probe as deeply as I could have in the interviews with these young men. Because they were former students of mine, I was genuinely curious about their lives on campus, so I might have been invested in the communication more as a teacher than as a researcher. Second, because of their lower numbers on campus, Saudis as a group may not have been as visible as the Chinese, which may have resulted in less prejudicial attitudes and behaviors by the White students. Finally, it could be that because of their high numbers, especially in the College of Business at Canyon University, the Chinese students dealt with more discriminatory behavior by White American students, who were likely to see them as threatening in that as the "model minority" stereotype, they were competing with them. There is some empirical evidence for this at a university in the American Southwest:

Notably, the strongest correlates of prejudice in our study were perceptions of international students as realistic and symbolic threats. In effect, US students in our study reported greater levels of prejudiced attitudes when they perceived international students as threatening their beliefs and values, while also posing threats to their social status and economic, educational, and physical well-being. (Charles-Toussaint & Crowson, 2010, p. 423)

Trapped in the White Racial Frame

Most of the literature on campus climate addresses the perceptions of domestic ethnic minority students (e.g., African Americans), who also have to deal with Whites' veiled and unveiled incivilities but do not have the luxury of escaping the White racial frame.

The comment that one 'cannot run away' from racism again conveys a sense of being trapped in a racialized space. This is an element of the injuries that racism inflicts, for 'from day one' African Americans realize their lives will be marked by racial problems and tensions. (Feagin et al., 1996, p. 71)

International students are at an advantage because they *can* "run away" from the White space of the university. They often travel back home during holidays and look forward to returning to their home countries after graduation, so in a sense, they are in a much more privileged--and less stressful--position than the domestic Other.

Conclusion

Regardless of the unwelcoming incivilities the international students at Canyon, Wasatch, and Zion Universities encountered, the international students were generally satisfied with the faculty and the classroom experience, which was associated with the extent to which they felt welcomed on campus (the psychological aspect of the campus-climate framework). Their experiences at predominantly White universities in the Mountain West resembled those of domestic minority students around the country (i.e., African Americans, Asian Americans, Latinas/os, Native Americans, and Pacific Islanders). The microaggressions by faculty were usually subtle, or veiled, such as being ignored or being graded differently. The discriminatory practices of the White racial frame were more

prevalent among the students' White peers than the faculty, and they were more blatant in the "backstage" (e.g., student housing) than in the "frontstage" of the classroom. Linguicism and ethnocentrism were predominant themes. The students' positive responses about their experiences in college may be attributed to their "resistant resilience," that is, an ability to rise above the mistreatment by Whites, take a critical view, form their own communities, and pursue their dreams. All in all, the students seemed to take a mature, realistic view of their individual situations and their perceptions of the campus climate.

CHAPTER VI

DISCUSSION, IMPLICATIONS, AND CONCLUSION

It is a sin against hospitality to open your doors and darken your countenance. English proverb

This chapter begins with a summary of the findings, followed by a discussion of each of the major findings, the implications for practice, recommendations for future research, and the conclusion.

Summary of the Findings

Parents of college students expect that their children will not only be safe but also welcomed on university campuses, which means they should be treated courteously, if not hospitably. The majority of the students in this research project were treated in a civil manner by the White American undergraduates. The word *civil*, according to the *American Heritage* dictionary, "suggests only the barest observance of accepted social usages; it often means merely neither polite nor rude." I would hope, however, that the American classmates would learn to treat their foreign guests *politely*, which implies "consideration of others and the adherence to conventional social standards of good behavior," or even *hospitably*: "disposed to treat guests with warmth and generosity," in other words, wel-

coming. Fortunately, a minority of the respondents were victims of unveiled incivilities; unfortunately, it was a large minority. Overall, they felt welcomed on campus, but some of them perceived a "fake friendliness" on the part of the American students. The faculty perhaps compensated for the American students' veiled incivilities by acting in a more welcoming manner. The data showed that the faculty's role in promoting a positive classroom climate was more important to the international sojourners. The results also revealed that female international students were less likely to perceive a positive classroom climate.

W.E.B. Du Bois did not write about incivilities on the part of his White male classmates at Harvard, but that may be due to the fact that not having any illusions about American society, he avoided interacting with them. "I was happy at Harvard, but for unusual reasons. One of these was my acceptance of racial segregation (Du Bois, 1960, p. 366). The Chinese and Saudi students that were interviewed also seemed well-adjusted and happy, even Weiwei. They had the added advantages of being sojourners and living in a globalized world. They know one day they will return to their native countries, as they often do during school vacations, and many of them communicate with their families via cell phone or computer.

With regard to the classroom climate, the respondents perceived welcoming instructors to be knowledgeable, friendly, fair, and patient, as well as to care about their students and to interact with them in class. They also benefitted from working on group projects. While they valued a diverse student body, they felt this was lacking at the three PWIs. The unwelcoming behavior they perceived by the American students included microaggressions, particularly due to ethnic and linguistic differences. Overall, the Ameri-

can classmates exemplified the ethnocentrism of the White racial frame much more than the teachers.

Two broad themes were prevalent in the data: 1) ambivalence (i.e., the students felt the campus was both welcoming *and* unwelcoming), and 2) mistreatment similar to that of domestic minority students at PWIs: veiled and unveiled incivilities (microaggressions and blatant discriminatory behavior), and linguisticism, all part of the White racial frame.

Discussion and Implications

The analysis of the data resulted in six major findings related to the international Other's perceptions of welcoming/unwelcoming at three predominantly White universities in the Mountain West. The order of the findings is topical, with the first three related to the classroom and the behavioral dimension of the campus-climate framework and the last three related to the White American students and the psychological dimension of the theoretical framework.

Finding One: Classroom Climate Matters for Campus Climate

The results of the quantitative and qualitative data analyses show that the more welcomed a student felt in at least one class, the more welcomed s/he perceived the overall campus climate. I neglected to ask in the questionnaire how the class (that the students had chosen as their most welcoming) generally compared with their other classes, but I did ask the students who were interviewed to choose their *least* welcoming class. That all of them were unable to think of a least welcoming class would indicate that on

the whole, the classroom climate was positive for them. Indeed, 92% of the students agreed or strongly agreed that they felt welcomed in the campus community at their respective universities. Given the similarity between the quantitative and the qualitative data, it could be inferred that what happens in the classroom influences how welcomed the students feel on campus. To be cautious, however, we also need to consider the influence of social desirability or prestige bias on the responses (Dörnyei, 2010).

I interpret this finding as an indication that these students are serious scholars. They have given up their comfortable lives at home and sojourned thousands of miles for a postsecondary education. In addition, they have overcome the obstacles of a new language and culture and persevered in their scholarly pursuits. Their purpose is not to socialize, attend sports events, or join a fraternity/sorority. They came here to study; thus, what happened in the classroom was of critical importance to them.

This finding is consistent with literature on English teachers in China, as well as that on domestic ethnic-minority students. The former includes a study on a good teacher, which found three areas of crucial importance to university students: professional characteristics, teaching skills, and classroom climate (Zhang & Watkins, 2007). The latter (Reid & Radhakrishnan, 2003) found a statistically significant association between academic climate and general campus climate, similar to my results. They surveyed over 1400 African American, Asian, Latina/o, and White students at a large, racially diverse university in the Midwest and found that academic climate, as measured by 1) the impact of instructors, 2) whether the individuals were seen as serious students by instructors and peers, and 3) the undergraduates' perceptions of social and intellectual respect. For all groups, perceptions of the academic climate were the best predictor of the students' per-

ceptions of the campus climate in general.

To my knowledge, except for Reid and Radhakrishnan (2003), the research on African Americans, Asian Americans, Latinas/os, and Native Americans has only alluded to the relationship between the students' perceptions of classroom climate and those of the campus climate. Reid and Radhakrishnan's data, like mine, show a clear connection between the two.

Implications. The majority of US faculty in postsecondary institutions are White and male (US Department of Education, 2013), most of whom are unaware that "racism, sexism, and class elitism shape the structure of classrooms creating a lived reality of insider versus outsider that is predetermined, often in place before any class discussion begins" (hooks, 1994, p. 83). For teachers to create a positive classroom climate for students who are not White, male, heterosexual, able-bodied, and from the US, they need some type of intervention. Higher-education administrators could involve their teaching/learning centers in cross-cultural training for faculty and staff (ASHE, 1999; Banks & Banks, 1995; Bennett, 1993; Chesler et al., 2005; Gordon, 2007; Marchesani & Adams, 1992; Reid & Radhakrishnan, 2003). Educators, staff, librarians, and students at predominantly White institutions also need to learn about Whiteness and White privilege (Cabrera, 2009; Gusa, 2009; Kendall, 2006; Reid & Radhakrishnan, 2003). Faculty in particular must be aware of classroom dynamics that affect females and non-White students: their own sexism and ethnocentrism in language use (Gabb, 2006) and in pedagogical practices and epistemologies (Diangelo, 2006; Gordon, 2007; Ladson-Billings, 1999; Scheurich & Young, 2002; Tange & Jensen, 2012). In addition, faculty must address the issue of power in classroom interactions (hooks, 1994; Kincheloe et al., 1998; Liu, 2001). Facul-

ty and students alike need to be taught about Whiteness and racism with a course much like the one Lawrence and Tatum (1997) delivered to suburban White K-12 teachers. This is true for faculty of color as well. It cannot be assumed that just because a professor is Asian, he/she is knowledgeable about a humanizing, multicultural pedagogy (hooks, 1994; Montecinos, 1994).

Finding Two: The Teacher Matters

In addition to the importance of the classroom climate in the international students' reported perceptions of the overall campus climate, the teacher's positive characteristics were key to the students' perceptions of being welcomed in the classroom. These characteristics were a combination of the students' perceptions of her/his patience, friendliness, knowledge, the extent to which s/he cared about the students and their learning, and whether s/he was an ethical role model. In addition to these same qualities, the interview data show that the students valued a relaxed demeanor, a sense of humor, and a cosmopolitan worldview. Certainly, different individuals viewed their most welcoming teacher uniquely; what the teachers had in common was that they created a positive, welcoming climate for these students.

The White American classmates' behavior also mattered, but not as much as the teachers'. As quoted in Chapter IV, one of the interviewees, Weiwei, said, "I think the teacher's attitude towards students will determine the environment . . . in class," accurately predicting the results of the quantitative data analysis. The variable that measured the teachers' attitudes, which included being patient, friendly, and caring, was more important to the research participants than their teaching practices or negative behaviors.

These findings appear to be a concatenation: the teacher is key to the classroom climate, and the classroom climate in turn is key to the students' perceptions of the campus climate. This clearly conforms to the Hurtado et al. (1998) campus-climate framework in that a multiplicity of factors (psychological, behavioral, and structural) contribute to a sense of belonging for the students.

That the professor plays a major role in creating a welcoming classroom climate is consistent with the findings of other literature examining a variety of ethnicities and higher-education settings. Not surprisingly, for the international graduate students in Beykont and Daiute's (2010) study, the professor was key to their feeling comfortable in seminars. Immigrant students in the interviews and focus groups that Boesch (2008) conducted also indicated that the teacher was of the utmost importance in making the classroom environment positive. For the Latinas/os in Stone Norton's (2008) research, an inclusive teacher was important, that is, one who showed the values of care, respect, life-long learning, and authenticity. One of Mencke's (2010) major findings was that his marginalized students appreciated a teacher who was not just caring, but was able to encourage participation, direct discussions, and challenge them to think critically. Borgford-Parnell's (2006) qualitative data about undergraduates at the University of Washington showed that teachers are essential to student learning. Finally, in Reid and Radhakrishnan's (2003) study, African American, Asian American, and White students' perceptions of how the faculty treated them were the best predictors of the general campus climate. It is clear that the teacher matters.

This empirical finding confirms what most of us take for granted as common knowledge, which has been true at least since ancient times, when the great teachers such

as Socrates had "followers" in Greece who spent time with him in order to learn. Ancient Chinese philosophers also attracted "disciples." Confucius, for example, may have had as many as 3,000 (Tan, 2013). Just as parents all over the world are the key to their children's development, it appears to be universal that teachers take on the role of parent. This is reflected in the Chinese proverb, *Who teaches me for a day is my father for a lifetime*. American education, too, adopted the philosophy of *in loco parentis*, or in the place of parents, from the British tradition of teaching college students not just intellectually, but morally and religiously, too (Altbach, 1998). Like parents, teachers are invaluable in the lives of young people everywhere.

Implications. The implications for this finding are the same as for the first finding regarding classroom climate. It is important for faculty to realize what an important role they play in creating a welcoming environment for their students and for administrators to demonstrate they value teaching. Most university teachers are expected to fulfill the requirements of their employment in three areas: teaching, service, and research. However, in reality, what administrators pay attention to is the third area, especially when it results in financial benefits in the form of external grants. Moreover, the faculty who obtain those research grants are rewarded with much larger remunerations than the faculty with higher teaching responsibilities. Instead of tendering a piece of paper in the form of a teaching award, administrators in higher education should be recognizing excellent teachers with much more substantial rewards.

To assist faculty in improving their teaching, universities can take advantage of their teaching/learning centers, and if, like Canyon and Zion Universities, they do not have a center for teaching excellence, they should consider initiating one. In addition,

department chairpersons can give faculty more time for course preparation. The excellent teachers who were interviewed in the literature on higher-education pedagogy (Borgford-Parnell, 2006; Kellett, 2010; Moore, 2013) said that creating an inclusive climate in the classroom and a meaningful, academically challenging experience for their students took more time than the traditional teaching-through-lecture, but they felt that the students learned more. The added time was spent planning, but also reflecting on what happened in the classroom. They saw teaching as a *practice* that could be improved, but would never be perfect; they admitted having bad days and learning from them. One professor of color at the University of Washington said that when he first arrived on campus, he sought help from the university's teaching/learning center. Years later, he went on to receive the Distinguished Teacher award.

Finding Three: Group Projects as Positive Teaching Practice

The third major finding of this research related to teaching practices. Almost three quarters of the international respondents said that they had worked on a group project in their undergraduate studies. Of those, 97% found it to be a positive experience. When asked to explain, 4 of the students wrote both positive and negative comments, saying for example, that group projects were not always a positive learning experience, but generally they were. This finding differs from another study that examined international students' perceptions of group projects (Leki, 2001), but it agrees with the literature on pedagogy in higher education, which promotes active learning (Braxton, Milem, & Sullivan, 2000; Umbach & Wawrzynski, 2005). Collaborating on a group project might also contribute to a positive classroom climate and the formation of a community of

learners (hooks, 1994). Assigning collaborative projects was one of the effective teaching practices that led to more student learning at the postsecondary institutions that Bates (2010) investigated. Those schools all participated in the National Survey of Student Engagement (NSSE) and had scored highly on the survey's five standards of effective educational practice: level of academic challenge, active and collaborative learning, student interaction with faculty members, enriching educational experiences, and supportive campus environment. Bates, however, did not address race or ethnicity in his research.

Again, like the first finding, that the teacher matters, this finding reflects the importance of learning to these international students. It is also similar to the results of Beck's (2008) research on international students in a Canadian university. Ninety percent of them said that they preferred interactive teaching practices to the traditional lecture. Although group projects were not specifically mentioned, "Students appreciated interactive lectures, problem-based learning and real-life problems, humour, interesting stories, and so on. Students valued professors who challenged them to achieve high standards" (p. 251).

Implications. In light of the disparities among the abovementioned studies, more research on group projects is needed, especially as they relate to students who are seen as the Other in predominantly White universities. My results were overwhelmingly positive, and Ilona Leki's were the complete opposite. It may be that the success or failure of group projects is dependent upon the way the instructor sets them up, the degree to which s/he supervises them, or some other factors. In Leki's study, for example, the international students' teachers did not know that there were problems with the group dynamics, with the American students' taking control of the project and denying the international

students full participation (which is also related to Finding Five, unwelcoming behavior by American students, illustrating the White racial frame).

Finding Four: Sexism?

The fourth finding in the quantitative data was that female respondents were less likely to have a positive view of the classroom climate. Hardy (2012) also found perceived sexism in the classroom in her research on female international STEM students. I did not ask the interviewees about their perceptions of sexism, nor did I ask about the gender of the teachers in their most/least welcoming classes. Human beings are complex creatures; it is difficult to know what is salient in a personal interaction. Is it gender, race, ethnicity, class, sexual orientation, physical ability, age, language, or something else? Pierre Orelus (2013), who is Black, male, and speaks Haitian Creole, French, Spanish, and English, when writing about whitecentrism, or the centrality of Whiteness, emphasizes the intersectionality (Crenshaw, 1989) of all of those pieces of the mosaic that make up our identities. He insists on avoiding the binaries of Black/White, female/male, old/young, etc. Thus, the interpretation of this finding may be more complex than sexism. The implication for this finding, too, is that the topic needs to be investigated further.

Finding Five: American Classmates' Incivilities

Both the quantitative and the qualitative data showed that the White American students were seen by the international students as less welcoming than their professors. All in all, the responses were positive and most of the incivilities were veiled, reflecting

the subtleties of the new racism. Over 94% of the students thought the Americans were friendly, 88% agreed that they listened carefully when international students spoke in class, and 82% indicated they made them feel welcomed. Nevertheless, over a third (38%) felt excluded by the American students. When compared with the perceptions of the professor, the responses regarding the American classmates were consistently lower. For example, they were perceived as having a more narrow-minded view of the world, and the international students reported that their classmates ignored them more frequently than the teacher did. The qualitative data also reflected this difference between perceptions of the faculty and the American students.

The quantitative data showed no significant difference between international students of color and White international students vis-à-vis discrimination. This differs from other studies that found more discrimination reported by students of color on F-1 visas (Hanassab, 2006; Lee & Rice, 2007), especially in interactions with their White American classmates. The difference in results might be explained by my small sample size ($N = 93$) and/or the fact that only 15% of the respondents were White.

Finding Five, that American students were less welcoming than the teachers, appears to converge with the results of empirical studies both on international students and discrimination, as well as on domestic minority students and campus climate. The literature on international students reveals discrimination by White classmates in varying degrees, from veiled microaggressions to openly oppressive incivilities. All of these acts reflect the intolerance and inequality of Whiteness. Middle Eastern students at Washington State University reported incidents such as an American student's not wanting to work with an Arab in a laboratory (Neider, 2010). International students interviewed at a

large university in the Southwest talked about American students making plans for the weekend after class, but never including them in the conversation (Lee & Rice, 2007). This exclusionary behavior paled in comparison with Hsieh's (2007) case study on a female student from Hong Kong, which found that she was not only ignored and rendered invisible by her American classmates, but she was seen as incompetent. Similarly, in Leki's (2001) study, the domestic students in 15 of the 17 cases treated their non-native English-speaking classmates as being "variously handicapped." They assumed the international students were incompetent and as a result, they were not allowed to fully participate in the group project. Finally, in Hanassab's (2006) quantitative study at UCLA, the most discrimination the international students reported was perpetrated by their classmates. It is evident that some international students tended to perceive many of their White American students as unwelcoming.

Other literature on the ethnic Other and discrimination shows how students who have lived in this country as immigrants recognize that racism is an everyday reality. In Boesch's (2008) study in the Pacific Northwest, immigrant students at a postsecondary institution were critical of White American students, saying they were immature, shallow, and disrespectful. In one of the scenarios they were asked to respond to, in which the American students in a class were acting in a racist manner, most of the immigrants said they would not drop the class, that racism was something they had to deal with all the time (Boesch, 2008). This behavior by the White students is consistent with the "inclinations to discriminatory action" of the White racial frame (Feagin, 2010b, p.11).

Finding Five also coincides with results of research on domestic ethnic/racial minority students and campus climate. This body of literature addresses the campus *racial*

climate and the perceived discrimination both on campus and in the classroom, particularly as it relates to stereotypes (Chesler, et al., 2005; Feagin, et al., 1996; Smith et al., 2007; Swim, et al., 2003; Yosso et al., 2009). In one of these research studies examining African American college students' experiences with everyday racism, the students reported that the most frequent type of racist incident by their White classmates was staring (Swim et al., 2003). One of my interviewees, Ming, reported that American girls "used critical eyes," when they looked at her and other Chinese students, which made her feel uncomfortable. If by "critical eyes," she meant glaring or staring, it is a notable similarity with the Swim et al. finding. In addition, it is evidence of the White racial frame.

The inequality aspect of Whiteness may be at work here, with "an assumption of superiority" by the White students, which corresponds to the literature on domestic minority students (Chesler et al., 2003, p. 223). Because of their lack of exposure to people of color, White students often hold deep stereotypical views of the Other (Chesler, et al., 2005; Feagin, et al., 1996; Smith et al., 2007; Yosso et al., 2009) and tend to avoid personal interactions because of their awkwardness. However, the rude behavior of glaring at and excluding international students goes beyond awkwardness. The White students' behavior appears to be contradictory: either they ignore the Other as if he/she didn't exist, or they react by gawking at her/him or by acting in a discriminatory manner. This is similar to what happened to African American students at a predominantly White university in the Midwest (Feagin et al., 1996). They, too, felt that they were either invisible or hyper-visible. When it was the latter, they interpreted the staring as a "hate stare," meant to send the message that they did not belong there. International students at a Canadian university also spoke of this invisibility contravening hyper-visibility, but at the structural

level of the campus administration. They said that at the beginning of the school year they were the center of attention; the university welcomed them exuberantly to campus during orientation. They then immediately became invisible (Beck, 2008). "Personally, structurally, and ideologically, White racism on college campuses and elsewhere in the society denies full human recognition to the racialized 'others'" (Feagin et al., 1996, p. 15).

Aligned with the fifth finding that White American students were less welcoming than the faculty was that the international respondents perceived their White American classmates to be "fake friendly." This may be related to another aspect of Whiteness (i.e., virtuousness). White people want others to like them and think of them as "good people" (Bonilla-Silva, 2014; Bush, 2011; Feagin, 2010b; Frye, 1992; Kincheloe et al., 1998). It is no longer socially acceptable to be racist, so the White students who are not perceived as genuinely friendly could be practicing "smiling discrimination" (Brooks, 1990). This continues to happen to African Americans in housing and employment. For example, a Black person looking for an apartment to rent is told by an apologetic White landlord that the apartment is no longer available (when it actually is) (Feagin, 2001a). The smile is a veil covering the racism. "Smiling discrimination" also appeared in research by Dovidio, Kawakami, and Gaertner (2002). They looked at White college students' implicit bias, their verbal and nonverbal behavior in personal interactions with a Black partner, and their perceptions of their own friendliness compared to those of the Black partner and confederates. The Whites' implicit bias significantly predicted their nonverbal friendliness and the degree to which the Black partner and confederates perceived bias in their friendliness. In other words, the Whites' verbal behavior was perceived to be friendly,

but their nonverbal behavior exposed their implicit prejudice.

Another possible explanation for the "fake friendliness," which may be the basis of the "smiling discrimination," is what Erving Goffman (1959) referred to as "impression management;" he also coined the terms *backstage* and *frontstage*, similar to Shakespeare's line in the play *As You Like It*. When individuals are in public, on the frontstage, they perform in a way that is socially acceptable, but when in private settings with family and/or close friends, the backstage, they do not always act within those social constraints. In American society, it is no longer acceptable to act in an openly racist manner, yet many Whites, when backstage, use ethnic slurs and make disparaging remarks about minority groups (Houts Picca & Feagin, 2007). Thus, the friendliness may only be the students' "managing" their impressions, in other words, performing in a friendly manner on the frontstage. This same concept of backstage and frontstage performances might also explain the crude behavior of the females that Ming and Weiwei described in on-campus housing. In the private, backstage location of the all-female dormitory, the White students were free to exercise their power over the young Chinese women without any consequences for their discriminatory actions.

In addition to describing the veiled and unveiled incivilities of White students, the literature on domestic minority students includes the effects of this behavior. Because of the White racial frame at predominantly White universities, there are concerns, especially by parents, about the psychological stress these young people confront on a daily basis. For example, Latina/o students at four prestigious predominantly White universities dealt with "racial battle fatigue" (Smith, 2004) by creating their own community and enduring through "resilient resistance" (Yosso et al., 2009). African American parents who were

interviewed about a local public PWI concurred that Black high-school graduates considering attending that institution needed to have a "mental toughness," high motivation, and support from their parents, peers, and others in order to survive the psychological stress of a racist campus climate" (Feagin et al., 1996). In contrast, the literature on international students and adjustment/adaptation has, until recently, neglected to address the White racial frame of many college campuses. Instead, it has taken a "whitely" view (Pratt, 1991) that the Other needs to conform to the culture of the White majority, not recognizing the racism and sexism that the racial, ethnic, and linguistic Other often has to deal with.

Implications. Given the incivilities many of the international students were exposed to, institutions of higher education need to face the fact that change on all levels is needed. Using the Hurtado et al. (1998) campus-climate framework as a basis for that change, administrators can work on the structural diversity and the behavioral dimension of the framework. In addition to admitting more diverse students, they also need to hire faculty and staff that reflect more multicultural values. Beginning with freshman orientation, White students should be interacting with the Other. The undergraduate curriculum should include a diversity requirement for White students as well as international students (Astin, 1993; Brunsmas et al., 2013; Glass, 2012; Gusa, 2010), or what Feagin (2010b) calls "Racism 101," for Whites to learn about the history of oppression in this country and the White racial frame, which affects not only domestic students of color, but also the international Other. In my own ESL classes, I can incorporate more critical pedagogy (Pennycook, 1999) and become more involved in diversity efforts on my campus--not just those related to international students. The university curricula also need transforma-

tive changes to move away from a monocultural White epistemology toward an international one (Beck, 2008; Chesler et al., 2005; Gusa, 2010; Sheurich & Young, 2002). This "multicultural transformation" (Chesler et al., 2005, p. 290) will take time, but as some universities have discovered, it is a worthwhile struggle and not only improves educational outcomes for all ethnicities (Gurin et al., 2002; Milem et al. 2005), but also makes the campus more welcoming for *all* students. It is heartening to see that steps are being taken to open dialogs on campus between diversity offices and international offices (Olson, Evans, & Shoenberg, 2007). Those dialogs need to happen in order to make progress toward more welcoming campuses.

Part of this transformation will include "reinventing Whiteness in radically progressive ways" (Rodriguez, 1998, p. 34). American society can change, but it does so incrementally, often taking generations. Other societal problems, such as domestic abuse and homophobia, have seen changes over my lifetime. The phrase *domestic abuse* did not exist when I was growing up. It was an issue that was not discussed in public, and it was not considered a crime. Today the problem still exists, but we have a name for it and our legal and social-services institutions are dealing with it. Similarly, because of recent high-profile abuse by White police officers on people of color, law enforcement is finally taking steps to deal with the racism and brutality within their ranks (Goodman, 2015). Likewise, if university faculty educate teachers to be antiracist, and those teachers promulgate antiracism to their students at the elementary and secondary levels, that cycle will begin and slowly the way Americans see the world will change. As James D. Anderson wrote, "A break with tradition will require considerable homework and re-education on the part of the whole society" (1994, p. 103).

Finding Six: Linguicism/Linguoracism

Lastly, the sixth finding was that of linguistic discrimination, linguicism (Skutnabb-Kangas, 2000), or linguoracism, which "more accurately names the insidious racism involved in all forms of linguistic imperialism" (Macedo et al., 2003, p. 91). In the questionnaire, the international students were asked how frequently they heard their American classmates make offensive remarks about eight topics: race, ethnicity, or nationality; gender or sexual identity/ orientation; political beliefs; religion; socio-economic status; immigration status; language or accent; and physical, psychological, or learning disabilities. What was manifest in their responses was that they heard more offensive comments related to language and accent than any other topic. Thus, the non-native speaker of English stands out as the marked, abnormal Other and is seen as inferior, which is ironic inasmuch as a large majority of White Americans are monolingual (Gallup, 2001).

This finding is consistent with Lippi-Green's (1997) work on language, ideology, and discrimination in the United States. She points out that only accents spoken by non-Whites evoke strong negative reactions, which is what Lindemann (2005) also found: American undergraduates stigmatized only those accents that represented non-Western European languages. All of the international students of color that Afflick (2009) interviewed at the University of Delaware said they had been ridiculed in class because of their accent. This was also true for 1 of the 4 Japanese students Bonazzo and Wong (2007) interviewed. Shuck (2006) concluded that for White college students, being a monolingual, native speaker of English was simply a natural part of their White American identity, an ideology that perpetuated their White privilege.

Linguoracism, along with language stereotyping and mocking, have long been part of the White racial frame. Whites have mocked Asian Americans' speech in private as well as in the public media. Rosie O'Donnell, for instance, an American celebrity, used "ching chong" to mock Chinese speech on national television. Hostile language mocking has also targeted African, Native, and Latina/-o Americans. It is part of the stereotyping and racialized imagery that make up the White racial frame (Feagin, 2010b).

Implications. Finding Six, that of linguoracism, relates to the other findings in that it is a manifestation of the ideology of the White racial frame. It needs to be made clear to students that they are becoming young adults and they need to learn to respect other people. The goal of the university is to develop responsible citizens who will be living in a more globalized environment. Multilingualism in this world is the norm rather than the exception (Skutnabb-Kangas, 2000), yet only 18% of Americans speak another language, and fewer universities are requiring the study of a foreign language for a bachelor's degree. In 2009-2010, only 51% of the universities in the US maintained foreign-language study as an undergraduate requirement (Skorten & Altshuler, 2012). In today's world, that number should be increasing, not decreasing.

To summarize the findings, which reflect the psychological and behavior dimensions of the campus-climate framework, as well as the White racial frame: the classroom climate is the foundation for campus climate; the teacher determines the classroom climate; group projects are a positive pedagogical practice; sexism may be associated with the classroom climate; some American classmates discriminated against the non-White students to varying degrees; and some American students exhibited linguoracism. It appears that a lot of work needs to be done to educate Americans at historically White uni-

versities so that we can deal with the ethnic, racial, national, and linguistic diversity that exists on many of our campuses.

Limitations of Research

Clearly, the results of a descriptive study such as this cannot be generalized. The sample size ($N=93$) was small and there was little variation in the participants: 19 of the individuals were the only representative of their country in the survey (e.g., 1 from Armenia, 1 from Cameroon, 1 from Malaysia, 1 Norwegian, 1 Ukrainian [see Appendix J]). Forty-three percent of the survey respondents were from China, and 45% were business majors, which made the sample even more skewed.

Another limitation was that when answering questions about campus climate, students might have forgotten to focus on just one class, that is, the one they chose as the most welcoming. In the interviews, the Chinese and Saudi students often asked me to clarify if I was asking about their classes in general or about a specific class. It may not have been clear to the questionnaire respondents either that they were to answer many of the questions vis-à-vis their most welcoming class. In addition, as a novice researcher, I was not as effective an interviewer in all of my meetings with the students, so it is very probable that I missed opportunities to probe more deeply into the students' responses.

Recommendations for Future Research

The literature on campus and classroom climate has tended to examine the experiences of domestic students (Cabrera et al., 1999; Chesler et al., 2005; Hurtado, 1992; Reid & Radhakrishnan, 2003; Smith, Altbach, & Lomotey, 2002; Yosso et al., 2009).

With higher and higher numbers of international students in the United States every year, it is time to include this demographic in the research. Studies of this type could take place in other geographical areas, at bigger universities, and on more diverse campuses. Gender differences might be explored in future research. Universities that require a diversity/ethnic studies course could be compared with those that do not. Also, it would be interesting to learn if "fake friendliness" is limited to this LDS subculture, or simply part of the dominant White racial frame of the US. Finally, I would suggest research on White American students and their perceptions of the international Other.

Personally, I need to critically examine my own Whiteness. During the process of writing this dissertation, I was unaware of racist assumptions I was making that members of my committee pointed out and that I am truly ashamed of. I take solace in Beverly Tatum's (2003) words:

Unraveling and reweaving the identity strands of our experience is a never-ending task in a society where important dimensions of our lives are shaped by the simultaneous forces of subordination and domination. We continue to be works in progress for a lifetime. (p. 88)

I will try to acknowledge that I will always be a "work in progress and continue to work on my own "whiteness" (Frye, 1992).

Recommendations for Postsecondary Institutions

Campus climate is a complicated construct, influenced by forces that often are entrenched in the institution's culture and history. Nevertheless, higher-education institutions have made changes in the past and they have the opportunity to improve perceptions of the campus climate in the future by working on the structural diversity and behavioral dimension of the model. In other words, the student body, the faculty, and the staff need

to be more diverse. I echo many others with this recommendation as a first step (Antonio, 2003; Chesler et al., 2005; Milem et al., 2005; Spaulding & Flack, 1976).

Little has been done to promote a welcoming climate for the international students on our campuses and learning from them (Altbach et al., 1985). The state of Utah is in a unique position to create programs that truly welcome international students at its state universities. Because of Utah's history with the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints, many of its university students are returned missionaries who have lived in other countries and speak other languages. University administrators could take advantage of that unique combination of young bilingual Utahns and college students from all over the world and initiate inclusive programs that truly transform their state university campuses to reflect the "flat" world we now live in (i.e., a multicultural, globalized world in which individuals as well as nations must adapt quickly [Friedman, 2006]).

If these students are in our classrooms, as teachers we have a responsibility to learn both about them and from them, adapting our own pedagogies to teach *all* students. Part of the mission of Wasatch University, for example, states *the University commits itself to providing challenging instruction for all its students, from both Utah and other states and nations*. This commitment should apply to all of the departments and colleges on campus--not just a few. Our goal is to educate young people to be socially responsible citizens of the world. With climate change and social/economic disparities increasing day to day, it is especially urgent that American universities--and faculty--adapt their research, teaching, and service to reflect a more global perspective (AAC&U). Like Abdulhakim, we need to globalize our imaginations (Rizvi, 2000).

The everyday reality of globalization is that middle-class families in countries

such as China and India can afford to send their children to study abroad, and "global universities" are competing for the brightest students. Annually, approximately three million students are studying abroad, which is almost double the number of 1999, and campuses such as Education City in Doha, Qatar, "lavishly funded" by the government, host branch campuses of American universities (e.g., Georgetown, New York University, Northwestern, and Texas A&M). This is happening not only in the Middle East, but also in China, Singapore, and South Africa. For individuals, it means a life like that of an Indian student who graduated from an IIT, or Indian Institute of Technology, "the elite engineering schools, the MITs of India." He found a position at a prestigious research institute in Switzerland, then obtained an internship in Hong Kong, and is now working in London (Wildavsky, 2010). For universities, the consequences of globalization include a more multicultural campus in terms of both students and faculty, which, in turn, affects the campus climate, especially that of predominantly White institutions. Canyon, Wasatch, and Zion Universities should take pride in the fact that so many of the international respondents indicated that the campus climate was welcoming, but, in the words of one of the Chinese interviewees, "Still, you can do better than this."

Conclusion

The college experience puts an imprint on the psyche of the alumni that they carry through life. W.E.B. Du Bois said, "I'd never felt myself a Harvard man as I'd felt myself a Fisk man" (Weinberg, p. 64). His allegiance was with the institution where he felt welcomed. Many of the world's leaders have studied at American colleges and universities; they, too, have been affected by their higher-education experiences: King Abdullah II of

Jordan; Kofi Annan, Secretary-General of the United Nations; the late Benazir Bhutto, Prime Minister of Pakistan; and Ellen Johnson Sirleaf, President of Liberia. Whether world leaders or everyday citizens, our alumni remember their sojourn and the treatment they received here.

It is incumbent upon American universities to sensitize their students, faculty, and staff to deal more hospitably with the ethnic and racial Other, both domestic and international, and to view their campuses as globalized spaces. Many of their alumni will return to their countries to become part of the elite in art, music, science, business, law, the media, or government. The education and personal treatment that these future leaders receive at American postsecondary institutions will influence the future of international relations. I concur with Frederick Douglass (1869), as well as Smith et al. (2007): "I hold that a liberal and brotherly welcome to all who are likely to come to the United States is the only wise policy which this nation can adopt" (Douglass, 1869, p. 129), and "It is the job of educational leadership faculty and administrators to help create a positive campus racial climate in a proactive effort to create a true multicultural, racially diverse, and welcoming university environment for all students" (Smith et al., 2007, p. 579).

APPENDIX A

QUESTIONS FOR SURVEY

[The International Student Office sent an invitation email to all international students who were classified as undergraduates and are not enrolled in ESL.]

This questionnaire is about campus and classroom climate and international students. *Climate* here means the feeling that a place or event gives you; it can be "warm" and welcoming or "cold" and not welcoming. The survey has no "right" or "wrong" answers, and it is completely confidential and anonymous. I am interested in your sincere opinions, so please think about your experiences here at Canyon/Wasatch/Zion University, both positive and negative, and be as honest as possible. This is the only way for the research project to be successful. The information you give may be used to improve the campus and classroom climate for international students at this university.

The first group of questions is about your general satisfaction with your time here at the university. Part 2 asks about one of your undergraduate classes and your perceptions of the personal interactions between you, the teacher, and the other students. Finally, in Part 3 you will be asked some personal questions (age, gender, major, etc.).

This questionnaire is voluntary, individual respondents will not be identified, and only group data will be reported. It should take you approximately 25 minutes or less to finish all of the questions. By completing this survey and indicating you would like to participate in the drawing, your name will be entered in a drawing for a \$100 gift card to the university bookstore or a business of your choice. Instead of the gift card, if your name is drawn, you can choose to donate the money to a charity or campus club/organization.

You have one week to complete the survey. You may answer all of the questions at one time, or log in, answer a few questions, save your work, and log out as many times as you'd like. The deadline for completing the questionnaire is . . .

Directions: Please read and answer each question carefully. Click on the answer that best represents your personal view.

Part 1. General Satisfaction

Please rate your level of satisfaction with the following aspects of your university education.

1 = Very dissatisfied 2 = Dissatisfied 3 = Satisfied 4 = Very satisfied

My grade-point average
 Overall social experience
 Overall academic experience

How satisfied have you been with the following aspects of your academic experience at the university? If the aspect is not important to you, please check "Not particularly important."

Very dissatisfied Dissatisfied Satisfied Very satisfied Not particularly important

The intellectual quality and challenge of the classes I have taken
 The relevance of the course material in helping me prepare for a career

How would you evaluate your entire experience at this university?

1 = Poor 2 = Fair 3 = Good 4 = Excellent

How much do you think the university is making an active effort to support a campus community that is culturally diverse?

No effort Not much effort Some effort Substantial effort Don't know

Have you ever observed discrimination because of race/culture, language, religion, gender or sexual orientation in your time at this university? *Yes No*

[If *yes* . . .] Please give one or more examples of what you observed and how it affected you.

Have you ever *personally* experienced discrimination because of race/culture, language, religion, gender or sexual orientation in your years at this university? *Yes No*

[If *yes* . . .] Please give one or more examples of what you experienced and how it affected you.

Please indicate how much you *interact* with students from each of the following groups.

1 = No interaction 2 = Not much interaction 3 = Some interaction 4 = Frequent interaction

Students from my own country and/or culture

[If *No/Not much interaction*, then: Please explain the reason(s) for your answer.]

International students from countries other than mine

[If *No/Not much interaction*, then: Please explain the reason(s) for your answer.]

American students

[If *No/Not much interaction*, then: Please explain the reason(s) for your answer.]

How much do you agree or disagree with the following statement?

1 = Strongly disagree 2 = Disagree 3 = Agree 4 = Strongly agree

I feel welcomed in the campus community at this university.

This university appreciates the value international students bring to the campus.

What place on campus (a building, an office, a room, for example) do you feel the most welcomed? Why?

What place on campus (a building, an office, a room, for example) do you feel the *least* welcomed? Why?

Part 2. Classroom Climate

The definition of *classroom climate* is the feeling that the classroom gives you; it can be "warm" and welcoming (you feel comfortable when you enter the class), or "cold" and not welcoming (you feel like an outsider).

Think about the undergraduate classes that you have taken or are taking at this university. What is the most welcoming class you have had so far? You can enter the name of the class or the department. Answer the following questions about that class--and that class only.

How much do you agree or disagree with the following statements?

1 = Strongly disagree 2 = Disagree 3 = Agree 4 = Strongly agree

I feel welcomed in this class.

I often feel invisible in this class.

[If yes, ask follow-up "Is this good or bad? Please explain."]

I am respected in this class.

My culture is respected in this class.

I am confident that my American classmates can understand me when I speak in class.

Feel free to explain your answer(s).

The classroom environment is positive.

This class is academically challenging.

The size of this class (number of students) is beneficial for learning.

[Follow-up: About how many students are in the class?]

How often have you seen connections in this class to your own experience?

1 = Never 2 = Rarely/Not often 3 = Sometimes 4 = Frequently 5 = Not Applicable

Readings

Films or YouTube videos

Discussions

Lectures

Is this important you? *Yes No*

Besides you, how many international students are in this class? *None 1-2 3-4 5 or*

more

[If 1-2, 3-4, or 5 or *more*, ask "Where are they from?" and then "Do they make the classroom climate better or worse?" *Better Worse* "Please explain."

How often have you heard the students or teacher in this class express offensive views about:

<u>dents</u>	<u>Teacher</u>	<u>Stu-</u>
Race, ethnicity, or nationality		
Gender or sexual identity/orientation		
Political beliefs		
Religion		
Socio-economic status (social class)		
Immigration status		
Language or accent		
Physical, psychological, or learning disabilities		

1 = Never 2 = Rarely/Not often 3 = Sometimes 4 = Frequently

Does the teacher in this class know your name? *Yes No*

Is this important to you? *Yes No*

How much do you agree or disagree with the following statement?

1 = Strongly disagree 2 = Disagree 3 = Agree 4 = Strongly agree

The teacher is patient with international students.

The teacher is friendly.

The teacher cares about the students and their learning.

The teacher is available/accessible to the students.

The teacher encourages the students to participate in class.

The teacher has a narrow-minded view of the world.

The teacher brings to class real-life, interesting examples to help student learning.

The teacher is fair in her/his grading.

The teacher is knowledgeable.

The teacher is an ethical role model (i.e., a good example of a moral person).

How often have you experienced the following in this class?

1 = Never 2 = Rarely/Not often 3 = Sometimes 4 = Frequently

The teacher asks you to share your international perspective with the class.

Is this important to you? *Yes No*

The teacher asks you to share your personal perspective with the class.

Is this important to you? *Yes No*

You interact with the professor during a class lecture.

[Follow-up for negative response: Did you *want to* interact more? *Yes No*]
Is this important to you? *Yes No*

You have been ignored by the teacher in this class.

[If yes, then follow-up: How did it make you feel? What did you do?]

You have participated in a class discussion.

[Follow-up for negative response: Did you *want to* participate more?]
Is this important to you? *Yes No*

You have been ignored by the American students in this class.

[If yes, then follow-up: How did it make you feel? What did you do?]

How often are there class discussions?

1 = Never 2 = Rarely/Not often 3 = Sometimes 4 = Frequently

[If student chooses *1* or *2*, skip the next three questions; if student chooses *3* or *4*, then go

to the following three questions:]

1 = Strongly disagree 2 = Disagree 3 = Agree 4 = Strongly agree

The teacher directs the discussions well.

The teacher shows interest in the international students' perspectives.

The teacher listens carefully to *all* the students.

How would you describe your American classmates?

1 = Strongly disagree 2 = Disagree 3 = Agree 4 = Strongly agree

They are friendly.

They have a narrow-minded view of the world.

They listen carefully when international students speak in class.

They make a special effort to interact with me in class.

They make me feel welcomed.

Other:

How much do you agree or disagree with the following statement?

1 = Strongly disagree 2 = Disagree 3 = Agree 4 = Strongly agree

My American classmates are interested in learning about my culture.

My American classmates are patient when they hear my accent.

My American classmates are open to learning from other students in the class.

Did you work on any group projects in this class?

If yes, Was it a positive or negative experience? *Positive Negative*

Explain.

More positive
More negative
(Explain.)

If there is anything else you would like to share about your experiences at this university, please write your comments below, either in your native language or in English.

If you are willing to be interviewed, please enter your email address, and I may contact you. If you are not comfortable with a personal interview, but you would like to give me more information in written form, please enter your email address and type "written feedback."

May I email you in a couple of days to ask you a few follow-up questions? *Yes No*
[If *yes*, enter email address . . .]

Would you be willing to be contacted again in 2-3 years to answer similar questions?
Yes No
If *yes*, please enter your mailing address in your native country, your (or a family member's) telephone number, and your email address(es).

Would you like me to send you the results of the survey? *Yes No*
(If *yes*, Please enter your email address: _____)

Thank you for your participation!

APPENDIX B

SOURCES OF QUESTIONS

Questions for Survey

Codes (for type of question & source). Most of the demographic information was taken from existing surveys and placed at the end of the questionnaire. The majority of the open-ended questions is also at the end (Babbie, 1990; Dörnyei, 2010). With the Likert (1932) scale, students are forced to answer either positively or negatively (Chen, Lee, & Stevenson, 1995).

Part 1: General satisfaction with the university & campus climate

Part 2: Questions about one class (student chooses most welcoming class)

Part 3: Demographics and other information

In parentheses after a question appears the source of that question: *UCUES* means the University of California Undergraduate Experience Survey (2008); *MSS* is the Michigan Student Study (Gurin & Matlock, 2004); *HERI* (2012) refers to the Higher Education Research Institute at UCLA; *AT* means Audrey Thompson suggested the question; *VV* is for Verónica Valdez, and *AR* (Ann Roemer) means that I created the question, based on information from the cited source(s).

Types of Questions

American Students' Characteristics & Behavior

1a American students' characteristics (4 questions)

1b American students' behavior (4 questions)

Faculty Characteristics & Behavior

3a Personality (5 questions)

3b Behavior (11 questions)

Classroom Climate & Academic Rigor

2a Classroom climate & academic rigor (5 questions)

2b Pedagogical practices (group projects & class connected to student's experience) (2

questions)

2c Perceptions of power (1 question)

2d Number of other international students (2 questions)

International Students' Classroom Behavior

7a (3 open-ended questions, but others, too, classified as 5f)

Feelings of Belonging/Comfort/Safety/Success/Being Welcomed

5b Being successful academically (1 question)

5c Feeling respected (2 questions)

5d Feeling welcomed/unwelcomed (5 questions: three about campus & two about class)

5f Feeling confident (to participate in class, e.g.) (3 questions)

5g Feeling invisible (1 question + follow-up)

5a Interactions with students from same country, from other countries, and from the US

Perceptions of Exclusion/Discrimination (as the Other)

In class (2 questions)

6b Language (1 question + another classified as 6c)

6c Observations of offensive comments (8 questions about teacher/classmates)

At the university

6a Observed or personally experienced discrimination (2 questions)

Perceptions of University Policies & Internationalization

8 (2 questions)

General Satisfaction

11a General satisfaction (1 question)

11b Academics (3 questions)

11c Social (1 question)

Expectations & Changes

4a Expectations (1 question)

4b Changes because of sojourn experience (3 questions; one coded as 46, too)

Demographics [used question number as code number]

30. Age

31. Sex

33. Racial/ethnic identification

34a, 34b, & 34c How do you identify vs. how Americans see you (White or non-White)

35a How long here

36a & 36b Intensive English Program

37. Native country

38. Language

39. Major field of study 39a Whether the student is in a cohort (1 question)

40. Religion

41. Sexual orientation

42. Gender
 43. Marital status
 44. Social class
 45. Living situation (2 questions; 1 about children)
 46. View of Americans (1-2 questions)
 47. Other comments
 48. Can I email you soon to follow up?
 49. Willing to answer questions in 2-3 years?
 50. Send survey results?
 51. Willing to be interviewed?
-

Questionnaire

Part 1. General Satisfaction (11 questions)

Please rate your level of satisfaction with the following aspects of your university education.

1 = Very dissatisfied 2 = Dissatisfied 3 = Satisfied 4 = Very satisfied

- My grade-point average (5b) (UCUES)
- Overall social experience (11c) (UCUES)
- Overall academic experience (11b) (UCUES)

How satisfied have you been with the following aspects of your academic experience at the university? If the aspect is not important to you, please check "Not particularly important."

Very dissatisfied Dissatisfied Satisfied Very satisfied Not particularly important

The intellectual quality and challenge of the classes I have taken (11b) (MSS #35A)

The relevance of the course material in helping me prepare for a career (11b) (MSS #35C)

How would you evaluate your entire experience at this university? (11a) (NSSE #13)

1 = Poor 2 = Fair 3 = Good 4 = Excellent

How much do you think the university is making an active effort to support a campus community that is culturally and racially diverse? (8) (similar to HERI #9)

No effort Not much effort Some effort Substantial effort Don't know

Please indicate how much you *interact* with students from each of the following groups. (MSS #23; I added the first two & aggregated the minority groups.)

1 = No interaction 2 = Not much interaction 3 = Some interaction 4 = Frequent in-

teraction

Students from my own country and/or culture (5a) (AR)

[If *No/Not much interaction*, then: Please explain the reason(s) for your answer.]

International students from countries other than mine (5a) (AR)

[If *No/Not much interaction*, then: Please explain the reason(s) for your answer.]

American students (5a) (AR)

[If *No/Not much interaction*, then: Please explain the reason(s) for your answer.]

Have you ever observed discrimination because of race/culture, language, religion, gender or sexual orientation in your time at this university? *Yes No* (similar to HERI #15)

[If *yes . . .*] Please give one or more examples of what you observed and how it affected you. (6a)

Have you ever *personally* experienced discrimination because of race/culture, language, religion, gender or sexual orientation in your years at this university? (6a) *Yes No* (MSS, #33; HERI: similar to #14)

[If *yes . . .*] Please give one or more examples of what you experienced and how it affected you.

How much do you agree or disagree with the following statement?

1 = Strongly disagree 2 = Disagree 3 = Agree 4 = Strongly agree

I feel welcomed in the campus community at this university. (5d) (MSS #13, revised)

This university appreciates the value international students bring to the campus. (8) (AR)

What place on campus (a building, an office, a room, for example) do you feel the most welcomed? Why? [open ended] (AR) (5d)

What place on campus (a building, an office, a room, for example) do you feel the *least* welcomed? Why? [open ended] (AR) (5d)

Part 2. Classroom Climate (~60 questions)

The definition of *classroom climate* is the feeling that the classroom gives you; it can be "warm" and welcoming (i.e., you feel comfortable when you enter the class), or "cold" and not welcoming (i.e., you feel like an outsider).

Think about the undergraduate classes at this university that you have taken or are taking. What is the most welcoming class you have had so far? You can enter the name of the class or the department. Answer the following questions about that class--and that class only.

Before we begin, are you taking this class now, or did you take it in the past? *Now In*

the past [Answer will trigger questions in the present tense or past tense respectively.]

How much do you agree or disagree with the following statements?

1 = *Strongly disagree* 2 = *Disagree* 3 = *Agree* 4 = *Strongly agree*

I feel welcomed in this class. (AR) (5d)

I often feel invisible in this class. (AR) (5g) (Feagin et al., 1996; Smith, Yosso, & Solórzano, 2007)

[If yes, ask follow-up "Is this good or bad? Please explain."] (AT)

I am respected in this class. (AR) (5c)

My culture is respected in this class. (AR) (5c)

I am confident that everyone can understand me when I speak in class. (5f) (AR)
Feel free to explain your answer(s).

The classroom environment is positive. (Zhang & Watkins, 2007) (2a) [changed "supportive and caring" to "positive"]

This class is academically challenging. (Irungu, 2010; Beck, 2008) (2a)

The size of this class (number of students) is beneficial for learning. (Beykont & Daiute, 2010) (2a)

How often have you seen connections in this class to your own experience? (2b) (AT)

1 = *Never* 2 = *Rarely/Not often* 3 = *Sometimes* 4 = *Frequently* 5 = *Not Applicable*

Readings

Films or YouTube videos

Discussions

Lectures

Other

Besides you, how many international students are in this class? *None* 1-2 3-4 5 or more

[If 1-2, 3-4, or 5 or more, ask "Where are they from?" and then "Do they make the classroom climate better or worse?" *Better* *Worse* "Please explain." (Open-ended) (2d and 2a) (AR)

How often have you heard the students or teacher in this class express stereotypical views about: (6c) (UCUES uses a 6-point scale; doesn't include language/accent; separate question for students and teacher.)

Teacher

Students

Race, ethnicity, or nationality

Gender or sexual identity/orientation

Political beliefs

Religion

Socio-economic status (social class)

Immigration status

Language or accent

Physical, psychological, or learning disabilities

1 = Never 2 = Rarely/Not often 3 = Sometimes 4 = Frequently

Does the teacher in this class know your name? (UCUES) (3b)

Is this important to you? *Yes No*

How much do you agree or disagree with the following statement?

1 = Strongly disagree 2 = Disagree 3 = Agree 4 = Strongly agree

The teacher is patient with international students. (Cortazzi & Jin, 1996) (3a)

The teacher is friendly. (Cortazzi & Jin, 1996; Beck, 2008) (3a)

The teacher cares about the students and their learning. (Boesch, 2008) (3a)

The teacher is available/accessible to the students. (Beck, 2008) (3b)

The teacher encourages the students to participate in class. (Liu, 2001) (3b)

The teacher has a narrow-minded view of the world. (AR) (3a)

The teacher brings to class real-life, interesting examples to help student learning.
(Beck, 2008) (3b)

The teacher is fair in her/his grading. (Beck 2008) (3b)

The teacher is knowledgeable. (Cortazzi & Jin, 1996) (3b)

The teacher is an ethical role model (i.e., a good example of a moral person).
(Cortazzi & Jin, 1996) (3a)

How often have you experienced the following in this class?

1 = Never 2 = Rarely/Not often 3 = Sometimes 4 = Frequently

The teacher asks you to share your international perspective with the class. (3b)
(AR)

Is this important to you? *Yes No*

The teacher asks you to share your personal perspective with the class. (3b) (AT)

Is this important to you? *Yes No*

You interact with the professor during a class lecture. (5f) (UCUES; Beck, 2008)

[Follow-up for negative response: Do you *want to* interact more? *Yes No*]

Is this important to you? *Yes No*

You have been ignored by the teacher in this class. (6a) (AR)

[If yes, then follow-up: How did it make you feel? What did you do?]

You have participated in a class discussion. (5f) (similar to NSSE 1a)

[Follow-up for negative response: Did you *want to* participate more?]

Is this important to you? *Yes No*

You have been ignored by the American students in this class. (6a) (AR)

[If yes, then follow-up: How did it make you feel? What did you do?]

How often are there class discussions?

1 = *Never* 2 = *Rarely/Not often* 3 = *Sometimes* 4 = *Frequently*

[If student chooses 3 or 4, then the following three questions:]

1 = *Strongly disagree* 2 = *Disagree* 3 = *Agree* 4 = *Strongly agree*

The teacher directs the discussions well. (Beykont & Daiute, 2010) (3b)

The teacher shows interest in the international students' perspectives. (Beykont & Daiute, 2010) (3b)

The teacher listens carefully to *all* the students. (Beykont & Daiute, 2010) (3b)

How would you describe your American classmates? (AR; Beykont & Daiute, 2010; Boesch, 2008; Hardy, 2012)

1 = *Strongly disagree* 2 = *Disagree* 3 = *Agree* 4 = *Strongly agree*

They are friendly. (1a) (VV, AR)

They have a narrow-minded view of the world. (1a) (VV, AR)

They listen carefully when international students speak in class. (1a) (VV, AR)

They make a special effort to interact with me in class. (1b) (VV, AR)

They make me feel welcomed. (1a) (5d)

Other:

How much do you agree or disagree with the following statements?

1 = *Strongly disagree* 2 = *Disagree* 3 = *Agree* 4 = *Strongly agree*

My American classmates are interested in learning about my culture. (Malcolm, 2011)

(1b)

My American classmates are patient when they hear my accent. (AR) (1b & possibly 6b)

My American classmates are open to learning from other students in the class. (Beykont & Daiute, 2010) (1b)

Did you work on any group projects in this class? (Leki, 2001) (2b)

If yes, Was it a positive or negative experience? *Positive* *Negative*

Explain. [Open-ended]

How does the environment/climate of this class compare with your other classes? (AR)

(2a) *Better* *Pretty much the same* *Worse*

When you first came here, what were your general expectations about your classes? (AT)

(4a) *Positive* *Neutral* *Negative*

Were those expectations met? In other words, what has disappointed you, and what has pleasantly surprised you? (AT) [Open-ended] (4b)

- If so, how many semesters (including summer terms)? 1-2 (36b)
3-4
5-6
≥ 7
- What country are you from? _____ (37)
- In what language(s) do you communicate best? _____ (38)
- What is your current classification in college? (35a)
Freshman
Sophomore
Junior
Senior
Other
- What is your major? _____ (39)
- In your major, are you part of a cohort (i.e., you and your classmates generally take the same series of classes as a group)? *Yes No* (39a) (AR)
- What is your preferred religious identification? (40) (AR)
None
[Fill in blank.]
- What is your sexual orientation? (41)
1 = Bisexual, 2 = Gay/Lesbian, 3 = Heterosexual, 4 = Questioning/Unsure, 5 = Queer, 6 = Decline to State, 7 = Other
- With which gender do you identify? (42)
1 = Female, 2 = Male, 3 = Transgender, 4 = Genderqueer, 5 = Decline to State, 6 = Other
- What is your marital status? *1 = Single 2 = Married 3 = Divorced 4 = Widowed*
 (43)
- Do you have children? *Yes No [If yes, how many? Do they live with you?]* (AT)
 (45)
- Who do you live with? *1 = Roommate(s) 2 = No one 3 = Partner 4 = Family members 5 = Host family* (AT) (45)
- Which of the following best describes your family's social class? (UCUES #7, revised)
 (44)
1=low income or poor, 2=working class, 3=middle class, 4=Upper-middle or professional class, 5=wealthy
- Will you leave here with a different view of Americans from the one you had when you first arrived in the US? *Yes No* (46 &

4b)

[If yes . . .] Is the view you have now more positive or more negative? *More +/-*
(Explain.)

If there is anything else you would like to share about your experiences at this university, please write your comments below, either in your native language or in English. (47)

If you are willing to be interviewed, please enter your email address, and I may contact you. If you are not comfortable with a personal interview, but you would like to give me more information in written form, please enter your email address and type "written feedback." (51)

May I email you in a couple of days to ask you a few follow-up questions? *Yes No*
(48)

[If yes, enter email address . . .]

Would you be willing to be contacted again in 2-3 years to answer similar questions?
(49)

Yes No

If *yes*, please enter your mailing address in your native country, your (or a family member's) telephone number, and your email address(es).

Would you like me to send you the results of the survey? *Yes No* (50)

(If *yes*, Please enter your email address: _____)

Thank you for your participation!

[~98 questions total]

Research Questions & Related Survey Questions

1. As undergraduates at predominantly White universities in Utah, how welcomed do international students feel in their classes?

How much do you agree or disagree with the following statements?

I feel welcomed in this class.

I often feel invisible in this class.

[If *yes*, ask follow-up "Is this good or bad? Please explain."]

I am respected in this class.

My culture is respected in this class.

I am confident that my American classmates can understand me when I speak in class.

Feel free to explain your answer(s).

The classroom environment is positive.

This class is academically challenging. The size of this class (number of students) is beneficial for learning. (How many?)	
How often have you seen connections in this class to your own experience as someone from another country?	
Readings Films or YouTube videos Discussions Lectures	Is this important to you? Yes No
Besides you, how many international students are in this class? Where are they from? Do they make the classroom climate better or worse?	
How does the environment/climate of this class compare with your other classes?	

<i>1a. How welcomed do these students feel in their classes as a result of instructor and peer actions? What pedagogical practices do the students see as contributing to a positive classroom climate?</i>	
Does the teacher in this class know your name? Is this important to you? Yes No	
How much do you agree or disagree with the following statement? The teacher is patient with international students. The teacher is friendly. The teacher cares about the students and their learning. The teacher is available/accessible to the students. The teacher encourages the students to participate in class. The teacher has a narrow-minded view of the world. The teacher brings to class real-life, interesting examples to help student learning. The teacher is fair in her/his grading. The teacher is knowledgeable. The teacher is an ethical role model (i.e., a good example of a moral person).	
How often have you experienced the following in this class? The teacher asks you to share your international perspective with the class. Is this important to you? The teacher asks you to share your personal perspective with the class. Is this important to you? You interact with the professor during a class lecture. [Follow-up for negative response: Did you <i>want to</i> interact more? Yes No] Is this important to you? You have participated in a class discussion. [Follow-up for negative response: Did you <i>want to</i> participate more?] Is this important to you?	
How often are there class discussions? The teacher directs the discussions well. The teacher shows interest in the international students' perspectives. The teacher listens carefully to <i>all</i> the students.	

Did you work on any group projects in this class?
If yes, Was it a positive or negative experience? Explain.

2. Which characteristics and behaviors do the international students identify as welcoming/ unwelcoming?

How often have you heard the students or teacher in this class express offensive views about:

	<u>Teacher</u>	<u>Stu-</u> <u>dents</u>
Race, ethnicity, or nationality		
Gender or sexual identity/orientation		
Political beliefs		
Religion		
Socio-economic status (social class)		
Immigration status		
Language or accent		
Physical, psychological, or learning disabilities		

How often have you experienced the following in this class?

You have been ignored by the American students in this class.

[If yes, then follow-up: How did it make you feel? What did you do?]

You have been ignored by the teacher in this class.

[If yes, then follow-up: How did it make you feel? What did you do?]

How would you describe your American classmates?

They are friendly.

They have a narrow-minded view of the world.

They listen carefully when international students speak in class.

They make a special effort to interact with me in class.

They make me feel welcomed.

Other:

How much do you agree or disagree with the following statement?

My American classmates are interested in learning about my culture.

My American classmates are patient when they hear my accent.

My American classmates are open to learning from other students in the class.

3. How do the international students' perceptions of the classroom/campus climate and of their American classmates/teachers differ with respect to their native countries, gender, marital status, majors, racial/ethnic/linguistic status and other demographics?

What patterns emerge and what do the patterns suggest about creating a positive classroom environment for international students?

Your age

Your sex

What is your racial or ethnic identification?

Do you identify as a Non-White or as White (Caucasian)?

How do you think Americans see you?

Do you identify as multiracial?

How many years have you studied here?

What country are you from?

In what language(s) do you communicate best?

What is your major? In your major, are you part of a cohort?
What is your preferred religious identification?
What is your sexual orientation? With which gender do you identify?
What is your marital status? Do you have children? If <i>yes</i> , How many? Do they live with you?
Who do you live with?
Which of the following best describes your family's social class?

Background Information Questions
Please rate your level of satisfaction with the following aspects of your university education. My grade-point average Overall social experience Overall academic experience
How satisfied have you been with the following aspects of your academic experience at the university? If the aspect is not important to you, please check "Not particularly important." The intellectual quality and challenge of the classes I have taken The relevance of the course material in helping me prepare for a career
How would you evaluate your entire experience at this university?
How much do you think the university is making an active effort to support a campus community that is culturally and racially diverse?
How much do you agree or disagree with the following statement? I feel welcomed in the campus community at this university. This university appreciates the value international students bring to the campus.
What place on campus (a building, an office, a room, for example) do you feel the most welcomed? Why?
What place on campus (a building, an office, a room, for example) do you feel the <i>least</i> welcomed? Why?

APPENDIX C

QUESTIONS FOR PILOT STUDY FOLLOW-UP (CANYON UNIVERSITY)

Students can choose to participate in a focus group or individual interview with me (to be held in Room 208, Library (faculty room) to give me feedback about the questionnaire. I will reassure the students that I do not know what their individual answers are. I have access to the answers, but I do not know who answered what. For each focus group/interview, I will provide printed copies of the questionnaire, which students will have already completed online, and ask them the following questions:

- 1) *I realize that this is a long survey. In your opinion, which questions should be deleted and why? (Students can answer orally and/or in writing.)*
- 2) *Are there any questions that were not clear to you? If so, which ones?*
- 3) *Which questions do you think were particularly meaningful to you?*
- 4) *Which questions do you think were dumb? Why?*
- 5) *What questions should have been asked, but were not?*
- 6) *Is there anything else you would like to share with me?*

Questions for Pilot Study #2 Follow-up (Wasatch University graduate students)

Students can choose to be interviewed by me (to be held in Room XYZ, Library (quiet, private room) or to answer the questions in writing (via email) to give me feedback about the questionnaire. I will reassure the students that I do not know what their individual answers are. I have access to the answers, but I do not know who answered what. For each interview, I will provide a printed copy of the questionnaire, which students will have already completed online, and ask them the following questions:

- 1) *About how long did it take you to complete the survey?*

2) *In your opinion, which questions should be deleted and why? (Students can answer orally and/or in writing.)*

3) *Are there any questions that were not clear to you? If so, which ones?*

4) *Which questions do you think were especially meaningful to you?*

5) *Which questions do you think did not make sense? Why?*

6) *What questions should have been asked, but were not?*

7) *Is there anything else you would like to share with me?*

APPENDIX D

INTERVIEW QUESTIONS: CHINESE/SAUDI STUDENTS

(Bring paper and a pencil or pen to the interview. Offer the students the chance to write their answers if they feel more comfortable doing so. Also tell them that if they can't think of a word or phrase in English, feel free to use their native language. I can ask someone to listen to the audio recording and translate at a later date.)

(To prepare for each interview, I will print a summary of the student's responses to the online survey and pay particular attention to her/his open-ended responses, noting any that are not clear or incomplete. In order to get a deeper understanding of the student's perceptions, I will probe by asking, *There are a couple of answers in the survey that I didn't quite understand. Please tell me more about . . . You said . . . in the survey. Can you give me an example?*)

1. Did you have any questions about the online survey? Is there anything you wanted to add or change about your answers?
2. Which class did you choose to answer questions about for the online survey? How is this class similar to or different from your other classes?
3. (If not explained in the survey responses . . .) What does/did the teacher in that class do to make you as a student from China (Saudi Arabia) feel welcomed?
4. You chose Class X as the most welcoming class you have had here. What negative experiences did you have in that class? (How often . . . ?)
5. Tell me about another class you have taken where you have *not* felt welcomed.
6. Tell me more about the American students in your classes. What exactly did they do to make you feel welcomed? (How often . . . ?) What did they do to make you feel *un-*welcomed? (How often . . . ?)
7. How are Chinese (Saudi) students treated differently from the other students?
8. Given your experiences here, what advice would you give new international students from China/Saudi Arabia as far as what to expect from faculty and American students in the classroom?
9. What else would you like to share with me?
10. I am going to write a summary of your responses. Would you like to read it and make sure that I get the information correct?

APPENDIX E

FREQUENCY DISTRIBUTIONS OF RESPONSES MEASURING INDEPENDENT VARIABLES

Percentage of respondents who (Strongly) Disagreed or (Strongly) Agreed

<i>How much do you agree or disagree with the following statements?</i>	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Agree	Strongly Agree
<i>I feel welcomed in the campus community at this university.</i>	2	5	62	30
<i>I feel welcomed in this class.</i>	1	4	54	41
<i>The teacher is patient with international students.</i>	3	47	50	0
<i>The teacher is friendly.</i>	3	39	58	0
<i>The teacher cares about the students and their learning.</i>	6.5	30	63.5	0
<i>The teacher is an ethical role model.</i>	3	5	41	51
<i>The teacher is knowledgeable.</i>	1	2	38	59
<i>The teacher is available/accessible to the students.</i>	1	1	45	53
<i>The teacher is fair in her/his grading.</i>	2	2	48.5	47.5
<i>The teacher encourages the students to participate in class.</i>	0	3	41	56
<i>The teacher brings to class real-life, interesting examples to help student learning.</i>	1	5	52	42
<i>The teacher has a narrow-minded view of the world.</i>	32	35.5	19.5	13
	Never	Rarely	Some times	Fre- quently
<i>How often have you been ignored by the teacher?</i>	55	29	16	0
<i>How often have you been ignored by your American classmates?</i>	35	33	19	6
	Strong-	Disagree	Agree	Strong-

<i>How would you describe your American classmates?</i>	ly Dis- agree			ly Agree
<i>They are friendly.</i>	1	4.5	76.5	18
<i>They have a narrow-minded view of the world.</i>	8.5	41	38.5	12
<i>They listen carefully when international students speak in class.</i>	0	12	75	13
<i>They make a special effort to interact with me in class.</i>	9	40	46	5
<i>They make me feel welcomed.</i>	3	15	71	11
<i>I often feel excluded by White American students in my classes.</i>	17	45	33.5	4.5

APPENDIX F

CRONBACH'S ALPHA COEFFICIENTS FOR MULTI-ITEM SCALES

Ordinal Variables

The following variables were included in the models owing to Cronbach's alpha coefficients ≥ 0.60 , computed by using Stata (version 12.1):

Model 1. a) Professor: Professor's personality/attitude: x_1 = students' perceptions of professor insofar as . . .

How much do you agree with the following statements?

The teacher is patient with international students.

The teacher is friendly.

The teacher cares about the students and their learning.

The teacher is an ethical role model.

The teacher is knowledgeable.

Cronbach's alpha

.89

Average inter-item covariance: .23

Stata command: alpha tchrpatient tchrfrndly tchrcares tchrethical tchrknowledge, gen(tchrpersonality)

b) Teaching practices: Positive pedagogical practices: x_2 = *tchrpedagogy*, a composite of . .

How much do you agree with the following statements?

The teacher is available/accessible to the students.

The teacher is fair in her/his grading.

The teacher encourages the students to participate in class.

The teacher brings to class real-life, interesting examples to help student learning.

How often have you seen connections in this class to your own experience? Is this

important to you? (An average of the four, if Yes, this is important.)

Readings

Films or videos

Discussions

Lectures

Cronbach's alpha

.84

Average inter-item covariance: .20

Stata command: alpha tchravail tchrfair tchrencourages tchrexamples materials, gen(tchrpedagogy)

c) Professor: Negative characteristics/pedagogical practices: Students' perceptions of negative behavior by professor: $x_3 = tchrneg$, a composite of . . .
The teacher has a narrow-minded view of the world.
How often have you been ignored by the teacher?
 The average of the responses to . . .
How often have you heard the teacher in this class express offensive views about .

. . .
 (An average of the eight)
Race, ethnicity, or nationality
Gender or sexual identity/orientation
Political beliefs
Religion
Socio-economic status (social class)
Immigration status
Language or accent
Physical, psychological, or learning disabilities

<u>Cronbach's alpha</u>	
.64	
	Average inter-item covariance: .275

Stata command: alpha tchnarrowminded ignoredbytchr tchroffensive, gen(tchrneg)

Model 2. a) American students: Positive behavior of American classmates: $x_1 = amerss$, an aggregate of the following . . .

How would you describe your American classmates (in your most welcoming class)?
Strongly disagree Disagree Agree Strongly agree

They are friendly.
They listen carefully when international students speak in class.
They make a special effort to interact with me in class.
They make me feel welcomed.
My American classmates are interested in learning about my culture.
My American classmates are patient when they hear my accent.
My American classmates are open to learning from other students in the class.

<u>Cronbach's alpha</u>
.81
Average inter-item covariance: .13

Stata command: alpha slisten ssfriendly sseffort sscurious sspatient ssopen sswelcoming, gen(amerss)

b) American students: Negative perceptions of American classmates: $x_2 =$

amerssneg, an aggregate of the following . . .

How often have you been ignored by your American classmates?

How often have you heard the American students in this class express offensive views about . . . (An average of the following)

Race, ethnicity, or nationality

Gender or sexual identity/orientation

Political beliefs

Religion

Socio-economic status (social class)

Immigration status

Language or accent

Physical, psychological, or learning disabilities

Cronbach's alpha

.70

Average inter-item covariance: .41

Stata command: `alpha ignoredbystdnts ssoffensive, gen(amerssneg)`

APPENDIX G

STATA COMMANDS AND RESULTS

Odds-Ratio Ologit Models

Model 1: ologit feelwelclass tchrpersonality tchrpedagogy tchrneg female age norelig, or

Iteration 0: log likelihood = -82.157151
 Iteration 1: log likelihood = -62.604736
 Iteration 2: log likelihood = -61.25708
 Iteration 3: log likelihood = -61.2496
 Iteration 4: log likelihood = -61.2496

Ordered logistic regression

Number of obs = 93
 LR chi2(6) = 41.82
 Prob > chi2 = 0.0000
 Pseudo R2 = 0.2545

Log likelihood = -61.2496

feelwelclass	Odds Ratio	Std. Err.	z	P> z	[95% Conf. Interval]	
tchrpersonality	20.81968	21.29951	2.97	0.003	2.803203	154.6299
tchrpedagogy	1.156926	1.10668	0.15	0.879	.1774482	7.542915
tchrneg	1.073383	.4255588	0.18	0.858	.493495	2.334674
female	.3253108	.1698556	-2.15	0.031	.1169116	.905189
age	1.486849	.568489	1.04	0.300	.7027715	3.145715
norelig	1.864282	1.01068	1.15	0.251	.6442457	5.394756
/cut1	4.399647	2.505686			-.5114072	9.310701
/cut2	6.128623	2.331101			1.559749	10.6975
/cut3	10.86273	2.610735			5.745783	15.97968

Model 2: ologit feelwelclass amerss amerssneg age female norelig, or

Iteration 0: log likelihood = -82.157151
 Iteration 1: log likelihood = -73.672644
 Iteration 2: log likelihood = -73.546598
 Iteration 3: log likelihood = -73.546343
 Iteration 4: log likelihood = -73.546343

Ordered logistic regression

Number of obs = 93
 LR chi2(5) = 17.22
 Prob > chi2 = 0.0041
 Pseudo R2 = 0.1048

Log likelihood = -73.546343

feelwelclass	Odds Ratio	Std. Err.	z	P> z	[95% Conf. Interval]	
amerss	4.350809	2.876103	2.22	0.026	1.190922	15.89487
amerssneg	1.998634	.6288031	2.20	0.028	1.078776	3.702842
age	1.186098	.4118889	0.49	0.623	.6005226	2.342676
female	.4779905	.2205272	-1.60	0.110	.1935112	1.18068
norelig	1.398088	.7128172	0.66	0.511	.5146928	3.797702
/cut1	-.014319	2.246823			-4.418011	4.389373
/cut2	1.672228	2.081848			-2.408119	5.752574
/cut3	5.344521	2.139817			1.150556	9.538486

Models 1 & 2: ologit feelwelclass tchrpersonality amerss amerssneg age female norelig,
 or

Iteration 0: log likelihood = -82.157151
 Iteration 1: log likelihood = -61.793324
 Iteration 2: log likelihood = -60.228046
 Iteration 3: log likelihood = -60.219713
 Iteration 4: log likelihood = -60.219712

Ordered logistic regression

Number of obs = 93
 LR chi2(6) = 43.87
 Prob > chi2 = 0.0000
 Pseudo R2 = 0.2670

Log likelihood = -60.219712

feelwelclass	Odds Ratio	Std. Err.	z	P> z	[95% Conf. Interval]	
tchrpersonality	18.34652	11.80312	4.52	0.000	5.199222	64.73943
amerss	1.719308	1.230801	0.76	0.449	.4226727	6.993637
amerssneg	1.468579	.5223535	1.08	0.280	.7313689	2.948887
age	1.489007	.5628297	1.05	0.292	.7098243	3.123506

female	.3315729	.1738443	-2.11	0.035	.1186567	.9265432
norelig	1.92479	1.072653	1.18	0.240	.6456886	5.737776
-----+						
/cut1	5.075929	2.597549			-.0151728	10.16703
/cut2	6.800204	2.461268			1.976208	11.6242
/cut3	11.6779	2.810374			6.169672	17.18614

Model 3: ologit feelwelcuniv feelwelclass female age norelig, or

Iteration 0: log likelihood = -83.290848
 Iteration 1: log likelihood = -76.879446
 Iteration 2: log likelihood = -76.678433
 Iteration 3: log likelihood = -76.678103
 Iteration 4: log likelihood = -76.678103

Ordered logistic regression

Number of obs = 93
 LR chi2(4) = 13.23
 Prob > chi2 = 0.0102
 Pseudo R2 = 0.0794

Log likelihood = -76.678103

feelwelcuniv	Odds Ratio	Std. Err.	z	P> z	[95% Conf. Interval]	
-----+						
feelwelclass	3.435316	1.305695	3.25	0.001	1.630955	7.235883
female	.7541523	.347041	-0.61	0.540	.3060262	1.858487
age	.7136804	.2552881	-0.94	0.346	.3540165	1.438746
norelig	.6367062	.3067212	-0.94	0.349	.2476788	1.636776
-----+						
/cut1	-1.171274	1.614037			-4.334728	1.992181
/cut2	.1792734	1.515771			-2.791584	3.150131
/cut3	3.939844	1.580457			.842206	7.037483

Model 4: ologit feelwelcuniv expdiscrim feeexcluded female age norelig, or

Iteration 0: log likelihood = -83.290848
 Iteration 1: log likelihood = -80.218762
 Iteration 2: log likelihood = -80.184036
 Iteration 3: log likelihood = -80.184007
 Iteration 4: log likelihood = -80.184007

Ordered logistic regression

Number of obs = 93
 LR chi2(5) = 6.21
 Prob > chi2 = 0.2860

Log likelihood = -80.184007

Pseudo R2 = 0.0373

	Odds Ratio	Std. Err.	z	P> z	[95% Conf. Interval]	
feelwelcuniv						
expdiscrim	.7908335	.4064822	-0.46	0.648	.2887847	2.165688
feexcluded	1.709702	.5144585	1.78	0.075	.9479587	3.083554
female	.6859015	.3118657	-0.83	0.407	.2813438	1.672192
age	.7510595	.2578719	-0.83	0.404	.3831945	1.472073
norelig	.7893827	.3716566	-0.50	0.615	.3137079	1.986322
/cut1	-3.454092	1.460012			-6.315662	-.5925218
/cut2	-2.122155	1.340503			-4.749492	.5051814
/cut3	1.388538	1.311224			-1.181414	3.95849

APPENDIX H

SAMPLE INTERVIEW TRANSCRIPT (CODED)

[m___ Keep this just in case you haven't entered his comments in the text boxes of the Questionnaire. . .]

R: We should everyone know, because we have Internet, we have books, we have a lot of things.

I: OK, can you repeat what you started to say about . . . You said you hadn't observed discrimination?

R: No. I: But? R: But nobody knows about is like, Islam, doesn't have like a basic idea or what's mean Islam . . . is like. Maybe some of them is like, know about the Muslim people, like the bad things. They hear the bad things, but they don't see the good things. And some of them is like if they know Arabs people, they like hang out with them like a lot, and a lot, and a lot, and a lot.

Interview

I: Oh-oh. OK, this is a continuation of seven . . .

I: OK. You chose Math 1010 as the most welcoming class. R: Yeah. I: Ah, and you said it was similar to your other classes. R: Mhm. I: You had to choose one, so you chose that one. R: Exactly. I: Uh, . . . What did the teacher in that class do to make you as a student from Saudi Arabia feel welcomed? R: 1010? I: Uh-huh. R: He didn't do anything because they treat (?) every people equal. I: OK. R: He don't like, by, do it like, by nationality. He do it, like fair for everyone. I: Okay. R: You are student and have a brain, welcome. That's it. I: Okay. R: Yeah. I: Did you have any negative experiences in that class? R: No. In this class, no.

I: Um, tell me about a class that you've taken where you did not feel welcomed. R: Class? I don't . . . not . . . none. I: None? R: None. (long pause)

I: Um, tell me more about the American students in your classes. What exactly did they do to make you feel welcomed? Or unwelcomed. R: Yeah, sometime it's like, if I work as like in a group, . . . I: Mhm. R: . . . they understand I am international if the pronunciation or something. They, they ask me question, "Do you mean by that one, or the other one?" And they can listen and they understand I'm international, and some of them is like, they understand very well that situation because they try to speak Spanish or other language, secondly (?). They told me, "Oh, calm down, Abdulhakim. We understand a second language, that second language will be, is like, is like a challenge, when you're

working in as a group, as a group Don't worry about anything." If, if ah, I cannot do something, they let me know how can I do it step by step or explain it. And, like that.

I: And what we you telling me downstairs about the experience you had in one class that (inaudible)?

R: Yeah, yeah. In the group, it's like, it's like, for me it's like a shock. All, some of the American is not coming in the class because they are not take responsibility for the work. That's a human being. I think just in like my culture, some people is like missing . . . that. And he said, "I don't read the email; I don't . . . that." But most of the other American, they show up. I: They're responsible. R: Yeah, they're responsible. And they say "Sorry for late," and some of them, they come in the exactly time. But I am surprised with the two peoples, is like nothing show up. Yeah, it's like, surprise to me, it's like "Oh, . . . like . . ." I: So then how did you complete the project? R: We completed, and they told them, "Next time you are, they are not coming, we have next, ah, meeting, and you should come." Like that. And they come, next time. Finally. Yeah. But if you, if you have a problem, you cannot come, you can, like send email, "Sorry, I cannot come. It's not fitting my schedule," because working as a group. Yeah.

I: So you told me a story about what happened to you when you were in the hospital? R: Yeah. I: About . . . R: Yeah. (laughs under breath) I: . . . the guy who . . . R: Yeah, yeah. I: . . . moved away from you when he . . . (inaudible) R: You, you, you feel like, you feel that, you can tell that, especially when you learn the language of body, you can feel that. [Note: the man was an X-ray technician, and when he found out Abdulhakim was from the Middle East, he physically pulled away from him.]

I: Have you had any experiences like that here at the University? R: No, . . . I: . . . with students or with professors? R: . . . the professor and student, no, I don't have that experience. But I have, I told you, that in the hospital. Uh-huh.

(laughter) I: OK. Um, how are Saudi students treated differently from other students in the classes? Or you think they're treated the same?

R: I think in the same. I don't have that (inaudible), but I prefer if I have a class, I prefer like in my nationality two or three peoples, it's okay. But more than, it's like, worse. The, as you mentioned, it's like, they will represent the Saudi Arabia, those people. If some of them like, late, or doing something, "Oh, look at the Saudis." They cannot tells, like, look the Saudis, but even (inaudible) the Saudi guys are not coming early or late, maybe hurt the other Saudi he (?) come early. I: Mhm. R: But the other professors, like what I feel from the professors, they don't care about the nationality. They care about you, if you are coming in class or not. Even if you are American or not, but this is my personal opinion (?).

I: Given your experiences here, what advice would you give new international students from Saudi Arabia as far as what to expect from faculty and American students in the classroom?

R: My experience? I: Your advice. R: My advice? I: Your recommendations. R: Yeah, I recommend that people who came to the United State be like, respect the culture, uh, respect the culture, and . . . (microphone sounds) I: Mhm. R: . . . Respect the cultures and be patient. If somebody is, like a react something, you can give him the opposite things by polite and be nice. Like, for example, I was in a Subway, I remember that. I was in a Subway to order my meal, it was like that, when I was in uh, uh, Bowling

Green, Kentucky. And we have, ah yeah, a meal, and it was like a black. And you know the accent for black people. They told me, she told me, it's like, it's like, talking, it's like she feel nervous, "What you want?" (loudly) It's like, "Ah, ah!" She's nervous. I give him like a big smile, yeah, like doing something wrong . . . I: (laughs) R: . . . but I'm, I am a patient right now. (inhales) I smile like that (shows a wide smile with sparkling white teeth). And she, I feel is like, a sorry, but she don't want to say, "OK, what do you want?" and change her reaction. I: (laughs) R: Yeah, you can make that, it's like a friend. And when I come there, "Ha," she smile with me, she know me. But some people is like, from my country, they will fight with her, or maybe can do is like, "Where's your boss?" . . . Yeah. You can make him a friend, or you can make him is like non a friend. Yeah. That's, be patient with the other people, because you don't understand. Maybe he have some problem in the house or something, but sometime you cannot take a patient. Yeah. You can see, the, what's doing (?) the situation. Yeah.

I: Have you ever lost your patience? R: Yeah, I think it's like, a one time, and I went in a Park City, Park City. When I went in Park City, I went in a mall, it's like (inaudible: clothes?) for a Polo, Polo, Raphael Polo, . . . I: Mhm. R: . . . for T-shirts and stuff . . . R: . . . And I went there and I ask man . . . I think he's, he's not American man. I can tell that. And I told him, the seller inside, I told him, "I want that. How much that one? . . . Where, Where's I can find. . .?" He looked to me as like I, as a piece of shit. "Agh, what you want?" Like that. . . I said, "I'm OK." First time. Second time I ask him, 'cuz ah, I want to shop, I want to buy something. Again. Third time. Again. The fourth time, I went and . . . I ask, "Where's the boss?" And I told him, because I'm ah, uh, I'm customers from long time, "I never see, . . . in, especially in this store. Nobody's like ever treat me like that, especially . . ." I told him, this guy's like blah, blah, blah, blah, blah, blah, because I'm lifetime, she give me like to, to calm down . . . she gave me like, discount. But I'm not, I told him, "I'm not looking for discount, but . . . I have a money; I want to buy. If he have a problem today, kick him out to go home and relax and come back to work. This is not part of the, the business." And she understand that, and she smile, and she's told me, "I'm so sorry about that." Yeah, because some people's like . . . what, ah. This is the shop. I'm, I'm coming to buy. You should have a welcome and a smile. I: Exactly, right. R: This is the business. I: Right. R: Yeah. This is not your house. R: If your house, do what you want. I: Right. That's what business is all about. R: Yeah. I: OK. Umm, what else would you like to share with me?

R: What I told you, the (inaudible: Asian?) guy . . . And we should learn about, if the people come the United State, especially Saudi, learn about cultures, learn about . . . I: It doesn't have to be advice. Just your experiences. R: Experiences, like. I: . . . here at Utah State, or . . . R: Especially in Utah, I think, be patient with the . . . missionary. I: (laughs) R: Yeah, especially in Utah, I mean, they (inaudible) a lot. And try to be nice with them. I: Even when they knock on your door at 6 o'clock in the morning? R: Yeah (laughs). Not in the morning, actually in the . . . evening. I: Ohhhhh, I thought it was in the morning. R: No, in the morning I will do something else. I: 6 o'clock is usually dinnertime for most people. R: Yeah, but still, it's like a rest time. I think. It's like relaxing, watch TV, or eating. I: Mhm. R: It's not for welcome (laughs), especially is not weekend. If the weekend, the say OK, welcoming time. It's like. I: OK.

I: So any other experiences you'd like to share with me? R: Experience, experience. . . I think is, be patient with other people, that's the MOST important to the human

being. Be patient. Smile. Mmmmm. I: (chuckles) R: Sometimes smile's like a kill. (laughs) I: You have a great smile. R: Ah, thank you. (chuckles) Thank you. . . I: OK, that's it! R: Thank you very much. I: Umm, I'm going to write a summary of your responses. Can I send you a copy, for you to read and tell me if I got the information correct? R: Yeah, okay. I: OK. R: The summary, you will in a write it? And if you write the book, you will write my name, Abdulhakim, or something like that? I: No, no. R: That's OK. I: If I quote you, . . . I don't think I can put "a piece of shit" in my dissertation. (laughter) But I could put "a piece of s__ _." Um, if I quote you, I won't use your name. R: OK. I: I'll call you Abdulhakimlah or Mohammed or something else, so nobody will know. R: It's okay for me, either way. (laughter) I: Um, . . . nobody would know anyway. Because the people reading it are going to be at the University of Utah. R: Oh, OK. I: So, . . . but I won't even say what campus. R: Oh, that's okay. That's fine for me. I: So . . . R: I don't have any problem. I say the truth. I: Good! R: I don't care! I: I'm glad! R: (chuckles)

I: Yesterday the student I talked to from Saudi Arabia, . . . he's been here . . . a year and a half? And he didn't know what LDS was. R: Hahhh!! It surprise, it surprise me! I: (laughs) R: He should, first thing he learn (inaudible) . . . I: I know! R: I remember first class with you, I take it, like "LDS, it's blah, blah." Um, his first day in the United States... He was in Boston. R: OK. I: . . . and he didn't speak English very well. R: (inaudible) I: His English, he's . . . even now he's taking ESL classes, so his English was not that good. He had \$1000 in cash . . . R: (snickers) I: . . . in his backpack. He took a taxi . . . somewhere in Boston, and when he got out of the taxi, he left his backpack in the car. R: Ohh. I: . . . with all of his credit cards, with his passport, . . . R: Ch (exhales) . . . I: . . . with the address of the school where he was going to study English, . . . R: Wow. I: . . . wi-, everything. He, he said he was homeless. I mean, he just, he had nothing. And he happened to find somebody who spoke Arabic, . . . R: Mhm. I: . . . and the guy helped him. And, um, gave him a place to sleep, found the school. They went to the school, and . . . he told them the story, and they said, "Oh, we have your backpack right here!" R: Oh. I: No money! (whispers) R: (laughs) I: The taxi driver took, it was over \$1000 in cash. All \$100 bills. R: Ohh. I: Took all the money, but . . . R: It's OK. I need the passport. I: Right! He, he, at least . . . delivered, he went to the, . . . R: Yeah. I: . . . he saw the address of the school, . . . R: Yeah. I: . . . and he drove his taxi, and said, "Oh, here, the, a, a student left this in my taxi." R: Yeah, that's, that's is like, everywhere it's happen . . . I: (laughs) R: . . . but some taxis, like (inaudible: good?) taxi, they will keep it. Even my country, . . . When I went in Christmas, I went in (?) a taxi and they told me the same story, but they told me, "Ah, if nobody see me, the God . . . will know. I'm not going to take any money." I: Right. R: Yeah. Some people is like that. And some people don't care. Because I remember, is like. . . I: But I would know. R: Yeah, . . . yeah, it's like . . . I: . . . that I did it. R: No, it's not good. I: Yeah.

R: Also, from you said LDS, I remember one thing. I was in, with my friend, hanging out, . . . in the last vacation we had . . . and I went in, ah, what you call it, that restaurant? It's a fancy restaurant, and . . . Cheesecake Factory. I: That's not fancy. R: They think it's like a fancy or something. (laughs) OK. I went there. Expensive. It's expensive, I think. I: It's a chain. Like McDonald's is a chain, or Olive Garden is a chain. R: Yeah, it's like Olive Garden, it like. . . I: Olive Garden isn't fancy. R: No. Anyway, and we will

sit with the Arabs people, and the next table is American . . and they are, is not old, not young. And we will talk, "Alabla, ha ha, ha, ha, ha," in Arabic (with guttural sounds from Arabic). I understand. And, and . . some of the guys that behind us, we have good gentleman. It's like, I say it like that. It's like talking. Good gentleman, I think. He's good gentleman, American. They would like it. Yeah. And we talk. And that guy want to talk with us. We can feel that. And he's like, "Hi, how are you? What language do you speak, guys?" I say "Arabic, we speak the language in Arabic," and know (?) he ask a lot of questions, where are you, are you student . . Everyone ask, this is a question--I don't know WHY--this questions they asked: "After you, after you are graduate, are you going to work in United State?" EVERYONE ask the questions. Now, now I answer that questions, yeah, . . I: How? R: . . you should, I answer that question, . . I: It's recording. R: Yeah. I answer that questions, I says, from experience, , I, I told them, "Yes, if you offer me good salary, I work everywhere. I thinking about money." They say, "Ha, ha, ha!" They smile. Because, I don't know about the future, what's going on, they asking me questions. I'm happy in United State. I am happy from I go back home. I am happy everywhere. I'm a bird. Everywhere, I can be. But they think, it's, it's like a Mexican, OK. "Are you going to take the job from us?" I: (laughs) R: Ahhh, I don't know what they're thinking about. It's like ah. . I: No, I think they're thinking, "America is the best country in the world, and everybody wants to live here." R: Oh, they think, and they ask me that questions . . I: . . and the only reason people come here is . . . because, it's the best place in the world. R: Oh, that's not true. We have some place like the best. I: I know, I know, I know. . . R: . . . but it's like a good. I think. For me, I'm, I thinking, as, as, I'm a bird. I can go anywhere what I want. I: Uh-huh. R: That's it. Don't ask me where is the good place. Everywhere I will enjoy my life. I will be here short period of life. I am in America, or I am in Saudi Arabia, I will be happy where I am. Yeah. I: How is your health? R: Oh, pretty good. I: Good! (laughs) R: Yeah. Steckling (?) sometimes, but . . I: How's your stomach? R: . . sometimes tailing (?), but I know . . THAT food I'm not going to eat. I: OK. R: . . Ah, sometimes put, . . I go to gym, I'm OK. Hamdulila. Thanks God. I: Hamdulila. R: Yeah, and, uh, . . his wife, she ask me questions, and him. No. I: At the restaurant? R: Yeah, at the restaurant again. The guy, they ask me, the gentleman, they ask me, "Yeah, most religion in Saudi Arabia is Islam, is it?" "Yes, sir." "Is it Islam. Are you . . ?" they say. Yes, I understand. We are in Utah. We should answer, not any best (?). And, again. . I: There's a Cheesecake Factory in Utah? R: In Utah, no. Just in Salt Lake City. I: Well, that's Utah. R: Yeah, that's Utah. I: OK. I didn't know there was . . R: Yeah, in Salt Lake Cit- I: . . a Cheesecake Factory there. R: Yeah. And . . she ask me that, yeah, she told, he told me, "Uh, I know we have Mecca, and you have, uh, Jedda, the capital city." I said, "Yes, and Mecca . . ." I: I thought Riyadh was the capital. R: Oh, sorry, Riyadh is capital city. I said, I told him, "Yes, Riyadh is capital city." And he asked me question: "And you have, uh, Mecca, and . . ." R: I told him Medina. This is for religion people, for the Islam. And, then, and I know he know that, "and I know the people is not, non-Muslim, you cannot enter Mecca, cannot come inside. That is true?" I told (?) him "yes." (screeching sound) And, uh, lady, she have some, is like, acting like . . I: Well, that's just like the temple here. R: Yeah, I want to tell her, I want to tell her, like that! I: Yeah! R: It's like the temple, even the, non-good, uh. . I: Mormons. R: . . good Mormon, you cannot. But in Islam, in Islam, you can see in TV. And if you are a Muslim,

good or bad, you can enter that--maybe you are change! I: Mhm. R: But we are welcoming. You are come, . . . I: Right. R: . . . and you can see in the TV. In the, in the temple, you cannot KNOW what's going on, or you cannot . . . Yeah, I understand. I am imaginable (?). I am not blind. I am, I, I, I wanna, I wanna told him like that. . . I: (chuckles) R: I said, oh, I want to keep the conversation like that. Because we have some people not manageable (?), we will have all (?). Blah, blah, blah, blah . . . I: (laughs) R: Keep it down. Calm down, Abdulhakim. Nothing happen. Yeah. Because I have a lot of LDS. And they told me, some of them is like, went in the temple. And, and they told me, no more. I'm, I, I have, without religion now. They are strict (?) in religion Right moment is none. . . . non-religion. I'm respect everyone, but do not react is like, "What?! What happened?! C'mon!" Not what? (inaudible) Yeah. Some people like. . .

I: Um, I heard somewhere that in Salt Lake City, the number of people who are LDS is less than 50%. It's only 40% or less. So maybe they weren't Mormon. R: No, but I, I, I can feel, from their face. I: (laughs) R: I can feel. I have experience! I'm not born today. I . . . I: You can tell from their FACE? R: Yeah. I, I can tell from . . . I: I can tell from how they dress. R: Yeah, I can . . . Sometimes I can tell from the face, they are strict Mormon for . . . Yeah. You can tell from the face they are strict. Hah! No, this is my real religion! I: "Strict" (correcting his pronunciation) R: Yeah, "strict." You can feel from the face. Even, you can tell. Even in the Muslim, you can tell.

APPENDIX I

CODEBOOK FOR INTERVIEWS

Category		Description
Positive Classroom Climate		
<i>Teacher's behaviors</i>	PT-INT	interactive
	PT-FUN	funny and/or fun
	PT-PAT	patient
	PT-HELP	helpful, encouraging
	PT-NJ	non-judgmental
	PT-EQUA	treats all students equally; doesn't stereotype
		relates to students, has int'l experiences, shares life w/ students, etc.
	PT-RELA	
	PT-CURI	curious about ss' backgrounds, wants to know them better
	PT-FR	friendly, nice
	lenient	
<i>White students</i>	PW-HELP	helpful
	PW-ACT	active learners in/out of classroom
	PW-FR	friendly, nice
	PW-PAT	patient
	PW-NJ	non-judgmental
	PW-SIT	stayed in touch after classes
	PW-CURI	curious about ur background, want to know you better
	PW-ATTE	attentive to what int'll stdts have to say, very interested
<i>Int'l students</i>	PI-ACT	int'l ss' being active; agency
	PI-SDEF	int'l ss' defending themselves, standing up to aggression
<i>Other factors</i>	PO-BNUM	big number of int'l students in the class
	PO-FAMC	familiar course content
	PO-VARI	variety of class activities
	PO-COM	provide channels of communication

	PO-FAME	familiar environments, familiar people and things
	PO-INT	interact w/ other ss in class, both Amer. & int'l
	PO-PSSC	passion for the course subject
<i>Respondents' reactions to climate</i>	PC-PR	respondents' reactions to positive climate
Negative Classroom Climate		
<i>Teacher's behaviors</i>	NT-UP*	un-prepared for classes
	NT-STER	stereotypes of int'l students
	NT-NINF	didn't give info/helpful resources that int'l ss may need
	NT-OFFE	teacher says sthg offensive/inappropriate in class
	NT-FAVO	teacher shows favoritism in the classroom
	NT-ETHC	ethnocentric, believing White Amer. culture is superior
	NT-DISC	teacher discriminated against int'l students
<i>White students</i>	NW-ETHC	ethnocentric, believing White Amer. culture is superior
	NW-STER	stereotypes &/or ignorance of int'l students
	NW-OFFE	offensive or rude gestures/remarks/behaviors
	NW-IND	more individual, focus on their own things; egocentric; disregard for others
	NW-BUB	stayed in White bubble, not really want to make friends w/ int'l students
	NW-NSIT	do not stay in touch after classes (similar to "fake friendly")
	NW-FF	"fake friendly", approach int'l ss with ulterior motives
	NW-JUDG	judgmental
	NW-L2	White students' linguisticism
<i>Int'l students</i>	NI-RNS	reinforce negative stereotypes
	NI-BRP	create bad reputation for students from the same ethnicity
	NI-BNUM	big number (of Saudis, e.g.) in one class not good
<i>Other factors</i>	NO-DACC	disadvantage in course content
	NO-DSCC	dissatisfied with course content
	NO-SNUM	small number of int'l students in the classroom
	NO-DLCC	dislike course content, maybe too hard (not really language related)
	NO-HNUMW	high number of White ss (caused anxiety)
<i>Respondents' reactions to climate</i>	NC-RR	respondents' reactions to a negative classroom climate
	NW-RR	respondents' reactions to negative treatment by White ss

Difficulties/challenges int'l ss face (not just in the classroom)

DFC-L2	language barriers
DFC-SHY	cultural "shyness"
DFC-BUB	stay inside their ethnic bubbles
DFC-RELG	impact of LDS religion
DFC-WITH	social withdrawal
DFC-SYST	different school system/academic culture
DFC-LSTG	lost their focus/goal of coming here
DFC-DISC	dealing with discriminatory/offensive/rude behaviors

APPENDIX J

STUDENTS' COUNTRIES OF ORIGIN AND LANGUAGES

Participants' countries of origin

Country	Frequency	Percent
People's Republic of China	40	43
Saudi Arabia	8	8.6
South Korea	8	8.6
Dominican Republic	4	4.3
India	3	3.2
Japan	3	3.2
Belize	2	2.1
Brazil	2	2.1
Mexico	2	2.1
Peru	2	2.1
Armenia	1	1.1
Cameroon	1	1.1
Ethiopia	1	1.1
France	1	1.1
Iran	1	1.1
Kuwait	1	1.1
Malaysia	1	1.1
Mongolia	1	1.1
Nigeria	1	1.1
Norway	1	1.1
Pakistan	1	1.1
Qatar	1	1.1
Russia	1	1.1
Sweden	1	1.1
Taiwan	1	1.1
Ukraine	1	1.1
United Arab Emirates	1	1.1
Venezuela	1	1.1
Vietnam	1	1.1
29	93	100

Students' preferred language(s)

Language	Frequency	Percent
Mandarin Chinese	37	40
English	16	17
Arabic	8	9
Korean	6	6
Spanish	6	6
Japanese	3	5
Cantonese	2	2
French	2	2
Russian	2	2
Amharic & Oromic	1	1
Armenian	1	1
Hindi	1	1
Malay	1	1
Mongolian	1	1
Norwegian	1	1
Persian (Farsi)	1	1
Portuguese	1	1
Swedish	1	1
Vietnamese	1	1
Not English	1	1
20	93	100

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