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## UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

## Santa Barbara

Expanding the Known World: Routines that Influence
International Student Integration

A dissertation submitted in partial satisfaction of the requirements for the degree Doctor of Philosophy in Education

by

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December 2018

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### **ABSTRACT**

# Expanding the Known World: Routines that Influence International Student Integration

by

### Chryss Yost

This dissertation presents three related studies examining institutional routines and their impact on international students at a large public university. The studies consider factors which can influence international students' ability to overcome acculturative stress and integrate with a sense of belonging and safety.

The case study in Chapter Two focuses on an international student services office within the large public university. The ways in which organizational routines have changed are interpreted here in response to a surging international student population and changing Federal policies regarding immigration. Feldman's generative model of organizational routines encourages the examination of routines as areas of growth. The chapter examines routinized actions used by the international office (OISS), specifically focusing on Feldman's performative model. In addition to routinized action theory, this chapter proposes applying anxiety/uncertainty management theory (AUM) to the evaluation of organizational routines. Examination of routines is placed in the context of a conceptual overview based on literature about routines as sources of stability and change. Reducing uncertainty, expanding networks, and communicating expectations may lay the groundwork for an integrated student body, reduced acculturative stress for international students, and increased social capital.

Chapter Three explores the question: How do international students in the U.S. use social network sites (SNS)? Connections made through home-country SNS lessen student stress by maintaining establish social supports. At the same time, anxiety/uncertainty management theory (AUM) suggests reliance on familiar home-country SNS reduces motivation to integrate in the host country. This conceptual overview draws upon several recent studies to consider the ways college students use social media, how international students adapt to host-country networks (or not), and the potential for SNSs to be an effective communication channel for the host institution, with special consideration for its potential and limitations for emergency communications. A proposal to develop a SNS-based structured arrival program is included.

Chapter Four addresses institutional communications and international student response at the large public university during a natural disaster. Literature on disaster preparedness and emergency communications on college campuses rarely considers the needs of the international student population. How can the campus better support international students during a large-scale emergency? A post-incident survey examines student perceptions of the event and the institutional response to the disaster.

The final chapter considers issues raised by within these studies, limitations, and possibilities for future research. Because these chapters examine routines and processes initiated in part to comply with Federal immigration policy, using rapidly changing technologies that are also subject to constraint by governmental policies, the future offers ample opportunities for further exploration.

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### CHAPTER ONE

### Introduction

Since colonial times, American public colleges and universities have had to make changes to respond to shifting enrollment initiated by social or political changes (Snyder, 1993). While most of these changes happened gradually, some are more sudden. One such change was the passing of the Servicemen's Readjustment Act ("G.I. Bill") in 1944, which provided education to people who had served during World War II (Snyder, 1993). In 1929, prior to the passage of the bill, 7% of 18- to 24-year-olds were enrolled in college; by 1949, about 15% of 18- to 24-year-olds were enrolled (approximately 2.4 million students) (Snyder, 1993, p. 65). This initiated a rapid growth in enrollment and expansion of public colleges through the 1950's and 60's, as the national population grew, and by 1969, enrollment was as large as 35% of the 18- to 24-year-old population. The Center for Education Statistics, part of the U.S. Department of Education, Office of Educational Research and Improvement, documented 120 years of change in a 1993 report, *120 Years of American Education: A Statistical Portrait* (Snyder, 1993).

For the purposes of this dissertation, one of the most interesting details in the 1993 report is that there is no mention of international students. Twenty-five years ago, international students comprised just 3.1% of total U.S. enrollment, a number that had been gradually growing but remained small, with just 438,319 international students nationwide (Institute for International Education [IIE], 2018). In 2017, international students made up 5.5% of total U.S. enrollment nationwide (1,094,792 students) (IIE, 2018). Percentages at

many universities is much higher (IIE, 2017). While international undergraduate students were once a welcome rarity, they are now heavily recruited.

For many years, incoming international students were graduate students, with the majority coming from India (IIE, UCSB Campus). These students had usually completed an undergraduate degree. Graduate students require fewer extra-departmental support services from the university in terms of general education requirements or tutoring. These graduate students often had English as an academic language and had been educated in a British-influenced system in their home country. Colonialism influenced formal education systems around much of the globe, with Western (primarily English and French) systems dominating. Thus, students arriving from Europe, much of Africa, South Asia, Latin America or the Caribbean often recognize the institutional structures they find at universities in the U.S.

However, not so in China, which is centered on a Confucian educational system (Lee, J.U., 2014; Lee, J.Y., 2014). Since Fall 2008, the largest incoming group of international students to the U.S. has been from China (IIE, 2018). The age of the students has also changed. Most incoming international students today are undergraduates: younger students, many of whom still struggle with English, and who were often raised in the Confucian educational system which is prevalent in China rather than a Western system based on critical inquiry (Lee, J.U., 2014; Lee, J.Y., 2014; Ramos, 2013). The undergraduate Chinese students have created new challenges for university faculty and staff.

### **Changes in the International Student Population**

Nationwide, the number of undergraduate students arriving to colleges in the U.S. from China has increased at an unprecedented rate, at times as much as 29.9% year to

year (IIE, 2018). While the 2017-18 academic year the rate of increase was a mere 4.0%, U.S. schools are still identifying ways to meet the needs of this relatively new population with expanded support services. 148,593 undergraduates from China were enrolled in U.S. colleges and universities in fall 2017, about half the number of undergraduates from all other countries combined (294,152). Thus, the international student population is less diverse than it was: one of every three international undergraduates in the U.S. in 2017 came from the same country (IIE, 2018). Many factors, a combination of carrots and sticks, combine to contribute to this increase including the emergence of the Chinese middle class, children who are beneficiaries of China's one-child policy with access to more family resources, and rigid requirements of higher education institutions within China that have made universities within China less appealing or inaccessible for some students (Chow, 2011).

Typical of this national trend in international student enrollment, UCSB, the site of the current study, had just 1% international undergraduates (215 students) in 1997 (UCSB Campus Profile). Ten years later, in 2007, the number had barely increased to 1.2% of the population (220 students). However, by 2017, that number had increased ten times to 10% of the undergraduate student population, with 2185 students. Figure 1 shows this increase relative to the total undergraduate enrollment (UCSB Campus Profile). Displayed in this way, the growth does not appear to be especially dramatic. This appears an incomplete picture.

Perhaps a better indicator of the dramatic changes in the international student population is the percentage of change year to year, as shown in Figure 2. For undergraduate international students, changes in enrollment varied from an 11% drop in 2006 to a 56%

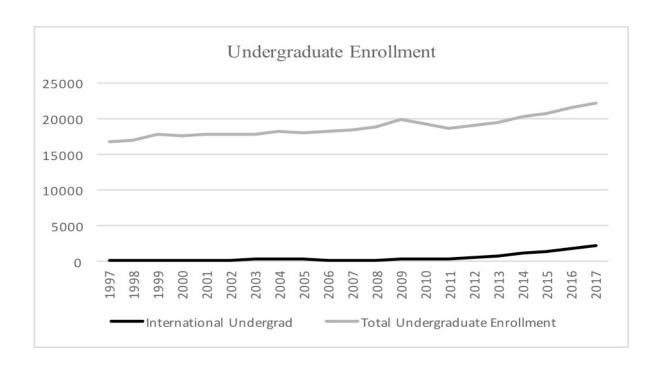


Figure 1. Change in undergraduate enrollment, 1997-2017 (UCSB Campus Profile).

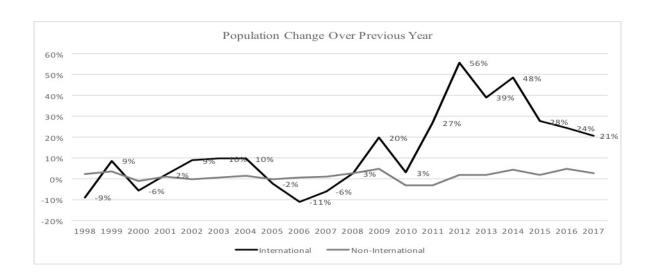


Figure 2. Percent change in undergraduate enrollment for international and non-international students (UCSB Campus Profile).

increase in 2012. Compared to the non-international undergraduate population, which shows -3% to 5% change year over year, the international student population has much more volatile, based on data available from the UCSB Campus Profiles compiled each year. This volatile growth has created periods of tremendous strain on international student resources, especially specialized immigration advising staff. Large university systems are often slow to respond to change and tend to be reactive rather than proactive in funding allocations.

### **Impact on International Student Services**

The impact of an increased international student population on campus administrative and support services is not evenly distributed. At UCSB, the department which handles international immigration issues for incoming students, the Office of International Students and Scholars (OISS), must adjust procedures and routines to accommodate growing numbers of students, often without additional staff or resources. OISS has a dual mission to provide immigration services as well as international student support through advising, programming, and campus advocacy. Because immigration services are federally regulated with strict reporting and compliance mandates, when resources are stretched it is the broader, more loosely-defined programming and support mission that may suffer.

As a large public university, UCSB expects departments to prioritize efficiency and can be slow to provide funds for growth. In terms of work-flow, it may not be immediately clear how many additional international students will be enrolling at UCSB until after a significant amount of work has been completed by OISS to create the students' *certificate of eligibility*—the I-20 or DS-2019 form needed to receive an F-1 or J-1 student visa

(respectively). Issuing the certificate of eligibility requires collecting copies of the student's passport, proof of financial ability to pay for the academic year, and immigration forms from any previous U.S. school if applicable. This is in addition to transcripts and other materials collected from all students by the admissions office. This extra routine, or what Feldman (2000) characterizes as "patterns of behavior that are bound by rules and customs" (p. 611), is limited to international students and is completed by OISS.

During the same period that the international student population has been surging, the work of hosting international students has become more complex. In response to the 9/11 attacks, the Department of Homeland Security was founded in 2002, becoming the youngest U.S. Cabinet, overseeing more than 22 federal departments and agencies including the Transportation Security Administration (TSA), Immigration and Customs Enforcement (ICE), Customs and Border Protection (CBP) and Citizenship and Immigration Services (USCIS). All of these have the ability to set policies and procedures that will govern international students as they travel to the U.S., enter the country, or attend school in the U.S. (Department of Homeland Security, 2018). A web-based tracking system for international students and scholars (and their dependents) was deployed in January 2003 by the Department of Homeland Security and the Department of State (U.S. Immigration and Customs Enforcement, 2018). The Student and Exchange Visitor Information System (SEVIS), added a thick layer of record-keeping policies and procedures for international student services offices. Federal mandates for implementing SEVIS required extensive training for international student advisors. Hosting international students became more timeconsuming for the institution. As UCSB's current OISS director notes:

We're so focused right now on making sure that the students at all given times maintain status, are already compliant, we're compliant, that somewhere down the line we're beginning to miss out a bit on that personal interaction that we used to have...It's kind of put a little more burden on us. (Interview, November 16, 2018)

### **Benefits of Internationalization**

Internationalizing a college campus can have benefits for both visiting and host students. Exposure to new cultures, exchange of ideas across borders, growth in cultural competencies, skills for a global society are some of the goals of international education (Amit, 2010). The University of California appears to reaffirm its commitment to internationalizing in its 2017-18 Budget for Current Operations:

Just as other forms of diversity enhance the educational experiences of students, California's dependence on an increasingly global society and economy requires geographic diversity among the student body. Nonresident students are essential to the University, contributing to the academic quality and educational experience of all students and enhancing the diversity of backgrounds and perspectives on the campuses at which they enroll. Their contributions help prepare all UC students to live and work effectively in an increasingly global world. Nonresident enrollments also help grow and sustain the University's global reach, promoting new opportunities for students and faculty. (UCSB, 2017, p.89)

However, it is also clear that international and domestic students often have difficulties making meaningful connections without structured programs to bring them together (Mikal, Yang, & Lewis, 2015; also see Chapters Two and Three). As will be

discussed in more detailed in Chapter Two, the results of a recent UCSB International Student Survey indicated that international student satisfaction with their social interaction with American students is declining. So, as numbers of international students has increased and international diversity has decreased, fewer international students at UCSB are having meaningful, internationalizing interactions with California resident students. Visiting students face competing pressures to adopt the host culture while at the same time seeking the comfort of their home culture. Berry (2001) describes this process of acculturative pressure using a bidirectional model, in which both the host culture and home culture are influences on the student (Figure 3). Maximum benefit is experienced by both the visiting student and host institution through integration. This will be discussed more in Chapter Two. With a large co-national presence on campus (i.e., more Chinese students), and therefore less motivation to interact with students from the host country, there is a higher risk of separation. The institutional structures to encourage cross-cultural interactions may not be adequate to encourage students to reach beyond the comfort zone created by a large conational population (see Chapter Three). If a large subset of the international population (e.g. Chinese undergraduates) separates rather than integrates, the benefit of an internationalized campus is not being experienced by residents or international students, and that should concern UCSB administrators.

However, cultural internationalization is no longer the only concern. As the California economy is subject to cyclical changes, the University of California has come to rely on the income generated by Non-Resident Supplemental Tuition (NRST). Today, international students provide an economic benefit for the host campus. This has not



Figure 3. Acculturative stress responses (Berry, 2001)

always been the case, but as historical sources of funding for public universities (such as state support) has become less available, campuses such as UCSB have been aggressively recruiting international students to make up the difference (IIE, 2018). As a result,

although international contacts and collaboration have long been and continue to be an important aspect of academic research and networks, the formalization of 'internationalization' as a field of university activity has tended to be an administrative rather than a scholarly initiative. (Amit, 2010, p. 8)

At UCSB, international undergraduate students pay more than three times the tuition of California students; for the 2018-19 academic year, the cost for resident students is \$14,390.70, for non-residents, the cost is \$43,382.70 (http://registrar.sa.ucsb.edu/fees-residency/fee-information/summary-of-quarterly-fees-and-expenses). "In recent years, revenue generated from NRST [Non-resident Supplemental Tuition] fees has played an increasingly important role in helping backfill a portion of the shortfall in State funding" (UCSB Budget Manual, .p.28). NRST fees are the largest source of UC General Funds "by far." (p. 25)

In 2011, the University of California Commission on the Future recommended increasing non-resident enrollment to 10% (UC Regents, 2011). According to OISS, the enrollment target for international students, undergraduate and graduate, is 16% (currently at 12%)—an increase of 25% (OISS internal correspondence). As stated in the UC Regents (2011) Report, "Nonresident students pay more than the cost of education, enhancing quality for all students."

Thus, it is not just the population of students that is changing; the relationship

between international students and the university is changing. It is clear that international students, and their non-resident fees, play an important part in the operations of the University of California. It is also clear that international student satisfaction with campus academics and the social environment is falling (see Chapter Two for more about the Academic Senate CIE survey). It is important then for university leadership to understand the needs and expectations of these students. The following three chapters will examine the ways the university adjusts organizational routines to respond to changing student needs, changing Federal mandates, and growing populations. A concluding chapter will discuss the implications, bridging theory and practice.

### **Influences on Integration**

This dissertation explores ways in which the administrative structures and support services at a large public research university have changed to accommodate a surge in the population of international students who are not native English speakers and who have grown up in a different academic tradition.

University systems are non-linear, dynamic systems with elements that are loosely and tightly coupled (Birnbaum, 1989, p. 240). They can be seen as cybernetic systems, changing in response to inputs rather than outputs (p. 241). This means that changes will be made reactively. Examining ways that routines have expanded, failed, changed, or been repaired (Feldman, 2000) exposes ways in which the institution itself has responded to new pressures and the effect these routines might have on students' integration and personal adjustment to the university.

Students' ability to integrate appears influenced by their level of anxiety and the

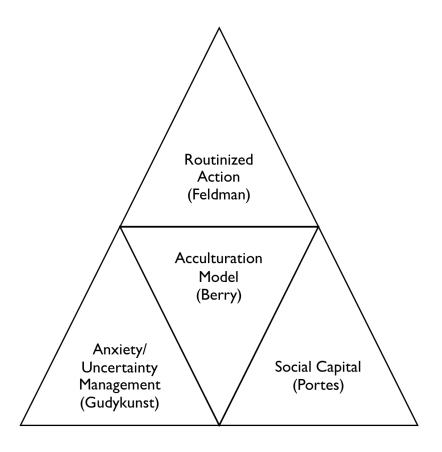


Figure 4. Theoretical foci.

supports available to balance uncertainty (anxiety/uncertainty management), interactions with the university that make sense (predictable routines), and connections and insider knowledge (social capital). As shown in Figure 4, Berry's (2001) acculturation model is placed at the center the model guiding this dissertation, with the goal of improving international student integration.

The case study in Chapter Two looks specifically at the routines through which the campus international students and scholars office generates documents needed for accepted international students to apply for a student visa in their home country and ways that precurricular programs, such as orientation, have changed to accommodate larger numbers of students and to address issues presented by Chinese students in particular. The chapter provides a conceptual overview of routines and their ability to cultivate social capital by reducing uncertainty and encouraging connections. Chapter Three looks at ways emerging technologies, specifically social networking sites (SNS), are used by international college students and ways SNS might be used as part of a structured program to help Chinese students more integrate with the larger campus community. Chapter Four considers the unique needs of the international student population during a campus crisis, using survey responses after a series of natural disasters exposed gaps in students' emergency literacy that had not been previously recognized or addressed by the campus emergency response team.

As a researcher/practitioner in the international students support services office at the University of California, Santa Barbara (UCSB), a large public research university, I have familiarity with the ways institutional routines have changed to effectively support the changing international student population. From pre-arrival immigration document

processing and pre-curricular orientation programs, through ongoing integration programming via social media, to campus crisis communications, universities need to adapt existing routines to meet the needs of this burgeoning and changing population. This introduction has provided a brief overview of the some of the challenges and motivations faced by undergraduate Chinese students in the U.S. and challenges and motivations for U.S. institutions that welcome them.

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### **CHAPTER TWO**

## The Certainty Principle: Building Social Capital through Routinized Action in an International Students Office

Like many universities in the U.S., the University of California, Santa Barbara (UCSB) has experienced rapid growth in international student enrollment during the past ten years, with the increase coming almost entirely from China. In 2016-17, the Institute for International Education's *Open Doors Report* recorded 142,851 undergraduates in the U.S. from China alone, almost 4.4 times more students than the next largest group from Saudi Arabia (which sent 32,538 undergrads to the U.S.). While international student enrollment in the U.S. has been rising over the past decade, the rate of increase is slowing; for some types of institutions and majors, enrollment is flattening out or even decreasing (Institute for Higher Education, 2018).

This increase in international students requires changes to the student support services offered by U.S. universities. International students are a vulnerable population, challenged by acculturative stress, language barriers, and a general lack of understanding from the university (Berry, 2009; Mavondo, Tsarenko, & Gabbot, 2014; Ramos, 2013; Sherry, Thomas, & Chui, 2010). Chinese students especially face additional challenges in a Western academic environment, which has different expectations for students than the Confucian system which is prevalent in China (Lee, J.U., 2014; Lee, J.Y., 2014; Ramos, 2013). Acculturative stress, the stress of adapting to a new culture, can lead to depression, anxiety, and somatic symptoms (Constantine, Okazaki, & Utsey, 2004; Misra et al., 2003;

Wei et al., 2007; Wilton & Constantine, 2003 cited in Yakunina et al., 2012). Social support, such as friendships and social relationships, can buffer the negative effects of acculturative stress. While multiple studies find that social relationships with host-country students are correlated with the most positive international student outcomes, the large number of Chinese students on most U.S. university campuses make it easier for Chinese students to form comfortable co-national groups rather than face the anxiety and stress of interacting with local students (Berry, 2009; Gudykunst & Hammer, 1984; Gudykunst & Nishida, 2001). Forming new intercultural relationships is challenging for local students as well, so without an incentive to make the extra effort, locals may do little to reach out to international students (Dunne, 2013; McKenzie & Baldassar, 2017). As one international student from UCSB reported in 2017:

I don't have much common topics to share with American students. They don't seem interested in the culture of my country, or don't want to ask me anything about my country. I have to try really hard to get them engaged in a conversation. Such efforts are waste of time because they will never talk to me again after that or help me with anything. (Academic Senate Report, 2017)

Connections are a critical part of any organization. Some scholars propose that organizations *are* connections (Sandelands & Stablein, 1987, cited in Feldman & Rafaeli, 2002). These connections are created through communication, both verbal and nonverbal:

Organizational routines place organizational participants in a position to have repeated verbal and nonverbal communication with one another. In this way organizational routines put organizational members in a position to create shared understandings. (p. 315)

Thus, one way the university can connect with students is through organizational routines, "repeated patterns of behavior that are bound by rules and customs and that do not change very much from one itineration to another" (Feldman, 2000, p. 193). Routines, like rituals, are a "process of orchestration" and "repeated activity" with recognizable results (Daniels, 2014). Organizations develop formal structures to bridge and buffer organizational functions in relation to the external environment, especially where those functions are relatively routinized, as are many immigration processes (Ogawa, 1996). These routines also function as a way of coordinating work (March and Simon, 1963, in Feldman and Rafaeli, 2002). Organizational routines within the international students office—such as the Office of International Students & Scholars (OISS) at UCSB—may support international student acculturation by providing predictability, reducing uncertainty, and leveraging bridging social capital to reflect organizational care. In contrast, failure to establish or communicate the existence of routines with as much transparency as possible can increase student uncertainty and anxiety in a situation where stakes are high.

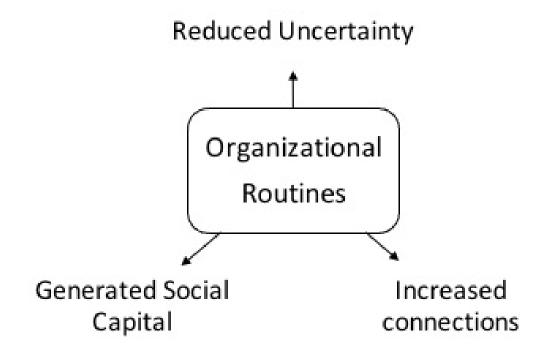
This chapter examines routinized actions used by OISS, specifically focusing on the performative model of routinized action (Feldman, 2000), routines as performance that builds connections and understandings (Feldman and Rafaeli, 2002), and routines as structures that can be used to broker social capital (Cox, 2017; Sargis-Roussel, Belmondo, & Deltour, 2017). The study considers the value of routines to standardize high-stakes interactions for students who are facing acculturative stress compounded by language barriers and foreign organizational systems. In addition, it considers another function of these routines using the lens of anxiety/uncertainty management (AUM, Gudykunst &

Nishida, 2001): by performing both authority and consistency, predictable routines at OISS may benefit students by reducing uncertainty, which results in reduced levels of student anxiety and better acculturative outcomes, as shown in Figure 5.

This chapter begins by exploring the results of a campus survey of international students conducted by the UCSB Academic Senate Committee for International Education (CIE), the role of the Office of International Students & Scholars (OISS), followed by a conceptual overview of routines and their ability to cultivate social capital by reducing uncertainty and encouraging connections.

### The International Student Survey

The recent survey by the Academic Senate Committee for International Education (CIE) suggested that international students at UCSB are less integrated into the campus community and less satisfied in 2017 than they were in 2011. Because the 2011 survey included a higher number of Chinese respondents, it may be that Chinese students are less integrated and less satisfied compared other international students. The university's Committee on International Education (CIE) is a committee within the academic senate, run by and for the faculty. CIE conducts a biennial survey of international undergraduate students. The scope of the survey includes academic and social life, student support services, campus climate, and overall experience. A recent report compared data from the 2011, 2013, 2015, and 2017 surveys. 2011 was the first year that Chinese undergraduates joined UCSB in significant numbers; the incoming class included 59 Chinese students out of 107 international freshmen (OISS). In 2017, the percentage of survey respondents from China was triple the number in 2011 (76.4% of respondents in 2017, 29% of respondents in 2011).



*Figure 5.* Proposed Model. Organizational routines can generate social capital, increased connections, and reduced uncertainty.

The timing of this survey with the increase in student enrollment from China makes it difficult to know if the experiences of international students as a population have changed, or if the experiences of Chinese students have always been different. In any case, the 2017 survey showed some interesting results, especially compared to previous years. The online survey was sent to 1,753 international undergraduate students, of which 457 completed the survey (N=457) by following a unique link.

Of the 2017 survey, CIE reported:

Three primary factors emerged as significant, positive predictors of respondents' satisfaction with their overall academic experience at UCSB: English language proficiency, the availability of general education courses needed to graduate, and the frequency with which the Office of International Students and Scholars (OISS) met their needs. (CIE report, 2017, p. 5)

In addition to satisfaction with their academic experience, the frequency with which OISS "met students' needs" was also one of two significant, positive predictors of respondents' satisfaction with their *social* experience. Satisfaction with housing or other student support services were not shown to be correlated with students' overall satisfaction, which suggests OISS is in a unique position to support students and potentially improve outcomes.

## **Case Study: The Office of International Students and Scholars**

The Office of International Students and Scholars (OISS) provides immigration and advising services for the the international community on campus. OISS provides documents that allow incoming students to obtain their student visas and maintains students'

immigration records as long as they are enrolled at UCSB (and beyond graduation, if a student participates in occupational practical training [OPT]). OISS provides orientation to new international students and sponsors and co-sponsors cultural programs. OISS also advocates for the international community and provides support services to academic and hiring departments. OISS ensures that the campus complies with federal immigration mandates. These rules became exponentially more complex since 9/11 and the creation of the Federal Department of Homeland Security. During an interview with the former director of OISS, Mary Jacob (who served as director from 1996-2012), she described this change:

The work in the international office, changed after 9/11. I was very active in NAFSA [the national professional organization for international student advisors] and you could see it happening. People who got into the field of advising, who cared passionately about international students and advising and assisting them, and were not interested in forms and regulations—post 9/11, with the implementation of SEVIS [the Federally-managed Student and Exchange Visitor Information System database], the advising profession changed. People could still have interest and passion for helping students, but you also had to develop the skill set and the expertise in immigration. In spades. So that you were not giving incorrect advice to students. And it took a lot more time for people to do the SEVIS reporting. So you wanted to spend face time with students, but you couldn't because you had be interacting with that system on behalf of the students. So, there was, there was a change and I think people, a lot of people, left the profession. At that time, they didn't like

that direction in which it was going, they felt they were big brother. Others wanted to continue to be involved and to mitigate the negative aspects, I mean... In October, November, December of 2001, there was a new, in fact, I kept a file. There was a new regulation every three weeks that was coming up that affected international students... There was some new twist. There was always something. So it was a period of tremendous upheaval and turmoil. (Jacob, cited in Yost, 2017)

Since the 2016 election, additional mandates including the "travel ban" (Gladstone & Sugimaya, 2018), have been implemented, blocked, and modified, increasing uncertainty and stress for international students and scholars. OISS must manage a changing and growing student population without a commensurate increase in staff resources; while the international student population has grown eightfold since 2011, OISS staff at UCSB has barely doubled (OISS). Current OISS Director Simran Singh states,

We're so focused right now on making sure that the students at all given times maintain status, are already compliant, we're compliant, that somewhere down the line we're beginning to miss out a bit on that personal interaction that we used to have (personal communication, November 19, 2018).

# **Social Capital at Work**

While social capital is most commonly used to describe individuals' ability to access resources embedded in social networks, it can also be applied to institutions and communities as they provide access to information, support, resources, and other benefits (Portes, 1998; Sargis-Roussel et al., 2017). Organizations can create and structure social

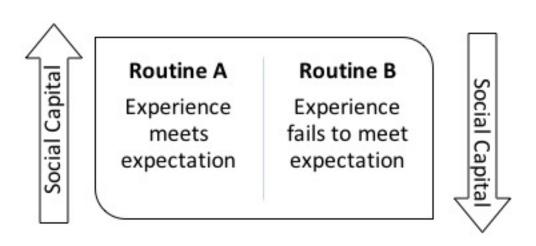


Figure 6. Conceptual model showing the relationship between routines, expectation and the change in social capital.

connections among participants (Cox, 2017; Portes, 1998). Sargis-Roussel et al. argue that "social capital is an antecedent of routines' emergence" (p. 104). Routines emerge through actions that are both repetitive and recognizable so that

participants build expectations of others' actions and gain knowledge of others' expectations.... Predictability means that a particular participant can expect others to perform certain actions and that he or she is aware that he or she is expected to perform some actions. (p. 103)

This concept of expectation is closely linked to trust, which is defined in network theory as knowing what will happen (Monge & Contractor, 1999, cited in Feldman & Rafaeli, 2002, p. 312). Routines are a stabilizing force of patterned behavior that reduces uncertainty (Feldman, 2001). This interaction is modeled in Figure 6.

Knowing what will happen or having influence over what will happen are both forms of social capital. OISS has significant social capital in its role as mediator between the international student and the federal government.

Because international students must have a F, J, or M visa issued by the federal government in order to study in the U.S., they are governed by U.S. federal law while in the U.S. The Department of Homeland Security (DHS), Immigration and Customs Enforcement (ICE), Customs and Border Patrol (CBP), the Department of State (DoS), and U.S. Citizenship and Immigration Services (USCIS) all have the power to detain, deport, or disrupt. Each of these agencies has policies and procedures which must be followed, paperwork which must be filed, and records which must be maintained. A student who fails to comply risks following "out of status," meaning they are in violation of the terms of their

visa and no longer have legal status to be in the U.S. Once out of status, a student can be expected to leave the U.S. within 15 days. A student who remains in the U.S. when not in status will accrue unlawful presence. The accrual of unlawful presence can lead to a student being deported and potentially barred from re-entering the U.S. for 3 or 10 years. At UCSB, OISS is the office tasked with keeping the visiting student in proper immigration status, maintaining their SEVIS record in the Federal database even during their optional post-graduation work period. Optional Practical Training (OPT) allows graduates to gain work experience in the U.S. for a limited period of time after finishing their academic degree. During this time, their SEVIS record continues to be maintained by their alma mater. In its role as mediator between visa-holding students and Federal immigration authorities, OISS becomes a gatekeeper with access to significant social capital.

# **Defining Student Expectations**

The CIE survey question "How often have the services provided by the Office of International Students and Scholars (OISS) successfully met your needs?" allows for a broad interpretation and was limited to a 5-point Likert scale of "always" to "never" response. To some extent, the student's current enrollment at the university is evidence that immigration needs have been met. A more helpful question might be "How often have the services provided by the Office of International Students and Scholars (OISS) successfully met your expectations?" Open-ended follow up questions (including "What problems, if any, have you had getting the help you need from OISS?") provide more information in the students' own words about their expectations (sample responses presented below). In their qualitative responses, students indicated that they wanted additional service hours from OISS, help

with income taxes, and that they were sometimes frustrated by immigration documents and processing times. There were also responses elsewhere in the survey which, while OISS was not mentioned, suggest opportunities for improvement in the way OISS advocates for students and helps them identify support systems, such as:

Overall, I did not feel like the U.S. was very welcoming of international students. This may not be specific to UCSB, but many rules and regulations make it more difficult for international students to succeed in the U.S. I also did not feel a strong connection to the international community here, and did not meet many people from my home country that I could identify with. Especially as a freshman I felt that I did not have a lot of guidance at all regarding how to succeed at UCSB academically. (CIE report, 2017)

The comment above reflects anxiety/uncertainty about regulatory processes. Seen through a lens of routinized action theory, OISS—as the campus contact for immigration authorities—might expand existing routines to reduce some of the uncertainty about these processes. In some cases, OISS has been able to provide timelines or next steps to students to help alleviate stress. Another student wrote:

Sometimes I know where the resources are, but it's really hard to let the advisor think in my shoes and tell me an useful suggestion. I constantly have to figure out things myself or ask my friends from my country. (CIE report, 2017)

This response reflects fairly high self-efficacy and also shows a lack of social capital in terms of connections with local students or campus staff. Training staff, especially OISS staff or others in the position of advising international students, to recognize frequently or

repetitively asked questions as indicators of sources of student anxiety encourages staff to expand existing routines to in response to student needs.

Former OISS Director Mary Jacob described a time when she was filling in for an advisor who was on leave. This was prior to the population surge, but is an example of the organization consciously creating a new routine to address an identified need:

I just found myself repeating myself over and over. And when [the advisor] came back, I said, "So many of the students are coming to you about Optional Practical Training." I said, "It would be more effective, I think, if you held a workshop to provide the basic information overview—what you have to say to every student every time they come in when you work one-on-one. Do workshops and then, once students have filled out the paperwork, have them come back [...] and tailor your conversations... [Y]ou could have a shorter appointment time with students and get the work done. So that was when the workshops started ... you know, changes. It was a new idea, [the advisor] didn't like the idea, but he realized how much time he was spending. And so he did try it, and it worked, so that was the time when we started doing workshops for F-1 student visas. And then we did things for academic training... [It] grew after that, once the initial model was in place. (Jacob, cited in Yost, 2017)

Sometimes expanding a routine is a simple as adding a link to an automaticallygenerated email or letting students know their message has been received and they can expect a response the next business day. International students may not have developed a shared understanding of what response to expect in the U.S. Questions such as, "How long should I wait for a response to my email?" and "When will my TA return my paper?" may indicate uncertainty and a lack of familiarity with routines at a U.S. university. This lack of shared understanding is clear in another student response:

Chinese students are often isolated and stereotyped as "fobs ['fresh off the boat,' a recent immigrant], shy, not talkative, weird". The reality is that most people don't event know China that well. They just judge Chinese international student based on their biases. In addition, the sudden increase in the amount of Chinese international students on campus may have cause shock and confusion for local students, which in turn made the situation worse. The poor language skill and low interest in adapting to American culture of the recent admitted Chinese student may have also contributed to the negative stereotype. UCSB is a very prestige school and should have a high expectation for language skill when admitting international students. (CIE report, 2017)

# **Routines: A Source of Stability and Change**

Routines are often defined as "repeated patterns of behavior that are bound by rules and customs and that do not change very much from one iteration to another" (Feldman, 2000, p. 193). Things that might lead a routine to change are exceptional and environmental changes to the structure in which the routine was created, for example "(a) encountering a novel state of affairs, (b) experiencing a failure, (c) reaching a milestone in the life or work of the group, (d) receiving an intervention that calls members' attention to their group norms, and (e) having to cope with a change in the structure of the group itself" (Gersick &

Hackman, 1990, p. 83, in Feldman, 2000, p. 612). This has certainly been the case for U.S. universities in addressing the needs of a newly emergent population.

Routines both respond and influence the flow that creates change within an organization. (Feldman, 2000). Within the performative model, Actions lead to Outcomes which lead to Ideals and then to Plans which cycle back to Actions. Feldman suggests that this cyclical nature of routines encourages assessment of outcomes at the "end" of the cycle. She defines four possible outcomes and the response to each. In the first, the intended outcome was not achieved, and in the second the routine produced undesirable or unintended outcomes. In both these cases the routine would be *repaired* to achieve the desired outcome. The third option is that the outcome of the routine produces a new (and desirable) possibility, in which case the routine would be *expanded*. Finally, the outcome can fall short of ideals, which can reflect organizational *striving*, as toward goals such as "improve student acculturation."

Within a large organization such as a university, perceptions may vary widely between a student's experience of a routine and an administrator's experience of the same routine. As rational systems, organizations simplify decisions for participants and support participants in the decisions they are expected to make by providing resources and information (Scott & Davis, 2007, p. 55). As a participant-researcher and observer of OISS routines, it seemed that students were anxious because it was not clear what they should expect. That is, there were situations in which an internal routine was in place which allowed a specific, repetitive task to be completed successfully within the shared understanding of OISS staff, but OISS did not communicate the structure or timelines associated with the

routine to the students whose peace of mind was dependent on the outcome of the routine, and in that sense it was in need of repair. New student orientation is another routine (Yost, 2017).

OISS is learning that it is not enough to have a routine that is successful in terms of completing shared work if it is not also successful in communicating the function of the routine clearly with participants outside of OISS staff. It is not enough to provide an accurately produced and recorded immigration document to a student if the student does not understand the purpose and proper use of the document. Outward facing routines must also make meaning of process for participants outside of the organization. Results of the CIE survey suggest that the ability of OISS to make meaning of process—to both educate students about their needs and to meet those needs—is a predictor of student satisfaction both academically and socially.

"For a world of travelers [sic] ... home comes to be found far more usually in a routine set of practices, in a repetition of habitual social interactions, in the ritual of a regularly used personal name" (Rapport 1994, in Rapport and Dawson 1998, p. 27, in Bradley 2000, p. 419).

### **Routines: Interactions that Foster Connection**

Studies of organizational theory in educational settings focus on the institution and employed staff. For example, Feldman's (2000) study of organizational routines as a source of continuous change focused on four routines in a college environment. She included students as participants in the organization only when they became student staff, describing participants in the routines she observed as "for the most part, professionals

who exercised discretion in the way they performed their tasks" (Feldman, p. 626). Bolman and Deal (2013) place students outside the educational organization, while giving students the potential to exert coercive power over the organization, for example, holding a sit in (Bolman & Deal, p. 197). As patients in a hospital, as customers at Best Buy, so students at a university (p. 50). In these examples, organizational theorists place students outside of the educational organization, in the environment. The boundaries of organizations, especially open systems, can be difficult to define, and they can change; the organization is less concerned with individuals than with actions and behaviors (Pfeffer & Salancik, 1978, in Scott & Davis, 2007). Within the open systems model, the interdependence of the organization and the environment is seen to be "the source of order itself" (Scott & Davis, 2007, p. 106).

Feldman (2002) has written that the connections that organizational routines make between individuals are important for both stability and change, and that they function to create shared understandings. While students generally lack agency in developing organizational routines within campus departments, the transparency of those departments and the routines that shape the work of the departments can be an important part of the communication between the organization and its environment. Using Feldman's definition of connections as "interactions between people that enable them to transfer information" (Feldman, p. 312) students, even those "outside" the organization, can connect with the organization through the routines. The way that individuals outside the organization interact with the routines of the organization are important, but easy to overlook.

# **Routines: Creating Social Capital**

Cox (2016) examines ways organizations can create social capital and use the created social capital to support vulnerable student populations. She considered the way that a program which prepares low income and under-represented students to enter prep schools helps participants to create social capital. She found that not only did interactions with the organization help to create beneficial social ties, but the organizational structures could be used to create ties that supported students within a social network (p. 48). Her research affirmed the value of both strong ties (close relationships) and weak ties (acquaintances). Both types of relationships have value and can connect students to resources. "Purposeful efforts" by organizations to create structures (routines) that reinforce social ties and network opportunities can support student success. A visual model of the interaction of these four constructs is shown in Figure 4.

### **Discussion and Conclusion**

Compared to international students, domestic students experience access and privilege by virtue of linguistic and cultural fluency. Knowing what to expect from an educational system (what types of resources are available, where to go for what kind of issue) is often closely connected with local routines. Local students know what types of issues result in serious consequences and which are likely to get a small reprimand.

For example, at UCSB, several international students recently chose to skip their final exams. These students did not consult with their professor or TA or advisors before deciding to leave early for spring break. Skipping a final exam is considered an egregious offense by most experienced professors and students in the U.S. It is difficult to imagine

how the international students could have thought skipping finals was not a major problem.

However, the impression changes when one realizes that this is just the students' second quarter at UCSB. The first quarter was disrupted by a natural disaster that resulted in campus closing early and the rescheduling of finals, with strong encouragement for faculty to show flexibility in allowing take-home or alternative finals due to the disaster (see Chapter Four). So, for these international students with one previous quarter of experience, their experience of the routines of finals was skewed. Faculty did not appear to think it necessary to say, "Finals are important. Don't miss them." The importance of taking a scheduled final exam seemed obvious to faculty and returning students. It was not obvious to new international students, who had reason to believe finals could be a negotiated experience.

OISS and other international student services offices might leverage their social capital by using every opportunity, including peer outreach and networking, to increase transparency and consistency in office routines. More connection between OISS and students, especially weak ties that build bridging social capital, can be encouraged through repeated interactions.

Social networks can be an important source of information (Kapucu & Khosa, 2013).

During a natural disaster, more students turned to friends for information than used social media or on-campus websites, which meant students were at risk of getting inaccurate information (see Chapter Four). Having trust in campus information and emergency notification systems is important, and perhaps an area for growth at many universities.

Indeed, reducing uncertainty, expanding networks, and communicating expectations appears

to lay the groundwork for an integrated student body, reduced acculturative stress for international students, and increased social capital for students.

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# Appendix A

# Director Interview Protocol

Introduction: Say hellos. *Greetings (Spradley, 1979, p. 57)*. Explain that you are interested in learning about the history and evolution of the Office of International Students and Scholars as part of your research on organizations and routines. *Explicit purpose of interview, project explanation (Spradley, 1979, p. 59)*. State that you are a relative newcomer to OISS and the area of international student services, but that you've been impressed by the commitment and longevity of staff in the OISS office. Expressing cultural ignorance and interest *(Spradley, 1979, p. 57)*. Tell informant that interview will last about 20 minutes and that I would like to take notes to refer to later. Ask if will be okay to record the interview. *Recording explanation (Spradley, 1979, p. 59)*.

### Questions:

- 1. How did you come to work at OISS? (Grand tour)
  - a. What year and for how long? (Specific mini-tour)
- 2. Could you describe the OISS office at that time? (Grand tour on physical space)
  - a. Were you in Building 434? (Dichotymous probe)
  - b. How many people worked in that space? (clarifying probe)
  - c. Were there programs in the office? (mini-tour on activities)
  - d. Was was it like when a student came in to the office? What would they see?
- 3. How many times have you participated in International Student Orientation?
- 4. Could you describe a typical day in the OISS office when you started? (task-

# related grand tour)

- a. What kinds of questions did the students have?
- b. How would you imagine that students from that time would describe the OISS office and staff?
- 5. Did you have an international student orientation at that time? (mini-tour on activities)
  - a. What was orientation like at that time?
  - b. Who were the speakers?
  - c. What was the format?
  - d. How long was it?
  - e. How did students respond to the program?
  - f. How did staff prepare for the program?
- 6. OISS moved to the Student Resource Building a while ago. Was that before the numbers of international students starting increasing?
  - a. What was it like to move to the SRB?
- 7. What are some changes you have observed in the types of students that come to this university today compared to when you started?
- 8. How prepared for this university do international students today seem compared to international students in the past? *Contrast question (Spradley, 1979, p. 60)*

#### CHAPTER THREE

### **Click to Belong: International Students and Social Networking Sites**

Separation from family and established friendships is often considered part of the university experience. Sanford's (1966) challenge and support hypothesis suggests the difficulty of navigating this separation and creating new connections promotes personal growth. Newer technologies like Skype and WhatsApp have made it easier to stay connected to family and friends overseas, both by adding video and by reducing or even eliminating the cost of international communication. For college students away from home, social networking sites (SNS), such as Facebook and RenRen, make it easier to reach across distance and stay connected, or at least *feel* connected, with established support systems.

Indeed, with the growth in the Mandarin-speaking student population over the past decade, the majority of international national students are able to find a co-national community away from home as well. While this group is far from homogeneous—within the vast People's Republic of China there is a range of linguistic and cultural groups, not to mention the individuality of each student—this represents a dramatic growth in one segment of the international student population which had been smaller and more varied until the past ten years. One recent survey of international undergraduate students at UCSB, a large public university in California, found that the percentage of respondents who only speak their home language outside of class increased from 35.2% in 2013 to 48.7% and 47.9% in 2015 and 2017, respectively (Academic Senate Report, 2017, p. 3). At this university, almost 90% of the international undergraduates are from Mandarin-speaking countries. The survey was

given in English to all international undergraduate students. Almost half of the responding students reported that they do not speak English except in class (and it seems likely that the students who did not respond are even less likely to speak English outside of class). Thus, in some ways, being an international student should be easier than ever: less isolation from home and a large co-national community without language barriers.

Yet, according to the IIE *Open Doors Report*, new undergraduate enrollment of international students dropped 2.9% in 2016/17, the most recent year for which data is available. The survey given at UCSB found the number of students who reported they were "satisfied" or "very satisfied" with their overall experience at the university had declined from 84% in 2013 to 57.6% and 58.5% in 2015 and 2017, respectively (Academic Senate, p. 3). The international student community is less integrated with English-speaking students and less satisfied overall than in previous years.

Do strong virtual connections with established support systems at home reduce students' motivations to form local support systems? There is a growing body of research which questions how much meaningful support is provided by SNS to college students, especially international students (Hossain & Veenstra, 2013; Li & Chen, 2014; Özad & Uygarer, 2014; Sleeman, Lang, & Lemon, 2016; Swickert, Hittner, Harris, & Herring, 2002). Does the carefully-curated world displayed by SNS increase ideation of home? This chapter begins by introducing acculturative stress (Berry, 2001) (the reason international students are in need of additional support) and the role of social support in mediating acculturative stress. I will then present a review of the literature examining SNS use among college students in general for social support and the specific ways in which international students in the U.S.

use SNS in terms of mediating acculturative stress and in terms of information gathering.

Because of current trends in international education and research, the focus will often be on Chinese students, currently the largest population of international students ever in the U.S.

(Institute of International Education, 2017). A section will also look at some implications of SNS use for crisis communication.

### **Acculturative Stress**

Sanford's (1966) theory of challenge and support suggests that growth opportunities occur when people face challenging situations with enough support to be successful. That is, a certain amount of stress is encourages growth and risk-taking, but stress must be balanced by support systems.

One of the greatest sources of pressure for international students is acculturative stress (Berry, 2001). Berry describes acculturation as "a process involving two or more groups, with consequences for both; in effect, however, the contact experiences have much greater impact on the non-dominant group and its members" (p. 616). Berry found that students' responses to acculturative stress falls into four categories, and that these categories tend toward distinct outcomes, based on how much students held on to or abandoned their own heritage culture and how much they adopted or failed to adopt the host culture. He described the four categories as: 1) assimilate (abandon heritage culture, adopt host culture); 2) integrate (maintain heritage culture and adopt the host culture); 3) separate (maintain heritage culture, fail to adopt host culture); 4) become marginalized (abandon heritage culture and fail to adopt host culture) (see Figure 3, Chapter One).

or separating, reported better well being. For a host university, student integration is the goal of an internationalized campus, balancing maintenance of home culture and adoption of host culture so that international students interact with local students and both experience meaningful cultural exchange. When almost half the international student body is not speaking the host language outside of class, it suggests a pattern of separation or marginalization (Figure 3, Chapter One). In a 2015 study by Mikal, Yang, and Lewis, *all* participants reported that the majority of their social networks consisted of co-nationals and that their closest friend was also Chinese. More than half reported that 100% of their friends were Chinese (Mikal, Yang, & Lewis, 2015, p. 215).

# **Anxiety/Uncertainty Management**

Anxiety/uncertainty management (AUM) theory is another way of understanding international student responses to acculturative stress (Gudykunst & Nishida, 2001). AUM is a communication theory that has been summarized here:

When anxiety is very high, for example, individuals rely on simplistic information processing (e.g., stereotypes) and, therefore, cannot communicate effectively.

When uncertainty is very high, individuals do not have the confidence necessary to predict or explain others' attitudes, feelings, or behaviors. When anxiety is very low, individuals are not motivated to communicate, and when uncertainty is very low, individuals are overconfident in their predictions of others' behaviors. When anxiety and uncertainty are either very high or very low, they do not predict effectiveness of communication. (p. 615)

All international students face some degree of acculturative stress (Berry, 2001).

AUM theory predicts students experiencing very high levels of acculturative stress will be less likely to participate in the types of interactions necessary to integrate with the host culture.

### **Perceived Social Self-Efficacy**

High levels of acculturative stress will also have a negative effect on students' perceived social self-efficacy (PSSE) (Bandura, 1977). An efficacy expectation is an individual's belief that they have the ability to perform a certain task effectively. Such an individual has a sense of what is required and, with high self-efficacy, believes they can accomplish the task at hand.

The strength of people's convictions in their own effectiveness is likely to affect whether they will even try to cope with given situations. At this initial level, perceived self-efficacy influences choice of behavioral settings. People fear and tend to avoid threatening situations they believe exceed their coping skills, whereas they get involved in activities and behave assuredly when they judge themselves capable of handling situations that would otherwise be intimidating. (p. 193)

Not surprisingly, students with a higher sense of social self-efficacy do better by almost any measure (Fan & Wanous, 2008; Liu & Hung, 2016; Swickert et al., 2002). They are more willing to risk interaction and exhibit help-seeking behaviors (Fan & Wanous, 2008). Their sense of belonging and satisfaction is higher (Spencer-Oatey, Dauber, Jing, & Lifei, 2017).

# The Role of Support Systems

Acculturative stress can be countered by student support services such as academic

and personal counseling, tutoring, wellness programs, etc. (Berry, 2001; Fan & Wanous, 2008). Social networks and friendships can also help counter acculturative stress (Gudykunst & Nishida, 2001). Friendships offer a buffering effect, whether the friend is co-national, another international student, or a local student. Friendships with local students seem to be the most elusive for international students, but also the most beneficial; international/host friendships are also correlated with the best acculturation outcomes in some studies (Glass, Gómez, & Urzua, 2014; Glass & Westmont, 2014; Gudykunst & Nishida, 2001).

Knowing this, can social relationships formed or maintained online have the same buffering effect on acculturative stress? How does participation on SNS influence perceived social support?

# Research on University Students' Use of Social Networking Sites

Several early studies looked at college students' use of SNS (not focusing on international college students). For example, a 2002 study, predating the rise of SNS and the launch of Facebook in 2004, attempted to examine the relationship between Internet use, perceived social support (using the Interpersonal Support Evaluation List [ISEL]), and personality traits (NEO FiveFactor Inventory) (Swickert et al., 2002). 206 college students (N=206, none identified in the published report as international) were surveyed. The results divided Internet use into three categories: technical (bulletin board use, chat room, web building, multiuser dungeon games), information exchange (email and accessing information), and leisure (instant messaging and game play). In 2002, Swickert et al. found no association between any of these types of Internet use and perceived social support.

A study conducted in 2006 examined SNS use in terms of social capital (Ellison,

Steinfield, & Lampe, 2007). For the purposes of Ellison et al.'s study, social capital is defined as "the sum of resources, actual or virtual, that accrue to an individual or group by virtue of possessing a durable network of more or less institutionalized relationships of mutual acquaintance and recognition" (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992, p. 14, as cited in Ellison et al., 2007). Social capital can take the form of useful information, access to individuals beyond one's close circle, and the capacity to organize groups. Their study looked at three types of social capital: bridging social capital (loose connections which are typically not sources of emotional support), bonding social capital (tight connections, such as family and close friends), and maintained social capital (connections that are maintained through life changes). The study was particularly interested in the ways in which SNS supported maintained social capital. 286 undergraduate students responded to the survey (N=286, none identified in the published report as international). Facebook use was correlated with higher levels of bridging social capital. Students who had low self esteem and life satisfaction seemed to gain the most from intense Facebook use. Bonding social capital did not seem to influenced by Facebook use. Maintained social capital was improved by both general Internet use and by Facebook use, measured by the extent to which they would feel comfortable asking "friends" for small favors.

Students at two colleges in Texas were surveyed in 2007 to attempt to determine the effect of Facebook use on social capital (reported by Valenzuela, Park, & Kee, 2009). Students were asked about their life satisfaction, social trust, civic and political participation, intensity of Facebook use, and intensity of Facebook Groups use using an questionnaire of more than 85 items (N=2,603 with no mention of international students). The study used

the same Facebook intensity scale as the study by Ellison et al. (2007) and found a weak positive association between social capital and intensity of Facebook use. However, because the association was not very strong, the researchers hoped it would still be enough to allay fears that Facebook might be socially isolating and they concluded, "It may well be that happy, trusting, civically and politically engaged students are more likely to join Facebook" (p. 894).

# **Research on Social Networking Sites and International Students**

Because SNS research is relatively new and the technology continues to evolve, this section looks at research on international students' use of SNS in chronological order.

One early study, specific to Chinese students in the U.S., looked at the social support provided by "online ethnic social groups"—Internet-based communities and newsgroups for people from the same country now living in a foreign country (Ye, 2006). The online survey of 135 Chinese students and scholars (N=135) compared long-distance "ethnic networks" (connections with home country), online ethnic social groups (co-national networks based in the host country) "interpersonal" (face-to-face) social networks in mediating acculturative stress and developing "weak ties" support which is similar to what Ellison et al. call "bridging capital" above. The study also considered the amount of time respondents were in the U.S. The results showed that maintaining ties with the home country supported positive emotions, especially for respondents that had arrived in the U.S. more recently, but did not improve adjustment to the new environment. Interpersonal networks grew and became a more valuable source of perceived social support the longer the respondent was in the U.S.

By 2007, 95% of American college students reported having a SNS profile

(University of Missouri-Columbia, 2007, as cited in Lin, Kim, Yuen, Kim, & LaRose, 2011). A survey of 195 international students at a major Midwestern university used Ye's (2006) research as a point of departure in researching the relationship between international student adjustment and Facebook. The respondents included 11 graduate students, 62 undergraduate students, and 22 who did not indicate their academic standing. The survey adding the dimensions of horizontal collectivism and extroversion, adding measures of cultural difference which were defined by researchers:

...Horizontal collectivism emphasizes the sense of cooperation, and perceives oneself as a part of the group, as well as views all members of the group as the same. In contrast, horizontal individualism emphasizes an individual's uniqueness and is built on the concept of the equality of every autonomous individual. (Lin et al., p. 424)

In terms of SNS behaviors, Lin et al. (2011) suggest that horizontal collectivism is displayed by tagging photos or forming groups, while horizontal individualism is displayed in individuals' profiles. The researchers were also curious to know if introverts would show more benefit from the non-confrontational, somewhat buffered environment of the online space, allowing them to build online social capital that can be moved to an offline environment. Alternatively, if extroverts might show more benefit in the online space as an extension of their offline confidence which allows them to move their offline social capital to an online environment. This study found that Facebook usage was positively associated with international students' bridging social capital. It also found that extroverts may benefit more from SNS, at least in terms of bridging social capital. The study also showed that more time on Facebook with American friends related to improved social adjustment.

Time on Facebook with friends or family from home related to better social and academic adjustment, but not emotional adjustment (in contrast to Ye, 2006). The study did not find a relationship to SNS usage and offline social capital.

A 2011 study at the English Preparatory School at Eastern Mediterranean compared SNS friendships and "real-life" friendships through the lens of Maslow's hierarchy and the human need for a sense of belonging (cited in Özad & Uygarer, 2014). The case study included 100 students at the school: 56 from Turkey, 22 from North Cyprus; 22 from other countries including Iran, Nigeria, Jordan, and Azberbaijan. Students were surveyed using a questionnaire on their attachment to friends in "real life" and on SNS. Their results indicated statistically significant differences in the attachments formed by students' age and gender, for both real-life friendships and SNS friendships. Researchers determined that SNS "played a significant role in satisfying the need for attachment among young people who are at the outset of their higher education" (p. 51).

As SNS begin to grow worldwide, indigenous SNS, such as RenRen in China, began to function as Facebook in the U.S. Li and Chen (2014) studied how Chinese students in the U.S. use RenRen and/or Facebook to build social capital. At the time of the study, Facebook was the dominant SNS for American students and RenRen was the dominant SNS used by students in China (p. 120). The study looked again at bridging, bonding, and maintaining home country social capital. The study used an online survey, sent to Chinese international students at a large public university, inviting those who used either Facebook or RenRen to participate in the study (N=210). Both Facebook and RenRen were found to increase bridging social capital, with Facebook having the stronger effect. This means that

for Chinese students in the U.S. to build the most bridging social capital and does the most to expand the social network in the U.S. in terms of bonding social capital, neither Facebook nor RenRen were found to have a meaningful effect. Because Facebook has been blocked in China by the Great Firewall, it is easier for people there to use RenRen. That is, few people in China would make the effort to use Facebook when RenRen is readily available (Canaves, 2011, as cited in Li & Chen, 2014). This is likely a contributing factor to the result that only the indigenous SNS, RenRen, was found to support maintaining home country social capital.

A study published in 2014 surveyed members of Chinese and Korean student groups at two large Southwestern universities in the U.S. regarding their SNS and other media use (N=283, 189 Korean and 94 Chinese) (Park, Song, & Lee, 2014). As with other studies, researchers wondered if excessive time connecting with co-nationals would limit acculturation and raise acculturative stress (p. 140). This study found that students who used Facebook only felt less acculturative stress than students who used both Facebook and an ethnic SNS, ethnic SNS only, or no SNS. One interesting finding of the Park et al. study was that the source of mass media seemed to have no influence on acculturative, in contrast to earlier studies that showed a benefit for students who eschewed home country media for U.S. media. In this study, that effect was seen for interpersonal media only.

A 2015 study applied anxiety/uncertainty management (AUM) theory to try to understand the role of SNS in cross-cultural adaptation (Rui & Wang, 2015). The study hypothesized that SNS interactions with local host nationals would reduce uncertainty and anxiety, leading to better acculturative outcomes. This study examined directed communications (those sent from individual to individual using the SNS messaging system)

in addition to broadcast SNS communications, and considered host language proficiency in a SNS environment. Unsurprisingly, host language proficiency reduced uncertainty. However, a surprising finding was that host language proficiency was negatively correlated with directed communication to distant host nationals. The researchers hypothesized that this was because respondents with weaker English skills would prefer directed communication with host nationals, as they would have more time to compose their messages and responses, a more forgiving environment for respondents with less confidence in their language skills. The study also found that directed communication with distant co-nationals was related to increased uncertainty.

The potential of distant connections with host nationals was explored further by

Forbush and Foucault-Welles (2016). They examined ways of connecting with host-nationals
via SNS as part of preparations for study abroad that could benefit students by expanding
social networks prior to their arrival in the host country. They surveyed 120 Chinese students
studying in the U.S. (N=120), a combination of graduate (n=77), undergraduate (n=38),
and those with an associate's degree (n=5). The survey was administered in Mandarin
Chinese. Students were asked about their use of SNS, specifically Facebook, Instagram,
Twitter, Weibo, and RenRen. Interestingly, though access to the American SNS (Facebook,
Instagram, Twitter) is restricted in China, most Chinese students have the ability to bypass
the firewall if they choose to do so. None of the five SNS was significantly more or less
common than the others. In addition, SNS use had a significantly positive effect on the
diversity and size of students' social networks shortly after arriving in the U.S. Students with
more diverse networks showed higher levels of social and academic adaptation. The results

seemed consistent with prior research indicating that social support has a buffering effect on acculturative stress, showing that SNS connections, especially with a diverse group of "friends" could provide that level of social support. Results seemed to indicate a benefit in forming diverse social networks during the preparation phase in the students' home country, prior to arriving in the U.S.

While not focusing on SNS, a study of mainland Chinese sojourners closer to home, in Hong Kong, found that local social support was a positive influence on acculturation but raised concerns about influenced from home (Ng, Wang, & Chan, 2017). The study surveyed 188 Mandarin-speaking students currently attending college in Cantonesespeaking Hong Kong (N=188). While local friends dramatically improved integration, researchers were surprised to find a support from non-local friends was much less beneficial, especially in terms of psychological adaptation. The researchers expressed doubt about the generalizability of their findings, given the diminishing levels of "cultural disparity" between Hong Kong and mainland China and noting that Chinese students in Australia had been found to have higher levels of acculturative stress than those in Hong Kong (Pan et al., cited in Ng et al., p.29). This study did not mention SNS at all, so it is unclear how the longdistance networks were maintained for these students. It is worth noting that Hong Kong is geographically much closer to mainland China than either Australia or the United States, so one theory might be that home ties remain stronger when family and established friends are literally closer, and ties are maintained through face-to-face visits home, or perhaps frequent phone calls or texts (which are difficult in the U.S. due to time differences).

# **SNS and Everyday Life Information Seeking**

In addition to the role of SNS in building bridging social capital for international students, SNS can be a valuable source of information. Sin and Kim (2013) examined the ways international students use SNS for everyday life information seeking (ELIS). They used a questionnaire to survey students at a large American public university (N=180). Respondents identified finance, health, news of home country, housing, and entertainment to be the top five information needs, and 97% of respondents had used SNS for ELIS.

# **SNS and Emergency Communications**

A recent natural disaster near UCSB provided an opportunity in this study (Chapter Four) to explore the ways international students use SNS for information gathering during a crisis. An especially large wildfire near the university disrupted electrical power and severely compromised air quality over a period of a week. While the campus was not at risk from the fire, anxiety was very high. A mudslide one month after the fire further disrupted access to the university, though primarily for staff and faculty that lived in communities to the south. A 31-question survey was administered three months after the fire, two months after the mudslide, was sent to 3636 undergraduate and graduate students at the large public university. There were 456 responses (N=456). One of the questions asked "Where did you go to get updates and information during the [incidents]? (check all that apply)" (Chapter Four, Appendix B). Possible answers included specific SNS (Facebook and Twitter), as well as other media (Google/web search, country officials), emails from administration, local news, and other. Of the 402 people who responded to that question, just 14% (n=55) of international students mentioned Twitter and 24% (n=98) mentioned Facebook. 34%

considered friends as a valuable source of information. The most popular options for information were "Google/web search" and local government information site; 44% of respondents found those useful information options. Most respondents identified multiple sources of information. Only 13 students identified Facebook (n=7) or Twitter (n=6) as their single source of information, suggesting that SNS serve as a supplementary rather than primary source of information in an emergency.

#### **Discussion and Conclusion**

SNS continue to evolve. While usage trends on individual networks such as Facebook an RenRen are interesting, what is more valuable is understanding how such virtual social networks can complement and support in-person relationships. For international students, acculturative stress can lead to anxiety and withdrawal from the host culture (Gudykunst & Hammer, 1984). While a certain amount of acculturative stress leads to student development and growth, stress must be balanced by support (Berry, 2001). It is important for universities to examine the ways in which relationships in virtual spaces support or isolate international students.

The implications of the reviewed studies suggest promise for the ability of engagement with host country SNS by international students to increase international students' social capital and mediate acculturative stress. The ability of SNS to support the creation of bridging social capital with host students seems to be the most promising finding for student services practitioners. Forbush and Foucault-Welles 92017), for example, suggest development of pre-arrival peer networks using SNS should be pursued. A structured peer mentoring program could use SNS as the communication channel for

international students intentionally pair with local host students during the pre-arrival stage, once the international student has been accepted to the university. The local student would need to receive basic training in cross-cultural communication and encouraged to reach out repeatedly to check in with the international students. International students may be unlikely to initiate contact, and local students will have to be aware that lack of communication does not mean the international student has no questions or concerns. By volunteering "insider tips" to the new student and asking questions that help the new student think ahead ("Do you think you'd rather walk, bike, or skateboard to class? Do you have your schedule yet?"), local students show a willingness to form relationships and share information. The local student will need to work closely with OISS to be sure any advice they are providing about the immigration process is accurate. Structured and ongoing programming post-arrival would help students to build on the relationships started via SNS.

Local students could be recruited through the education department and offered 1-2 units of credit for active participation during summer and fall quarter. Incoming international students could be offered 1-2 credits in fall for maintaining involvement in structured programming encouraging intercultural relationship-building skills.

In conclusion, there is ample room for growth. At UCSB, despite a current population of more than 3,000 international students, fewer than 900 individuals "follow" the OISS Facebook page, only a fraction of whom are currently enrolled international students. For an institution's social media presence to be effective, students must be engaged. The practical task of engaging incoming international students so they will participate in American SNS is challenging. It is possible that many students see SNS as

"merely" social, and feel they are able to connect better with family and friends using home country SNS (bonding social capital), so that there is little motivation for them to join American SNS. Many international students place a high value on academic success. International students may be more interested to participate in American SNS if the value of the engagement is presented as having and academic benefit, which is in fact a benefit of more diverse social networks, reduced uncertainty, and lower levels of acculturative stress.

Unfortunately, recent high visibility privacy issues regarding Facebook's sale of user data and failure to adequately protect user data has resulted in movement to boycott the most popular SNS in the U.S. There are always considerations for university administrators when endorsing an outside vendor. At this point, most universities do not have resources to create their own SNS, and since part of the strength of SNS is that they allow connections beyond the school it is difficult to say if an isolated campus-specific SNS would be a positive outcome. At the present time, the best option may be to work to educate students about the risks of social media while encouraging them to participate online as informed digital citizens.

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#### CHAPTER FOUR

# In Case of Fire: Lessons Learned from International Students in a Time of Crisis

On Monday night, December 4, 2017—the Feast Day of Saint Barbara—a wildfire began to the south of Santa Barbara County. Almost immediately, the county began to experience widespread interruptions to electrical power. The fire grew quickly and devoured entire neighborhoods in Ventura, destroying over 500 houses the first night. Forty miles to the north, the University of California, Santa Barbara (UCSB), was plunged into darkness as the fire destroyed power lines and transformers. It was the last week of Fall quarter classes. In the weeks that followed, UCSB students, faculty, and staff would struggle with smoke, freeway closures, and postponed final exams. The Thomas Fire would become the largest wildfire in California history to date.

With the recent Thomas Fire disaster as a backdrop, this chapter considers the ways in which international students are uniquely challenged during a campus crisis. Using survey data gathered after the event and extant literature on where international students turn for information during a disruption, it examines lessons learned about how campus routines can better support international students' needs during emergencies. This chapter begins by providing background on the Thomas Fire and related issues for international students (e.g. unplanned travel). Literature on emergency management and disaster preparedness is presented in turn, followed by methodology and results from a campus survey assessing disruption, communication, and self-efficacy, as well as a sampling of qualitative responses.

# **Background on the Thomas Fire**

UCSB is a large public research university with over 22,000 undergraduate students and 2,870 graduate students (UCSB Campus Profile 2017-18). UCSB is part of the public University of California system. 88% of UCSB undergraduates and 33% of graduate students are California residents (UCSB Campus Profile). International students make up 10% of the undergraduate population and 29% of the graduate student population. Known for its natural beauty, the campus covers more than 1,000 acres, framed by the Pacific Ocean, wetlands, and the community of Isla Vista. To one side, the view is the Santa Barbara Channel Islands. In the other direction, one looks across wetlands that surround campus like a moat, across to the chaparral and sandstone outcroppings of the Santa Ynez Mountains.

On Wednesday, December 6, the fire continued to race north and west along the coastal ridge from Santa Paula toward Ventura and Carpinteria. Dry Santa Ana winds pushed plumes of noxious smoke across the central coast of California. By Thursday, December 7, though there was no immediate danger to the campus from the fire itself, the UCSB campus was choked in a red-brown haze and the air quality in Goleta rated "Very Unhealthy" (Santa Barbara Air Pollution Control District). On Friday, December 8, UCSB began distributing free N95 face masks for all students and staff.

UCSB began final exams as scheduled on Saturday, December 9, with the fire still just 15% contained. While the burning area was more than 20 miles from Santa Barbara, electrical power continued to be unreliable and breathing was difficult, even with the free masks. Students and staff alike suffered from the air quality. As one student reported on Reddit:

Dude...it's very dangerous to be breathing in this air right now and I get ash in my eyes whenever I go outside. Let's not forget to mention the fact that we keep losing power to even be able to study. This isn't even getting into the emotional effect of not being able to go outside or breathe clean air for a week. (lyricjohnson)

On Sunday, December 10, UCSB Chancellor Henry Yang sent an email to notify campus that the remaining final exams would be postponed for one month, rescheduled for what would have been the first week of spring quarter. The spring quarter would be reduced by one week, from ten weeks to nine, to make up the time. Students were free to leave campus and return after winter break.

For some international students, this solution created new problems.

# **Issue: Unplanned Travel**

For the majority of UCSB students (88% of undergraduates, 33% of graduate students) who are California residents, home is just a road trip or train ride away (UCSB Campus Profile, 2017). For international students (8% of undergraduates, 35% of graduate students), more planning and expense is required. Immigration documents must be in order and airline tickets arranged, and on short notice, those tickets come at a premium.

International students planning to return to their home country must have a current travel validation signature from the Office of International Students & Scholars (OISS) on their I-20 (for students on a F-1 visa) or DS-2019 (for students on a J-1 visa) (See Chapter One). This signature verifies that the student is currently in good standing with the university, so OISS guidelines at the time required that the travel signature should not be more than 6 months old (this has since been extended to 12 months, but was 6 months at the

time). This meant that students usually needed to get a new travel signature for winter break and summer break. When a student returns to U.S. from their home country in September (after summer break) or January (after winter break), Customs and Border Patrol (CBP) agents at the port of entry check the student's I-20 or DS-2019 for a current signature. Students trying to re-enter the U.S. without a current travel signature may be detained for secondary inspection, barred from re-entry if unable to confirm status, or required to complete additional paperwork.

Under normal circumstances, students would drop their document off for a signature at the OISS office and pick up the signed document in two business days. OISS knows there will be high traffic in the office just before break periods. To encourage students to get their documents signed earlier and reduce traffic during the last week of the quarter, OISS hosted "express travel signatures" onsite in the residence halls the week before the Thomas Fire started. The express travel signatures events were advertised on social media (Facebook, Instagram, and Twitter) as well on video monitors throughout the residence halls and dining commons (Digiknow). All students were sent emails about the express travel signatures. An added benefit of advertising these events was that all students were reminded of the need to have a travel signature before leaving the country. Dozens of students took advantage of the opportunity to get their documents signed early and without a wait.

This was fortunate, as the predicted pre-break rush was compressed into just a few days once the postponement of finals was announced.

# **Issue:** Uncertainty

While UCSB was never in physical danger, the Thomas Fire, debris flow, and

adjusted academic calendar created serious disruptions to campus which varied from seriously alarming to merely inconvenient. The campus' Office of Emergency Management and Continuity lists specific emergency response procedures for civil disturbance, exposure to infectious materials, shelter-in-place, medical emergency, severe weather, fire [on site], suspicious package, radioactive incident, chemical incident, crime in progress, active shooter, earthquake, tsunami, campus evacuation, building evacuation, bomb threats, utility failure, and power outages in labs (http://www.emergency.ucsb.edu/emergency-response-procedures). This crisis presented unique challenges for emergency management because the problems presented were intermittent and unpredictable (such as the length and timing of power outages, direction of wind affecting air quality). The decision to change the academic calendar was made after five days of disruption.

#### **Issue: Unclear Communications**

International students were likely to have anxiety/uncertainty (Figure 4, Chapter One) about how to interpret the tone of crisis communications. The first campus-wide emails about the fire were distributed on December 7, when classes were cancelled for the day due to poor air quality. Daily updates were sent from the Chancellor for the next three days, culminating in the postponement of finals. The Chancellor's email to the campus community on December 10, 2017 stopped short of an evacuation:

We are encouraging all students who wish to leave campus to do so.... The campus will remain open. Student housing, including residence halls and apartments, will remain open as scheduled. We will offer support to students who need assistance.

An important tipping point in community anxiety levels may have been an overly-broad, erroneously-sent evacuation alarm sent at 2:48 am by the Santa Barbara County

Office of Emergency Management. The alarm was a "Leave now" evacuation notice for

"Santa Barbara County," implying that the entire county should immediately evacuate. A

follow-up message sent 8 minutes later clarified that the notice was intended only for parts

of Carpinteria, a city to the south. Still, this false alarm raised anxiety and, for some, reduced
the credibility of following emergency alerts.

The postponement of final exams became a quasi-evacuation (though, significantly, not an actual evacuation) just five days before the end of the Fall quarter, a time many students leave campus anyway. Finals would begin again on January 6, 2018. Spring quarter classes would be postponed until January 16.

Not quite one month later, on January 9, during the week of rescheduled finals, an extraordinarily intense rain in the recently burned area led to a disastrous debris flow which killed 23 people in Montecito (south of Santa Barbara and UCSB). The slide closed the primary route into Santa Barbara from the south. While most continuing students had already returned to campus, some faculty and staff were unable to come to campus. In addition, incoming short-term international students, arriving for the winter quarter, faced uncertainty in their travel from LAX, the major international airport to the south. The freeway to the south did not open again until Sunday, January 21.

Like much of campus, OISS was challenged by the disruptions and uncertainty of the Thomas Fire and the subsequent debris flow. One challenge was helping international students leave the country more quickly than planned. Another was rescheduling welcome programming, including orientation, for the incoming short-term international students.

Other concerns included minimizing adverse affects for students scheduled to graduate or complete their academic program in December. Indeed, the consequences for some students who accepted employment based on an expected graduation date and who later had that date shifted into January may not be known for years. It is unknown how discrepancies between graduation and employment dates might pique the curiosity of immigration agents in the future. OISS preemptively contacted students who might have this issue to offer supporting documentation for the unusual circumstances.

### **Related Literature and Theoretical Considerations**

There is a significant amount of research on emergency management, emergency notifications, and crisis communications. However, the research on emergency communication to international students and the responses of international students to natural disasters is scant. Search terms for the literature reviewed in this chapter included international students, foreign students, and language in combination with the terms emergency management, emergency communication, crisis communication, emergency notification, natural disaster, and campus crisis.

One study surveyed university and college personnel to identify the factors that made the institution, as a whole, more "disaster resilient" (Kapucu & Khosa, 2012). Surveys were completed by emergency managers, risk management, directors and assistant directors of the Office of Emergency Management, and similar roles across a large sample of institutions (N=114). While there was little mention of international students specifically, the survey found that partnering with students and including students in emergency trainings creates

awareness of preparedness efforts. As an example, Kiefer, Farris, and Durel (2006) found that the University of New Orleans was tailoring emergency preparedness outreach to vulnerable populations, including international students (Kiefer, Farris, & Durel, 2006, cited in Kapucu & Khosa, 2012, p. 9). At the same time, in the survey conducted by Kapucu and Khosa, respondents indicated that tailored warning messages and communicating in languages other than English were not popular strategies (p. 30). 88.2% of respondents "use simple language" as an effective strategy in communicating what is going on during an emergency (p. 28). Further, 77.6% reported that including a specific action to be taken in warning messages to students, staff, and faculty is an effective strategy (p. 30). Other effective strategies were sharing local health department, police, fire, and county office of emergency management information. Not surprisingly, electronic communications such as email, text, websites, and social media were found to be important communication strategies. Responding to rumors and gossip with factual information was also an important strategy, though it was not clear if this would include official monitoring of discussion boards and social media sites. Using National Ocean and Atmospheric Administration (NOAA) radios, public address systems, and outdoor warning sirens are the least popular methods for disseminating information on campus among the emergency and risk managers who responded.

One starting point in building a "culture of preparedness" on campus is to analyze the way information spreads during a crisis (Egnoto, Svetieva, Viswanath, & Ortega, 2013). Three things to consider are how information spreads (by what vehicle), where information is coming from and who it is communicating to, and finally, the credibility

given to the information, that is, how much students are willing to take action based on the perceived accuracy of the information (Egnoto et al., 2013). Egnoto et al. administered a survey after a false report of a gunman on campus. There was no shooter and no real harm, but "the situation's realism offered [researchers] an opportunity to see how emergency information diffuses and the ways in which individuals sought, reacted to, an disseminated this information to others" (Egnoto et al., p. 269). The researchers conducted an online survey just a few weeks after the alarm. Surveys were distributed to students in an introductory communications class and students received research credit for completing the survey (N=202). The study does not mention the participation of international students; if international students participated, their responses were not isolated in this study. As selfreported, most students first heard about the incident through a text (42%) or another person (32.5%). Students were asked what texts (SMS communication) they sent. Texts were then coded into one of six categories: information giving, information seeking, reassurance giving, reassurance seeking, directives, and other. The results showed that students who feel less like their peers are more willing and more capable of sharing information. Interpersonal channels, including texts and social media like Facebook, are "supremely important in emotional/crisis news diffusion in a network,...relied upon for news confirmation, emotional support, and information exchange" (p. 271).

A 2015 study found university students to be a vulnerable population in general (cited in Tanner & Doberstein, 2015). A study of 80 Canadian university students found that students are generally poorly prepared for a disaster, based on the emergency supplies they have on hand. The study also described university students as less prepared to deal with

emergencies, less likely to have prior emergency experience, and often to be newcomers to the community with no knowledge or experience of local hazards.

A survey of students at the University of Texas Medical Branch (UTMB) gathered the experiences of students after a major hurricane in 2008 led to the evacuation of the campus/medical center in Galveston, located on a barrier island (Watson, Loffredo, & McKee, 2011). 515 surveys were completed, with 26 structured questions and three openended questions. The open-ended questions were

- 1. What information from UTMB could have served you better for storm preparation?
- 2. While you were away from UTMB immediately after the storm, what information could have served you better?
- 3. What information could have better assisted you in your return to campus after the storm? (p. 363)

The three themes that emerged in the qualitative response were

- 1. Being prepared
- 2. Needing to be connected
- 3. Returning to normalcy. (p. 365)

As during the Thomas Fire, students expressed the need for more clarity and earlier decision making regarding the cancellation of classes. (It should be noted again that in contrast to the Thomas Fire, the physical campus of UTMB did experience direct damage

from the hurricane.) While responses from international students were not isolated for most parts of this survey, the researchers found that international students experienced greater difficulty in returning to normalcy because they had no local family support systems. Unable to live on campus and unable to rely on local alternatives, international students were much more heavily impacted by the damage to the physical campus (p. 368).

Natural disasters are one type of campus emergency. Unfortunately, guns on campus are also a possibility. When a masked gunman fled a robbery adjacent to a mid-sized university, a shelter-in-place emergency warning was issued to the campus (Johnson, 2014). For three hours—from the time of the robbery until the suspect was apprehended—four shelter-in-place warnings were issued. Johnson met with a focus group of nine international students one month after the incident (N=9). All participants were undergraduates, representing three countries: Sweden, Bulgaria, and Kenya. He identified several key issues as part of "emergency literacy" which he defines as "competence or knowledge in emergency preparedness, mitigation, response, and recovery concepts and behaviors" (p. 249). He finds the primary barriers to emergency literacy in language and culture, and clarifies

This does not imply that the international students are not proficient in speaking and understanding English; however, this *proficiency may serve to mask a low emergency literacy level* [emphasis added]. Dominant culture members may erroneously assume that, because an international student is proficient in English, he or she understand the various emergency communications and response components. (p. 249)

Language may become a barrier for emergency literacy when acronyms or

abbreviations are used, or when technical or unfamiliar terminology is used. While international students may receive these messages, they may not thoroughly understand their meaning. Most emergency notification systems (ENS) do not support multiple languages (Sullivan, Häkkinen, & Deblois, 2010, cited in Johnson, 2014).

It is also easy to underestimate the role of culture. Johnson (2014) notes that local residents understand local geography and local practices in ways that are unfamiliar to international students. "Culture is closely linked to survival and disaster risk reduction" (Kulatunga, 2010, cited in Johnson, 2014). When the 2004 tsunami struck the Indian Ocean, locals survived at a much higher rate than tourists or migrants (Arunotai, 2008, in Johnson, 2014). Culture informs individuals about where they are, what is available, and what is to be expected in a situation.

During a focus group, Johnson (2014) found that none of the international students were enrolled in the campus ENS, though all expressed interest in enrolling. (The topic of ENS enrollment was included in non-international orientation, and was not included in the international student orientation). Seven of the nine students received text notifications, but from friends, not the university. One student was walking across campus when the emergency was announced through the PA system, but she did not feel any urgency until her friends expressed their anxieties about getting indoors.

Students who were in classrooms when the shelter-in-place notification was sent out stayed in their classes, but several expressed frustration that they were unable to leave when they wanted. Since it was also finals week, some students were anxious about missing other exams.

Johnson (2014) found that none of the students in the focus group seemed to experience a fear response during the incident. Only a student who had been walking outdoors during the notification seemed to have any sense of what was at stake. Students complied, but did not seem to understand why their cooperation was important.

Campus shootings are, unfortunately, much more common in the U.S. than elsewhere. Johnson (2014) suggests that this is one of the reasons international students responded differently to the shelter-in-place notification. Johnson proposes five implications for university officials based on the lesson learned from this incident.

- Campus officials must be more aware of language issues in terms of terminology, signage, and customs
- 2. Integrate international students in the larger community wherever possible
- 3. Include emergency information during international student orientation
- 4. Help international students register for the campus ENS
- Encourage faculty awareness to help students understand what behaviors are needed for self-protection.

# **Survey Design**

The Thomas Fire provides an opportunity to investigate the response of an international student community in a major campus disruption. In the month following the fire, several students contacted OISS, directly or through other departments, to register their complaints about the way the university addressed their needs during the crisis.

Drawing from studies described here, an online survey was designed and

administered. A human subjects exemption was obtained. The survey included 31 closed-ended questions (including some logic-driven questions which were not displayed to all respondents) (see Appendix B). The survey sought to identify how UCSB international students were impacted by the Thomas Fire and rescheduled finals (if plans were changed, how they were changed, why, and at what cost). In addition, the survey hoped to identify the specific sources of information that were most helpful to international students and where students turned for information. The survey also sought to measure students' satisfaction with and comprehension of the information they received. Finally, the survey sought to identify the campus resources and departments that were found to be most helpful to students during the crisis.

Three open-ended survey questions were drawn from Watson, Loffredo, and McKee (2011) and their Hurricane Needs Survey:

- What information helped you during the Thomas Fire and mudslide?
- What information from UCSB could have helped you feel more prepared for a natural disaster or other campus disruption?
- · What information from OISS could have served you better during this time?

One measure of self-efficacy was influenced by Tanner and Doberstein's (2015) study of Canadian university students' emergency preparedness:

1. In the event of an emergency, who is responsible for your safety?

Tanner and Doberstein's (2015) term "wellbeing" was replaced with "safety" after consultation with members of the UCSB International Student Advisory Board, who found

the term "wellbeing" to be unclear (one student guessed that the term meant financial commitments, such as tuition).

# Methodology

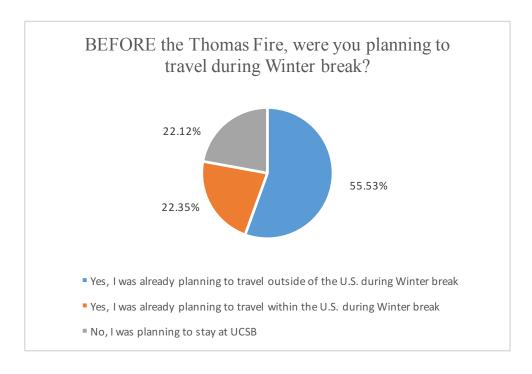
A unique link to the Qualtrics survey was sent via email to 3,636 graduate and undergraduate international students on March 2, 2018, not quite three months after the start of the Thomas fire and two months after the January debris flow. No incentive was offered, and the survey was open until March 11.

A preliminary question explained the scope and purpose of the survey and established consent (Appendix B). Students not agreeing to the terms of consent were sent to the end of the survey. Respondents were then asked if they were enrolled in Winter quarter 2018. Those who were not enrolled were sent to the end of the survey.

#### Results

Measuring disruption. 455 responses were recorded (N=455, 12.5% response rate). Not every respondent addressed every question, and incomplete responses are included in the data. Respondents were 61.9% undergraduate (N=208) and 38.10% graduate students (N=128). There were more female than male undergraduate respondents (116 female and 89 male), while there were more male than female graduate student respondents (75 male to 51 female). In balance, the split was even, 169 men to 170 women, with 0 respondents selecting a third "other" option.

Regarding their travel plans, more than half the respondents (Q5, N=338, 74.3%) reported planning to leave UCSB during the winter break prior to the Thomas Fire, as shown in Figure 7. Over half were already planning to leave the U.S. (N=241, 55.53%) and the rest



*Figure 7*. Before the Thomas Fire, were you planning to travel during Winter break? (N=338).

How much do you estimate it cost to reschedule your travel (the difference between what you were already planning to spend and any additional fees or penalties to change your schedule)

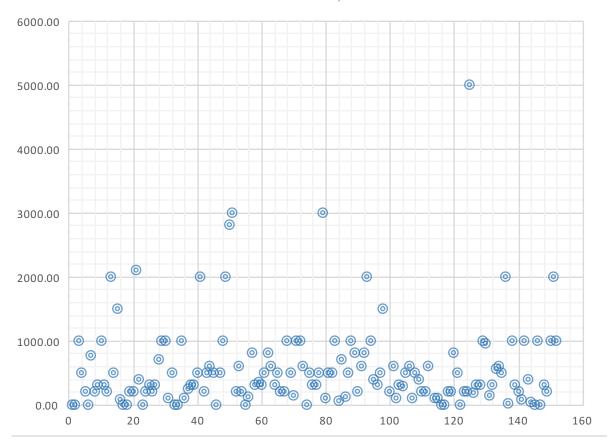


Figure 8. How much do you estimate it cost to reschedule your travel? (the difference between what you were already planning to spend and any additional fees or penalties to change your schedule) (N=152).

planned to travel within the U.S. (N=97, 22.35%). Less than a quarter of the respondents planned to stay at UCSB during the winter break (N=96, 22.12%).

A follow-up question for those who planned to travel asked if the respondent changed plans to travel after finals were cancelled (Q6). Just over one-half responded that they left earlier than planned (N=169, 51.06%), while the rest did not change plans (N=162, 48.94%). Those who changed their plans were asked to provide an estimate of how much it cost to reschedule their travel (excluding the cost of the tickets they had already planned to purchase) (Q7). As shown in Figure 8, respondents reported costs from zero to \$5000, with an average expense incurred of \$581.81 (N=152).

Of students who had planned to stay at UCSB during the break prior to the fire, over half decided to leave once finals were postponed (Q8, N=103, 55.08%), while the rest chose to stay (N=84, 44.92%). For those who decided to leave, 44 chose to return to their home country, 35 to travel in California, 15 to travel elsewhere within the U.S. and 3 other (Q9). Most of these students reported multiple reasons for choosing to leave, with concerns about air quality influencing 179 respondents, anxiety influencing 122 respondents, concern about fire influencing 115, free time to travel motivating 61, and 16 other reasons which varied (Q10). As shown in Figure 9, there were differences between undergraduate and graduate responses as well. For example, undergraduate students were much more concerned about air quality and feeling unsafe. Text responses (not shown in Figure 9) included as well: "My parents were so concerned I had to leave," "Tropicana Villas told us that we should leave," and "I had to leave, because I couldn't stay behind by myself in case we had to be evacuated. All my housemates left." (It is worth noting that despite repeated reassurances within UCSB

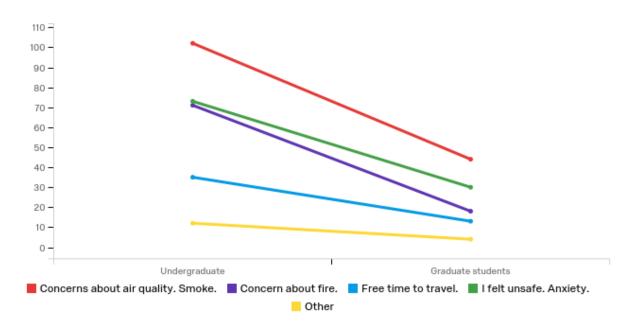


Figure 9. What influenced your decision to leave campus? (check all that apply)

correspondence that the campus was not at risk, anxiety about possible evacuation appears in multiple places during the survey, across multiple respondents.)

Communication and Information Seeking. The survey asked respondents how they learned that finals had been postponed, with 12 checkboxes plus an "other" (check all that apply) (Q12). Options included: email from Chancellor, email from academic department, email from faculty or TA, text from faculty or TA, text from friend, emergency alert on phone (ENS), Facebook, Instagram, Twitter, someone told me/word of mouth, and other. Possible selections were randomly displayed. Of the 407 responses to this questions, 46% of respondents indicated only one source of information (N=187), 43% indicated 2-3 sources (N=174), and 11% indicated 4 or more sources (N=46). Most respondents (N=311, 76.4%) reported learning that finals would be postponed via email from the Chancellor, with 120 of those selected the email from the Chancellor as the *only* source for this information. Email was the most common medium (N=565), followed by in-person (93), texts (N=76), social media (SNS) (N=54), and phone call (N=21).

In terms of seeking out information about the crisis, 402 respondents answered the question "Where did you go to get updates and information during the Thomas Fire?" (Q13). Results are displayed in Figure 10. Options included: emails from UCSB (Chancellor, Vice Chancellor, Student Life), UCSB website, OISS website, local news website, Santa Barbara County website, Facebook, Instagram, Twitter, Google/web search, friends, and other. Emails from UCSB were the most frequently-used sources of information with 47.5% of respondents (N=191), especially for undergraduates. However, websites in aggregate were the most commonly selected. Of the 545 selections for websites, 83% of websites use were

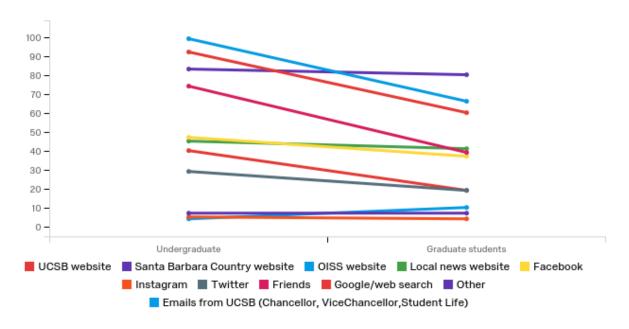


Figure 10. Where did you go to get updates and information during the Thomas Fire? (check all that apply)

off-campus resources (Santa Barbara County, Google/web search, local news website) and 17% were on-campus resources (UCSB [N=75] or OISS website [N=17]). Social network sites were selected a total of 167 times: Facebook (N=98), Twitter (N=55), and Instagram (N=14). A more popular source of information than any SNS or on-campus website was friends, especially for undergraduates (N=138).

Students were also asked "Were you able to get the information you needed to make decisions during the Thomas Fire, freeway closures, and changes to the academic schedule?" on a five-point Likert Scale (Always, Most of the time, About half the time, Sometimes, or Never) (Q16). For information about the Thomas Fire, 64% of respondents reported they were able to get the information they needed "always" or "most of the time," 14% reported "about half the time," and 22% reported "sometimes" or "never" (N=329). For information about the freeway closures, 51% of respondents reported they were able to get the information they needed "always" or "most of the time," 17% reported "about half the time," and 32% reported "sometimes" or "never" (N=305). For information about the academic schedule changes, 59% of respondents reported they were able to get the information they needed "always" or "most of the time," 15% reported "about half the time," and 26% reported "sometimes" or "never" (N=294).

Regarding comprehension of emergency messages, students were asked, "How well do you feel you were able to understand emergency information about the Thomas Fire and mudslide?" (Q18). The results are shown in Figure 11. Less than one-quarter of respondents, 24.38%, responded "Extremely well. I feel confident I understood everything" (N=88). 44.66%, the largest segment, responded "Very well. I understood most things" (N=163).

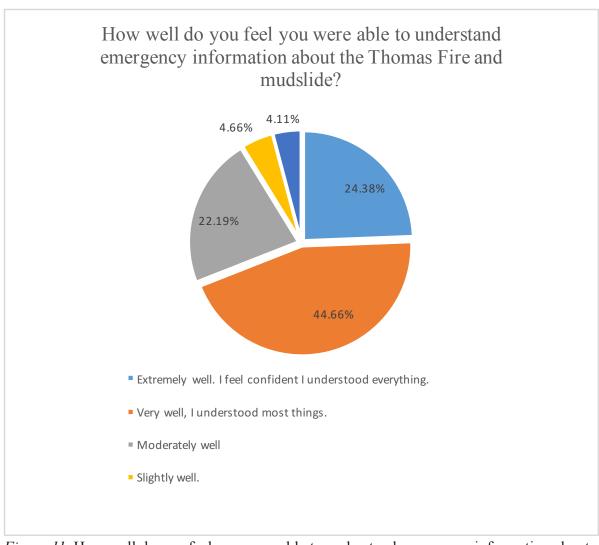


Figure 11. How well do you feel you were able to understand emergency information about the Thomas Fire and mudslide?

22.19% indicated they understood "Moderately well" (N=80). Approximately 4% reported understanding "slightly well" (N=16) and another 4% reported understanding "not well at all. I often felt confused by the information that was provided" (N=15). Considering that all respondents are currently enrolled students who have passed an English proficiency test, this is evidence of a gap between academic literacy as tested and emergency literacy as lived, with almsot 10% reporting that they understood emergency communications slightly well or not well at all.

Self Efficacy. Using Tanner and Doberstein's (2015) modified question to evaluate self-efficacy, students were asked "In the event of an emergency, who is responsible for your safety?" using a ranking system: myself, my parents, community agencies (police, fire department, etc.), UCSB, UCSB Student Health, UCSB Housing Office, and UCSB OISS (Q17, N=351). Overall, 258 respondents ranked "myself" as most responsible, with community agencies coming in a distant second at 41 selections (see Figure 12). Figure 12 shows the highest concentration of answers with the peaked line pointed toward number 1, indication that "myself" was most frequently selected in first place. The broader shapes show the distribution of responses. Interestingly, "my parents" was most commonly rated least important (N=190) followed by UCSB Housing (N=93) and UCSB OISS (N=28).

Students were also asked "What offices or departments at UCSB helped you during this time? (Check all that apply) (Q20, N=287). 160 respondents selected UCSB Student Health, 116 selected Academic Department, 94 selected OISS, and 60 selected Housing.

Qualitative responses. The three open-ended survey questions drawn from Watson, Loffredo, and McKee (2011) and their Hurricane Needs Survey (HNS) provided rich

# Who is Responsible for Your Safety? (Rank in order, 1 is most responsible)

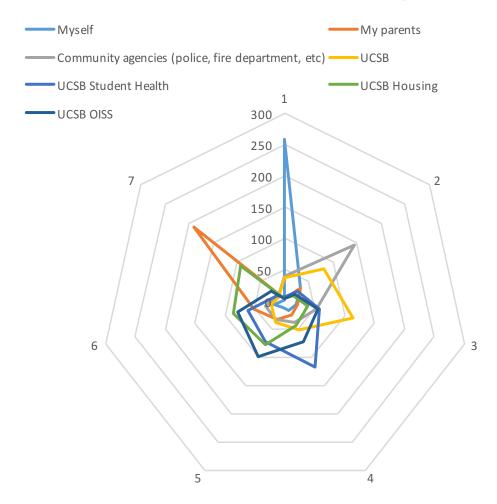


Figure 12. Who is most responsible for your safety? (Peaks indicate concentration of responses)



Figure 13. What information helped you during the Thomas Fire and mudslide?



Figure 14. What information from UCSB could have helped you feel more prepared for a natural disaster or other campus disruption?



Figure 15. What information from OISS could have served you better during this time?

material for further inquiry including suggestions to create social media pages for students in response to the disaster and more advance information and training about evacuation plans. Many of the responses are specific to the UCSB campus and will not be examined here, but the word clouds in Figures 13, 14, and 15 provide evidence of trends, specifically that "information" is at the center of the three questions about what was helpful, what was needed from the university, and what was needed from the international students office (OISS). It is interesting to note the prominence of technology in Figure 13 in response to the question "What information helped you during the Thomas Fire and mudslide?" Email, website, twitter, news, and Facebook appear. This is contrasted by Figure 15, "What information from OISS could have served you better during this time?" In Figure 15, while "information" is still at the center, only "email" appears to represent technology. More prominent terms are student, OISS, travel, time, none, nothing, campus, find, transportation, and other terms that connect to services of personal interactions.

### **Discussion and Conclusion**

The Thomas Fire was an unusual emergency. In some ways, the campus under study was not at all threatened; that is, there was no risk of destruction to campus buildings. Campus evacuation protocols were not initiated for that reason. On the other hand, the poor air quality was a real problem (Figure 9). Mask distribution helped, but the atmosphere still felt toxic and unsafe for many students. Changing winds made it difficult to suggest solutions for students who wished to leave campus, as air quality was impacted to the north and south of UCSB. It was a time of uncertainty, and, for campus, a time of almost no risk that *felt* like a time of great risk.

International students often lack a local safety net. For the international students who changed travel plans because of the crisis, 146 international students had reported financial impacts averaging \$581.81. As one student commented on the survey, "Flights were so expensive UCSB or US should help us with the payment of the flights. It was a natural disaster and nobody helped." More than one student mentioned UCLA and UCI as having canceled classes, an unverified event which seemed to be an example of gossip (rumours about other campuses):

We should close the school like UCI, UCLA, and no more finals, because we want to prepare for the new quarter. The finals ruin my planning. Chancellor should made thorough consideration. We want UCSB be a happy school then we can learn happily and fast.

Another example of the risk of gossip is conveyed in this student's response, in which the student believes international students were excluded from communications to other students:

For international students, it is much more difficult to simply pack up and go home. And due to the time difference and many other physical constraints, it's harder for us to reach out to our family (far away and lack of information) or some US agency (no obligation to us) for support. Thus, I was expecting UCSB to offer some assistance, no matter physical or mental, but it turned out that we actually received even fewer emails on the situation than domestic students did (we saw screenshots of emails from UCSB on social media that we did not receive). I put "myself" on top of the who-was-responsible list, and if given chance, it would be the only one.

Similarly, another student comments, "Lack of transparency and information to international students." The suggestion that the process lacked transparency to some speaks to a lack of trust.

As stated earlier, there was a lot of anxiety about "evacuating": though there was no risk to the physical campus other than air quality issues (which were significant, but mitigated by masks which were made available for free to the UCSB community and subject to change with the direction of the wind). It also became clear through this event that OISS staff were not adequately aware of the evacuation process, in terms of how it would be initiated and executed and how OISS would fulfill Department of State reporting requirements regarding the location of international students and scholars during the evacuation period.

This survey revealed sources of student anxiety and uncertainty that was not revealed to OISS directly. It also revealed that many students relied on a single source of information, often email, rather than actively seeking out information on websites. For those students who were information-seekers, off-campus resources were more frequently used.

SNS were not highly valued as sources of information, nor were campus websites. Friends were frequently consulted (but perhaps inaccurate) sources of information.

The majority of international students surveyed reported they were able to obtain the information they needed during the fire, freeway closure, and regarding changes to the academic calendar, but a significant number of students were not able to get information (22% sometimes or never for the fire, 32% sometimes or never for freeway closures, and 26% sometimes or never for the academic calendar). In terms of overall comprehension,

69% claimed to understand emergency information that was presents "very" or "extremely" well, which leaves 31% at "moderately" well or below.

In conclusion, wildfires are becoming larger and more frequent in California.

The state has been experiencing a long period of drought. Local residents and have seen flames and smoke in those mountains before. Still, the scale of the Thomas Fire had even seasoned firewatchers on alert. During the course of the fire, more than 100,000 people were evacuated. Other campus emergencies are always a possibility as well, and this chapter highlights some serious concerns about the inclusion of international students in the campus emergency management plan, including issues of emergency literacy and training.

These results suggest a serious emergency literacy gap that should be addressed by campus administrators and is consistent with previous literature (e.g. Watson, Loffredo, & McKee, 2011). International students in campus housing, for example, should be made aware that evacuation plans exist. Plans for evacuating international students not in campus housing should be made or, if extant, should be shared with university offices such as OISS.

UCSB and other universities have an opportunity to lead through more inclusive emergency response plans which consider the more nuanced aspects of emergency literacy, including both language and culture. It should be made clear to all students during orientation (Chapter Two), for example, that there is a plan in place should evacuation become necessary.

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# Appendix B

## **Qualtrix Thomas Fire Survey**

### 1. 1. Informed Consent Form

### 1.1. Introduction

You are being asked to participate in a research study. The purpose of the study is to collect information about the experience of international students at the University of California, Santa Barbara during the recent natural disasters.

### 1.2. Procedures

If you decide to participate, you will be asked to complete a detailed survey with about 20 questions. Questions may be true/false, multiple choice, or short answer. We expect most participants to complete the survey in less than 7 minutes. This survey will be conducted with an online Qualtrics-created survey.

#### 1.3. Risks/Discomforts

Risks are minimal for involvement in this study. However, you may feel emotionally uneasy when asked about your experiences during the Thomas Fire, smoke-related air quality issues, and travel delays. These experiences may be upsetting for some students to remember. Although we do not expect any harm to come upon any participants due to electronic malfunction of the computer, it is possible though extremely rare and uncommon.

### 1.4. Benefits

There are no direct benefits for participants. However, it is hoped that through your participation, researchers will learn more about the needs of the international student community at UCSB.

### 1.5. Confidentiality

Absolute confidentiality cannot be guaranteed, since research documents are not protected from subpoena. However, results will only be reported in an aggregate format (by reporting only combined results and never reporting individual ones). All questionnaires will be concealed, and no one other than then primary investigator and assistant researches listed below will have access to them. The data collected will be stored in the HIPPA-compliant, Qualtrics-secure database until it has been deleted by the primary investigator.

### 1.6. Compensation

There is no compensation for participating in this research study.

### 1.7. Participation

Participation in this survey is completely voluntary. You have the right to stop at any time or refuse to participate entirely without jeopardy to your academic status, GPA or standing with the university.

## 1.8. Questions about the Research

If you have questions regarding this study, you may contact Chryss Yost, at 805-893-4025, cvost@ucsb.edu.

## 1.9. Questions about your Rights as Research Participants

If you have any questions about this research project or if you think you may

have been injured as a result of your participation, please contact: Dr. Claudine Michel, claudine.michel@sa.ucsb.edu.

If you have any questions regarding your rights and participation as a research subject, please contact the Human Subjects Committee at (805) 893-3807 or hsc@research.ucsb.edu. Or write to the University of California, Human Subjects Committee, Office of Research, Santa Barbara, CA 93106-2050

1.10. I have read, understood, and printed a copy of, the above consent form and desire of my own free will to participate in this study.

Yes. Continue to survey.

No. I do not agree to participate

## 2. Survey

2.1 Were you a current student at UCSB in Fall 2017?

Yes/No (Skip To: End of Survey If = No)

This is a survey of enrolled international students at UCSB who were present on (or near) campus during two recent natural disasters: the Thomas Fire and the Montecito debris flow/mudslide. We would like to know how these disasters and changes to the academic calendar have affected you.

On December 4, the Thomas Fire started south of Santa Barbara, causing electrical outages, freeway closures, and, eventually, significant air quality issues. On December 10, Chancellor Yang announced that Fall quarter finals would be postponed until January 8.

- 2.2 BEFORE the Thomas Fire, were you planning to travel during Winter break?
  - 2. Yes, I was already planning to travel outside of the U.S. during Winter break
  - 3. Yes, I was already planning to travel inside of the U.S. during Winter break
  - 4. No, I was planning to stay at UCSB
- 2.3 Once finals were postponed, did you change your plan?
  - 5. Yes. I left earlier.
  - 6. No, it was too late to change my plan.

Display This Question if 2.3 =Yes, I left earlier.

2.3.1 How much do you estimate it cost to reschedule your travel (the difference between what you were already planning to spend and any additional fees or penalties to change your schedule) [text field]

Display This Question If 2.2 = No, I was planning to stay at UCSB 2.2.2 When finals were postponed, did you stay at UCSB? Yes, I stayed as planned.

No, I decided to leave.

Display This Question If 2.2.2 = No, I decided to leave.

- 2.2.2.1. Where did you go when you left?
  - 7. Elsewhere in California
  - 8. Other

Display This Question If 2.2.2 = No, I decided to leave Or 2.3 = Yes, I left earlier.

- 2.2.2.2 What influenced your decision to leave campus? (check all that apply)
  - 9. Concerns about air quality. Smoke.
  - 10. Concern about fire.
  - 11. Free time to travel.
  - 12. I felt unsafe. Anxiety.
  - 13. Other [text field]

Display This Question If 2.2.2 = No, I decided to leave Or 2.3 = Yes, I left earlier.

- 2.2.2.3. How did you travel from UCSB? (check all that apply)
  - 14. Personal car
  - 15. Carpool with friends
  - 16. Taxi, Uber, Lyft
  - 17. SB Airbus
  - 18. Train/Amtrak
  - 19. Airplane (from SBA)
  - 20. Other [text field]
- 2.4. How did you learn that finals were being rescheduled? (check all that apply)
  - 21. Email from Chancellor Henry T. Yang
  - 22. Email from academic department
  - 23. Email from faculty or TA
  - 24. Email from friend
  - 25. Text from faculty or TA
  - 26. Text from friend

- 27. Facebook
- 28. Instagram
- 29. Twitter
- 30. Phone call from friend
- 31. Someone told me / Word of mouth
- 32. Emergency Alert on Phone (ENS)
- 33. Other [text field]
- 2.5. Where did you go to get updates and information during the Thomas Fire? (check all that apply)
  - 1. UCSB website
  - 2. Santa Barbara Country website
  - 3. OISS website
  - 4. Local news website
  - 5. Facebook
  - 6. Instagram
  - 7. Twitter
  - 8. Friends
  - 9. Google/web search
  - 10. Emails from UCSB (Chancellor, ViceChancellor, Student Life)
  - 11. Other [text field]
- 2.6. International students here on F-1 or J-1 visas need to have a current travel validation signature on their documents to re-enter the U.S. Did you have a travel validation signature when you left?
  - 34. Yes, already had a current travel validation signature before the fire.
  - 35. Yes, I dropped off my document and picked it up from OISS.
  - 36. Yes, I got an express signature at OISS right before I left.
  - 37. No, I didn't have time and decided to take my chances.
  - 38. No, but I requested to have one mailed to my home country.
  - 39. No, I didn't even know I needed one.

- 40. Other [text field]
- 2.7 Did the freeway closure in January (after the debris flow in Montecito) delay your travel back to UCSB?
  - 41. Yes, I had to change my plans.
  - 42. No, I was already back.
  - 43. Other [text field]
- 2.8 Were you able to get the information you needed to make decisions during the Thomas Fire, freeway closures, and changes to the academic schedule?
  - [Always/Most of the time/about half the time/sometimes/never/not applicable]
  - 44. I was able to get information about the Thomas Fire
  - 45. I was able to get information about freeway closures
  - 46. I was able to get information about academic schedule changes
- 2.9 In the event of an emergency, who is responsible for your safety? Rank in order (1 is most responsible)
  - 47. Myself
  - 48. My parents
  - 49. Community agencies (police, fire department, etc)
  - 50. UCSB
  - 51. UCSB Student Health
  - 52. UCSB Housing
  - 53. UCSB OISS
- 2.10. How well do you feel you were able to understand emergency information about the Thomas Fire and mudslide?
  - Extremely well. I feel confident I understood everything.
  - · Very well, I understood most things.
  - Moderately well
  - · Slightly well.
  - Not well at all. I often felt confused by the information that was provided.
- 2.11. Compared to before the Thomas Fire and mudslide, how would you rate:

[Much better/somewhat better/about the same/somewhat worse/much worse]

- · Your physical function
- Your mental health
- · Your academic performance

2.12 What offices or departments at UCSB helped you during this time? (Check all that
apply) 54. My academic department
55. OISS
56. CAPS
57. EOP
58. DSP
59. Student Health
60. Housing
61. Ombuds
62. Student org (such as ISA or CSSA)
63. Wellness
64. EAP
65. ONDAS
66. Transfer Resource Center
67. Other [text field]
<ul> <li>21 What information helped you during the Thomas Fire and mudslide?</li> <li>22 What information from UCSB could have helped you feel more prepared for a natural disaster or other campus disruption?</li> <li>23 What information from OISS could have served you better during this time?</li> <li>24 What else would you like to to say about what made this experience better or more difficult for you?</li> <li>25 Finally, just a few question about you. We appreciate you taking the time to tell us about</li> </ul>
your experience.  26 Your age  27 Gender: Male/Female/Other  28 Major/Department  29 Undergraduate or graduate student?  30 Campus housing or off-campus housing?  31 Home country [text field]

### CHAPTER FIVE

# **Bridging Theory and Practice**

As the U.S. imposes more regulations that discourage student migration and increase limitations on international students' options for employment in the U.S. after graduation, universities need to invest more in social and cultural programming, in addition to recruitment, to make explicit a culture of inclusion and welcome. More aggressive efforts appear needed to overcome students' tendencies toward co-national groups as the size of these groups become larger. As public universities become ever more dependent on funding generated by international student fees, they must work harder to institutionalize organizational routines that center integration and discourage marginalization or separation for international students (Berry, 2001).

This chapter revisits the key themes of previous studies and examines their limitations. As happened with the introduction of the G.I. Bill (Chapter One), college and university administrators are in a period of rapid adjustment in response to a dramatic shift in student population. Universities have new students with new needs. With student integration, well-being, and reduction of acculturative stress as institutional goals, organizational routines can be intentionally shaped to have a positive influence on student experience. It is not enough to enroll international students and expect them to succeed with the same support services that have been adequate for domestic students. A conscious effort must be made, with an investment of resources commensurate to the higher fees paid by international students, in developing routines and programs that provide structures for

the development of social capital and reduced uncertainty. There is always the opportunity to expand the known world: to make routines and processes more transparent, and to revisit assumptions of what is "normal" to include students whose educational experience is not centered in the U.S. For international students, this might mean providing document processing timelines or being clear about next steps in a process; for example, "Your signed document will be ready to pick up on Tuesday at the OISS front desk" is more clear than "Processing takes two business days."

# **Routinizing Pre-Arrival Processes**

As the numbers of students and their countries of origin shift, as they undoubtedly will, the university—especially the international student services office—must revisit routines frequently (Chapter Two). Which questions are being asked over and over? Is there a way to make the procedural flow more transparent? Why are students confused? Is there an opportunity to educate them about the process so they are less anxious due to uncertainty?

In a recent interview with the current OISS director, Simran Singh, she indicated that students seemed "more demanding" and "less appreciative" now than in the past:

Students are now a lot more aware. They understand a lot more. They're not just simply appreciative of what you do, but they feel that this is your office and your office needs to take care of it. ... I think these students feel a lot more empowered. And for them, it's "I pay fees, I come to school, this office needs to do [what I ask] and help me." That's where they come from now (personal communication, November 19, 2018).

In order to best increase the satisfaction of the international student community,

it is important to ask why students seem to be demanding. This may point to a cultural difference in educational systems. While senior high school is free in California, it is not free in China. Many incoming international students arrive at UCSB having already established a relationship with their previous school in which they are both student and customer. The possible influence of this transactional relationship between student/customer and school/ service provider, and the ways it might change expectations, is an area for further study.

In one recent case, not documented in the current study, members of the Chinese Students and Scholars Association (CSSA) organized a protest when a professor posted "expected conduct" rules in English and Mandarin. While the professor's stated intent was to be helpful and increase understanding, it was likely also a response to issues with student conduct during previous sessions. Several Chinese students were offended, as they felt the translation implied that Chinese students could not follow directions in English, or that it implied Mandarin-speaking students specifically needed more explicit guidelines about expected behavior. While the protest indicated student dissatisfaction, the students' activism can be seen as a form of student engagement. The students' protest made professors and administrators aware that, no matter the intentions of the translation, it was interpreted as targeting Chinese students as a source of classroom disruption. In this case, other campus administrators agreed that Chinese students were being treated unfairly, and the professor apologized. A failed routine was identified and discarded.

Recognizing student (or staff or faculty) complaints as symptoms of routines needing change (Feldman, 2000) allows increased transparency and ownership for the entire organization.

# **Integrating the Campus Networks**

Chapter Three suggested the development of a structured pre-arrival program that would leverage social media to facilitate interaction between incoming international students and continuing domestic students. While mentorship programs are not uncommon, this is not currently being done at the site under study. Social technologies will continue to evolve rapidly (Valenzuela, Park, & Kee, 2009), with more opportunities for creating connections. Universities can take an active role in facilitating interactions between domestic and international students. The online environment is one potential site for interaction, especially when paired with "real life" activities and experiences, such as hikes or picnics.

# **Inclusive Thinking for Crisis Communications**

The concept of emergency literacy is a challenging one, requiring that campus response staff set aside expectations of students' understanding of emergency instructions (Chapter Four). At the same time, it is the nature of crises to demand the briefest possible communications. Balancing brevity and clarity is a goal. In addition, more training or drills might be considered by university leaders, especially in the residence halls where students are most dependent on the university.

UCSB's experience with the surge in international student enrollment seems typical of national, even international, trends in terms of top nation of origin and majors (OISS Director's Presentation, 2018; Baer, 2018). California is the host state attracting the most students nationwide (Baer, 2018). Still, it is important to note the limitations in this study. The most obvious limitation is that data is collected from a single site. UCSB is a large, public university, so the observations made at a smaller or private institution could be much

different. UCSB is also a tier-1 research school, attracting students interested in research. It is also important to note that the political climate has shifted. According to the Institute of International Education (IIE), 60% of institutions currently include the social and political climate in the U.S. as a reason for declining enrollment, up from 15% in 2016 (Baer, 2018).

Language barriers are another limitation. Surveys conducted as part of the current study were conducted in English. Less English-proficient students may have been less likely to respond, or to give limited responses to open-ended questions. The challenge of responding in English may be a barrier for in-depth self-expression for some international students. Offering students the option to take the survey in their preferred language might create different results.

Because the current international undergraduate population is lacking diversity in terms of national representation, student organizations, especially externally-funded organizations like the Chinese Students and Scholars Association (CSSA) which has a chapter at UCSB, have become increasingly influential. CSSA and like organizations can provide support for students in their home language, can connect with students in China before they arrive, and is willing to spend money on programming. Unfortunately, this may keep Chinese students separate from local students. That is, CSSA both supports and arguably segregates Chinese students as well. An area for further research is to find examples on campus of integrated student groups. Faith-based communities or athletic groups (Renn & Arnold, 2003) both have potential.

International undergraduate students pay almost \$44,000 per year in tuition at the institution under study. There is currently a lack of established budget for international

student programming; each event is funded individually. This makes planning long-term programs challenging. The university, and perhaps others like it, could make a commitment to intentional, integrated interventions to support international students.

One important way of showing institutional support would be a physical space that is welcoming to both international and domestic students and that emphasizes intercultural communication. Several other student groups, including transfer students, veterans, native American, Chican@, and LGBTQ students have a dedicated space on campus. This spaces are community gathering and study spaces, and may offer on-site support services such as tutoring or advising. There is little comparable space for international students at the campus under study, though they represent a larger subgroup than some of the populations who have a dedicated space. International students would benefit from a similar safe space. A "Global Support Center" might be a center for support services beyond immigration support.

Activities, including outings, workshops, and trainings could be held to build relationships and skills for domestic and international students. Internationalization will require an investment by universities. At this point, immigration processing and advising is the priority at OISS and the capacity to engage students in programming is limited by staffing and space. Campus-wide, there may be a perception that OISS events are only for international students. Non-international students have established local social support systems (Chapter Three) and may not be motivated to form friendships with international students. Events hosted by OISS may not attract non-international students. Events hosted by the "Global Center" might be more appealing. Staff for existing co-curricular programs, such as recreational sports or peer mentorships, might be encouraged to integrate more

international students into their established programs. This could be accomplished through targeted outreach and basic training in intercultural communication to help reduce barriers to student integration.

Associated Students, or a similar student government body, might recruit more international students to participate. International students should be given opportunities to share their culture with campus. A high-profile international festival with food, music, and dancing would interest domestic students as well.

There are many opportunities to develop "buddy" programs to pair international and domestic students in class, at campus jobs, and in campus activities. Structured, repeated contacts create the best opportunities for meaningful connections. Small seminars, ideally with an even mix of international and domestic students, could be centered around any number of topics. A new program at OISS uses Scott O'Dell's *Island of the Blue Dolphins*, an award-winning young adult book of historical fiction that takes place on an island in the Santa Barbara Channel, as a lens for examining indigenous cultures, local history, vocabulary of the natural world, colonialism in California, and more. Most California students read this book in grammar school. Weekly meetings, nature walks, and excursions are all shared experiences. This program is free and includes a copy of the book. For the first two sessions, about a half dozen international students have participated. It is challenging to engage local students. Offering course credit or community service might be an incentive for non-international students to participate.

International students are here as students. Their academic work is a priority.

Completing university-level academic work in English is extremely challenging. Classes or

a workshop series to improve writing and academic skills could include a social component, such as ice-breakers, food, and discussions of international education systems, in addition to skill building. If both international and non-international students participated, connections would form. Non-international students, particularly those in majoring or minoring in writing, English, education, global studies, or communication would gain experience as mentors in ways that could be relevant to their major, as well as strengthening their own knowledge of academic writing and composition.

Group activities, such as a campus scavenger hunt, could be organized with intentionally integrated teams of both international and local students. A contest could include university trivia and tasks that encouraged students to learn more about one another. This could be organized by the recreation department, or any number of student groups.

An internationalized campus requires more than a strong international student services office. Integration must be routinely included in as many ways as possible, in and beyond academic classes. Making a culture of integration explicit and inclusive of all cultures is important (e.g., the #youarewelcomehere campaign launched by universities to counter anti-immigrant Federal policies). While international students may not be an oppressed group, they are at risk of being marginalized or separated from the larger campus population (Berry, 2001; Mavondo, Tsarenko, & Gabbot, 2014). International students and universities can find models for overcoming marginalization in other student group who have fought for inclusion, such a Black, Chican@, or LGBTQ students.

International students deserve to be recognized, embraced, and honored, not merely enrolled. Universities are benefiting from international students, and the burden is now on

universities to act so that international and non-international students alike can benefit from a truly internationalized campus with an integrated student body.

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