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Making and Breaking Stereotypes:
East Asian International Students' Experiences with Cross-
Cultural/Racial Interactions

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

by

Zachary Stephen Ritter

2013

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ABSTRACT OF THE DISSERTATION

Making and Breaking Stereotypes:
East Asian International Students' Experiences with Cross-
Cultural/Racial Interactions

by

Zachary Stephen Ritter

Doctor of Philosophy in Education

University of California, Los Angeles, 2013

Professor Richard Wagoner, Chair

In response to recent budget cuts and declining revenue streams, American colleges and universities are admitting larger numbers of international students. These students add a great deal of cultural and intellectual diversity to college campuses, but they also bring racial stereotypes that can affect cross-racial interaction as well as campus climate. Forty-seven interviews with Chinese, Japanese, and Korean graduate and undergraduate international students were conducted at the University of California, Los Angeles, regarding these students' racial stereotypes and how contact with diverse others challenged or reinforced these stereotypes over time. Results indicated that a majority of

students had racial hierarchies, which affected with whom they roomed, befriended, and dated. American media images and a lack of cross-cultural/racial interaction in home countries led to negative views toward African-Americans and Latinos. Positive cross-racial interactions, diversity courses, and living on-campus did change negative stereotypes; however, a lack of opportunities to interact with racial out-groups, international and domestic student balkanization, and language issues led to stereotype ossification in some cases. This research shows that there is a need for policy and programmatic changes at the college level that promote international and domestic student interaction.

The dissertation of Zachary Stephen Ritter is approved.

John Hawkins

Kyeyoung Park

Val Rust

Richard Wagoner, Committee Chair

University of California, Los Angeles,

2013

DEDICATION

To family, friends, and strangers who teach me something new each day. To the differences in the world that remind us how similar we all are. And to the promise of peace and prosperity that comes from love, empathy, patience, knowledge, and mutual understanding.

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Chapter 1: Introduction

As Lou Jang took a bow after her performance on China's version of American Idol, called *Go! Oriental Angel!* Chinese netizens were already flooding the blogosphere with comments such as "she never should have been born" and she should "get out of China" (Chang, 2009). The Chinese born 20-year-old woman, whom the hosts called "chocolate girl", happened to have a Chinese mother and an African-American father. This event touched off a national debate on race. China Daily columnist Raymond Zhou commented that darker skin is viewed as less beautiful than white skin, due to historical class distinctions in which field laborers were tan while the privileged were pale (Doran, 2009).

More recently, in a supposed goodwill basketball game that coincided with US Vice President Biden's visit to China, racial tensions boiled over. The match was between a predominantly African-American Georgetown NCAA team and a Chinese professional basketball team called the Bayi Rockets (Wong, 2011). The score was tied at 64, when a hard foul by a Georgetown player resulted in an all-out brawl with Chinese players kicking African-American players while on the ground. The melee finally came to an end with Chinese fans throwing empty water bottles at Georgetown players as they walked off the court (Wong, 2011). Among the many racially charged comments on a Yahoo Sports website, one Chinese netizen said this incident reflects the larger problem of black culture in America. The individual explains that the African-American race will not improve unless they use their brains and develop a work ethic, like the Chinese do when they come to study in America (Wong, 2011). These sentiments do not represent

the opinions and beliefs of all Chinese people; however, these racially charged incidents do raise the question of how race, ethnicity, and culture are conceptualized in Asian countries and what racial hierarchies exist in an Asian context.

These two examples of anti-black racism in China do not mean that all East Asian international students that come to America hold these stereotypes, nor does it mean that there are not instances of positive cross-racial/ethnic interaction in China, Japan, and South Korea. In fact, these incidences could easily have taken place in America. The historical evolution of a racial hierarchy that is discussed in this chapter and throughout the dissertation is not specific to East Asia, rather it is a global phenomenon that has its genesis in the West. The dissertation does not seek to demonize East Asian international students for having particularly negative attitudes toward a certain racial/ethnic group; rather, the study seeks to understand how these stereotypes come about and how they are challenged during one's college experience. East Asian international students hold many of the same stereotypes that American students do; therefore, there is nothing inherently racist about East Asian cultures and/or international students. There is a lengthy discussion of racial stereotypes in the literature review and findings section, in order to show that much of American racism is being exported to East Asia and is influencing some students' attitudes prior to arriving in the US.

Additionally, this dissertation has a sample size of 44 (pilot study and dissertation study participants), which makes it by no means generalizable. Individual students are just that, and are not meant to be representative of their home country's racial attitudes. While not generalizable, these individual perspectives are constantly changing as East Asian international students interact with the US college environment. As they

experience their environment, they form perceptions of other groups, sometimes in relationship to out-groups' stereotyping of international students. Domestic students most likely have just as many preconceived notions of East Asian international students, but this study focused on international students' perceptions because this is an understudied area of inquiry.

First, it is necessary to define terminology used in this study because terms such as race, ethnicity, and culture may mean different things in China, Japan, and Korea. Race, in an American context, is a social construct in which phenotypic attributes are used to distinguish in-groups from out-groups (Malesevic, 2004). The etymology of race is disputed. Some believe it came from the Arabic word *ras*, meaning head of cattle, beginning, or origin. Other scholars say it came from Latin *ratio*, meaning species, kind, or nature (Smedley, 1999). Human beings are 99.9% genetically similar, yet race is still used as a way to organize and categorize people based on outer appearance, culture, and at times ethnicity. The word for ethnicity comes from the Greek term *ethnos*, meaning nation. Ethnicity in a Western sense describes people who share a common culture and ancestry. The term was commonly used to describe pagans, such as non-Hellenic, non-Christian, and second-class peoples (Malesevic, 2004). The adjectival form, *ethnikos*, came to mean those that were heathens and did not share the dominant faith (Cornell & Hartmann, 2007).

In the Anglo-American tradition, ethnicity was used to refer to a minority group in a given society. The European tradition used the term as a synonym for nationhood of a people from a certain descent or territory. Both Europe and America preferred to use ethnicity, in an effort to avoid using the term race, which was greatly compromised by

Hitler's failed racial experiment (Malesevic, 2004). Even today, race is looked at as a troubling term because it has unjustifiable scientific ground and has a complex history; yet, it plays such a large role in political, religious, and social affairs. (Radhakrishnan, 1996). Furthermore, race is problematic in the sense that whenever the word race is muttered, it is often linked to racism and whenever it is researched, it can be seen as reaffirming racial typologies and thinking (Gunaratnam, 2003). Issues of race and research will be discussed below, but first let us turn our attention to race and ethnic constructions in East Asia.

In China, the concept of race was somewhat foreign and was thus inherited from Japan, whose intellectuals had already been greatly influenced by European thinkers such as Herbert Spencer. Race was translated as *zhongzu* (种族), with *zhong* meaning "seed" and *zu* meaning patrilineal lineage of family membership (Ching, 2007). The concept of race was quickly assimilated by Chinese revolutionaries in the beginning of the twentieth century to prove that Han Chinese were related to the Yellow Emperor (thus part of the 'yellow race') and were superior to the Qing rulers of Manchu descent (Ching, 2007). Prior to contact with the West, ethnicity or *minzu* (民族, meaning nationality) was the word used for ethnic groups or peoples of different nations. The Confucian concept of ethnicity, known as the Yi-Xia Doctrine, explains much of Imperial China's attitude toward ethnic minorities.

The Yi-Xia Doctrine referred to the Confucian notion that ethnic Han people (Xia) were more civilized than other ethnic minorities (Yi). The name for China, 中国 (*zhong guo*), meaning Middle Kingdom, indicates that within this Yi-Xia dichotomy that the Xia

people (usually Han and at times Manchu) were more cultured and were in the center of the kingdom. On the other hand, Yi people were cultural barbarians and were literally and figuratively on the periphery of the kingdom (He, 2005). Xia people were the rulers, while Yi people were the subordinates. Mencius held the view that Yi could assimilate to Xia culture, but not vice versa. Mencius asserted that if Yi culture were to prevail, this would lead to a world of animality (He, 2005). Overtime, the Yi-Xia Doctrine was altered to look beyond ethnicity and referred to individuals of any ethnicity who had a developed culture. Hao Jin, a Confucian scholar who lived in the Yuan Dynasty, developed a new Yi-Xia Doctrine, stating that Confucianism had developed beyond ethnicity, indicating that even non-Han Chinese could rule China, so long as they adhered to Confucianism. Thus Chinese history and its scholars had set a precedent for ethnicity to be based on geography. Furthermore, Hao Jin's writings illustrate that culture was at times more important than ethnicity in Chinese history.

When Christian missionaries came to China in the nineteenth and twentieth century, they introduced racial scaling of groups based on race, moral integrity, habits, and obedience to Christian teachings. In this new Christian/Western racial/ethnic framework, the Han people were suddenly the peripheral people (Yi), rather than the dominant culture bearers (Xia) (Harrell, 1995). In fact, many non-Han Chinese groups were lauded by missionaries for their honesty, simplicity, and hard work, while Han peoples were looked at as barbaric for their practice of foot-binding, infanticide, or arranged marriages (Harrell, 1995). Conceptions of race were to change when China expelled Christian missionaries in 1949 with the Communist Revolution. Leninist views of national self-determination and multinational federalism for ethnic minorities were

prized by the Chinese Communist Party at first, but then Mao Zedong abandoned this idea (He, 2005). He claimed that self-determination only applied to oppressed minorities, but he felt that the communists were liberating Chinese ethnic minorities by subsuming their lands.

Mao also maintained the view that the question of nationality and race, in fact, was a question of class. Overtime, he felt that nationality and ethnicity would wither away after the end of class conflict in China (He, 2005). But it was the Communist Chinese who embarked on the largest ethnic identification project, in which researchers traveled throughout the country, evaluating and categorizing various ethnic groups. The categorization of ethnic groups (*minzu*) depended on Stalin's four characteristics of nationality (common territory, language, economy, and psychological nature), and scaling depended on the particular stage in the universal progression of history (primitive, slave, feudal, capitalist, and socialist modes of production) (Harrell, 1995). A unified, multinational/multiethnic state was to work together toward the most advanced stage of history.

However, the Confucian Han-centric construct co-opted the Communist project, with Han cadre members leading the civilizing mission of the peripheral ethnic groups. The Communist Chinese Army invaded Tibet in 1950, calling it the liberation of Tibet, and creating the Tibet Autonomous Region (TAR). Today, the administrative leaders of TAR are often Han Chinese and are chosen by central party leaders in Beijing. However, the Chinese central government has also taken surprising steps to encourage multiculturalism by nearly exempting ethnic minorities from the one-child rule, implementing a quota system for ethnic minorities in the National People's Congress

(NPC), and giving preferential treatment to Tibetan, Yi, and Hui youth applying to universities (He, 2005). Today, China has 56 ethnic groups (including Han), with Han Chinese comprising over 92% of the population (Harrell, 1995). Beijing's leaders now subscribe to a mixture of Deng Xiaoping's market driven philosophy and Sun Yat-sen's idea of *ronghe* (intermingling). Deng, like Mao, did not believe that ethnic distinctions would wither away after the end of class conflict, rather he believed that economic development would bring up all ethnicities within China. In conjunction with economic progress, Chinese leaders also subscribe to *ronghe*; a term which refers to the governmental practice of minorities being encouraged to maintain their cultures, which aids Chinese tourism, as long as the act of practicing and preserving the culture does not politically threaten the unity of the state (He, 2005). China is far from a homogeneous country, but many of the Eastern provinces and modern cities are Han populated. There is a governmental acknowledgement of ethnic differences, and programs in place to aid educational and economic advancement; however, there is still a Han majority in power. Chinese students interviewed in my study will undoubtedly be influenced by these historical trends, and their ethnic identity group in China will inform how they view American ethnic differences.

Turning our attention to Japan, it becomes apparent that ethnicity and race are constructed in a unique manner. Throughout much of Japan's history, it was a widely held belief that Japan was a mono-racial (単一民族 *tan'itsu minzoku*) society (Peng-Er, 2005). This is not entirely true due to distinctive ethnic minority groups such as Koreans living in Japan, Okinawans, Ainus, and Burakumin. But early in the country's history, ethnicity was constructed in a different manner, compared to the West. When Japanese

and Europeans first made contact, Japanese did not distinguish them by skin color, rather they called them blue-eyed people, big-nosed people, or *ke-to*, meaning hairy Chinese people (Adachi, 2010). This last term derived from the fact that Chinese were viewed as foreigners (*to*), and Westerners were viewed as being hairy (*ke*), so the term for Westerners was based on physical characteristics, but not necessarily skin color (Adachi, 2010). But it may have operated in the same way because Japanese equated hairy people with being more closely linked to animals and primitive creatures, while less hairy people were thought of as more civilized (Adachi, 2010). Even during the Tokugawa Period (1603-1868), there was a dichotomy created between Japanese and foreigners, but this was not based on racial differences. Foreigners were considered *yabanjin* or barbarians and were looked down upon. It was rumored that the Dutch had no heels and urinated by raising one leg, like dogs (Weiner, 1997). Blacks were also called derogatory terms such as *kuronbo*; however, white foreigners and black servants were drawn in the same Tengu style paintings as elegant, with narrow faces and elongated noses (Kim, 2008; Russell, 1991). It was not until the turn of the century when European racial hierarchies were adopted by Japanese intellectuals that black images became associated with slavery (Kim, 2008).

Nonetheless, there seems to have always been a Japanese notion of the Japanese insider and the foreign other (*gaijin*). This was connoted by the words *uchi*, meaning home, and *soto* or *gaijin*, meaning outsider. With the rise of the Meiji Era (1868-1912) and the reunification of Japan under imperial rule, race and ethnicity had to be consolidated in order to unify Japan as a mono-racial, one family state (*kazoku kokka*) (Weiner, 2009). The nation was projected as an extended family and the Emperor served

as a semi-divine father figure. During WWII, blood, culture, ethnicity, race, and the nation were all linked together into what was termed the blood family, which was comprised of the imperial family, the regional clan, and the family unit (Weiner, 2009). However, it was difficult creating a national narrative of homogeneity when there were and still are a variety of ethnic groups that make up modern Japan (Weiner, 2009).

Between 1910 and 1945 Japan took over the Kingdom of Korea, forcibly conscripted Korean men into the Japanese army, and took Korean women as sex slaves (Peng-Er, 2005). During the Japanese occupation, Koreans were given citizenship; however, in 1952, they were stripped of their citizenship and faced much discrimination. Since the 1990s, discrimination towards Koreans have slightly improved, however they still remain non-citizens and are expected to adopt Japanese names, stripping them of their ethnic heritage (Peng-Er, 2005). Today, there are about one million Koreans living in Japan. Korean popular television dramas and the rapid growth of South Korea has created a more favorable impression of South Korea in the eyes of many Japanese youth (Peng-Er, 2005). Nonetheless, there may be tensions between these groups on campus, due to a history of conflict.

Another ethnic group, Okinawans, were once part of the Ryukyu kingdom and were annexed by Japan in 1879. During World War II, they were forced to commit mass suicide rather than surrender to US forces, which left a deep seeded feeling of betrayal in the Okinawan psyche toward the Japanese Imperial government (Peng-Er, 2005). After years of assimilation in Japanese schools in Okinawa, the most southern island of Japan, Okinawans now have a dual identity, as both citizens of Japan and cultural Okinawans. They face relatively little discrimination in mainstream Japanese society; however, the

Japanese government still refuses to lessen the US military presence on the island or grant Okinawa its independence (Peng-Er, 2005).

Burakumin are one of the most discriminated groups in Japan, due to their historical position in the Tokugawan Era Shinokosho four-class hierarchy. Confucian thinking from China was incorporated in this social order where the samurai (*shi*), peasants (*no*), artisans (*ko*) and merchants (*sho*) made up the different castes of society, with the executioners, butchers, and tanners falling into the outcast group called Burakumin (Duus, 1998). They were thought of as unclean and even to this day, their last names indicate their old caste position, leading to marriage and employment discrimination. Burakumin make up 3 million of the Japanese population and reside mostly in Kansai and southern Japan. This group is not discriminated against due to their racial or ethnic background, but because of their historical feudal-era social hierarchies. There were several instances in the interviews in which this group was mentioned. Students indicated that there is still discrimination toward this group in modern Japan, indicating that Japan is not racially, ethnically, and culturally homogeneous.

Lastly, Ainu are the native peoples of Japan, who now only have a population of about 24,000 in Japan's northern most island, Hokkaido. Historically, Ainu lived throughout much of Honshu and Hokkaido, even when the first 'Japanese' came from the Korean peninsula somewhere between 400 BCE and the eighth century CE, to Honshu, Japan (Yoshino, 1992). Traditionally, Japanese thought of the Ainu as barbarians, but by 1604, the Matsumae domain annexed Hokkaido (Peng-Er, 2005). Attempts to 'civilize' and assimilate Ainu people began in 1869 and by the end of the nineteenth century, Japan's indigenous people numbered only 17,000. Encouraged by the indigenous

people's rights UN movement, the Japanese government passed a law to promote the Ainu culture in 1997. However, Ainu organizations were far from pleased by the lack of explicit mention of official government recognition of indigenous people status nor any compensation for lands appropriated in the past (Peng-Er, 2005). Today, media outlets rarely cover issues pertaining to minority discrimination or grievances. The public consciousness toward ethnic/cultural minorities is lackluster at best and discussion of ethnic/cultural minorities is often not discussed on TV or print journalism. In a rare 1993 NHK (the public broadcast TV station) survey on societal prejudices toward minorities, only 22 percent of Japanese believed people were treated unfairly because of their race and nationality, while 51 percent believed that foreigners and minorities should become assimilated into Japanese customs and traditions to become Japanese citizens (Peng-Er, 2005). In a 2001 Osaka prefecture survey regarding knowledge of discrimination of Burakumin, 57 percent of respondents said they knew little about this issue, whereas 37.7 percent said discrimination will naturally disappear if it is not talked about (Peng-Er, 2005). These surveys give a glimpse of ethnic minority attitudes and beliefs in Japan that will undoubtedly shape students' perceptions of race, ethnicity, and culture in America.

Historically, Japanese people have tended to view themselves as a distinct racial group, in the sense that they have a common culture (Yoshino, 1992). The term 'Japanese blood' is used to describe Japanese uniqueness, or *nihonjinron* (日本人論); however, the word race (*jinsu*), which is a translation from the Western word, is not used to refer to Japanese people. There is a notion that you have to be born Japanese to understand the intricacies of the Japanese language as well as the vertical social stratification based on paternalistic superiors and subordinate relationships. The idea of *amae*, goodwill, or co-

dependency on others in society, is also a part in the concept of Japanese uniqueness that has been espoused as a way of building national identity since the Edo Period (1603-1868). Being Japanese does not necessarily refer to a racial group, but embodies an ethnic community and a nation. Racial, ethnic, and national categories almost completely overlap in traditionally Japanese perceptions of *nihonjinron* (Yoshino, 1992). During the Second World War, the Japanese family-nation of divine origin was stressed, and all Japanese (not Koreans or other minority groups living in Japan) were thought to be related by blood, share similar interpersonal relationship notions, believe in group conformity, share a common language, and share a common intellectual/emotional disposition (Yoshino, 1992). Yoshino indicates that the Western notion of race differs from a Japanese one.

Banton (1983) suggests that in American and British constructs of race and ethnicity, ethnicity is viewed as a positive identification of 'us', while race deals with a negative categorization of 'them'. Yoshino (1992) argues that the notion of 'Japanese blood' encompasses race, ethnicity, and a Japanese identity or way of viewing the world. Ethnicity, in this sense, is a collectivity of people that is defined by a shared culture and history, while race refers to a shared kinship among Japanese people. But social and genetic isolation of the island nation is the foundation for Japanese uniqueness, which creates a psychological distance between the Japanese ethnic in-group and outsiders. Many Japanese intellectuals and business elites interviewed by Yoshino (1992) indicate that they do not believe 'Japanese blood' refers to genetic racial traits, but more as a symbolic image of oneness. In this sense, blood or race is closely tied to a notion of quasi-race and culture that comprise Japanese uniqueness. As intermarriage and

internationalization of Japan increases, sociologists will most likely replace the term ethnicity with that of race, when describing the Japanese (Yoshino, 1992). In the Japanese context, race, ethnicity, and culture are somewhat conflated into terms such as Japanese uniqueness or Japanese blood. Race, ethnicity, and culture are not clear-cut, but there is a definite distinction in Japan that there is a Japanese majority culture, there are ethnic minorities within Japan, and there are foreigners (*gaijin*).

Similar to the Japanese conception of race and ethnicity, Korean scholars have described Korea as a mostly homogeneous people. The word to describe Korean people is *han minjok*, with *han* meaning “one” and *minjok* meaning people/nation/race (Kendall, 1998). Ethnic minorities do exist in Korea, such as Chinese, Amerasians, and guest workers from South and Southeast Asia, but many Koreans think of Korea as a homogeneous country (Kendall, 1998). However, in 2005, marriages to foreigners accounted for 14 percent of all marriages in South Korea, up from 4 percent in 2000 (Onishi, 2007). A booming industry which finds Vietnamese and Filipino brides for rural Korean men have led to about 19,000 Vietnamese women immigrating as brides (Le, 2011). However, cross-cultural misunderstandings, feelings of ethnic superiority on the part of some Koreans, and mentally ill husbands have led to multiple cases of Southeast Asian brides being murdered by their spouses; forcing Korean officials to look more seriously at issues of diversity and assimilation (Le, 2011). These feelings of ethnic superiority over Southeast Asians became apparent in the current study, thus affecting with whom international students chose to interact.

Having been taken over by Japan in 1895, Korea was greatly influenced by Japanese conceptions of race and ethnicity. Korean writers, such as Sin Chaeho, were

influenced by social Darwinism's survival of the fittest races, which fed into the notion of a homogeneous monoethnic nation (*tanil minjok*) (Kim, 2008). Sin Chaeho unearthed an old mythical character, Grandfather Tangun, who embodied the masculinized construction of the Korean nation as a patrilineal family. National character and the notion of Korean blood were emphasized to combat Japanese concepts of racial superiority (Kim, 2008). Japanese Yamato blood purity had its effect on Korean notions of national unity, with concepts even today that one's blood type can be used to determine personality type, romantic compatibility, and behavior (Kim, 2008). This preoccupation with blood and soil has led many Koreans to generalize nations in a racial manner, based on the majority group's racial/ethnic makeup. For example, Kim (2008) found that many middle-aged and older Koreans indicated that they knew America was a land of immigrants, but still had the notion that it was a predominantly white country (Kim, 2008). Similarly, the current study also found that many Korean students, at first, viewed America as a predominantly Caucasian country with a minority of African-American people. This view indicated that many Korean students did not learn about the racial and ethnic diversity in the US prior to arrival, illustrating a need for college staff and faculty to provide more workshops, courses, and learning experiences to educate international students about America's history and racial diversity.

Color also played a large role in racial and ethnic thinking of Korea. As far back as the Three Kingdoms Period (57BCE-668CE), white was valorized as the color of purity and peace, thus leading thousands of people to don white clothing, earning Korea the moniker "the white-clad nation" (Kim, 2008). But Japan and Korea do not use the word 'race' in common parlance, rather 'ethnonationality' is used. This is a compelling

distinction, which illustrates that in the US, the history of racism and different cross-racial contact is longer than in Japan or Korea, where significant non-Asian populations have only begun to live in Japan and Korea in the last several decades. This point indicates that East Asian international students that come to the US are not blatantly racist (Yamato, 1991), but may be unintentionally racist (when someone has good intentions but is operating on misinformation and, as a result, behaves in a racist manner), due to the historical precedents, U.S. military presence in Korea, and American cultural/media imperialism that disseminates racialized images throughout the world (Kim, 2008).

The racial hierarchy that emerged in the current study's interviews, may be explained by historical precedents in East Asia. Directly after World War II, Korea was divided amongst the allies. The US military presence in South Korea became even greater during the Korean War (1950-1953). During this time, many Koreans viewed White American G.I.'s as saviors of the Republic of Korea against the Communist onslaught (Kim, 2008). Americans were admired not only for helping end the Japanese colonialization of Korea, but also for their physical attributes. They were referred to as 'big nosed Westerners' with golden hair and blue eyes (Kang, 1991). Koreans adopted a sense of admiration and inferiority to white Americans, who's double eye-lids and white facial features came to be marks of beauty in Korea (Kim, 2008). American television, movies, music, and print journalism all fed into this notion of Americans as the masculine, handsome heroes in John Wayne and Gary Cooper films (Kang, 1991). Recently, Korea has been the second largest and the tenth most lucrative Hollywood film distribution market outside of North America (Kim, 2008). Popular films in Korea such

as *Forrest Gump*, *Titanic*, and *Mission Impossible* all feed into the image of white beauty and a mono-racial white American population (Kim, 2008). An emphasis on white beauty and heroism has also been fueled by historic anti-black racism in the US military and media.

Before, but even more so after WWII, many Koreans were influenced by American cosmetic and food product advertisements that portrayed black people as primitive or caricatured Jazz performers (Russell, 1991). This commodity racism was imported to Japan, and then to Korea, where it undoubtedly had an effect on Korean people's racial consciousness. Kim's (2008) interviews with Koreans and Korean-Americans found that many Americans consider white people and Americans to be synonymous. This derives from Koreans associating a nation with its 'owners' or the majority group (Kim, 2008). Many Koreans also understand the white-black dichotomy that exists in America due to the numerous military bases in Korea, as well as the 1992 Los Angeles Riots between black and Korean residents. When the newly desegregated American military arrived in Korea, during the Korean War (1950-1953), Korean civilians were influenced by GI's racial attitudes of white superiority and black inferiority.

Further tensions and even violent clashes between black US soldiers and Korean nightclub owners over the decades have influenced Koreans' views of African-Americans. Russell (1991), indicated that the adoption of negative black stereotypes stemmed from Koreans fear of 'regressing' back into a perceived dark skinned third world status, in a world composed of a black, white, and Asian global hierarchy. This hierarchy was illustrated in many of the interviews in the current dissertation, indicating

that historical and socio-cultural trends have an affect on international students' behavior in America.

For many of the international students coming to UCLA, home country experiences with cross-racial/ethnic interactions also factored into their racial/ethnic conceptions. Held (2000) asserted that ever increasing global interactions and the waning of cultural national boundaries are leading to a homogenous global economy and culture. Kim (2008) explained that this homogenized culture is heavily American centric and influences East Asian students before and after their arrival in America. Transnationalism captures this notion, in which international students leave their home country to interact in a new one; however, their racial/ethnic/cultural frames of references relate back to their home countries. East Asian international students in this dissertation study illustrated this transnational link in which they rely on home country frameworks of race/ethnicity/culture, but these frames of reference were also altered and built upon while in America (Pries, 2008; Collins, 2009).

In each country profile above, defining race, ethnicity, and culture becomes difficult because they are often conflated. This is problematic for several reasons. First, interchanging these three words fuses together three distinctive collective memberships (Malesevic, 2004). If someone considers themselves Asian, a Muslim, and a Malaysian, conflating all three self-identifiers into the term "Asian", leads to an essentialized construction of the individual's religious, geographical, ethnic, and cultural self-construct. In addition, defining someone by their race, religion, or continental origin is problematic because there is great variability within these groupings. A racial group can be an ethnic group, and a cultural group can be comprised of people who identify as a

certain ethnic or racial group. These labels are constructed in an ad hoc manner by folk concepts and popular culture (Banton, 1998). This is a long way of stating that race, ethnicity, and culture are difficult to talk about, let alone research. For the purposes of this study, race shall be defined as socially constructed differences in appearance created by an in-group or out-group member. Race and ethnicity are often conflated, but there is a difference between the terms.

Ethnicity is defined by Schermerhorn (1978) as a collectivity within a larger society that have real or assigned common ancestry, a shared history, and similar cultural practices (Cornell & Hartmann, 2007). Ethnicity in this study will refer to people of a specific geographical location or national origin within a racial group. For example, Zhuang, Han, and Uyghur people are three Chinese ethnicities that have historically been associated with the Asian racial category. Finally, culture is something that is often attributed to in-group members from specific ethnicities and races. Culture comes from the Latin *colere*, which means to cultivate. The significance of culture has been expounded upon by Geertz and Miller, who describe culture as webs of significance that man, himself, has spun (Bolaffi, 2003; Geertz, 1973). A more textbook definition, and the one that will be used in this study, is the behaviors, beliefs, or customs of a given social, ethnic, or racial group (Bolaffi, 2003). Students interviewed in the study may interpret race, ethnicity, and culture in a different manner; therefore, during the interviews, each students' interpretation of these three terms will be taken into account. In this sense, I will better understand how each student conceptualizes these three often conflated terms.

Throughout the history of China, Japan, and Korea, racial hierarchies have played dominant roles. Prior to contact with European colonial powers, the concept of race in

Asia was one based on geographical location, culture, habits, and ethnicity, rather than phenotype or skin color (Puk, 2009). In the nineteenth century, these three countries looked to the West as civilizations of high culture, arts, military might, and economic success (Russell, 1991). The late 1800s saw the rise of Social Darwinism, with Japanese scholars ordering the world into different races and social statuses. The idealized West was deemed to be the apex of civilization (*bunmai*), Japan and its neighbors were thought to be semi-civilized (*hankai*), and African culture was viewed as barbaric and backwards (Russell, 1996). This idea of blacks as barbaric or animalistic was recently illustrated in a Japanese eMobile commercial in which a macaque in a suit, parodying then presidential candidate Obama, was giving a speech about changing phone services (Keck & La, 2008). Dikotter (1992) argues that racial hierarchies were encouraged by Confucianism, which proscribed that every individual has a proper place in society based on gender age, race, and class; however, this notion has been challenged by other scholars (Fan, 2008; Hinsch, 2004; Puk, 2009). Prior to contact with the west, race was not a central dividing line between various warlords and kingdoms. Rather, culture, geography, and even creation stories of varying ethnic groups were used to both unify and divide peoples of varying backgrounds in China (Hinsch, 2004).

However, skin color still does play a role in religious teachings, such as the notion in Buddhist thought that dark skin is synonymous with illness, death, evilness, and impurity, while light skin connotes the opposite (Russell, 1991). These racial distinctions still carry validity today as illustrated in surveys of Korean college students who indicated that they viewed African-Americans as violent, lazy, and stupid (Cha & Choi, 1992), while white Americans were viewed as the most ideal marriage partners (Jang,

2001). When Korean grade school teachers were surveyed, they ranked black people as being the highest in categories such as laziness, dirtiness, and aggressiveness, while white people were classified as diligent and clean (Kim, 2005). Other studies indicated that Korean international students stereotyped Latinos as adept dancers and soccer players without ever having interacted with a Latino person (Kim, 2008). As more East Asian international students enroll in American universities, these students bring with them racial stereotypes that will affect student interactions as well as campus racial climates.

In response to California's recent higher education budget cuts, colleges and universities across the nation began enrolling more international students, in order to garner more revenue (Gordon, 2010). As China's and Korea's middle class expands, families who can afford it, send their children to American schools (Bartlett & Fischer, 2011). The UN Population Division predicts that by 2030, China's middle class consumers will balloon to 1.4 billion, four times that of the projected American middle class population (Forbes, 2011). Universities looking to capitalize on expanding their diversity quotient and their international appeal have rushed to recruit these growing international student populations (Bartlett & Fischer, 2011). In the 2010-2011 academic year, the number of enrolled international students studying in the US rose to 723,277 (IIE Open Doors Report, 2011). The University of California at Los Angeles (UCLA), ranked sixth in the nation, with 6,249 international students (IIE Open Doors Report, 2011). International students serve as lab assistants and TAs on campus (Pandit, 2007), they contributed to the US economy \$18.8 billion last year (NAFSA, 2010), and they bolster the prestige of universities (Lee, 2010). However, with this growth of students coming to American universities, racial tensions have risen on UC campuses.

At UCLA, a Caucasian student posted a racially insensitive video online, in which she commented on the “hordes” of Asian students speaking too loudly in the library (Mashhood & Parkinson-Morgan, 2011). Violence against Indian and Asian international students in Sydney and Melbourne have also risen in recent years (Mercer, 2010). In Adelaide, Australia, three Indian international students’ cars were firebombed by local teenagers (Littlely, 2010). Other incidents have been more bloody, including the stabbing and murder of a 21-year-old Indian international student, by white teenagers in Melbourne, Australia (Owens, 2010). Acts of discrimination and violence have been mostly limited to Caucasian students as perpetrators in American and Australian contexts. However, bloody incidences of anti-black racism on Chinese college campuses in the 1980s indicate historical instances of prejudice in China (Johnson 2007; Sautman, 1994).

In 1988 at Hehai University in Nanjing, two students from Benin and Liberia studying at the campus, were stopped by security guards and asked to sign-in their two Chinese female guests. The African students refused, Chinese students began calling them Black devils, a fight broke out, and eleven staff members were injured (Sullivan, 1994). This imbroglio sparked a week-long conflict. In response to rumors that African students were holding a Chinese female against her will in her apartment, 300 Chinese students stormed the international student dormitories and began fighting with African international students. Subsequent protests from Nanjing and Hehai University students and calls to kill the “Black devils” forced the local government to transport the 60 African students to a safe place (Yizheng) until tensions cooled. The African students were eventually brought back, others were deported, and promises to create programs to educate Chinese students about Africa were to be implemented by the Hehai university

president. No such programs were created (Sullivan, 1994). These events are troubling for Chinese race relations, but unfortunately negative attitudes toward black people are not limited to China. Japanese college student surveys reported anti-black sentiments (Forrer, Sedlacek, & Agarie, 1977) as well. These instances indicate that there is an historical precedence that may influence racial attitudes of Asian international students.

The legacy of colonialism is at the heart of a significant portion of these instances of historic racial prejudice. Colonialism refers to the process by which European and American powers, reached a position of economic, military, political and cultural dominance over much of Africa, Asia, and Latin America (Stam & Spence, 1983). This process, which dates back to the early fifteenth century European explorations of the new world, reached its zenith at the end of World War I, with Europe having colonized roughly 85% of the world (Stam & Spence, 1983). Not until the end of World War II, did former colonies begin to gain their independence. Nations that were neither ‘Western’ (first world), nor Soviet (second world), were termed third world. Racism was used against so-called third world nations, to subjugate native peoples, deconstruct native cultures and political systems, in order for European powers to benefit economically. These historical precedents reverberate today on a global racial hierarchy that is perpetuated in media, print journalism, and social interactions.

The historical narrative discussed above informs current issues of race in East Asia. For example, evidence of brown racism can be seen in Kobayashi’s (2010) work, in which Japanese students in Japan expressed views that they would rather learn English from ‘European looking’ English speakers, rather than African or Latino looking English speakers. The Japanese students believed non-white English speakers would have an

accent or speak improper English; therefore, they were less desirable language partners. Additionally, in Tanaka's (1997) study of Latin American students traveling abroad in Japan, Latino students said that they were mistreated based on their skin color. They were looked at as day-laborers or robbers. However, a lighter skinned, European-looking Latin American student was courted by Japanese students, who were eager to practice their English with this person (Tanaka, 1997). This skin categorization is closely linked to a history of colonialism as evidenced in Murphy-Shigematsu's (2002) study. In this longitudinal study of 15 international students studying in Japan, one student voiced that Japanese think Africans and other Asians were inferior, but Westerners were looked up to. The enslavement of Africans and other people of color resulted in a white-oriented global system (Washington, 1990). What arose from the European colonial legacy is what Ronald Hall (1994) calls the Bleaching Syndrome, in which White skin connotes beauty, as well as economic and social status. This type of racial categorization and idealization, if unchallenged at the college level, may affect a student's willingness to interact with someone from a different racial group, thus racial prejudice and intolerance will persist beyond the college years.

Much of racial prejudice stems from stereotypes that are formed from media and social influences in one's home country. Negative media portrayals of African-American and Latino people (Fujioka, 2000; Rivadeneyra, 2006; Tan, Zhang, Zhang, & Dalisay, 2009) have shown to color international students' views of these groups, leading to avoidance on college campuses. The human brain has better memory for stereotype-confirming information than for stereotype-disconfirming information (Hamilton & Rose, 1980); therefore, it is difficult to break these perceptions. Stereotypes can help people

manage the everyday bombardment of information; however, they can also result in prejudice and social distancing (Hamilton, 1981).

Negative stereotypes can be broken in a number of ways, including discussions of intolerance (Haslam, 1997), educational courses on race (Banks, 2009), and positive cross-racial interaction (Allport, 1954). When participants from different in-groups and out-groups have equal status, common goals, inter-group cooperation, and support from authorities, there is a greater likelihood that a change in attitudes will occur (Allport, 1954). On college campuses, rooming with racial out-groups (Nedsale & Todd, 2000), attending campus events (Barger, 2004), and having a professor or teaching assistant of a different ethnicity has translated into more tolerant attitudes among students. But there is evidence that international students often socialize with co-international students and have few opportunities to interact with racial out-groups (Elliot & Trice, 1993). In light of the recent budget cuts, compounded by the increase in international students, one must ask what programs and policies are in place to help international students adjust to a racially diverse landscape?

Student affairs programs are being scaled back (Romano, Hanish, Phillips, & Waggoner, 2010), while international student enrollment is being increased. International students have access to multicultural clubs, orientation programs, academic and psychological services, and cross-cultural coffee hours. However, these events may not attract domestic students, or may present cultural differences on a superficial level (Rose-Redwood, 2010). Traditional programs such as conversation clubs, language partners, and friendship programs have emerged, along with innovative programs that partner international offices with other units on campus (Deardorff, 2009). At North Carolina

State University, the international office partnered with the Center for Student Leadership to create a volunteerism program that brought together international students and Americans in a unique way (Deardorff, 2009; Schreiber, 2011). However, global affairs divisions such as that in State University of New York, have seen a more than 20 percent budget cut (Fisher, 2010). At UCLA, the international center is funded by a student registration fee, thus making it more immune to state budget cuts than other departments on campus (Fisher, 2010). The UCLA Dashew International Center is planning to expand its 20-person staff to help international students with visa forms and general campus integration (Kelly, 2011). With this backdrop of a renewed effort by UCLA's international center to help students acculturate to campus life, the current study will explore international students' perceptions of campus diversity efforts.

Although some scholars have focused on discrimination and racism geared toward international students (Lee, 2007), the literature is sparse when it comes to international students' racial attitudes toward Americans. UCLA's associate vice chancellor for student affairs expressed that UCLA desires the revenue, intellectual, and cultural diversity that foreign students offer (Gordon, 2010). However, these students come to American universities harboring racial stereotypes and prejudices that will inevitably affect campus climate and individual interactions between students of different racial/ethnic backgrounds. In addition, at a time of economic crisis, there are less funds for student services that could aid international students' adjustment to and education about racial, ethnic, and cultural diversity (Lee & Rice, 2007). If professors and administrators better understand international students' racial attitudes, there may be less

balkanization and greater cross-cultural interaction, which may lead to added educational benefits for both domestic and international students.

Purpose Statement

The campus climate literature has explored racial tensions between various groups on campus (Hurtado, 1992; Locks, Hurtado, Bowman & Oseguera, 2008), but almost no research has been conducted on how international students perceive and interact with racial diversity on American campuses. Hurtado, Milem, Clayton-Pedersen, and Allen (1999) suggest that there are four dimensions that make up campus climate, including 1) an institution's historical legacy, 2) structural diversity, or the statistical representation of diverse groups on campus, 3) the psychological climate, namely perceptions and attitudes between groups, and 4) the behavioral climate, meaning the types of intergroup relations. When structural diversity is increased (as illustrated in the increasing numbers of international students), without thinking about how this will affect the other three dimensions of climate, problems are bound to arise (Milem, 2001). As international student populations grow in American universities, these students' racial attitudes will undoubtedly be effecting their interactions with others, in turn, altering campus climates.

This study looks particularly at East Asian international students because this group comprises the largest number of incoming students to American universities (Hune, 2002). The Institute of International Education (2010) indicates that there were 98,510 Chinese students studying in US colleges and universities, 75,065 Korean students, and 33,974 Japanese students. As this population grows, researchers must take a closer look at racial attitudes of these students who will be future leaders in both America

and their home countries (Altbach, 1998). If we, as an education community, hope to promote a democratic multicultural society (Gutmann, 1999) and racial tolerance (UC Diversity Mission Statement, 2011), then we must understand international students' racial stereotypes as well as where cross-cultural contact takes place. Analyzing these places and spaces of contact will aid student affairs officers in the creation and implementation of programs that help facilitate positive cross-cultural interaction. Research has illustrated the positive effects of cross-racial interaction, such as development of cognitive abilities (Astin, 1993a), leadership skills (Antonio, 2001), college satisfaction (Chang, 1999), and democratic outcomes (Gurin et al., 2002), but more research is needed to show how cross-racial interaction affects international students. This study will focus on Chinese, Japanese, and Korean international students' perceptions of race, looking specifically at

- 1) What racial, ethnic, cultural stereotypes do East Asian international students bring to UCLA?
- 2) How and to what extent are UCLA international students' racial, ethnic, and cultural stereotypes challenged, or reinforced, through college experiences?
- 3) How do international students at UCLA perceive university efforts to promote cross-racial, multi-cultural, multi-ethnic interaction?

Significance

This dissertation research seeks to make contributions to the field of higher education in several ways. First, the study strives to contribute to the growing body of literature dealing with international students. Little is known about the racial attitudes of

international students and how this group factors into the greater discussion of diversity in higher education.

Additionally a case study of a campus with a large population of Asian-American students will hopefully yield compelling results, seeming as there has been little focus on Asian-American and Asian international student interaction in prior studies of campus climate. Campus climate literature has focused on historically underrepresented, racial minority groups from an American context, (Hurtado, Dey, & Trevino, 1994). However, this study investigates how an increase in international students' enrollment numbers may be affecting campus climate. Research regarding racism, for historical reasons, has focused on power and privilege of white European Americans (Smith, 2004) and racial discrimination of African-American students on predominantly white institutions of higher education (Solorzano, Ceja, & Yosso, 2000). Portraying racism as a black-white or Latino-white dichotomy limits the scope of race studies by not exploring the role international students play in the larger landscape of campus race relations.

This dissertation also builds upon cross-racial contact literature. Allport's work on the contact hypothesis (1954), as well as Pettigrew and Tropp's (2005) intercultural friendship work, indicates that certain measures must be taken to ensure positive cross-racial interaction. While much work has been done on interracial friendship (Rude, 2009; Briggs, 2007), there is a need for more research that explores the relationships and possible tensions that arise between international students and ethnic minorities in the US (Talbot, Geelhoed, & Ninggal, 1999). This study takes a fresh look at cross-racial interaction from an international student perspective.

Lastly, this study explores the lived experiences of international students on college campuses. As the number of Asian international students increase, it is paramount for student affairs officers, professors, and staff to understand the attitudes, concerns, and needs of this student population. If Asian international students hold racial stereotypes that prevent them from interacting with racial out-groups, this could lead to a missed opportunity for community building and cultural understanding. Many of the international students studying in America will go on to become leaders and policy makers in the public and private sectors in their home countries and abroad. If stereotypical views are not challenged during college, racial prejudices will be carried over into the workplace. On the other hand, if Asian international students tend to be more comfortable interacting with a certain racial out-group or personality type, it is important to understand why this is and how these relationships form. The UC education system encourages racial tolerance and diversity education. However, with the loss of revenue and the subsequent increase in international students, how is the university making the diversity mission a reality, and what programs are in place to provide diversity education for this growing population? This study will have implications for faculty and staff as to how to aid international students, as they navigate a new environment.

Chapter 2: Literature Review

Campus Contexts

Increase in International Student Enrollment. International students are defined as individuals who temporarily reside in a different country of citizenship in order to participate in international education exchanges as students (Paige, 1990). The number of international students in American colleges and universities has nearly doubled in the last two decades from 366,354 in 1988/89 to 690,923 in 2009/10 (Institute of International Education, 2010). East Asian students have comprised the largest influx of students. The number of Chinese students increased to 157,558, Indian students increased to 103,895, South Korean students increased to 73,351, and Japanese students increased to 21,290 in 2010 (IIE, 2010). UCLA alone served 660 Chinese graduate students, 701 Chinese undergraduate students; 200 Korean graduate students, 507 Korean undergraduates; 68 Japanese graduate students, and 93 Japanese undergraduate students (Open Doors Report, UCLA, 2011).

UCLA alone served 660 Chinese graduate students, 701 Chinese undergraduate students; 200 Korean graduate students, 507 Korean undergraduates; 68 Japanese graduate students, and 93 Japanese undergraduate students (Open Doors Report, UCLA, 2011). The most popular areas of study include business and management (21% of the total international student population), engineering (18%), physical and life sciences (9%), and computer and social sciences (9%) (IIE, 2011). The University of Southern California (8,615) is number one in the nation in international student enrollment, followed by University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign (7,991), and UCLA (6,249) is ranked sixth in the nation (Open Doors Report, UCLA, 2011).

An increase in international student enrollment numbers may be explained by active recruitment efforts and growing reputation and visibility of US campuses abroad (IIE, 2011). Universities go to great lengths to recruit international students because they bring a level of prestige (Lee, 2010), contribute to campus diversity (Pandit, 2007), encourage domestic students to build cross-cultural competencies (Zhao, Kuh, & Carini, 2005), and help advance America's research competitiveness in the STEM fields (Pandit, 2007). In addition, international students brought \$18.8 billion dollars to the US economy in the 2009-10 academic year (NAFSA, 2010). While these students may be bringing prestige and diversity, they may also be bringing with them racial stereotypes and prejudice (Peng, 2010; Kobayashi, 2010). These stereotypes and prejudices may lead to racial hate crimes (Littlely, 2010; Sullivan, 1994), racial misunderstandings (Mashhood & Parkinson-Morgan, 2011), reduced levels of cultural adjustment (Kashima & Loh, 2006; Lee, Koeske, & Sales, 2004), and international student balkanization (Villalpando, 2003).

This new generation of international students has been referred to as the *students of the new global elite* (SONGEs) (Vandrick, 2011). These students often come from higher socio-economic backgrounds; therefore, they can afford the high tuition costs of American universities. These students often attended international schools as well as lived, studied, and vacationed in various places around the world. Because many of these students are well traveled, they know a great deal about American culture, and speak English with ease. This group has a plethora of global awareness and could be considered global citizens, due to the ease with which they switch from one cultural setting to another. SONGEs' backgrounds, attitudes, and beliefs affect the college classrooms,

interactions with instructors, the campus as a whole, and even the global workforce after graduation (Vanderick, 2011). Thus, it is imperative to understand the racial attitudes and stereotypes of this new elite, so that institutions, faculty, staff, and policy makers can adjust to this new population's needs, but also find avenues with which to aid in prejudice reduction and tolerance building amongst this community.

While Vanderick (2011) explained that many of these students are global citizens and racially tolerant, this proved to be inconsistent with the current dissertation study findings. Less than half of the students in the study attended international schools, and many had not traveled outside of their province or prefecture. Those that fit the profile of Vanderick's (2011) SONGEs, were indeed more well traveled, culturally aware, and were racially tolerant. But just because students' families were financially secure enough to afford college in the US, did not mean that they were aware of American culture or racially tolerant. When it comes to East Asian international students, there is a variety of attitudes toward and experiences with cultural/racial diversity. However, one thing is for certain, the rapid increase of this student group will be changing the demographics of American higher education.

Importance of Campus Diversity. The educational benefits of college campus diversity and cross-racial interaction are myriad. High levels of cross-racial interaction are linked to greater cognitive development (Astin, 1993a; Hurtado, 2001), more positive academic and social self-concept (Chang, 1999), positive intergroup attitudes (Chang, 2002), understanding cultural awareness (Antonio, 2001b), promotion of racial tolerance (Astin, 1993a), and college satisfaction (Astin 1993a). The college years are critical ones in which cognitive, social, and academic growth take place (Pacarella & Terenzini,

2005). Interactions with diverse peers can be the greatest catalysts for growth (Astin, 1993), and with an increased presence of diversity on campus, students are more likely to interact with racial out-groups (Hurtado, Dey, & Trevino, 1994). In order to reap the benefits of diversity, the institution must make a concerted effort to increase structural diversity. Hurtado, Milem, Clayton-Pedersen, and Allen (1999), indicate that there are four-dimensions that factor into the construction of campus climate: 1) institutional historical legacy of inclusion or exclusion of racial groups, 2) structural diversity, meaning the numerical representation of diverse groups on campus, 3) psychological climate, including attitudes between groups, and 4) behavioral climate, meaning the nature of intergroup relations. UCLA has made more than a concerted effort when it comes to increasing structural diversity, raising the international student population to over seven percent of the total UCLA student population (Open Doors, IIE, 2010). However, Hurtado et al. (1999) argue that a rapid increase in structural diversity, without considering the other dimensions of campus climate stated above, can result in unforeseen problems. An increase in minority group populations increases the likelihood of conflict with majority group members (Blalock, 1967).

Not only is campus climate a structural issue, it also affects the psychology and behavior patterns of those on campus. Faculty, staff, and students tend to view campus racial climate differently, based on their level of power within the organization, and their sense of belonging within specific communities (Hurtado, 1998). Studies have indicated that white students often think their universities are supportive of minority students (68 percent of whites agreed), while African-American and Latino students often do not feel the same (28 percent agreed) (Loo & Rolison, 1986; Rankin & Reason, 2005). Radloff

and Evans (2003) account for this disparity between white and minority student responses by indicating that many white students grew up in predominantly white neighborhoods and thus had limited exposure to racism prior to college. A discriminatory campus climate can have a negative affect on minority students' grades and can lead to feelings of alienation (Cabrera & Nora, 1994).

When students are confronted with racism and face harassment on campus, Asian Pacific American students often do not follow formal grievance procedures (Asian Pacific, 1994). Administrators' racial prejudices can also have a negative effect on pupils, especially African-American minority students (Gilliard, 1996). But perceptions of discrimination are not limited to students of color. White students' persistence in college was found to be directly affected by negative racial/ethnic campus climates (Nora & Cabrera, 1996). Perceptions of discrimination affect all students; therefore, institutions should do all that they can to create a campus climate that is fair, tolerant, and peaceful (Hurtado, 1998).

Furthermore, social psychology literature points out the significant role on-campus peer groups play in cross-racial interaction. But all too often, universities do not have policies and programs in place, which results in cross-racial interactions to take place by chance (Hurtado, 1998; Pascarella & Terenzini, 2005). A lack of cross-racial interaction on campus can affect educational outcomes and racial attitudes. White students who had the least social interaction with students of different backgrounds were less likely to hold positive attitudes toward multicultural efforts on campus (Globetti, Globetti, Brown & Smith, 1993). On the other hand, white students who attended diversity workshops, discussed racial/ethnic issues with other students, or simply interacted with racially

diverse students, were more likely to value racial tolerance (Milem, 1998).

Interacting with ethnic out-groups was even shown to increase student retention, satisfaction with college, and intellectual development (Chang, 1996). Hurtado (2005) asserts that if public institutions are to truly live up to their diversity mission statements, they must not leave cross-racial learning and interaction to chance. Diversity requirements, living situations, and intergroup dialogue courses should be encouraged, if not required at the college level. In the Supreme Court Case *Grutter v. Bollinger*, Justice O'Connor quoted higher education literature, stating that student body diversity promotes learning outcomes and prepares future professionals for a diverse workforce and society (Hurtado, 2005). There is no doubt that diversity on campus leads to many positive outcomes, but few research has been done on what role international students play in the larger argument for diverse campuses.

Discrimination on Campus. Several scholars have researched how an increase in international students has led to increased rates of discrimination. Hanassab (2006) found that many international students were stereotyped and mistreated as a result of their cultural background. Students reported feelings such as: "Asian women are still viewed as exotic creatures in Los Angeles" (p.167) and a Chinese student voiced: "Chinese, and in general Asians, are immediately assumed to be hard working, smart, and submissive" (p.167). Lee (2007) chronicles how these negative stereotypes are thrust upon unbeknownst international students, making them internalize and adopt American racial categorizations. Lee (2007) goes on to describe race dynamics for international students: "They want to understand their place in the context of American society and also want to understand the dynamics of race for Americans" (p.395). Asian international students

observe that European international students faced less discrimination, which can be explained by the historical dominance of whiteness in America, the legacy of colonialism discussed in chapter 1, and the privilege associated with white skin (McIntosh, 2000). Instead of focusing on biological racism, Lee (2007) utilizes a neo-racist approach, which may be more fitting for an international context. Neo-racism is defined as discrimination based on culture and national order (Barker, 1981, Hervik, 2004). Neo-racism does not replace biological racism, rather, it masks it by encouraging exclusion based on national origin of the oppressed (Lee, 2007). It is apparent that some domestic students hold prejudices about international students that often lead to verbal assaults, sexual harassment, and even physical attacks (Lee & Rice, 2007).

While the literature explores domestic students' stereotypes and prejudiced behavior toward international students, the literature is sparse when it comes to international students' racial attitudes and prejudices toward domestic American students. One study indicates that Asian international students view African-American people as "violent hoodlums" and "second-class citizens" (Talbot, Geelhoed, & Ninggal, 1999). Asian international students said they avoided interacting with African-American students because of fear, negative stereotypes, and prejudice toward African-Americans. These findings are alarming because international students are not only members of the college community, but are also future global leaders and policy makers (Locke & Velasco, 1987). While there are few higher education studies focused on international students' attitudes and beliefs about race, there is a rich history of cross-racial interaction and racial constructs in China, Japan, and Korea that will give a historical context within which to ground this study.

Historical Contexts

Japanese Historical Context. In 1986, Prime Minister Nakasone of Japan, blamed the presence of African-Americans, Puerto Ricans, and Mexicans for the decline of American intelligence levels (Russell, 1996). This statement is just one example of the complex attitudes toward race throughout Japanese history. The Japanese national myth is that Japan is a monoracial society (*tan'itsu minzoku*) and that all Japanese are descendents of the Sun Goddess, Amaterasu (Yoshino, 1992). Benedict Anderson (1983) relates this national monoracial construct to that of the imagined community, whereby race is imagined by citizens of a nation to form a collective identity, when in reality race is socially constructed (Yoshino, 1992). This notion of Japanese uniqueness has been challenged throughout its history as it has had to interact with outside nations. During nineteenth century colonialism, Japan (as well as China and Korea) looked to the West (read Europe and America) as civilizations of high culture, arts, military might, and economic success. With the popularity of Social Darwinism in the nineteenth century, Japanese scholars such as Fukuzawa Yukichi began ordering the world into different races and social statuses. The idealized West was deemed to be at the apex of civilization (*bunmai*), while Japan and its Asian neighbors were thought of as semi-civilized (*hankai*), and African culture as barbaric and backwards (Russell, 1996).

However, negative images of non-white nations began long before Social Darwinism. In Buddhist tradition, the color black has carried a negative connotation such as illness, death, evil, and impurity. The Japanese court highly valued white skin because it connoted that one was able to live inside the walls of the royal court, rather than

farming for a living in the hot sun. A Japanese proverb alludes to this notion that white is beautiful: “In rice and women, the whiter the better” (Russell, 1996, p.19). In addition, Confucian tradition (also seen in Korea and China) proscribes that every person in society has his/her proper place, and scholars have indicated that this class hierarchy that exists in many Asian countries, over time, has created a racial hierarchy.

Korean Historical Context

“I’m sorry to say this, but Korean society has a norm that African-Americans are inferior to us” (Kim, 2008, p.95). Mr. Ha, a 27 year-old seminary student who spent eight months in America, explained where these racial constructions originate: “[Koreans] learned America’s racist kind of thinking. That kind of idea just flows through their movies, their cultures” (Kim, p.96). This statement captures some of the racial stereotypes that some Korean international students harbor, but also hints at the notion that America exports its societal racial constructs through film, television, and other media.

During WWII, the presence of African-American soldiers in Japan led to blackface/”darker” products such as Aunt Jemima’s Syrup, the soda company Calpis’ *kuronbo* figure, and Hello Kitty’s pickaninny doll were sold as late as the 1990s. Koreans also saw racial segregation by the US military during the Korean War. The culminating event that led many Korean people to view African-American people as dangerous was the 1992 Los Angeles Rodney King Riots. Many media outlets portrayed the unrest as “black riots” and stereotypes of incivility and violent behavior of this monolithic group were promulgated (Kim, 2008). Prior to the 1992 Riots, the shooting of Latasha Harlins,

an African-American teenager by a Korean grocer, in a dispute over a \$1.79 bottle of orange juice sparked controversy when a Superior Court judge fined the Korean grocer \$500 and 400 hours of community service (Park, 1996). This event added to Black-Korean conflict in Los Angeles and also elicited negative perceptions of African-Americans: “ We [Koreans] are enlightened not to steal, unlike African-Americans in this neighborhood.” (Park, 1996, p.494). One of the explanations for this perceived cultural divide is that African-American “parents do not pay attention to their children’s education” (Park, p. 494).

Tenuous Black-Korean relations in LA were made even worse with the looting and burning down of many Korean businesses in the 1992 Riots. Even Korean citizens an ocean away, watched in horror as Korean businesses burnt down, but many of the Korean television news programs that broadcasted the unrest did not show images of Latino looting as well. When Korean residents, who had spent at least one year in America, were asked about their impressions of Latinos before coming to America, many did not have any exposure to this ethnic group. Based on their media viewing, many Koreans thought that America was only black and white: “[Latinos] were energetic and they danced really well. That’s all I really knew” (Kim, p.109). The history of foreign racial constructions in Korea mirrors Japan’s history in many respects. The Black other has been exoticized and feared, while the Western white-skinned images have been revered (Kim, 2008).

Chinese Historical Context

In 1988, the then-chief of the Chinese Communist Party (CCP), Zhao Ziyang, said that racial discrimination was common ‘everywhere in the world except in China’ (Dikotter, 1997). While the Communist Part has tried to characterize racism and xenophobia as a Western problem, the history of China seems to illustrate otherwise. The Chinese national myth purports that all Han Chinese are descendants of the dragon; therefore, they are supposed to have black eyes, black hair, and yellow skin. The dragon symbolism was reserved for the Emperor and common people were forbidden to associate themselves with the dragon in design and decoration (Dikotter, 1997). Ethnic minorities are not thought to have descended from the dragon, rather Mongols are thought to have descended from dogs, Tibetans from monkeys, Koreans from bears, and Taiwan’s aboriginals (Gaoshan tribe) from snakes (Dikotter, 1997).

Upon further examination, creation myths were used throughout Chinese history to both alienate and subsume differing ethnic groups, almost to the point where Hinsch (2004) views pre-modern Chinese ethnicities as fluid. The following example illustrates how ethnicity in early and medieval China was fluid, arbitrary, and constructed. The Xiongnu peoples were said to be descendants of the wolf, an animal feared ferocity and viewed by Han Chinese as violent. At certain times in history, Chinese historians declared these northern nomadic Xiongnu people as descendents of the wolf to distance themselves from these apparent barbarians. However, when the Xiongnu were subsumed by the Chinese Empire, the once barbarians needed to be Sinicized through a fictive kinship creation story to quell political tensions between Xiongnu and Chinese leaders. Han historians linked the Xiongnu people to a shared ancestry of Yu, grandson of the

Yellow Emperor, founder of the Xia Dynasty, renowned lawmaker, rainmaker, and mythical sage ruler. In order to pacify and assimilate the Xiongnu, Han Chinese created a cultural kinship between the different ethnic groups, illustrating that ethnicity and even race were fluid ideas (Hinsch, 2004).

In the case of people of African descent in China, there seems to also be a connection between geography and ethnicity, rather than color. Wyatt (2010) explains the term *kunlun*, dating back to the tenth century, was used to describe people from far off lands to the west. The Kunlun Mountains are located in the northwest quadrant of China and extend into Tibet. It was not until the fourth century CE that Chinese historians began chronicling so-called 'dark-skinned people'. The term *kunlun* was a neutral, and at times exotic label, until the tenth century CE, when Arab traders brought African slaves which were termed *kunlun* slaves by the Song Dynasty historians. This label of slave, in addition to the dark-skin foreignness of these people, by the beginning of the seventeenth century, blackness and savagery were synonymous (Wyatt, 2010). Chinese of the late Ming period began to refer to black skinned *kunlun* people as *heiren* (translated as black people). The Classic of Mountains and Seas (*Shanhaijing*), written in the first century BCE, describes *heiren* as having the heads of tigers, the feet of birds, and eating a snake (Wyatt, 2010).

The snakehead can be interpreted as a sign of ferocity and bellicosity of this group that was foreign as well as viewed on the lower rungs of society due to slavery.

Nonetheless, there seems to be a continual notion in Chinese racial conceptualization that different cultural groups could be assimilated into Chinese society. Zhu Yu, a Song Dynasty (960-1279 AD) author and maritime writer, discusses his observations of black

slaves in his Pingzhou Chats on Things Worthwhile. He explains how *kunlun* were used to eating raw meats due to their geographical location, but they were able to ‘convert their bowels’ by eating cooked meat (a sign of civilized people) (Wyatt, 2010). This is significant because it embodies the Sino-Confucian notion of universalism, that all peoples can be Sinicized, even if their skin color or culture is considered barbarian (Wyatt, 2010).

A famous passage in the *Analects* of Master Kong (Confucius, 551-479 BCE), illustrates this point of assimilation of barbarians, but also cultural superiority of Han Chinese. When Confucius chose to reside with the nine tribes of the east, one of his students asked why he would socialize with the uncivilized people. Master Kong replied that a morally perfected gentleman (*junzi*) would sit among the uncivilized because of the possibility of changing and enlightening those less refined (Wyatt, 2010). This passage exhibits Confucius’ notion of hierarchy in terms of civilized and uncivilized, but Master Kong focused little on race or ethnicity. Confucian hierarchical framework was based on individual roles in society. A son needed to show filial piety to his parents, just as a father needed to show benevolence to his children, a government official, as well as the Emperor (Puk, 2009). Benevolence was a quality believed to be biologically inherent in every human, which challenges Dikotter’s (1992) notion that Yin and Yang Confucianism created a duality that resulted in a natural ordering of society, which was easily translated into an ordering of the world based on race and ethnicity. Throughout China’s history, race was conceptualized differently than the West; however, after contact through colonization by European powers, Chinese scholars altered their conceptualization of race.

The quest for China's national origin is an exceptional example of how contact with European and American powers influenced China's conception of race and its national origins. Debates of national origins were reignited during the nationalistic fervor of the May Fourth Movement, an anti-imperialist and cultural movement that stemmed from the Chinese outcry of the seceding of Shandong (birthplace of Confucius) to Japan, in the 1919 Treaty of Versailles. This period of political tumult and nationalism brought about a debate as to the national origins of Chineseness (Fan, 2008). The nativist theory, believed by many Chinese today, posits that Chinese civilization originated along the Yellow River. However, prior to the May Fourth Movement's nationalism, many Chinese intellectuals sought to tie their national history with those of European colonial powers. The Western origins theory came about from the Japanese rendition of the Orientalist Terrien de Lacouperie's argument that the Chinese had originated from ancient Babylonia (Fan, 2008).

Liu Shipei, an eminent scholar and anti-Manchu propagandist, promulgated this western origins theory from 1903-1907, including the notion that the Yellow Emperor led the Han people into a racial war (*zhong zhan*) with the Miao race, who were indigenous to the Yellow River area. This theory mirrored the Aryan invasion and destruction of the Dravidians, a theory popularized in nineteenth century Europe. Influenced by Social Darwinism, Liu Shipei explained that the stronger race, the Han, eventually defeated the Miao, which was symbolic of the then modern conflict of Han Chinese versus their Manchu Qing Dynasty rulers. Other scholars, such as Liang Qichao, cautioned the conflation of race with nation, and called for distinguishing people (*renzhong*, 人种) by language, rather than by physical attributes (Fan, 2008). When Sun Yat-sen successfully

toppled the Qing Dynasty in 1911, a new national narrative of a unified Han Chinese people (*zhonghua minzu*) emerged, but this papered over historical facts that there were racial tensions between Han Chinese and ethnic minorities. The national narrative became one such that China was an amalgam of different ethnic groups, when in fact it was the Han majority that strove to assimilate minority groups (Fan, 2008). With the 1911 Revolution as well as the May Fourth Movement of 1919, the popularity of the Western origins theory subsided. Throughout China's history, language and geographic location have been used to classify different types of people, but the Western notion of racial superiority based on phenotype and culture truly immersed in China through contact with the West, which eventually led to a globalization of racism and racial hierarchical constructions (Talbot, Geelhoed, and Ninggal, 1999).

More recently, there have been a strain of brawls and riots against African students studying in Chinese universities. In 1988, African students at Hehai University in Nanjing attempted to bring two Chinese females to their dorm rooms. University guards asked the African students to register the female students, but when the African students refused, a fight broke out, leaving thirteen people injured, one seriously (Johnson, 2007). This fight at Hehai University, touched off racial protests and riots against Africans across China. Some students called for the removal of all blacks from China, and others had more harsh words: "blacks are just apes from trees and that they should go back to their own country and keep their diseases and lazy selves at home" (Johnson, p.49). In line with the racial purity messages from the Chinese government in the 1980s, the myth of international syphilis and AIDS was thought to be spread by polluted blood of outsiders (Johnson, 2007). Overarching themes in these historical

sketches include white skin connoting beauty and wealth, dark skin connoting the opposite, and hierarchical structures dominating society.

Stereotypes

Stereotype Formation. American journalist and intellectual, Walter Lippmann, considered stereotypes as a simplification to handle the “real environment which is altogether too big, too complex, and too fleeting for direct acquaintance” (Lipmann, 1922). Humans have a limited capacity to deal with the everyday bombardment of information; therefore, stereotypes reduce the cognitive burden of dealing with a complex social world (Hamilton, 1981; Tan et al., 2009). They can be thought of as social products that are shaped by friends, family, and mass media (Tan et al., 2009; Tajfel, 1981). Oftentimes stereotypical thinkers differentiate the world between in- and out-group members. According to the differentiation hypothesis (Hughes & Baldwin, 2002), stereotypical people are able to identify individual differences within the in-group, but categorize out-group members as all the same. While stereotypes may help individuals understand and categorize their social world, they can often affect cross-racial interactions.

Stereotype Change. Stereotypes are often difficult to change because they are accumulated over time (Levy, 2003). Moreover, the human brain has a better memory for stereotype-confirming information than for stereotype-disconfirming information (Hamilton & Rose, 1980). In order for stereotypes to change, disconfirming information must be present. However, it takes more cognitive energies to assimilate disconfirming stereotypical evidence; therefore, individuals often hold steadfast to their stereotypes

(Lang, 2000). Individual personality also plays into the equation of breaking stereotypes. Monteith (1993) found that people with more liberal worldviews were more likely to change their pre-existing stereotypes. On the other hand, Fyock and Stangor (1994) found that for individuals who expected out-groups to live up to assigned stereotypes, it was difficult for them to process stereotype-disconfirming information. International students' personalities and outlooks on society may play into how they view different racial groups in America. It may be easier for open-minded students to change their stereotypes, whereas the opposite would be true for more socially conservative international students.

Negative stereotypes can be broken in a number of ways, including discussions that are critical of negative stereotypes (Haslam, 1997), and positive contact between in-group and out-group members (Allport, 1954). Jackman and Crane (1986) showed that white people who reported having African-American friends and acquaintances were less likely to stereotype African-American people and had fewer prejudices against this group. Levin, van Laar, and Sidanius (2003) provided longitudinal evidence that college students who had more out-group friends in their second and third years, were less biased toward their own ethnic group by the time they were finishing their last year. However, the longer one stays in a country or university does not necessarily result in a reduction of negative stereotypes. In a study of Latino immigrants in a Southern city (McClain, Carter, & Soto, 2006), researchers found that Latino immigrants held negative views of African-Americans. The length of stay in the US appeared to be unrelated to the strength of negative stereotypes towards African-Americans. The researchers concluded that Latino immigrants brought views of racial hierarchies from their home countries with them to America. Researchers found that Latino immigrants' negative stereotypes could be

mitigated through education, a feeling of linked fate with the racial out-group, and greater social interaction with African-Americans (McClain, Carter, & DeFrancesco Soto, 2006). Other studies indicate that stereotypes can be altered without ever even having contact with the racial out-group. Turner, Crisp, and Lambert (2007) found that individuals who imagined talking to an out-group member significantly lowered their levels of prejudice toward a given group. Even the mere knowledge that an in-group member or friend has a close relationship with an out-group member can improve attitudes toward the out-group (Wright, Aron, McLaughlin-Volpe, & Ropp, 1997). Positive physical and hypothetical contact increased knowledge about out-group members, and can reveal similarities that lead to a liking of the out-group (Pettigrew, 1998). Learning about the history and culture of a racial out-group can also improve attitudes (Eller & Abrams, 2004). There are several categories in which stereotype change occurs.

Models of Stereotype Change. The conversion model (Rothbart, 1981) suggests that change in stereotypes takes place suddenly, when an individual is significantly affected by a single event or interaction. While this may be a rare case for stereotype change, an example of a Ku Klux Klan member who befriended an African-American leader in North Carolina (Terkel, 1992) stands out as a unique case. Rothbart (1981) also proposes the bookkeeping model, in which individuals keep a metaphorical scorecard in their minds in terms of positive and negative stereotypes. When enough disconfirming evidence overpowers the stereotype-confirming evidence, the stereotype is effectively altered. Lastly, the subtyping model (Weber & Crocker, 1983) applies to instances where out-group members do not fit traditional stereotype traits. Thus, a subtype is created in the in-group individual's mind, indicating that this out-group member is an exception to

the stereotype. Subtyping can work to break stereotypes by promoting a perception of diversity within the out-group, but it can also help perpetuate stereotypes because the disconfirming evidence is rejected by the observer, as an exception to the stereotype (Schneider, 2004).

Relationship Between Attitude and Behavior

Stereotypes help international students navigate new college environments because they aid international students in predicting behavior of out-group members. However, negative stereotypes often lead to biased attitudes toward an out-group member and may even result in prejudiced behavior by the international student. A classic study illustrates the tenuous link between attitudes and behavior. La Piere (1934), a Caucasian male, spent a period of two years traveling across America with a young Chinese couple. Out of all the hotels and eateries they frequented, only one auto-camp denied the couple service. La Piere subsequently sent a questionnaire to the hotels and eateries asking: 'Will you accept a member of the Chinese race?' Over 90 percent said they would not. This study has been cited as evidence of the weak link between expressed attitudes and behavior (Erwin, 2001). Subsequent social psychologists critiqued La Piere's study, stating that the Chinese couple were served in most hotels and restaurants because they were attractive, spoke perfect English, and were accompanied by a Stanford professor (Ajzen & Fishbein, in Albarracin et al., 2005). While this study illustrates a possibly tenuous relationship between attitude and behavior, other studies have illustrated that there is a strong correlation between the two, when attitudes are acquired through direct experience (Fazio & Zanna, 1981). Studies regarding contraception attitudes and use

(Kothandapani, 1971), as well as exercising attitudes and habits (Terry & O'Leary, 1995), indicate a high correlation between attitudes and behavior. Overall, studies that have yielded the highest correlation are those that directly compared a specific attitude with a single-act criterion, rather than comparing general attitudes with a single behavior (Ajzen & Fishbein, in Albarracin et al., 2005). Stereotypes are not merely value judgments we hold in our minds, they are related to actions we take, prejudice, and discrimination (Oskamp, 2000). If stereotypes are unchecked there can be unwanted consequences for a college campus as well as society, such as balkanization, racial discrimination, hate crimes, and a perpetuation of out-group ignorance.

Few studies have looked at international students' racial stereotypes in America, but one study analyzed Chinese students' stereotypes of Chinese, Japanese, and American people. Due to a long and often violent history between China and Japan (i.e. Sino-Japanese Wars and the Nanjing Massacre), Chinese students characterized Japanese people as cunning, cruel, and mean (Peng, 2010). Americans were characterized as open-minded, liberal, and wealthy. Chinese were characterized as hard-workings, conservative, and clever. These stereotypes were informed by books, internet, and beliefs perpetuated from friends and family. A lack of physical contact led to misunderstandings of cultures. Peng's (2010) study illustrates that in-group stereotypes are often more positive than out-group ones and that negative stereotypes are compounded by a lack of interaction. While cultural background, prior experiences, and environmental factors play into stereotype formation, another major component is the impact of media.

Media's Impact on Stereotype Formation

Exposure to media plays a significant role in shaping individual's racial attitudes (Gilliam, Valentino, & Beckmann, 2002). Portrayals of African-Americans as criminals on news broadcasts have been shown to promulgate negative stereotypes among White Americans (Entman, 1998). International students receive many of their stereotypes about American racial groups through media (Fujioka, 2000). Cultivation theory posits that messages from TV are cumulatively internalized and if consumed over a substantial period of time, are believed to be true (Fujioka, 2000). Fujioka's (2000) study analyzed the effects television had on Japanese international students' perceptions of African-Americans. She found that positive television portrayals of African-Americans had a larger impact on Japanese students than on white domestic students. However, not all media portrayals of African-Americans are negative (Tan et al., 2009). Chinese high schoolers who watched basketball star Yao Ming working constructively with African-American teammates, reported positive attitudes toward African-Americans (Tan et al., 2009). These findings indicate that vicarious contact through media, combined with lack of physical contact, can result in stereotype formation (Fujioka, 2000).

Another study looked at the effects daytime TV talk shows have on international students' perceptions of American culture. Daytime talk shows portray bizarre behavior and dysfunctional relationships, thus giving the international viewer a negative and skewed view of human relationships in the US. When international students move into a new society, they may suffer from culture shock. Part of the graduate acculturation process, international students come to understand the new country's culture through observed and participatory human interactions (Woo & Dominic, 2003). Both language

proficiency and level of contact with host society are two factors that have been shown to greatly increase acculturation (Kim, 1981). However, lack of interaction with domestic students may lead to stereotype development via vicarious contact. Woo and Dominic's (2003) study found that a majority of Asian international students who scored low in acculturation and high in TV viewing developed negative attitudes and perceptions of American relationships.

International students may be coming to American universities with a racial hierarchy that was learned through American media. Throughout American film and television history, African-Americans have been depicted as villainous, dim, and indigent, while European-Americans have been portrayed as heroic, intelligent, and powerful (Larson, 2002). Furthermore, images of Latinos in mainstream media have been sparse at best, but when they are included, they are either illegal immigrants or menial workers (Rivadeneira, 2006). Asian-American women are depicted as hypersexualized, humble, and studious, while Asian-American men are effeminate, hardworking, and foreign (K.-Y. Lee & Joo, 2005; Zhang, 2010). These racialized images may be creating a racial hierarchy in international students' minds that affects how and with whom they interact (Perse, 2001). Unless positive, cross-racial, person-to-person contact is realized, racial prejudice will remain (Allport, 1954).

Cross-Cultural/Racial Interaction

Significance of Cross-Cultural/Racial Interaction. Allport's (1954) contact hypothesis indicates that frequent contact with out-group members can foster positive inter-group attitudes. Allport specifies several different features that contact experiences

must have in order to lessen prejudice: equal status between groups, common goals, inter-group cooperation, and the support of authorities, laws or customs. Since 1954, Allport's contact hypothesis has been critiqued and built upon. More recent work has added additional parameters that aid in promoting tolerance between two groups. Prior contact and understanding of an out-group is an important step, as illustrated in Jeffries and Ransford's (1969) study which found that, in the aftermath of the 1965 Watts Riots, middle-class white people who had prior cross-racial contact were less fearful of blacks. Rothbart and John (1985) point out that simple cross-racial contact is enough to change attitudes and prejudices. Stereotype disconfirming evidence alters stereotypes only if the out-group's behavior is markedly different than the commonly held stereotypes.

Stereotype change is more likely to occur if disconfirming evidence is exhibited among many different out-group members, and the out-group members are not seen as typical members of the given racial, ethnic, or cultural group. Changing one's behavior is also dependent on changing one's attitudes. This can be done by repeated acts of cross-racial/cross-cultural interaction. With repeated contact comes a level of comfort, which can lead to bonds of friendship between individuals/groups (Zajonc, 1968). Friendship development between different races, ethnicities, and cultures plays a positive role in building tolerance (Pettigrew & Meertens, 1995). In Pettigrew's and Meertens' study, Western European young people were asked about their attitudes toward minority groups in their countries. Those who had friends of different races, ethnicities, and religions scored significantly lower in prejudice measures (Pettigrew & Meertens, 1995).

While the contact hypothesis has been the foundational theory for cross-racial tolerance building, Pettigrew and Tropp (2000) have found that it is not necessary for all

four of Allport's conditions to exist for bias reduction to occur. In fact, there are additional barriers to positive cross-racial interaction that Allport overlooked. These include the practical issue of even coming into contact with a member of an out-group member, anxiety caused by interacting with someone different, and the lack of ability to view a single encounter as a generalizable phenomenon for an entire cultural group (Amichai-Hamburger & McKenna, 2006). Practicality of contact is difficult because different groups may be separated by geographical location, may have language barriers, and may also have different levels of status within the community, placing an even heavier burden on fostering positive contact (Pettigrew, 1971).

Interaction with a new and different culture can often cause anxiety. These feelings of anxiety are more likely to lead to the application of negative stereotypes as well as the denial of disconfirming evidence (Wilder, 1993; Wilder & Shapiro, 1989).

Bodenhausen's (1990) study goes as far as to indicate that circadian rhythms play a role in individual's likelihood to stereotype. Meaning, if a 'night person' met an out-group member during the day, they may be more prone to stereotyping them at that moment. Lastly, the notion of generalizability of a single encounter also makes bias reduction difficult. Out-group members need to be seen as representatives of their group, otherwise they will be viewed as an exception to the out-group stereotype. Scholars have argued as to how generalizability is to be sought. Hewstone and Brown (1986) and Hewstone, Cairns, Judd, Voci, and McLernon (2000) asserted that out-group member's identity should be highly salient when these contacts take place, while Brewer and Miller (1984) indicated that the saliency of the out-group identity should be low. If group identities are very salient during contact, there is a risk of reinforcing perceptions of group differences

and of increasing anxiety, especially between groups of different status (Ramirez & Soriano, 1993).

Allport's (1954) Contact Theory has been held up as the essential inter-group prejudice reducing theory for sometime; however, it does have its critics as well as internal flaws. It presupposes that groups' members want to engage an out-group member in some form of dialogue. Also, the lack of an extensive list of criteria that would help facilitate intergroup contact, leaves the theory open for others to challenge and build upon it (Pettigrew, 1998). Wagner and Machleit (1986) asserted that in order for positive effects from contact to occur, a common language, voluntary contact, and a stable economic climate must be in place. Furthermore, Ben-Ari and Amir (1986) explained that both groups' initial views toward each other must not be too negative, or else the intervention and/or contact will be that much more difficult to facilitate. The theory also does not explain how any stereotype change process is generalized beyond the immediate exchange between two groups. Pettigrew (1998) points out other flaws of the Contact Theory, such as the fact that it does not explain how and why change occurs when contact is made, rather, it only offers four criteria optimal group interaction. Pettigrew (1998) challenged Allport's theory, stating that instead of having four conditions under which optimal contact should be made, there should be a longitudinal model that takes into account the individuals' life experiences that shaped their stereotypes and attitudes. The environment of the immediate contact should also be considered.

Pettigrew's main contributions to Allport's theory, are the notion that both parties should be able to create lasting friendships beyond initial interaction, an extended period of time is needed to reduce prejudice, and multiple positive experiences are necessary to

reduce prejudice. Furthermore, the idea of deprovincialization is key to stereotype change, in which an individual spends more time with an out-group, than with their in-group members, which subsequently alters their social identity and self-concept (Pettigrew, 1998). Allport's initial model was pivotal in the development of intergroup contact theory, but Pettigrew's work helped move forward this line of research. Pettigrew's linear contact model will be discussed below, while touching upon different scholars' work that helped develop each component of Pettigrew's model.

Contact theory has been challenged and built upon further by three main concepts: The mutual differentiation model, the decategorization model, and the recategorization model. Hewstone and Brown (1986) claim that contact that is successful at combating prejudice must occur at an intergroup level. This means that individuals must be encouraged to view each other not as individual personalities but as representatives of their social categories. Under these conditions, attitudes are more likely to be generalized over an entire group, rather than being attributed to the character of a single social actor (Durrheim & Dixon, 2005). Miller and Brewer (1984) introduce another way of viewing contact, called the decategorization model. This model stresses that members of a group should be looked at as individuals, rather than belonging to a specific racial, ethnic, or cultural group. Group differences are to be de-emphasized and individual personalities are to be highlighted. This model suffers from a lack of generalizability of a group due to the fact that each person is looked at as separate from their social identity (Durrheim & Dixon, 2005).

Additionally, it is difficult for individuals to completely slough off their social identity; therefore, viewing an out-group member based solely on character is easier said

than done. Lastly, the recategorization model calls for out-group and in-group members to re-imagine their social groupings and to form new ones based on common in-group identities. Gaertner and Dovidio (2000) assert that building communities of 'we' (rather than 'us' and 'them') can decrease prejudice. Forming new identities that go beyond race and ethnicity, such as superordinate groupings (international students, basketball enthusiasts, history majors), have been proven to aid in stereotype and prejudice reduction (Gaertner, Mann, Murrell, & Dovidio, 1989). All three models seem to differ greatly; however, Pettigrew (1998) synthesized all three. He viewed the intergroup contact process as an evolving one. In the early stages of contact, decategorization is necessary for friendships to form and to break stereotypes of out-group members (Durrheim & Dixon, 2005). In the intermediate stage, participants may be able to embrace group differences (mutual differentiation). As time goes on, participants may no longer see themselves as distinctive groups and may assume a common identity (recategorization). These models help us build upon Allport's contact hypothesis, illustrating that prejudice reduction is far more complex than having four criteria in place when contact occurs.

Pettigrew (1998) proposed another condition: time and quality for across-group friendships to develop. Dinh, Weinstein, Nemon, and Rondeau (2008) surveyed white undergraduates at a large public university, asking about their cross-racial interaction with people of Asian descent. Findings revealed that white students, who reported more intercultural contact with Asian and Asian-American students, also reported more positive attitudes toward these groups. Cross-racial interaction in the residential hall setting has also proven to be effective in changing racial attitudes when white students

roomed with African-American students and other minority students (Shook & Fazio, 2008; Van Laar, Levin, & Sidanius, 2005). Shook and Fazio (2008) found that participants in inter-racial rooms had less satisfaction and less involvement with their roommates than did participants in same-race rooms. However, inter-group anxiety lessened with time, in interracial rooms, thus illustrating that living with racial out-groups lowers one's prejudices toward that group.

There is also evidence one who lives with a racial out-group member tends to see this person as an exception, rather than representative of the whole out-group, which may inhibit out-group stereotype change (Hewstone & Brown, 1986). However, several studies found that African-American or Latino students who roomed with Asian-Americans, actually increased their prejudices toward Asian-Americans because of racial stereotypes of Asian-Americans toward racial out-groups, and African-American and Latino students' negative social comparisons of Asian-Americans being model minorities or a perceived higher status (Sidanius & Pratto, 1999; Smith, 1991; Van Laar, Levin, & Sidanius, 2005). Nonetheless, overall, on-campus cross-racial roommate literature supported Pettigrew's (1998) assertion that time and quality of cross-cultural interaction helped ameliorate prejudice.

Romantic Relationships' Effects on Stereotype Change. Besides roommate contact and friendships, romantic relationships are also important in the dispelling stereotype process. Fujino (1997) and Yancey (2002) found that interracial dating among Americans was more common when both identity group members had been exposed to each other's out-group at a young age, either through schooling or common neighborhoods. East Asian international students who did not grow up with Latino,

Asian-American, African-American, and European-American children, may be less inclined to date these racial/ethnic out-groups. Research of American youth, indicate that interracial and interethnic daters were more likely to have lower levels of prejudice toward racial out-groups and were more willing to befriend and live with racial out-groups (Shibazaki & Brennan, 1998; Mok, 1999). College students who exhibited lower levels of in-group favoritism, intergroup anxiety, and in-group identification before coming to college, were more likely to date racial out-groups during college (Levin, Taylor, & Claude, 2007). Levin, Taylor, and Claude's (2007) also indicated that students who dated outside their race/ethnicity group during college, received messages of social pressure from in-group members not to date or socialize with out-group members at the end of college. However, in accordance with Social Identity Theory (Tajfel & Turner, 1986), interethnic daters who did not strongly identify with their racial/ethnic group, were more likely to date outside their racial/ethnic group and not be as greatly influenced by intergroup social pressures (Gurung & Duong, 1999). Parental approval also played a role in inter-racial dating, in so far as Asian-Americans, Latinos, and white American college students were more likely to date within their own ethnic group when they perceived that their parents, as well as the parents of their romantic partner, would approve of inter-group dating (Liu, 1995).

In Liu's study (1995), Asian-American, Latino, African-American, and white-American students at UCLA were surveyed regarding their dating preferences. Members of all four groups demonstrated some degree of ethnocentrism, but Asian-American and Latino students rated opposite-sex whites as more attractive than members of their own in-group. Furthermore, Latinos and African-Americans rated whites and Asian-

Americans as having a higher status, which was mostly defined as education and income (Liu, 1995). Overall, white students were ranked the highest in dating desirability, which Liu (1995) attributed to a status and racial hierarchy. White students were ranked the most physically attractive by Latinos and Asian-Americans, while African-Americans and Latinos ranked Asian-Americans and whites as having the highest status. The perceived attractiveness and high status of Asian-American and white students illustrated that these two groups were perceived to be highest on a social and racial hierarchy (Liu, 1995).

Racial/Status Hierarchies' Effects on Interaction. Some scholars have attributed this societal differentiation to a human proclivity to form group-based social hierarchies that are maintained by social interactions and even governmental policies (Sidanius & Pratto, 1999). This balance of power between groups was dubbed the Social Dominance Theory, in which society is comprised of three qualitatively distinct systems of group-based hierarchies. One is an age system, in which adults have a disproportionate amount of social, political, economic, and cultural capital over children. The second is a gender system, in which men have a greater amount of societal capital over women. And third, there is an arbitrary-set system, in which nationality, race, ethnicity, class, and financial wealth result in social distinctions and hierarchies. Similar structures are found in chimpanzee and gorilla societies (Kawanaka 1989; Strier, 1994), but in human societies, these hierarchies remain in tact and are perpetuated by legitimizing myths, or popular held beliefs, attitudes, stereotypes, and cultural ideologies (Pratto, Sidanius, & Levin, 2006; Sidanius & Pratto, 1999).

Legitimizing myths are divided into hierarchy-enhancing legitimizing myths and hierarchy-attenuating ones. Hierarchy-enhancing myths provide a moral and intellectual justification for the oppression of certain groups and the privilege of other groups in society. Examples include racism, internal attributes of being poor, nationalism, fate, and Confucianism. On the other hand, hierarchy-attenuating myths challenge the social dominance of certain groups. Examples include socialism, humanist doctrines, feminism, racial equality, and social justice. This theory is useful in the current study because not only does it show how cultural values and stereotypes help feed into a societal hierarchy, but it also indicates which groups are more likely to subscribe to hierarchy-enhancing or hierarchy-attenuating myths.

Dominant social groups are more likely to support hierarchy-enhancing myths while subordinate groups often support hierarchy-attenuating myths (Sidanius & Pratto, 1999). Those in the dominant groups (some men, European-Americans, wealthy individuals) tend to subscribe to a psychological outlook on hierarchy replication called social dominance orientation (SDO), while those in subordinate groups (African-Americans, Latinos, low-income individuals, some women) have a lower SDO (Sidanius, Levin, Liu, & Pratto, 2000). One might think that international students would adopt a low SDO because they are a subordinate group in America; however, Bonilla-Silva's Tri-Racial System (2004) illustrates that some groups that have less status in society, seek to improve their societal standing by adopting a hierarchical-affirming stance.

Grant and Lee (2009) explain that many Korean immigrants view the American racial landscape in the frame of Bonilla-Silva's (2004) Tri-Racial System. There are whites, honorary whites, and collective blacks in this schema, which resembles Latin or

Caribbean-like racial orders. Whites occupy the highest standing and possess the largest cultural capital (Bourdieu, 1994). Honorary whites are somewhat accepted by the white community and have gained this prestigious spot in society through educational attainment, income, occupational level, and skin color. Honorary whites and collective blacks feud to gain access to the honorary white class. International students may gain access to the societal prestige, by learning English well, earning a degree from an American college, and befriending socially desirous out-group members (Grant & Lee, 2009). East Asian international students who study in the West, oftentimes, gain cultural, economic, and social capital by doing so; thus, improving their social standing in the US and abroad.

An unfortunate by-product of East Asian international students' desire to improve their social status in the US and their home country, is the adoption of negative stereotypes that the American dominant social groups tend to perpetuate through media and other outlets. The collective black group (which includes some Latinos, Southeast Asians, and other marginalized groups) is relegated to the bottom totem of the racial hierarchy, which is observed and internalized by international students. To compound this problem, Korean and other East Asian students, often lack a deep understanding of racial apartheid, slavery, historical and modern institutional racism, which has led to the economic disenfranchisement of many African-Americans. Instead, some international students think that personal incompetence and misfortune have led to black incarceration and poverty (Grant & Lee, 2009). International students, when studying in the US, tend to distance themselves from collective blacks, in order to gain acceptance into the honorary

white category (Bonilla-Silva, 2004), which can have deleterious affects for campus climate and cross-cultural/racial understanding.

Limits to Cross-Racial Interaction. Allport's (1954) and Pettigrew's (1998) works illustrates that contact can break stereotypes; however, contact between international students and domestic students is often limited for a variety of reasons (Brown & Peacock, 2007). Church (1982) suggests that language barriers and the fear of being misunderstood may contribute to international students' preference for making friends with fellow international students. This ethnic exclusiveness (read international student balkanization) provides international students with an emotional and social support network in a new country (Heggens & Jackson, 2003). Domestic students often view international students as distant or clannish (Spencer-Rodgers, 2001), but in reality, they are trying to find semblances of the familiar in a landscape that is highly foreign. Other studies have shown that gender plays a role in international student interaction. Yang, Teraoka, Eichenfield, and Audas (1994) found that female international students were more likely than male international students to interact with domestic students. In addition, country of origin of the students affects their levels of interaction. Students from collectivist cultures (communal, interest sharing, family oriented) may find it difficult to adjust to American universities, which are often viewed as having an individualistic culture (Henderson & Millhouse, 1988).

Many foreign students view American students as extroverted and friendly, but they often perceive American friendliness as superficial (Yang et al., 1994; Pavel, 2006). This cultural misunderstanding may lead to mingling only with co-nationals. A ghetto effect can develop, whereby international students have difficulties developing

relationships outside their international friend groups (Elliot & Trice, 1993). When racial in-groups live in racially homogenous groups or socialize mainly with racial in-groups, individuals tend to harbor negative stereotypes about racial out-groups (Oliver & Wong, 2003). This data may hold true for international students, in the sense that those who live in homogenous settings in the US, may harbor more negative stereotypes towards racial out-groups. Not only does ghettoization result in negative stereotypes of out-group members, international students who do not have close ties with domestic students often experience more cultural dissonance (Olaniran, 1993) and were even shown to be less satisfied with their time abroad (Yeh & Inose, 2003).

It is evident that co-nationals provide a social network that allows international students to adjust to a new environment (Martin, 1994); however, international students who socialize only with co-ethnic groups have less understanding of host country cultures (Ying & Liese, 1990), have feelings of social isolation, depression, acculturation stress, and sometimes develop negative attitudes toward American host nationals (Klein, 1977; Lee, Koeske, & Sales, 2004). Some studies have even shown that students from Asian countries face more acculturation stress than students from European countries (Guclu, 1993; Yang & Clum, 1994). A majority of students, whether European or Asian internationals, had added stress from high tuition prices, thus they lowered their college costs by graduating early (Cadieux & Wehrly, 1986). The student who spends most of his/her time with domestic students may experience more feelings of homesickness; however, in the long run, they will gain more knowledge about the host country (Ying & Liese, 1990), accumulate cultural capital through social network building (Trice, 2003),

feel more at home (Furnham & Alibhai, 1985), and possibly challenge some of their previously held stereotypes.

Diversity Program and Policy Efforts

Studies suggest that the development of significant relationships between host and international students aid in the adjustment to American life (Zimmerman 1995; Abe, Talbot, & Geelhoed, 1998). Yet, international students felt the most significant barrier to interaction with host country students was a lack of opportunity (Talbot, Geelhoed, & Ninggal, 1999). Mohr and Sedlacek (2000) call for various types of intervention by faculty and staff to address barriers to intergroup relations. It is not enough to have international student orientation activities that explore racial diversity, there must be prolonged engagement in order to reduce prejudice (Berryman-Fink, 2006). One way universities can promote cross-racial interaction includes international student centers, which provide incentives for cultural clubs to collaborate with other cultural clubs. Also, universities can pair students from different racial backgrounds together in residential living spaces. Mentoring programs can be created based on racial and cultural diversity. And family home-stay programs can be developed to aid with acculturation issues (Berryman-Fink, 2006).

When university student services do implement programs, they may be disorganized, have a limited number of American students in attendance, and may be sporadically scheduled throughout the school year, thus reducing the number of international and domestic students who attend these diversity events (Rose-Redwood, 2010). One study looked at international students' willingness to use student services. Akinniyi (1992) found that international students, at a Midwestern university, used the

international center services less, because they perceived a cultural difference between themselves and student affairs officers. Of the twelve students interviewed, only half attended the orientation program, but of those that did, there was a consensus that attending orientation reduced their anxiety of visiting the international center. This study revealed that international students attended few international center workshops because of poor advertising, but of those that did, they indicated that the workshop was worthwhile (Akinniyi, 1992).

If planned properly, international-domestic peer programs can promote cultural understanding, aid with adjustment, and improve international students' academic skills (Abe, Talbot, & Geelhoed, 1998). UCLA offers international student services such as international coffee breaks, movie nights, language circles, and field trips (UCLA Dashew Center Website). These efforts may be helping international students adjust and learn about different cultures, but little research has explored international students' satisfaction with diversity programming. One study indicated that university sponsored cultural events, at an East Coast university, were viewed as superficial and mechanical by some students (Rose-Redwood, 2010). The same study also found that at the international student services office coffee hour events, international students would socialize with other co-nationals, which resulted in little cross-cultural interaction. When it came to culture-based clubs, international students lauded the fact that they gained a true social support network, but lamented the fact that they also encouraged social segregation (Rose-Redwood, 2010). Recommendations for improving cross-racial interaction in student services included the university creating incentives for American students to participate in international events, encouraging departments to generate domestic-

international student events, and having professors pair international and domestic students together for class projects (Rose-Redwood, 2010).

Lin and Yi (1997) indicate that international students have many stressors on them when they come to their host country. These include high tuition prices, culture shock, language barriers, lack of support networks, and homesickness. Academic difficulties international students experience include reading and writing English on a college level, making presentations, understanding accents of instructors, teaching and grading undergraduates, and taking exams in English. Lin and Yi (1997) specify three stages of the international student experience: The Pre-arrival Adjustment Stage, The On-going Adjustment Stage, and the Return-home Adjustment Stage. The authors indicate that during the pre-arrival adjustment stage, which lasts for the first six months, college campuses can aid international students by picking up students from the airport, assisting in the housing selection process, create a safe-space on campus for international students to socialize, and create programs that promote cross-cultural interaction. Orientation programs should educate students about US culture, its education system, and financial resources. During the On-going Adjustment Stage, which starts after the sixth month and lasts until graduation, colleges should help international students strike the balance between maintaining their own identity and interacting with the domestic environment as well. Networking with students from home countries is important for a sense of community, but student services should encourage internationals to build bonds with domestic students, staff, and faculty in order to promote psychology wellbeing and develop a greater understanding of American culture.

Finally, the Return-home Adjustment Stage starts upon graduation, and lasts six months after the international student has returned home. College student services can help internationals anticipate the return home adjustment process and prepare for employment opportunities at home or abroad. Learning to interact with racial and cultural diversity is key to all of these stages, including the On-going Adjustment Stage during college, but even in the workplace beyond college. Student affairs programming can play a large role in helping international students adjust to life in America, but also equip them with communication and interpersonal skills relating to diversity beyond the college years (Lin & Yi, 1997).

The current dissertation study does not seek to assess the UCLA campus student services in a quantitative manner. The study does ask international students' their perspective and experiences with diversity programming on campus, to gauge how services are being utilized, levels of satisfaction with programs, and possible recommendations that international students have that they feel would improve their cross-racial understanding and academic experience, while at UCLA.

East Asian International Students' Experiences with Diversity

The following section examines the few articles that deal directly with international students' perceptions of and experiences with racial diversity in both home country and American contexts. In an American English as a Second Language (ESL) classroom, Japanese students viewed Koreans as ideal strangers (read out-group members) with which to interact. Japanese students expressed a feeling of solidarity with Korean classmates because of the international student in-group identity shared by both

(Kobayashi, 2009). Japanese students credited their friendships with Korean students to the fact that Korean students were a majority in the class, had similar physical traits, mutual interests, and a similar cultural heritage (Kobayashi, 2009). In the home country context, Japanese and Korean students may not normally befriend one another because they might view each other as ethnic out-groups. However, in an American context, Japanese students befriended Korean students because they shared a common identity as Asian international students. Japanese students began to perceive an Asian/European dichotomy, with one student going as far as to categorize Japanese and Korean students as “we yellow Asian group” (Kobayashi, 2010, p. 328). While an international student identity may be subsumed by Japanese students in host countries, there is evidence that even in foreign settings, where Japanese form bonds with Korean and Taiwanese migrants, Japanese have maintained a sense of superiority to other Asian groups (Fujita, 2008). Nonetheless, in an American setting, some international students appear to subsume a new Asian international student in-group identity (Kobayashi, 2009).

In the same study, Kobayashi (2009) researched Japanese students’ attitudes toward race in a Japanese context, wherein European-looking foreigners were viewed as ideal strangers (read out-group members). When Japanese students were asked with whom they would most want to practice English, a majority desired to interact with European-looking people, rather than Asian, Latino, or African-looking English speakers. This stems from an idealized construct of Western whiteness in Japanese society, that is promulgated in Japanese media (Kobayashi, 2009). Latino and African-American students visiting Japan experienced racial discrimination and were thought to be day laborers (Tanaka, 1997; Murphy-Shigematsu, 2002). On the other hand, European-

looking foreigners were thought to possess a high-status position in Japan's social hierarchy due to the historic dominance of Western economies and the relationship between Japan and the West following World War II (Kobayashi, 2009). Japanese students may bring this status hierarchy with them to America, thus influencing their social interactions with Americans.

Cross-racial interaction also depends on geographic, social context, and campus climates within the American colleges. In a study looking at race relations in a Rocky Mountain university, white students were more comfortable interacting with African-American students than with Latino students because there were fewer African-American students. In this context, African-American students were viewed as less of a threat to white students, in terms of academic and social competition (Smith, Bowman, & Hsu, 2007). East Asian international student surveys at the same university indicated that they felt the least comfortable interacting with African-American students, but felt the most comfortable interacting with white students (Smith, et. al, 2007). Researchers indicated that this may stem from Asian media portrayals of whites as attractive and successful (Dixon, Azocar, & Casas, 2003). Due to stereotypes that some of the East Asian students held, white students represented a high socio-economic standing in society; therefore, white students were a more desirable out-group with which to interact.

In a Midwestern public university that has a large Asian international population, relations between East Asian international students and African-American students were more varied. Some international students viewed African-American students as loud, rude, difficult to understand, and intimidating (Talbot, Geelhoed, & Ninggal, 1999). Other East Asian international students viewed African-American students as nice,

honest, emotionally easy to read, and easier to make friends with than white students because they were more interested in Asian culture. Through interactions with African-Americans, some international students realized many media portrayals of African-Americans were untrue and that stories they had heard about this racial group in their home country were also erroneous. In addition, students who learned about the Civil Rights Movement in their home countries felt sympathetic to the African-American struggle for equality and were less likely to hold negative stereotypes against this racial out-group (Talbot et. al, 1999). However, the study did not indicate why certain international students had positive perceptions of African-Americans, while others did not. Additionally, the study did not indicate how or why the student body population or geographic location of the university influenced cross-racial interaction. Nor did it ask why or how international students' views toward out-group members changed overtime. I hope my study will build upon this article by examining the link between interaction and stereotype change.

While the above study did not explore the process of stereotype change, it did investigate international student suggestions as to how to create a more cohesive campus climate. International students reported that the university was racially divided into three groups: European-Americans, international students, and African-Americans. In order to bring these disparate groups together, international students proposed to have more social events that promoted diversity, enforce cross-racial roommate living spaces, encourage African-American and Asian study abroad programs, provide more opportunities for Asian students to learn about African-American students, and require international student service officers to participate in diversity training (Talbot et. al, 1999). However,

this study asked these questions in a cursory manner without developing a line of inquiry as to how international students utilize diversity services, their satisfaction with these services, and what affect they have on this student population.

Talbot et al.'s study (1999), while effective, interviewed students from a wide variety of Asian countries that spanned from Japan to the Maldives, and the focus group approach did not allow for individual story telling and deeper understanding. I intend for my study to yield richer data in terms of cross-racial interaction and change overtime of racial attitudes through in-depth interviews and weekly interaction charts. While this study focused on African-Americans solely, I will conduct interviews asking East Asian international students about their perceptions about the dominant racial groups at UCLA (Asian-American, European-American, Latino, and African-American). The prior study was conducted at a mid-sized Midwestern public university, while my study is conducted on a campus with a majority Asian-American population, which may shed light on relations between Asian international students and Asian-American students. I believe my study will add to the diversity literature and help student affairs officers create programs that promote cross-racial interaction.

Theoretical Framework

Four theories are utilized in this study, namely Sociocultural Theory, Cultivation Theory, Social Identity Theory, Contact Theory, and Three Models of Stereotypes Change. There is a linear progression with each of these theories, in the sense that they mirror the trajectory of an international students' experience with diversity in their home country to interactions with racial/ethnic out-groups in the US. First, Sociocultural

Theory is implemented to discuss how international students are socialized in their home countries to think of and interact with racial/ethnic/cultural diversity. Second, Cultivation Theory explains how international students' stereotypes and prejudices are learned through television and other forms of media in their home country as well as America. Third, Social Identity Theory seeks to explain how international students chose which racial/ethnic/cultural groups to interact with when they arrive in America. Forth, Contact Theory explains the optimal conditions for prejudice reduction, when international students interact with racial/ethnic/cultural out-groups. Fifth, Rothbart's (1981) three Stereotype Change Models offer insight into how international students' views toward out-groups change, when contact occurs. All five theories will be discussed in greater length, but it is necessary to emphasize the linear outline and the interconnectivity of these five theories, as applied to this study. The theories seek to explain how international students acquire stereotypes, how these stereotypes affect international students' friendship making behavior, how stereotypes are challenged through contact, and the mental processes by which the stereotypes are altered. Each theory will be explained.

Sociocultural Theory (Vigotsky, 1978) is a psychological theory that looks at the role society plays in an individual's development. The theory is based on the notion that society encourages consensus and an individual's behavior is proscribed by societal norms (Ashmore & Del Boca, 1981; Vigotsky, 1978). Russian psychologist Lev Vygotsky (1896-1934) developed the theory, with the notion that more knowledgeable others, such as parents, teachers, peers, and the culture at large of one's home country are responsible for the development of beliefs and attitudes of a child (Crawford, 1996). Vygotsky developed his ideas based on the notion that children learn from their parents

about how to be and interact with the world (Lantolf, 1994). Children use symbolic tools to problem solve, evaluate, and learn about social interaction. By observing parental/adult language use and social interaction, the child is inculcated with a certain culture and way of understanding of how to interact with racial/ethnic/cultural others (Van Ausdale & Feagin, 2001). Mead (1934) refers to this learning process as social memory, whereby children and adults reflect, interpret, and internalize social norms, hierarchies, and inequalities. In this sense, humans, both children and adults develop their attitudes and perceptions by interacting with other human beings (Mead, 1934). Vygotsky (1978) builds upon Mead's social interaction concept, stating that a child's development does not proceed in a linear manner, rather cognitive development proceeds as a punctuated equilibrium, meaning it often ebbs and flows. New experiences with others will result in cognitive dissonance and will reshape attitudes (Van Ausdale & Feagin, 2001). Children absorb racial and ethnic information from their surrounding environment (adults, media, peers) and experiment with this observed behavior to see what is socially accepted and what is not (Van Ausdale & Feagin, 2001).

Sociocultural Theory

Stereotypes and prejudice are acquired by young children, just as language or social skills are acquired. Carla, a three-year-old child is preparing for nap time, but moves her cot and says 'I can't sleep next to a nigger because they are stinky' (Van Ausdale & Feagin, 2001). This three-year-old must have imitated language learned from home. Many would not label Carla a racist, but would identify her as having learned racist language and is exhibiting signs of what I am calling naïve racism. East Asian international students may also exhibit naïve racism in the sense that they are entering a

new country with different social mores and politically correct ways of speaking and interacting. International students may experience disequilibrium when they are thrown into a racially heterogeneous American campus. By no means am I equating international students to children, but the racial perceptions created through socialization processes (school, media, adults, peers) in their home countries may be categorized as naïve racism. Not all international students come with prejudiced views toward different races, ethnicities, and cultures. However, living in cosmopolitan areas in their home countries and subsequently being socialized in an American context, will most likely lead to international students having been exposed to racialized images and language. A presumption is made in this study, that Chinese, Japanese, and Korean international students are socialized in mostly homogenous societies, which may contribute to racial stereotyping of American racial groups. This assumption may not be true and questions will be asked in the interview protocol that will allow for students to indicate their past experiences with cross-racial/ethnic interactions. In sum, Sociocultural Theory attempts to provide a conceptual framework of home country homogeneity, while Social Identity Theory sheds light on international students' experience in a heterogeneous society.

Cultivation Theory

Cultivation Theory was developed by Dr. George Gerbner in the mid-1960s at the University of Pennsylvania. He sought to study how television watching and media consumption influenced viewer's notions of the everyday world. He found that heavy television consumption can cultivate attitudes about the real world that are based in the fictional world of television (Shanahan & Morgan, 1999). Gerber concluded that television watching had a small but nevertheless important impact on its viewers.

Viewers who consumed a heavy load of television were more likely to cultivate attitudes based on the world created on screen. Light viewers were less willing to accept the artificial world of television because they spent more time gleaning information from other social outlets, such as friends, family, and acquaintances (Shanahan & Morgan, 1999). Without the viewer knowing, many action dramas shape their view of justice in a modern society, feeding the notion that criminals get what they deserve, while the morally sound police officer or investigator wins the day. In Pingree and Hawkins' study (1981), primary and secondary school children were given questionnaires to gauge their views toward violence in the world, based on their TV watching habits. Those who were heavy consumers of TV, were more likely to view the world as a scary place. Those who watched less TV, did not adopt the 'mean world syndrome.' This term applies to those that watch a heavy dose of TV and as a result view their environment with an heightened sense of insecurity and an exaggerated conception of societal dangers (Earp, Morris, Jhally, Gerbner, & Morgan, 2010).

In the Pingree and Hawkins' study (1981), students who held the 'mean world syndrome' watched mostly American crime adventure shows. Interestingly enough, students judged Australia as a violent society, rather than America, even though the media they were consuming was from America. A similar phenomenon may be happening with East Asian international students, with regards to their attitudes and stereotypes of different races/ethnicities. Both positive and negative stereotypes are cultivated on TV. Tan, Zhang, Dalisay, & Zhang (2009), indicated that Chinese students, who watch a large amount of American basketball games, develop the stereotype that African-American people are adept at sports. Talbot, Geelhoed, & Ninggal's study (1999)

pointed to the fact that Chinese international students' stereotyped African-American people as being loud, aggressive, and violent, based on images promulgated on TV. Peng (2010) found that Chinese students cultivated stereotypes, from TV watching, that Japanese people were hard-working and Americans were wealthy, independent, sexually liberated, and politically powerful. Cultivation Theory sheds light on how media shapes international students' stereotypes in America and their home country. These stereotypes developed in one's home country, may change through direct interaction in the US, but these stereotypes may also be solidified even more, due to a lack of interaction and heavy television consumption in the US. Cultivation Theory is utilized to better understand the socialization process, while the next theory, seeks to explain how international students decide with whom to befriend and interact.

Social Identity Theory

Social Identity Theory posits that individuals define their social identity based on their interactions with others. The theory was developed by Tajfel & Turner (1986), to understand the psychological basis of intergroup discrimination. Henri Tajfel was a Polish Jewish person in Europe during the rise of the Nazi regime. He was surrounded by a world of prejudice, discrimination, and intergroup conflict. He became passionate about what drove people to commit such heinous acts against other humans. He did not believe that large-scale social problems could be explained by flawed individual personalities. Rather, he believed that social forces weighed heavily on an individual's behavior (Hogg, 2006). He also found that individuals grouped themselves in certain social circles in order to enhance their self-esteem and their status in relation to those in other groups (Brown & Capozza, 2006). Social Identity Theory posits that an individual does not have one

personal identity, rather they have several selves that develop and change in relation to different circles of friends and social groups. Individual actors place surrounding actors into categories of in-group and out-group members (Tajfel & Turner, 1986). The social categorization process functions as a way to help international students not only understand where they fit in to their new environment, but to distinguish who the ‘right’ type of people are with which to interact (Tajfel, 1981). Individuals with different physical features, cultural styles, and accents may strike international students as foreign and strange (Gudykunst & Kim, 2003). Members of a given identity often view themselves as sharing similar cultures and life experiences as fellow in-group members, which leads to favoritism and friendship development among these group members (Tajfel, 1981).

Social Identity Theory applies to international students on several levels. In one sense, international students become minorities in the eyes of the dominant culture upon arrival in America, and are placed into an out-group category by domestic students (Berry & Sam, 1997). At the same time, international students may categorize domestic students into desirable in-groups and out-groups with which to interact, based on markers of skin color, nationality, accent, cultural practices, and perceived status. This categorization process may lead to deliberately limiting interaction with African-American and Latino students due to racial stereotypes perpetuated by the socialization process in their home countries. However, with acculturation, effective diversity student programming, and positive cross-racial interactions, international students may come to disagree with the dominant culture’s discriminatory categorization toward racial minority groups (Tajfel & Turner, 1986), and understand American diversity on a more nuanced level.

Further literature on Social Identity Theory explains that there may be a difference between individualistic and collectivistic cultural backgrounds when it comes to in-group and out-group categorization. Hofstede (1980) found that people from collectivist cultures favored in-group members over out-group members to a greater extent than people from individualistic backgrounds. Hui, Triandis, and Yee (1991) asked US and Chinese students to decide how grades for a course should be allocated. When the grades were to be given to group member's friends, Chinese students made more equal allocations. On the other hand, when grades were to be distributed to strangers, Chinese students gave grades that were even more unequal than those made by American participants (Smith & Long, 2006).

Some scholars have called the duality between individualistic and collectivistic cultures too essentialist. There is inter-individual variation within given social groups and intra-individual variation in the strength with which an in-group member identifies with their in-group identity (Smith & Long, 2006). Ellemers, Spears, and Dooske (2002) proposed a model that stresses the importance of social context and level of group identification, in determining in-group responses. When a group feels threatened, intergroup differentiation and group affirmation take place (meaning, positive attitudes toward in-group members arise and negative attitudes toward out-group members arise). In the absence of threat; however, individuals who are highly committed to the in-group identity become more concerned with identity expression and maintenance, not with intergroup differentiation.

Contact Theories

While Social Identity Theory seeks to explore how international students recalibrate their identity in an American social setting, Contact Theory, as described by Allport (1954) and built upon by Pettigrew (1998) and others, illustrates the ideal conditions that are necessary for stereotype change to take place. Allport (1954), clearly laid out four different criteria necessary for prejudice reduction when two groups or individuals interact with one another. Both parties should have: 1) equal status, 2) common goals, 3) intergroup cooperation, and 4) support of supervising authorities. Pettigrew (1998) adds to this list by explaining that time, friendship potential, and repetition of interaction also help bolster positive cross-cultural interaction. Finally, Pettigrew's condensing of Brown and Hewstone (1986), Miller and Brewer (1984), and Gaertner et al.'s (1993) models into one, is directly applicable to the study at hand. If we know that the mutual differentiation model, the decategorization model, and the recategorization model are all part of a longitudinal process of stereotypes reduction, than we can better understand how international students' prejudices change overtime.

International students interviewed will undoubtedly be on different points on Pettigrew's linear Contact Theory. One international student may be in the mutual differentiation stage, (where out-group members are viewed as representatives of their group), while another international student may be on the recategorization stage, (where they no longer view the out-group as other), thus constructing a new common in-group identity. These differences of stage progression on Pettigrew's Contact Theory will be determined by length of stay in the US, as well as frequency of interaction with out-group members. As contact is made between groups, attitudes on both sides will begin to

change and stereotypes will be challenged. To better understand how this process works, we turn our attention to Rothbart's three stereotype change models.

Stereotype Change Models

Allport's (1954) and Pettigrew's (1998) Contact Theories explain the criteria necessary for prejudice reduction, but they do not explain how international students' stereotypes are altered through contact. Rothbart (1981) proposes three models that seek to explain this change process. The Conversion Model explains that when dramatic disconfirming information presents itself, an individual is, in a sense, converted to adopting a different (either positive or negative) attitude toward an out-group. Minor disconfirming evidence does not change a person's mind in this model, only exemplar experiences have such affect. Rothbart admits that it is difficult to pin-point under what conditions conversions happen (Schneider, 2004). The bookkeeping model can be thought of as a mental scorecard, whereby stereotype confirming and disconfirming evidence is tallied in an individual's mind. Whichever evidence is greater for that individual, he/she will develop a certain stereotype of the given out-group. If the disconfirming evidence overpowers the confirming evidence, then the stereotype will change (Schneider, 2004). The third change model is the subtyping model in which individuals place out-group members that exhibit astereotypical behavior in a distinct category from the homogeneous conception of the out-group (Weber & Crocker, 1983).

Scholars disagree on whether this model leads to in-group members seeing the variability within an out-group (Park, Wolsko, & Judd, 2001), or whether the subtyping model leads to an affirmation of homogenous stereotypes. Because out-group stereotype

disconfirmers are not viewed as real or typical group members, the out-group is often viewed in a more homogeneous and stereotypic way (Park, Wolsko, & Judd, 2001). Prior experiences, media consumption, and exposure to diversity all play a role in the development of stereotypes, but it is unclear as to why a given individual follows a certain change model. In fact, one individual can exhibit the behavior described in each change model for different social situations (Schneider, 2004).

The goal of the current study is not to identify which of the three stereotype change models a given international student is implementing. Rather, the stereotype change models are included in the theoretical framework to better understand how stereotype change occurs when contact takes place. Whether it be superficial or in-depth contact, international students will be interpreting this sensory data and in turn, challenging their attitudes and beliefs of out-group members. It is important to understand three core models of how stereotype change can occur, in order to bridge the gap between the criteria of the Contact Theory and the actual stereotype change process. These three models provide insight into this change process, and will be used in the analysis section to understand which interactions cause stereotype change and why.

Chapter 3: Methods

Introduction

This chapter discusses the methodology used in the study. The first section describes how this study adds to college diversity literature and lists the six main questions that drive the study. The second section details the reasoning behind the study site, the participants, as well as the data collection process. The third section explains the validity measures, the process for analyzing the data, and the limitations. The fourth section gives the reader a deeper understanding of the project, by outlining the pilot study. The final section explores the positionality of the researcher.

A qualitative approach was adopted for this study because it allows the researcher to explore individual stories and personal experiences with a level of depth and rich description (Weiss, 1994). Quantitative methods were not used because the researcher wanted to gather descriptive data on international students' experiences in college with racial diversity. The researcher felt that qualitative methods were most effective at mining the subtleties and sensitive nature of racial attitudes (Hammersley, 1993; Zuberi & Bonilla-Silva, 2008). Qualitative researchers are concerned with attempting to accurately describe and interpret the meanings of phenomena occurring in everyday social settings (Fryer, 1991). Qualitative methods are not without their faults, due to the lack of objectivity and generalizability that sometimes characterize this method of inquiry (Myers, 2000). For example, a researcher may choose to include certain participant voices, while leaving out others. Additionally, qualitative work can be highly inferential, often with different researchers arriving at different conclusions based on the same data

(Matveev, 2002). While it is difficult to curb personal bias and subjective interpretations of data in qualitative work, there is a certain level of depth, detail, and understanding that comes from the use of qualitative measures (Creswell, 2003). Future studies may utilize survey data; however, in order to understand international students' lived experiences and attitudes toward race, interaction charts and semi-structured interviews were utilized.

Research Questions

Studies pertaining to cross-racial interaction on campus have focused on African-American and Caucasian interactions, discrimination toward international students (Hanassab, 2006; Lee, 2007), friendships between domestic and international students (Rude, 2009), and educational benefits of campus diversity (Gurin, Dey, Hurtado, & Gurin, 2002). However, few studies have focused solely on international students' racial stereotypes and how these stereotypes affect cross-racial interaction. Talbot, Geelhoed, and Ninggal (1999) explored Asian international students' perception of African-Americans, but they did not delve into racial attitudes towards other racial groups present in American universities, such as European-American, Asian-American, Latino, and mixed-race students. In addition, an analysis of how racial stereotypes affect interactions between students, staff, and faculty on college campuses has yet to be explored. This study will add to the literature by shedding light on East Asian international students' stereotypes toward Americans, and how these racial attitudes influence behavior, friendship making, and satisfaction in college. The following research questions will be investigated:

- 1) What racial, ethnic, cultural stereotypes do East Asian international students bring to UCLA?
- 2) How and to what extent are UCLA East Asian international students' racial, ethnic, and cultural stereotypes challenged, or reinforced, through college experiences?
- 3) How do international students at UCLA perceive university efforts to promote cross-racial, multi-cultural, multi-ethnic interaction?

These questions will guide a larger case study of East Asian international students' experiences with diversity at UCLA. Issues related to the above questions will also be explored, such as how these stereotypes are formulated, home country experiences with diversity, how peer, friend, professor, and roommate relationships challenged perceived racial attitudes, and how institutional interventions can help foster tolerance.

Study Site

The current study was conducted at UCLA, due to the racial diversity of domestic and international student populations on campus. In the 2010/2011 academic year, UCLA was ranked sixth in the nation, when it came to percentage of international student populations, with 2006 Chinese students, 872 Korean students, and 322 Japanese students at UCLA. Undergraduate and graduate international students made up six percent of the total UCLA population (40,675) (Open Doors Report, IIE, 2011). There are also more chances for cross-racial interaction to take place at a university such as UCLA, because there is racial diversity within the domestic student population, with 1,099 African-American (4%), 9,712 Asian-American/Pacific Islander (37%), 4,126 Latino/a (16%),

and 8,467 Caucasian students (32%). Due to the low numbers of Latino and African-American students, there may not be as much interaction with these groups, nonetheless there may be ample interaction with Asian-American and Caucasian students.

Additionally, UCLA, a public institution, has recently been negatively affected by the state's budget deficit (Hemmila, 2011). The university has been admitting a larger amount of international students, especially from East Asia, in order to increase revenue sources and diversity on college campuses (Gordon, 2010).

Participants

Since the mid 1950s, undergraduate international students represented the largest number of international students on US campuses (Chin, 2005). In 2001, international graduate students surpassed international undergraduate students (Chin & Bhandari, 2006). But within the coming decade, undergraduates (269,874) seem to be poised to surpass international graduate students (283,329) (Fisher, 2009). Both graduate and undergraduate students are becoming an increasingly important source of diversity in US higher education and more research is needed on their attitudes and perceptions of their host country sites (Zhao, Kuh, & Carini, 2005). Therefore, this study will include graduate and undergraduate international students at UCLA.

Semi-structured interviews with international students from China, Japan, and South Korea were conducted. The justification for this group being studied is the large demographics at UCLA. I interviewed graduate and undergraduate students in order to get a variety of responses. Graduate students elicited different responses than undergraduate students, because graduates did not live in the residential halls at UCLA,

had demanding work schedules, and were less involved in clubs/organizations on campus. Thus they had fewer opportunities to interact with domestic students. A majority of undergraduate students live in the residential halls, and join clubs and organizations that bring them into closer contact with domestic students. However, some undergraduates were only visiting the US for several quarters, thus limiting the amount of time necessary for positive cross-cultural/racial contact to occur. I recruited students from different age groups, living situations, fields of study, and years spent in America, in order to gain a better understanding of the wide spectrum of international students' perceptions and experiences with domestic students.

Data Collection Procedures

I conducted 33 semi-structured interviews, lasting approximately 60-90 minutes, with East Asian international students from China, Japan, and South Korea. In order to create equal representation of the three nationality groups in this study, I conducted interviews with 16 Chinese students, 2 Hong Kong Students, 1 Taiwanese student, 10 Japanese students, and 4 Korean students. Pilot study data was also utilized in the study, which included 7 Chinese students, 4 Korean students, and 3 Japanese students. The students in this study only represented their own views. These international students were not meant to be representative of their whole country. Some students held more racial stereotypes than others, but this was mostly due to their socialization processes, rather than their home country affiliation. In addition, East Asian international students were selected not because they held more stereotypes than any other student; rather, they were selected because there is little literature on this rapidly increasing college demographic. The anti-black racism expressed in the findings was due to a global racial hierarchy, not

because there is a specific anti-black sentiment that is prevalent in East Asian countries. Also, the reader should keep in mind that East Asian international students' perceptions and attitudes are constantly changing as they interact with the US college environment. As they interact with their new host country landscape, East Asian international students form perceptions of other groups, sometimes in relationship to out-groups' stereotypes of international students. Additionally, domestic students most likely have just as many preconceived notions of East Asian international students, but this study focused on international students' perceptions because this is an understudied area of inquiry.

According to Kidder and Judd (1986), semi-structured interviews yield rich data as do structured interviews; however, semi-structured ones afford the opportunity to go on topical tangents that lead to more in-depth conversation and understanding of the subject. All interviews were audio recorded and transcribed verbatim by the researcher using Microsoft Word and a hand held tape recorder. Memo-writing was conducted during and after interviews in order to capture thoughts, analytical leads, and assumptions (Charmaz, 2001). During interviews, I took note of key phrases, emerging themes, and poignant remarks that I revisited in order to aid with the coding and analysis process. After the interview, I wrote notes to myself in a journal, commenting on my overall impression of the interviewee's experience with diversity on campus and gradually made comparisons between different interviewees' transcripts. Codes created in the Start List of Codes were referred to in the memos, and comments/ideas from the interviews and interaction charts were included in my memos. Barometric events and new ideas can occur suddenly when key actors in the interview provide a clue and offer new insight (Miles & Huberman, 1994). In the pilot study, the theme of racial hierarchy and its

relationship to media and social interactions in students' home countries became apparent. Utilizing place-holding memos, sorting these thoughts, and comparing pre-study codes with these memos aided me in understanding how the notion of racial hierarchy greatly influenced with whom international students chose to interact.

Approximately one week prior to the in-person interviews, students were given a week-long interaction chart to complete, along with instructions on how to do so (Rampersad, 2007). In Rampersad's study (2007), the interaction chart was used in a different manner. Students were asked to list every interaction they had each day, and to list the time of day. I felt this was too much to ask of the student; therefore, I limited the list of interactions to three or four per day. Rampersad's (2007) study examined how international students' social interactions affected their cultural identity in an American university setting. Based on interviews and interaction charts, students were divided into several types of international students; those that predominantly interact with co-nationals, those that interact with international students from a variety of nationalities, and those that interact with mostly American domestic students. As patterns emerged, I incorporated a similar grouping method and analyzed how a student's social influences affected racial attitudes. Participants were asked to list the nationality/racial group of that individual, the person's gender, the location of the meeting, the type of interaction (informal, formal, academic, social), and whether the experience was positive/negative/or neutral (explained in data analysis section).

Not only did the interaction chart help me track what types of people international students were interacting with, for a given week, but it encouraged international students to think critically about specific cross-racial interactions throughout their week. However,

not all students were willing to take the time to fill out the interaction chart, along with doing the interviews; therefore, only 11 out of 33 interaction charts were collected. Of these 11 participants who filled out the charts, they were utilized in interviews to spark conversation about cross-racial interaction or lack thereof.

Interaction charts were emailed to students who expressed interest in filling out the chart as well as participating in a 60-90 minute interview. I tried to meet with students briefly to give them verbal directions on how best to fill-out the interaction chart, prior to the interviews. However, students' schedules did not always allow for this to occur. I emailed the chart to those students who could not meet in person, with directions on how to fill it out. Interaction charts were to be filled out by the participant prior to the interview and handed to the researcher, at the interview session, but this only happened for 11 students in the study. If I had incentives to participate in the study, I believe students would have been more responsive to filling out the charts.

After having collected the interaction charts, I met the interviewee in person to administer a brief background questionnaire and conduct a semi-structured interview. The background questionnaire was used to collect general data about the participant, including how long they had been in the country, living situation, year in school, parental occupation, country of origin, nationality/race of closest friends, and level of participation in campus clubs/organizations. This questionnaire provided background information on each participant. This data was put into an excel sheet and compared to the interaction chart and interview transcript of each student in the analysis process.

Following the interaction chart and the questionnaire, students were then interviewed using a semi-structured protocol that was pilot tested during the Winter and

Spring quarters of 2010-2011. Questions were asked regarding students' experiences with ethnic/racial diversity in their home country, views of race relations in America, stereotypes about American racial groups before they came to America, personal views of cross-racial/cultural dating, cases of interaction with racial out-groups, experiences of possible stereotype change, and the perceived role UCLA student services have played in aiding cross-racial interaction. This protocol was developed through themes that arose from a review of the literature. During interviews, I allowed, and at times encouraged, conversational tangents and an impromptu question-and-answer format, in order to co-create knowledge with the participant (Rude, 2009). Weiss (1994) stated that the interviewer should have a level of freedom to express what he/she believes to be significant in their lived experiences, which may illuminate fruitful themes to which the interviewer had not previously given much thought. I also encouraged students to comment on their weekly interaction charts, to shed light on the social and academic interactions international students have on campus and how these occurrences influence racial stereotypes. If they did not fill out a chart, I asked students to comment in general, about who they interacted with on a weekly basis.

Recruitment Procedures

I recruited students through a combination of purposeful and snowball sampling (Babbie, 2007). Patton (1990) explains that purposeful sampling ideally results in the recruitment of information-rich cases whose study will shed light on the topic at hand. I contacted the UCLA Dashew International Center and asked gatekeepers (via email and in person) for access to attend and make announcements at English conversation

programs and other Dashew International Center events. Any students who were interested in participating were given an informational sheet about the project that included instructions to email me. I also utilized snowball sampling by asking participants if they knew other East Asian International students that may be interested in participating (Babbie, 2007). A point of data saturation was reached through Dashew International Center recruiting; therefore, I did not have to recruit through Chinese, Japanese, and Korean ethnicity based clubs on the UCLA campus.

Once students emailed me and expressed interest in participating, I provided them with more information about the project and reassured them that their real names would not be disclosed. We set up a time that was most convenient for the students and a 60-90 minute interview was conducted in a public space at UCLA. Efforts were made to recruit Chinese, Japanese, and Korean international students who were both graduate and undergraduate, male and female, and represented an array of academic backgrounds. A breathe of different academic backgrounds were included in this study because of the varying experiences these students may have. Students studying in sciences and business fields proved to have less contact with domestic students due to the large proportion of international students in these fields (IIE, 2011). Whereas students studying in the humanities had more opportunities to interact with domestic students, which led to varied interview responses.

Validity

In order to add a level of trustworthiness and validity to the study, I utilized the technique of member checking. Lincoln and Guba (1986) explain that member checking

adds a level of credibility and trustworthiness. This involves reiterating information given by respondents in order to make sure the researcher understands his/her participants' thoughts, feelings, and ideas. I reiterated the main points of the interview to the student after the interview's conclusion. Students were able to request the transcripts of their interview at any point. If participants were unsatisfied with the manner in which they phrased something, they were afforded the opportunity to make suggestions on how to alter the wording and meaning of their language (Merriam, 2009).

Additionally, I utilized the strategy of peer debriefing to enhance the accuracy of the accounts (Creswell, 2003). I worked with several of my PhD cohort members to read a selection of my analysis and coding schemes so that I would not be conducting research in a vacuum. In this way, I shared my thoughts and ideas with other scholars, making sure that my interpretation of the data was sound and resonated with others (Creswell, 2003).

Data Analysis

Data collected from week-long interaction charts (see Appendix A) were analyzed in conjunction with the questionnaires, interaction charts, and interviews (see Appendix B). Both the interaction charts and the questionnaire data were put into excel sheets for easier viewing and analysis.

I utilized Sociocultural Theory (Ashmore & Del Boca, 1981; Vigotsky, 1978), which explains how humans are socialized as children and in turn, how this socialization process forms one's attitudes and beliefs as an adult. Social Identity Theory explains that this socialization process continues into adulthood and is ever-evolving with added

interactions and new social situations, even in a new cultural context. While both theories strive to better understand stereotype formation in homogenous and heterogeneous societies, neither theory was originally created to specifically explain international students' experiences. These two theories, along with Rothbart's (1981) three Stereotype Change Models, Cultivation Theory (Shanahan & Morgan, 1999), and Contact Theories (Allport, 1954; Pettigrew, 1998), were used in the analysis process, to interpret how international students were experiencing interactions with racial out-groups.

Interaction charts were analyzed to determine with whom international students spend a majority of their time with, the nature of these interactions, and the significance of these exchanges (Rampersad, 2007). The interaction chart served four purposes. First, it encouraged the international student to start thinking about cross-racial and inter-group interaction within a given week as well as the significance of these encounters. Second, it aided the researcher in discussing specific instances of interaction during the interviews. Third, the interaction chart served as a form of triangulation in which a student's answers in the interview could be corroborated with their lived experiences. Fourth, the chart illustrated which multicultural student services international students were utilizing and whether positive cross-racial interactions were taking place at these diversity programs.

The interaction chart was compared with the interview transcripts, in order to better understand the relationship between social interactions and stereotype change. The interaction chart allowed the international student to communicate to the researcher which interactions were of significance (about three or four interactions were listed per day), where these interactions took place, the frequency of these occurrences, and what the student was thinking after the interaction took place. Significant interactions ranged

from an international student having a long conversation with a close co-national friend, to briefly speaking to a racial out-group member that caused the international student to think about racial diversity. The student was the arbiter of what interactions were significant, but I advised students to include interactions that illustrated who they “normally” spent their time with, but also interactions that made them think critically about racial diversity on/off campus. Originally, I thought it would be ideal if a student included a brief reflection on a given interaction. However, I realized this would be asking too much of the participant. Instead of having the student write about how the interaction affected him/her, the student simply marked a (+), (-), or 0 (neutral) sign next to each interaction listed. The student’s reasoning behind assigning (+), (-), or 0 (neutral) marks to each interaction was discussed in the interview as well.

Interview transcripts were read multiple times and emergent themes were initially coded by hand. Codes are labels for assigning units of meaning to the information gathered during the study, both descriptive and inferential (Miles & Huberman, 1994). Codes, in the form of words and phrases, were used in the study to organize and analyze the vast amounts of interview data that was collected. A start list of codes was created prior to the interviewing process. Miles and Huberman (1994) encouraged researchers to create a provisional start list prior to fieldwork that was informed by conceptual frameworks, pilot studies, hypotheses, and key variables of the study. A combination of descriptive, interpretive, and pattern codes were implemented in such a manner that resembled Astin’s I-E-O Model (1991). Codes were created in a chronological manner, pertaining to international students’ experiences with racial/ethnic diversity in their home country (input), their experience with diversity while in college (environment), and the

values/attitudes (output) that came about as a result of their experiences in their home county and in college. Codes in the code study list closely mirror the conceptual framework of the study, which was also very much aligned with the chronological sequence of events a student experiences in the Astin I-E-O Model (1991).

The codes enumerated in the code study list were provisional codes and were slightly altered once the data process had begun. Codes were changed, developed, and others were deleted over time, but there came a point of saturation after data had been collected and all incidents could be classified. After this point of saturation, a technique Lincoln and Guba (1985) call “bridging” took place, in which relationships between codes were made. Analysis was done by hand by creating codes, analyzing these codes, and finding common themes between codes. Excel documents were made to help keep track of how, if at all, a student’s nationality, time spent in America, living situation, and field of study (among other factors) influenced a student’s attitudes towards a given out-group.

Sociocultural Theory (Vigotsky, 1978) was analyzed in the first section of interview questions because students were asked about how their experiences with diversity in their home countries shaped their views of race. Social Identity Theory (Turner & Tajfel, 1986) was analyzed in both the interaction chart as well as the second part of the interview protocol because students were asked about who they interacted with in America, why they choose to interact with these groups, how, if at all, these associations changed their identity while in America, and how these interactions affected their ideas about race. Rothbart’s (1981) three stereotype change models were operationalized in the interviews as well, with questions probing students about how

interactions and observations have altered or solidified their stereotypes toward racial out-groups while in the US. For the most part, international students' racial bias toward an out-group proved to change along the lines of one of the three models, but diversity courses and living spaces provided gradual stereotype change, a phenomenon not accounted for in Rothbart's three models.

Allport's (1954) and Pettigrew's (1998) Contact Theories were analyzed in the interaction charts and interviews, by seeing with whom international students interact, under what circumstances these interactions took place, the nature of the interaction, and the perceived significance of the interaction. Interview questions tested Allport's and Pettigrew's criteria for discrimination reduction (equal status between groups, common goals, inter-group cooperation, and the support of authorities), but this study built upon these theories, indicating that attitudes prior to contact and experience with racial out-groups proved significant in learning outcomes when contact took place. This study applied these various theories as guides with which to analyze the stereotype formation process as well as the stereotype change process of international students.

In order to better analyze the data, I employed a constant comparative method (Glaser, 1965), whereby each coded theme was compared to the prior coded theme. In time, themes reached a point of saturation where additional ones no longer added new insight to the analysis (Jones, Torres, & Armino, 2006). I conducted three stages of coding: open coding, axial coding, and selective coding (Strauss & Corbin, 1998). In open coding, I analyzed specific quotations of students' words to decipher codes and themes. Transcripts were read line-by-line to make sure the interviewee's voice was being understood. The second stage was axial coding, where I made connections between

categories/themes, and observed how they interrelate with each other. In selective coding, I further refined my categories, validating relationships between categories, and finally created a synthesis of the data that shed light on East Asian international students' perceptions of racial/cultural differences (Strauss & Corbin, 1998).

Limitations

A limitation in this study was the lack of deeper analysis regarding the heterogeneity that exists within the Korean, Japanese, and Chinese populations being studied. The literature review paints a historical picture of bias and racism, but this does not mean that these ideas were held by all East Asian international students. The study illustrated that some students from China, Japan, and Korea did have racist attitudes; however, this was only a qualitative study of 33 students. The study by no means seeks to indicate that all students from these countries hold negative attitudes toward American racial minority groups. In order to be more generalizable, there must be a quantitative study, with a larger population size, that includes more Asian countries.

A second limitation may be the broad range of students I am sampling. Another study should focus solely on graduate or undergraduate students in a specific department, but due to the exploratory nature of this study, I chose not to narrow my sample population. In the pilot study, I also sampled a large swath of international student types, and this yielded rich data; therefore, I do not want to limit myself to graduate international students in business and management fields, simply because they comprise the largest amount of international students at UCLA. I wanted to capture the diversity of

thought and life experiences in several different fields of study, but future research should focus on graduates or undergraduates in a certain field of study.

A third limitation may be that recruitment was conducted at only one university, mainly from the Dashew International Center and mainly from snowball sampling. A cross-campus comparison between UCLA and USC was considered, because USC is ranked number one in the nation for international student enrollment (IIE, 2010). There were thoughts of comparing a racially diverse campus, such as UCLA, to the more predominantly Caucasian campus of USC; however, it would have been too difficult to manage a multisite study with only one researcher. Additionally, it was effective to look at a university that had a large population of Asian-American and Caucasian students, in order to better understand the relationship between these groups and Asian international students. But future studies should look at universities across the nation that have varied student populations in order to see how structural diversity affects campus climate and students interactions on campus (Hurtado, Milem, Clayton-Pedersen, & Allen, 1999; Hurtado et al., 2003).

The decision to focus on Chinese, Japanese, and Korean students was made for this study because of the geographical closeness of the countries, the interconnectedness of historical backgrounds of the countries, and the large student populations at UCLA. However, future studies should look at Indian, Southeast Asian, and Middle Eastern international students' perceptions of race as well. I chose to limit my study to Chinese, Japanese, and Korean international students because of the complex historical context of cross-racial contact in all three countries as well as the perceived similarities between cultural backgrounds of the three countries.

The lack of participation when it came to completing the interaction chart was also a limitation. Only eleven students out of thirty-three, filled out the charts. This may have been because there was not enough incentives for students to complete the charts as well as participate in the interviews. The low number of charts completed made it difficult to analyze this data; therefore, I relied on interview data to better understand who international students lived with and interacted with, in a given week.

Another limitation to the study was a lack of Korean students in the dissertation study. However, I had a large number of Korean students participate in the pilot study; therefore, I used multiple Korean student voices from the pilot study to be in the dissertation study. The interview protocol for the pilot and dissertation studies was almost identical, so the continuity of the data, between studies, was maintained.

Pilot Study

I conducted fourteen 60-90 minute semi-structured interviews with East Asian International students (7 Chinese, 4 Korean, and 3 Japanese students) during the Winter and Spring quarters of 2010-2011. Nine undergraduate and five graduate students were interviewed. Eight males and six females were interviewed. These students were from a variety of academic disciplines, and a mixture of time spent in America, ranging from 4 months to 4 years. All interviews were audio recorded and transcribed verbatim. In addition, I took notes during the interviews. The constant comparative method was also utilized in this study (Glaser, 1965).

Results from this study indicated: 1) that a racial hierarchy existed prior to coming to America for many of the students. 2) Asian-American students were viewed as

‘white’ by humanities students, but ‘too Asian’ by science majors. 3) Places and spaces of contact that resulted in the greatest amount of cross-racial interaction were residential halls, clubs, and classrooms. 4) Stereotypes of African-Americans as dangerous and loud were challenged, in a few cases, by superficial positive contact. 5) The perception that Caucasian students were ideal roommates and were the epitome of beauty and intellect were somewhat challenged by contact.

The findings from the pilot study illustrate a valiant first effort; however, there were many themes from the existing data that I was unable to develop and include in the pilot study. The interviews were divided into two parts. The first half focused on experiences with diversity in the home country and the other half of the interview focused on experiences with diversity in America. The link between a student’s cross-racial experiences in their home country was not well analyzed; therefore, the connection between how these home country experiences related to cross-racial interactions at UCLA was not explored. Additionally, three of the students in the prior study had attended high school in America. These students gave unique perspectives, offering some of the most pointed criticism of American race relations, but at the same time holding some of the most racially charged views of any of the participants. Due to the limited scope of this study, I was unable to develop this theme, but I did so in the dissertation study.

In the dissertation study, I not only interviewed many more international students from China, Japan, and Korea, but I also was able to explore home country experiences, on-campus experiences with cross-racial/cultural interaction, as well as students’ perceived effectiveness of student service efforts that strive to promote diversity at

UCLA. The interaction chart was also an additional component that was not included in the pilot study. Exploration of how a racial hierarchy affects friendship/dating decisions, and how international students think diversity services can be improved were also new editions to the dissertation study.

Role of the Researcher/ Positionality

I am an academic counselor, a TA, a student of Mandarin, and an ESL instructor; therefore, I have worked with international students and developed an interest in East Asian International students' college experiences. I remember facilitating a course with international students where the topic of race was brought up. Students seemed to hold many racial stereotypes of American minority groups and had few opportunities to interact with domestic minority groups to challenge these stereotypes. Some of my Asian international friends would make jokes that "Chinese people are really racist" or "I don't know why but Asian people are scared of black people". This anecdotal evidence sparked my interest and my travels abroad helped me dig deeper into issues of race from an international perspective.

My travels to Japan, Hong Kong, Singapore, and Malaysia were eye-opening because many people treated me very well and were excited that a Caucasian person could speak some Mandarin. Many of these countries' populations were racially homogeneous; therefore, I was intrigued to see black people in Japan's Harajuku district. My brother, a PhD student in Japanese Art History, explained that black people were seen as exotic, but also admired in Japan. I found this interesting and began researching the history of black and Japanese relations, which became the premise for this study. My

travels to Singapore were also crucial in my conceptualizing of this study because I learned how governmental policies were in place to create a multicultural society of Chinese, Indian, and Malay people. However, there appeared to be tensions between ethnic groups, as well as a racial hierarchy in a country that prided itself on racial harmony. I began thinking about how race may be constructed differently in Asia than it is in America. I also took a race and ethnicity course at UCLA, which discussed racial tensions between the Korean and African-American community in Downtown Los Angeles, which eventually came to a head in the 1992 Rodney King Riots. I wanted to know more about racial attitudes and experiences with cross-racial interaction from an Asian international perspective; therefore, I embarked upon this project.

I have also worked with diversity training at UCLA and firmly believe in the power positive cross-racial interaction can have on prejudice reduction. As the grandson of two Holocaust survivors, I am keenly aware of the importance of racial tolerance and cross-racial competences. As a Jewish-American male, I came into this study as an outsider, but I believe my knowledge of Asian history and language abilities served me well in my interviews. During my pilot study, students responded to me in a very open and honest manner. I remember one student even sharing with me that he felt that it was a great thing that Abraham Lincoln ended slavery in America. However, this student was not certain that Korean people would have done the same, if they were in charge of America. This openness to criticize one's culture and talk candidly about race, led me to believe that international students may be more open to talk about race than some American students.

On the whole, I believe my appearance as a Caucasian male, helped students speak freely about their racial stereotypes, even toward Caucasians. Some students asked me about my ethnicity, and I revealed that I was Jewish, which led to interesting responses of “oh I think Jewish people are the most wealthy and smart people in the world.” At times, this response felt uncomfortable; however, it gave me the opportunity to understand that these stereotypes stemmed from perceptions of Persian-Jewish businessmen in China, and media portrayals. I often had to explain why I was not wearing a yarmulka, and one student mentioned that he observed a Jewish student in his class and wondered if “Jesus looked like that.” Through my conversations, it became clear that many students were not familiar with American racial diversity, which propelled me to further investigate this study and strategize ways the university could better serve international students.

Chapter 4: Findings

Introduction

The study utilized Astin's I-E-O model and Sociocultural Theory (Ashmore & Del Boca, 1981; Vigotsky, 1978) to better understand how international students' socialization in their home country contributed to racial prejudices and stereotypes that affected interaction during Astin's college environment stage. The first two sections explored the pre-college attributes of international students, that shaped their stereotypes. It was found that family, friends, and media worked to inculcate students with racial stereotypes. Many East Asian international students came from racially homogenous, yet ethnically diverse countries. However, they were often not exposed to the ethnic diversity in their home countries because they lived in metropolitan areas, were from more affluent families (Vandrick, 2011), and were from the majority ethnic groups in their countries. Students who attended high school in America, attended international school, were discriminated against at a young age, were exposed to racial/ethnic diversity at a young age, and were more likely to hold tolerant attitudes (Yancey, 2002).

Further background data found that international students had a dearth of knowledge when it came to an historical awareness and understanding of American history, as well as historical race relations in the US. In the absence of cultural and historical knowledge, students relied on stereotypical media images and hearsay from family and friends, which affected how they navigated their college experience (Peng, 2010; Smith, Bowman, Hsu, 2007; Tanaka, 1997). These stereotypes were fueled by American and home country media that portrayed African-Americans as criminals, athletes, and music artists, while white-Americans were portrayed as well-educated,

financially successful, and culturally superior (Fujioka, 2000; Johnson, 2007; Russell, 1991; Talbot et al., 1999; Tan et al., 2009). Cultivation Theory (Shanahan & Morgan, 1999) was utilized to illustrate how heavy consumption of these images over time led to an international students' negative stereotypes of African-American people, and positive perceptions of white people. Perceptions of Latino people were few and far between because there were not many images that international students saw on TV, and of those they did see, many were negative (Rivadeneira, 2006). Stereotypes about Asian-Americans were also modicum, because there was not as much representation of this group in Asian popular media. Some students held positive stereotypes of Asian-Americans and thought they would be able to befriend these students easily (Tuan, 1999; Zhou, 2004).

However, these stereotypes helped shape a view for many international students that the world was divided between prosperous areas (Europe, East Asia, and America) and impoverished areas (Southeast Asia, Africa, Latin America), feeding into a larger notion that the world had a racial hierarchy based on nationality, economic status, and skin color (Bonilla-Silva, 2004; Grant & Lee, 2003). Bonilla-Silva's (2004) Tri-Racial System of whites, honorary whites, and collective blacks came to resemble the conceptions of East Asian international students. Students used Gross Domestic Products (GDPs) of different countries and stereotypes gleaned from their home environments to create a racial/status hierarchy with whites on the top, Asian-Americans next, Latinos third, and African-Americans fourth. This hierarchy was often used to navigate through one's college environment.

International students utilized stereotypes and hierarchies to help identify which groups were desirable to interact with and which were not. Social Identity Theory (Tajfel & Turner, 1986) was used to illustrate how international students chose to interact with certain racial groups more than others, due to perceived status, cultural comfort level, and language ability (Church, 1982; Ward, Okura, Kennedy, & Kojima, 1998). While students relied on stereotypes to navigate their social interactions, college experiences also challenged racial stereotypes. Rothbart's (1981) Stereotype Change Models and Contact Theory (Allport, 1954; Pettigrew, 1998) were used to illustrate how stereotypes could be altered through acquaintances, friendships, and romantic partners. Some of the most positive cross-racial interactions occurred in undergraduate living situations, on-campus clubs, and international center programs. Diversity courses also proved to be affective agents of change, however less than ten students were required to take these types of courses (Hurtado, Dey, Gurin and Gurin, 2003; and Chang, 2002).

Graduate students did not live on-campus, were often too busy to attend social events, and were less likely to room with domestic students. As a result, graduate students' racial stereotypes were not challenged as much, unless they were in the humanities/social sciences fields, where diversity issues were often discussed. Science majors in general appeared to be less racially tolerant for the same reason. Students who had an outgoing personality, lived abroad, learned about US race relationship prior, attended an international school, and wanted to interact with diversity prior to coming to America, all reported more openness to interacting with racially diverse out-groups (Bowman & Denson, 2011; Mok, 1999; Shibazaki & Brennan, 1998).

Romantic relationships also proved to be stimulants for stereotype change. Dating outside one's race/ethnicity helped create new collective identities and students were able to look beyond racial differences (Gaertner, Dovidio, Anastasio, Bachman, & Rust, 1993). Interaction between Asian-Americans and Asian internationals was also of interest because initially international students felt that they had a cultural closeness with these students, but then after at least three months, students began to realize that Asian-Americans were difficult to befriend and/or date because many held a more "Americanized" culture, rather than an Asian international student culture.

The last section of the study analyzed students' perceptions of UCLA's diversity services as well as services that aided in their acculturation. It was found that a majority of undergraduate students were satisfied with the amount of diversity programs in place, and even commented that it was the fault of international students for not seeking out these programs. Many undergraduate students lived on-campus and were exposed to diversity programming in their residential halls, however graduate students lived off-campus and reported feelings of isolation and lacked diversity programming in their living situations. UCLA's Dashew International Center programs that promoted cross-racial/cultural interaction were praised by all ten participants, as aiding them in acculturation, as well as stereotype reduction (Rose-Redwood, 2010). Opportunities for interacting with differences were available to students, however concerns about high tuition prices, pressure to focus on their academics, and cultural discomfort all led to international students not seeking out opportunities to engage with domestic students (Lin & Yi, 1997). Three UCLA Extension students indicated that they came to Los Angeles to

interact with domestic students, but were disappointed to find that they were cut-off from the UCLA main campus, and had little opportunities to interact with domestic students.

Findings

Home Country Experiences' with Racial/Cultural Diversity. This section explores how international students experience racial, ethnic, and cultural diversity in their home countries. It is important to explore this area because one's prior experiences shape how one will interact with racial/ethnic/cultural out-groups on an American college campus. As Astin's I-E-O Model (1991) indicates, the pre-college attitudes and beliefs affect how a student will behave and integrate socially/academically once they enter the college environment. Most Chinese, Japanese, and Korean international students felt that their home countries were racially homogeneous, which led to a level of unease and in some cases aversion to interacting with racial/ethnic/cultural out-groups. Additionally, international students' financial privilege and home country ethnic majority group status, were both factors that led to international students' misunderstanding of racial/ethnic out-groups, in their home country and America.

Vygotsky's Sociocultural Theory (Ashmore & Del Boca, 1981; Crawford, 1996; Vygotsky, 1978) explains how an individuals' understanding of the world around them is influenced by their environment, teachers, parents, friends, and other social agents. In order to gain a better understanding of international students' experiences and conceptions of diversity, students were asked what kind of racial, ethnic, and cultural diversity was present in their home countries. If someone is socialized in a homogeneous country, interaction with racial/ethnic out-groups will undoubtedly be limited. In the

absence of this contact, international students may rely on media, family, friends, and teachers to construct knowledge and stereotypes of racial/ethnic out-groups (Bandura, 1994; Dovidio, Hewstone, Glick, and Esses, 2010; Schneider, 2004). A majority of students interviewed indicated that their home countries of China, Japan, and Korea were homogenous societies with acute minority populations, as indicated below.

Chinese Students' Home Country Experiences with Diversity. Chinese interviewees, in particular, described how ethnic differences were not based on physical appearances, rather on cultural and geographical differences. Findings from this section include: Chinese students indicated that China had 56 different ethnic groups, however these students' privileged economic and ethnic majority status sheltered them from interacting with these ethnic groups. Chinese students stressed the cultural unity of China, while America was thought to have cultural disunity because of its varying racial demographics. Also Chinese students seemed to be more racially tolerant than Korean students, but less so than Japanese students.

When asked to compare US and Chinese racial/ethnic diversity, Lan, a Chinese business graduate student who had lived in the US for three years, described Chinese diversity:

I think because America is so different from China, we don't have that type of diversity. We have some, the racial thing, but it is not based on your appearance, because everyone looks the same unless you tell them that you are not in the majority, or else we won't know. Other than that it really doesn't matter unless when you have dinner and everyone orders and you can't eat pork, then people

can see the difference, but really people can't tell the difference, it doesn't really matter in daily life. And minority people in China already have a lot of privilege, it is a good thing to be a minority. –Lan

It is not true that physical appearance is not important in everyday life in China. There is a great deal of racial/ethnic diversity even amongst Chinese nationals. However, Lan had a limited view of China because she had lived in Beijing for most of her life. She was aware of the palpable ethnic differences in Tibet and Xinjiang provinces, however this was peripheral in her mind (Harrell, 1995; He, 2005). Because all Chinese international students interviewed were from the Han majority ethnic group, there was a certain level of ethnic privilege as well as socio-economic privilege (Vandrick, 1995; Vandrick, 2011). Lan was somewhat ignorant about Chinese ethnic relations because she felt that all Chinese people shared a similar culture, while American people did not. Furthermore, there seemed to be an effort on Lan's part, as well as other Chinese international students, to want to glorify their own country's treatment toward minority groups.

Lan represented a majority of international students who were referred to by Vandrick (2011) as the *students of the new global elite* (SONGEs). This group came from high socio-economic backgrounds, therefore they could afford the high tuition costs of American universities. Vandrick (2011) explains that these students have lived, studied, and vacationed in various places around the world and often attended international schools. Therefore, they knew a great deal about American culture, and spoke English with ease. I argue that only around seven students from my study were in fact SONGEs (as described in the Goals section below). Lan came from a privileged family, but was

not as familiar with American culture, history, or race relations because she did not attend international school, or live abroad in America.

Lan's statement that it is a good thing to be a minority was shocking because it illustrated how out of touch she was with the experiences of different ethnic groups in China, the societal disadvantages they face, and why they receive higher scores on tests from the government in the first place. A common theme amongst Chinese international students was that their positionality of coming from a privileged ethnic and financial background, led them to have skewed views of home country ethnic out-groups. Many Chinese international students did not understand their own ethnic and financial privilege in China, thus they were blinded to the inequalities in their own country, let alone the racial inequalities that exist in America.

Lan explained that although China has 56 different government recognized ethnic groups, minority status is not based on physical features (like it often is thought of in the US). Rather, the 56 different ethnic groups are based on cultural and geographical differences. In the statement above, she is referring to Hui and Uyghur people who are often Muslims and therefore do not eat pork. She emphasized that ethnic differences do not factor into everyday life because people cannot tell what ethnic group someone is from, unless he/she speaks with an accent or cannot eat pork. Her conception of diversity, growing up in China, was that there were minor regional differences in dialect and cooking, but she felt everyone in China shared a common identity, history, and culture. These views were shared among 17 out of 19 Chinese participants. All Chinese students interviewed were from the Han majority ethnic group and grew up in the Eastern provinces of China, which may have biased their views toward ethnic minorities in

China. Lan felt that ethnic group status did play a role in everyday life when it came to college entrance exams. She explained that Uyghur's, Tibetans, Miao, Zhuang, and other minority groups received extra points on their college entrance exams. Possibly due to her Han ethnic status and privileged upbringing in Beijing, she did not have much interaction with ethnic Chinese minorities. Furthermore, it did not appear as though she understood the social inequities that the Chinese affirmative action policy was trying to counteract in Chinese society.

Not only did a majority of Chinese students indicate that ethnic minorities were treated well in China, there was a consensus that racial and ethnic tensions were looked at as a Western problem. This sentiment mirrors early communist leaders concepts of race, wherein problems regarding racial conflict were believed to only take place in America and Europe (Dikotter, 1992; Johnson, 2007). Whereas, in communist societies, everyone was considered equal (Harrell, 1994; He, 2005). While this is not the case in reality, these ideas were promoted by friends and family, and there were no mandatory diversity training courses at UCLA, that were in place to curb these notions. If there was a portion of orientation day or a mandatory diversity course for international students to take, these misguided perceptions could have been countered (Chang, 2002; Lin and Yi, 1997). Yenzi, a science graduate student, also agreed with Lan, that minority groups were treated well in China:

You know I feel the discrimination, or the racist stuff only exists here (in America), because I feel like in China, we always respect the minorities. Like for example in China, when you go to the university, if you are a minority, you will automatically add 20 grades to accept more. And I know people like from Tibet or

Xinjiang province, if they have 560 in their total grade they can go to the best university. But in other province, most of them are the majorities, they need to get as high as 630, that is 100 more than the others to get into the high level. So from a policy level we try to help the minorities more. –Yenzi

Yenzi understood that there were some tensions with separatist movements in Xinjiang and Tibet, but in her mind, all Chinese people shared a common history and culture. She said that from a young age she was socialized by her parents and teachers to respect the other 55 ethnic groups' cultures, but also understood that she was part of the Han majority that dominated much of China's political realm. Yenzi felt like America did not have a unified culture like China did:

I don't think [there is] one culture. Just say one thing I noticed, I see a lot, um, I feel like black people are more likely to do drawings on the wall. But I don't think Asians, whites, or Hispanics do that. So that's different culture. And I see Hispanic people love to put their shoes very high [on street electrical wires]. I'm not sure why they do it that way, I totally don't understand, maybe that is their culture. Maybe it means something very honored in their culture. -Yenzi

Yenzi was ignorant of different cultures in America and unfortunately came to racially stereotypical conclusions based on observations she made on the bus (Dovidio et al., 2010; Schneider, 2004). She observed that black people were more prone to write graffiti on walls, while Latino people were more likely to throw their shoes up on telephone wires and have them hang by their laces (a sign of bullying or drugs are being sold at a given location). In the absence of direct interaction, a racial diversity course, or

an American friend to dispel racial stereotypes, Asian international students relied on their observations to form racial stereotypes of out-groups (Johnson, 2007; Park, 1996; Talbot, Geelhoed, & Ninggal, 1999).

In America, Yenzi attributed different behaviors and cultures to different racial/ethnic groups. After living here only 4 months, America was still somewhat of a mystery for Yenzi, but she was beginning to form an opinion that American racial/ethnic differences were based on the fact that there was not one common American culture. On the other hand, in China, she felt that all 56 ethnic groups shared a common history and a similar Confucian culture. This conclusion of disparate American cultures was gleaned from observational encounters with racial/ethnic out-groups, not through direct contact.

A majority of Chinese students interviewed did not have frequent interactions with Chinese ethnic minority groups and the interactions they had with Westerners in China were mostly with white American or European English teachers. Hank, a Chinese business undergraduate student living in the US for five years, did recall there being one African-Chinese child in his elementary school with which no one wanted to play. Hank said that it seemed strange to him, at the time, to see someone with black skin, because he had never seen someone with these features before. When asked if he befriended the African-Chinese student, Hank said,

I observed him and thought why is this kid by himself all the time. I wasn't encouraged to be his friend so I didn't talk with him so much. I didn't say like, 'Hey man, whatsup, let's be friends!' It's not like that in China, everything is very systematic. There is like a right way and wrong way of doing things there. –Hank

Hank felt that coming to America made him more open to interacting with racial/ethnic out-groups, but felt that he was socialized as a child to not want to interact with diverse others. He said the other children used to tease the African-Chinese boy because of his odd appearance. Hank felt bad for the boy, but did not feel like he could break the social taboo of his peers and befriend this person. Hank indicated that he felt more encouraged to interact with diverse others when he came to America late in high school, but that in China, he did not have the opportunity, nor was he encouraged to interact with racial/ethnic out-groups. Even when Hank came to high school in America, he found it difficult to interact with Latino students, but was quickly socialized in an American context of how to interact with racial/ethnic out-groups at his high school. International students who had attended high school in America were all more racially tolerant and had more contact with diversity than international students who did not.

Hank was one of six students who attended high school in the US. All six of these students had similar experiences, in which they experienced cross-racial interaction at a young age. They experienced an initial phase of shock because they were not used to interacting with racial out-groups in their home countries. However after several years of being in America, they grew accustomed to interacting with different racial out-groups in America (Berry, 2003; Lin and Yi, 1997). Students who attended middle school or high school in America had a more tolerant attitude toward racial out-groups because they were more familiar and comfortable interacting with these groups (Vandrick, 2011). These students had a better understanding of the history and cultural differences that exist within America; therefore they held less stereotypical views of racial out-groups (Chang 2002; Hurtado, 2001). However, a majority of students did not grow up in America;

therefore, they were not as comfortable interacting with racial out-groups and held more stereotypical views of these groups.

Japanese Students' Home Country Experiences with Diversity. Japanese students interviewed said that Japan was also a homogenous society, but that there were Filipino workers, Zainichi (Japanese residents of Korean descent), Chinese businessmen, Ainu native peoples of Hokkaido, Japanese Brazilians, and Okinawans from Japan's southern-most island. Several students talked about how Filipino nightclub workers, Zainichi, and Brazilian born Japanese (*dekasegi*), were marginalized in Japanese society, in part, because of the notion perpetuated in grade school that Japan is a mono-ethnic country (Adachi, 2010; Peng-Er, 2005; Weiner, 1997; Yoshino, 1992). The major finding in this section is that Japanese society was looked at as very conservative, but that many students interviewed felt the younger generation was more liberal when it came to issues of racial diversity. Students who interacted with diversity from a young age, and/or were discriminated against because of their race, were more likely to be tolerant of racial out-groups (Fujino, 1997; Hurtado, Hurtado, Dey, Gurin, & Gurin. 2003; Yancey, 2002). A minority of international students' stereotypes about American racial groups were more likely to change, rather than inter-Asian stereotypes, which had been ingrained in students from a young age. Overall, Japanese students appeared to be more tolerant than Chinese and Koreans international students.

Saiko, a former high school teacher in Japan and a humanities PhD student who had traveled throughout South America asserted that there was a conservatism that permeated throughout Japanese society and governmental policies:

I think Japanese people have strong discrimination perspective for people in developing countries so Japanese people are afraid to, well, to raise criminal rate because of immigrants. So it's like Japanese government care about immigrant rate, so basically we don't accept immigrants. –Saiko

Cat, a humanities PhD student living in the US for three months, felt that the younger generation of Japanese were more racially tolerant because of her friends' attitudes toward Obama, Jero (a Japanese and African-American mixed heritage pop singer) (Black, 2009; Condry, 2007), and a growing movement to gain more rights for Zainichi. When discussing ethnic diversity in Japan, Cat mentioned the Burakumin, who are ethnically Japanese, who have been historically marginalized due to their occupations as leather tanners and undertakers in the 18th century Edo feudal structure (Clammer, 2001; Peng-Er, 2005). Similar to Lan's statement about Chinese ethnic diversity, Cat said she could not tell physically who was a Burakumin, but that they are mainly from the Kansai prefecture (where Osaka and Kyoto are located). She explained that she worked at a convenience store where her coworkers were of lower socio-economic status. One coworker, who was of Burakumin and Korean heritage, liked Cat romantically; however, Cat's mother warned her not to get involved with this person. Cat explained her mother's thinking:

If you marry him, I don't know about marry, but date, your future options will be smaller and smaller. Like if you dated someone with a more global mind-set you will have more options. But someone who is raised in Japan from those ostracized areas, it is going to be super narrow, so it was more about your options of your career would be more narrow. –Cat

Cat was explaining that diversity in Japan, as in China, is not necessarily based on race and ethnicity, but has to do with culture and socio-economic status. The boy who liked Cat was from a background that was discriminated against in Japan: Buraku and Korean heritage. Cat explained that she remained only friends with this boy because she wanted to heed the advice of her mother and felt that the socio-economic and ethnic difference between her and her co-worker were too great. It became evident that many Chinese, Japanese, and Korean international students were greatly influenced by messages of status and hierarchy growing up (Kim, 2008; Kobayashi, 2009; Peng-Er, 2005, Tanaka, 1997). Parents socialized their children by explaining that some ethnic groups and socio-economic groups were desirable to interact with, while others were not.

Many students in the study, such as Cat, came from middle-class and upper-middle-class backgrounds. This was evidenced by the occupations of the international students' parents as well as the fact that their parents could afford the exorbitant prices for out-of-state tuition and housing (Lin & Yi, 1997; Vandrick, 2011). International students, such as Cat, were coming from a background of privilege and status in their home country, which they strove to maintain while in the US as well. Status was maintained in the US by interacting with racial out-groups, which international students' gleaned were more desirable to interact with, namely white and Asian-American students (Grant & Lee, 2009; Liu, 1995; Tajfel & Turner, 1986). However, Cat experienced racial discrimination first hand, which made her more tolerant of other oppressed groups and more willing to interact with racial diversity.

Cat traveled to America when she was a girl and was knowledgeable about racial/ethnic tensions in Japan and in America; therefore she was more aware of her

privilege in society (Vandrick, 2011). She explained several incidences in which she was discriminated against, at a young age, which shaped her conceptions of diversity. For example, when she was visiting Los Angeles, a man in a fast food restaurant threw his trash at her family and said: “Go back to Asia and stop taking our jobs.” Additionally, when she was in North Carolina, a bus passenger shouted: “I don't want no Japs on this bus.” The bus driver ejected this passenger, but this incident launched a conversation with her parents. She was told that being Japanese meant she would face much discrimination in her life. Vigotsky’s Sociocultural Theory (Vigotsky, 1978) asserts that a child’s self-concept, cultural beliefs, and views toward out-groups develop first from interactions with caregivers/parents and is then internalized by the child (Ashmore & Del Boca, 1981; Vigotsky, 1978).

It became apparent that individuals who experienced racial/ethnic discrimination at a young age and grew up in more racially diverse environments, were more tolerant of racial diversity and willing to interact with racial out-groups (Fujino, 1997; Hurtado, Hurtado, Dey, Gurin, & Gurin. 2003; Yancey, 2002). However, a majority of students in the study had not experienced racial discrimination; therefore, they were less aware of racial oppression and less willing to interact with racial out-groups. While Cat’s familial influence and experience with diversity made her more tolerant of racial/ethnic out-groups, Takahashi’s conservative views led him to be more closed to diversity.

Takahashi explained that the Zainichi, Koreans who were forcibly taken to Japan during World War II (Peng-Er, 2005; Weiner, 2009), should not be given citizenship or be allowed to vote. Due to historical events of colonization of China and Korea by the Japanese, Takahashi did not trust Koreans or Chinese and had a palpable disliking for

these groups. He felt that Japanese people had a more developed culture and were the more superior when compared to other Asians. Takahashi said he avoided interacting with Korean and Chinese international students at UCLA because his negative stereotypes of them were deeply internalized. But his stereotypes of African-Americans were learned through media and were only surface, therefore he felt these negative impressions could easily be changed:

Yeah it's not as deep toward blacks. I don't have negative stereotypes toward black people. I just learned the stereotypes from TV, but it can be easily changed. But for the deep feelings toward Korean and Chinese, it cannot be changed. I think I have negative views in my heart and I don't think nothing can change them. –Takahashi

Unlike Cat, Takahashi had not been racially/ethnically discriminated against at a young age, therefore he was not as understanding or sensitive about racial issues. What was significant about Takahashi's case, that was generalizable to the larger international student population sampled, was the notion that prejudices that were taught to students at a young age were harder to dispel than those that were learned later on in life (Peng, 2010; Smith, Bowman & Hsu, 2007). This is significant to the study because inter-Asian national/ethnic stereotypes proved to be more difficult to change (due to the acquisition of these stereotypes from a young age), while stereotypes about American racial out-groups were more malleable. Stereotypes of American racial out-groups were mostly gleaned from media and oftentimes were formed later in international students' lives (especially stereotypes toward Latinos and Asian-Americans), thus negative stereotypes

of some American racial out-groups were more easily altered than inter-Asian ethnic stereotypes.

For example, Takahashi's prejudice toward other Asians was so deeply seeded that he was afraid to identify himself as a Japanese person to one of his UCLA professors, who was of Korean descent. Kobayashi's (2009) research indicated that Japanese and Korean international students befriended one another in ESL courses and subsumed a new pan-Asian international student identity. Takahashi appeared to not adopt this pan-Asian identity, but rather harbored strong stereotypes toward other inter-Asian groups, that were learned from a young age. On the other hand, Takahashi did make an effort to meet other American racial out-group members and came to the conclusion that African-American students "are just like me, they are normal people like me." Takahashi's prejudices toward Koreans and Chinese affected his choice of interaction in America, however, he was not racist toward non-Asian out-groups because these stereotypes had been acquired later. Besides Takahashi, Japanese students interviewed seemed to be the most tolerant and interested in meeting racial/ethnic out-group members. This may be due to the fact that a majority of Japanese students interviewed attended international schools in Japan, had teachers who were American, and had traveled outside of Japan (Vandrick, 2011). Thus they were exposed to diverse out-groups from a young age.

Korean Students' Home Country Experiences with Diversity. Korean students interviewed commented that Korea was also a homogeneous country, with minority populations of Chinese, Filipino, Vietnamese, North Korean, white-Americans, and Europeans. The major findings in this section were that international students who lived

or studied abroad were more critical of their home country's racial prejudices and greater length of stay in America often correlated in greater acceptance of diverse others (Berry, 2003; Ward & Rana-Deuba, 2000). It was also found that Korean international students harbored more negative stereotypes toward American racial minority groups than Chinese or Japanese students.

Jin, an undergraduate social science major, who attended high school in America, explained that she felt uncomfortable going back to Korea after having spent so much time in America because of what she viewed as a lack of diversity in Korea, and a society that was driven by status. Similar to Chinese international students interviewed, Jin also benefitted from being a member of the Korean ethnic majority group in Korea. However, Jin did not have a similar amount of financial privilege as other Chinese and Korean international students, which made her more critical of Korean society's preoccupation with economic status (Grant and Lee, 2009; Kim, 2008). Jin said she was frustrated by Korean society for putting a lot of emphasis on how one dresses, where one attends college, and what kind of career one pursues:

I am so stressed out about this, it is so homogeneous. It has this thing where it is one nation, so there is no diversity, so if you don't follow the one standard, you are the outsider. There is one standard that you need to follow. It is very stressful.

-Jin

Not only was Jin not as financially well-off as her counterparts, she had attended high school in America. Both these factors made her more critical of Korean society, especially what she perceived to be its racial homogeneity and emphasis on economic status. Jin felt that living in America for five years made her a more tolerant person. Now

when she visits Korea, she feels out of place and frowns upon her Korean friend's lack of sensitivity when it comes to issues of diversity. International students who attended middle school or high school in America were not only more tolerant of racial out-groups, but they were also more critical of their home country. This was due to time spent away from their home country as well as exposure to racial diversity and Western culture in international schools, which Vandrick (2011) dubbed *students of the new global elite* (SONGEs). Students who attended international schools in their home country also proved to be more open and comfortable interacting with people of different races/ethnicities. Yoon, a Korean humanities graduate student who attended an international high school in Korea, also critiqued Korean society as being too homogeneous and some of her Korean friends in Korea as being racially bigoted. Yoon explained that her friends in Korea were less racially tolerant because they did not grow up in a racially diverse environment. It was only until Yoon attended international school in Korea, that she began having cross-racial/ethnic contact. When asked if she thought that Korea was a conservative or racially insensitive society, she replied:

I think it is natural that they are racist because racism is not a word in Korea, it is not there in our culture, because it is a homogeneous society and when you see something different from you, it is natural to distance yourself and defend yourself. So I think it is just natural that Koreans are racist. –Yoon

From the quotation, it sounds as though Yoon is justifying Korean racism, however she was merely rationalizing why she heard racist remarks from her parents and Korean friends. She explained that racism is not even a word in Korea. As illustrated in chapter one, the term race was not in the vocabulary of China, Japan, or Korea until

Darwinist thought reached Japan and then spread to Korea and finally China (Dikotter, 1997; Kim, 2008). In these three countries, the word for racial difference was actually more related to geographical difference. However, as East Asian countries were influenced by European views of phenotypic differences and racial hierarchies, terms such as race were adopted into East Asian languages (Dikotter, 1997; Kim, 2008).

Yoon's perceptions of race and Jin's critique of Korean society are important because both cases illustrate that the longer international students spend in America, the greater the sociocultural adjustment and acculturation of the student (Berry, 2003; Ward & Rana-Deuba, 2000; Zhang & Goodson, 2010). Yoon, Jin, and other international students who had been in the US for three years or more, had more friends from racial out-groups, and were more comfortable interacting with strangers from racial out-groups.

Yoon, who had lived in the US for six years, explained that racism is only natural because if racial diversity was not prevalent in Korean society, there would be an intrinsic human fear that would be triggered when one confronts the unknown. She also talked about how she was socialized in school to think that Korea was a mono-ethnic country (*han minjok*). Later she learned about ethnic minorities such as Chinese working class immigrants (*Hwakyō*) and migrant workers from Southeast Asia that faced discrimination (Kim, 2008). A majority of Korean students interviewed said they had not seen Latino, African-American, Middle Eastern, or Indian people before coming to America; therefore, there was a sense of culture shock when and if they met these groups on a US college campus.

A majority of Korean students described Korea as a racially/ethnically homogeneous country; however, many students commented on seeing racial out-groups

in their home country and recalled how they reacted to seeing such difference at a young age. Young, a Korean humanities graduate student living in the US for one year, recounted seeing a black person for the first time in Korea:

Yes, when I was a middle school student, I met a black man at the bus stop. I thought that he just wanted to talk with me. He came from Nigeria to earn money, but at the time I was not afraid to speak English. So I started to talk with him, but when he asked me to be his friend, I refused him, because of my prejudice against the black man. I can tell I was really bad, but I was very young at the time, I just met him by chance and I didn't know him much and I just leave him there and took the bus and went back home. –Young

Young was told by her mother to be careful around black people, thus she was hesitant to talk with the Nigerian man. As Vigotsky describes (Ashmore & Del Boca, 1981; Vigotsky, 1978), socialization processes at a young age can have a huge impact on how adults view out-group members. Young's prejudice toward black people would drastically change when she observes a racially charged exchange on a bus in the US (explained below). Young, along with many international students, came to UCLA with racial prejudices toward black people (Johnson, 2007; McClain, Carter, & Soto, 2006), but in Young's case, diversity courses required by her education department combined with first-hand experiences with observing American racism made her a more racially tolerant person. In Korea, Young was uncomfortable interacting with a black person because she had never encountered one before and had received warnings from her parents about this racial out-group. Her mother advised her that it was acceptable to date foreigners, but that she should stay away from black boys. This stereotype may have

stemmed from African-American military presence during the Korean War as well as Western media portrayals of black people as less educated and violent (Fujioka, 2000; Kim, 2008; Russell, 1991). Origins of racial stereotypes will be discussed in the next section. Thus far, we have seen that length of stay in America, attendance at an international school or American high school, and experiences with racial discrimination at a young age are all predictors for more tolerant racial attitudes of Asian international students. We have also established that Chinese, Japanese, and Korean students view their home countries as racially homogenous, while America was described as a melting pot or a salad bowl. A final area of interest in this section that adds variability of racial attitudes between the three Asian countries being studied, is the finding that Korean students interviewed explained that they felt Korean society had strong negative stereotypes toward black people, while they felt Korean society's stereotypes of white westerners was positive (Grant & Lee, 2009; Kim, 2008). While this sentiment does not represent all Korean international students' perceptions, it was echoed by seven out-of-eight Korean international students in the pilot and dissertation study.

Linzy, a humanities undergraduate major living in the US for four years, explained that it is a common occurrence in Korea, for girls to pay for eye surgery in order to look more western. Linzy said the media portrayals of America are white, blond, and fashionable; therefore, many Korean women want to mimic Western fashion and physical features. Studying English in Korea was a sign of prestige and receiving a degree from an American university was a sign of higher social status. Many of the Korean students interviewed attended international school and four out of eight visited America before coming to UCLA. These two factors indicate that students interviewed

were from privileged backgrounds, but they also developed a critical awareness of Korean society from being in America for an extended period of time. Thus they were able to adopt a critical lens toward race relations in their home country. All Korean students interviewed stressed the importance of a racial hierarchy in Korean society in which whiteness represented the zenith of economic success, educational prestige, and aesthetic beauty. This hierarchy will be discussed in the next section.

One issue discussed by Korean students interviewed, was that of Vietnamese and Filipina brides coming to Korea to marry Korean farmers. Six out of eight Korean students interviewed talked about the rapid economic changes in Korea, ushering in a new migration from the farms into the cities. As Korean women move into the cities, Korean male farmers were left wifeless. Matchmaking businesses have sprouted up, linking Korean men with South East Asian women. However, ethnic and cultural tensions between the husbands and wives have arisen, with some resulting in husbands murdering their foreign wives. Students said this had something to do with ethnic differences of perceived notions of Korean superiority over Southeast Asian countries, but news articles also attributed the murders to internal marriage problems and mental illness of husbands (Le, 2011).

Linzy explained that Southeast Asian countries are looked down upon because their countries are not as economically developed as Japan and Korea. This phenomenon of Southeast Asian brides being discriminated in Korea is significant because it sheds light on the political, historical, and ethnic tensions that exist between East Asia and Southeast Asia. As indicated in chapter two, there is a complex relationship between East Asian countries, but there are also historical instances of colonization of Southeast Asian

countries by China and Japan. This history affected some of the international students' attitudes toward Southeast Asian students they meet on the college campus. There appeared to be an air of superiority on the behalf of some international students who would not befriend or date Southeast Asian students because of a perceived ethnic and socio-economic superiority(Grant & Lee, 2009; Le, 2011). It is imperative that student affairs officers and faculty are aware of these potential rifts between students so that they can facilitate programs and policies that will aid in ethnic tolerance and a more ethnically inclusive campus climate. Rapid economic growth in East Asia has led many Chinese, Japanese, and Korean families to send their children to college in America. But rapid economic growth has also led to ethnic and economic hierarchies of some East Asian students toward Southeast Asian students, which will be discussed later on. More than half of students interviewed expressed that there was an invisible racial/ethnic/national hierarchy in Asia, that placed East Asians on the top, while Southeast Asians were on the bottom. This notion of a racial and national hierarchy that stems from the growing economies of China and Korea (and the economic maturity of Japan) was most prevalent in Korean students interviewed, but also arose in Chinese and Japanese students' interviews.

As illustrated above, Chinese, Japanese, and Korean international students all explained that they came from racially homogenous countries, but that there was ethnic diversity. This section indicated that Japanese students appeared to have the most tolerant attitudes, while Korean students indicated the least tolerant attitudes toward racial out-groups. The most tolerant students, no matter the country of origin, were those that attended international schools, spent time abroad, and/or were exposed to racial out-

groups at a young age (Vandrick, 2011). In addition, Sociocultural Theory (Ashmore & Del Boca, 1981; Vigotsky, 1978) helped shed light on how individuals are socialized to think about race from an early age, which will have an impact on racial attitudes and behaviors on college campuses (Hurtado et al., 2003) All students interviewed were from the dominant ethnic groups in each country and lived in metropolitan cities; therefore, their experiences with ethnic minorities were limited. The following section sheds light on how international students' view American racial/ethnic groups prior to arriving in America and where these ideas originate.

Stereotypes about Americans and Origins of Stereotypes

Perceptions of U.S. Diversity Prior to Arrival in the U.S. In order for student affairs officers to create programs and policies that promote tolerance and a deeper awareness between student racial/ethnic groups, it is imperative to better understand what stereotypes East Asian international students have toward other racial/ethnic out-groups and from where these stereotypes stem. Utilizing Astin's (1991) I-E-O Model, this section will continue to explore the pre-college attitudes and beliefs of international students by analyzing the different stereotypes that East Asian international students have about different American racial/ethnic groups and where these stereotypes originate. It is important to identify the racial attitudes and perceptions (psychological climate) of international students in order to better understand how these perceptions may be affecting the over-all UCLA campus climate (Hurtado, Milem, Clayton-Pedersen, & Allen, 1999; Hurtado et al., 2003). The major finding from this section was that international students do not have a deep understanding of different cultures in America, US race relations, and American history, thus this gap in knowledge was filled with

stereotypes picked up from media images and hearsay from family and friends.

Cultivation Theory (Shanahan & Morgan, 1999) was implemented in this section to explain the process of stereotype formation through the act of consuming media. This section indicates that many international students consume film, TV, and internet media. Cultivation Theory (Shanahan & Morgan, 1999) asserts that these media portrayals of different racial groups accumulate over time and cultivate negative and positive stereotypes in the psyche of the viewer.

First, we will examine the initial impressions East Asian international students had of America, prior to arrival. When asked what the majority of people in their home country think about the racial diversity in America, sixty percent of East Asian international students said that they thought America was composed of either black people or white people. The majority did not know that there was going to be a Latino population in Los Angeles, and forty percent were surprised at how many Asian-American and Asian international students there were at UCLA. Five students commented that before coming to America, they viewed the world as divided between Eastern and Western peoples. Erin, a Hong Kong humanities graduate student explained:

After I came here I knew more about diversity, but before, I think, ‘Oh just think of it as a whole large group as Western people.’ But actually even Western people are black and white, and Asian-Americans. When I came here, I realized there is more. Before I just had some simple thoughts that the world was divided into West and East. –Erin

A majority of international students had similar views as Erin, in that they viewed the world as divided between eastern and western peoples. Erin's view of the world was problematic because she did not take into account that there was a plethora of racial, ethnic, and national diversity within the world. International students who were well traveled and/or attended international schools did in fact have a richer picture of diversity within the world (Vandrick, 2011). However international students who did not attend international schools were more likely to classify the world between eastern and western people. When it came to describing Africa, many students including Erin, had the perception that it was a continent of mostly poverty, government corruption, and violence (Fujioka, 2000; Johnson, 2007; Russell, 1991). Erin explained that she was fed images of Africa as being a poor and violent place, therefore coming to America, it was difficult for her to disassociate dark-skinned people with violence and criminality (Talbot, Geelhoed, & Ninggal, 1999). When asked about the Middle East, Erin thought many countries were run by dictatorial governments, had many religious fanatics and terrorists, and that there was a lot of oil in these countries. Her perceptions of Africa and the Middle East changed when she met an Egyptian international student who was light-skinned. She became romantically involved with this student and learned that Cairo was a modern city, that was not merely a desolate land with ancient pyramids (as she had thought before). Erin's view of the world as being simply divided between east and west was changed by her Egyptian friend:

Before I came here, it was a simplistic view [of the world]. Just Western and Asian, and not Africa and not the Middle East part. I live in Asia, so many cultural experiences with Japan, Korea, so Asian, but I know nothing about the

Middle East, something black in my mind, but no travel program to the Middle East, so no fantasies about the Middle East...But now the map is broader, I fill in some gaps. I still don't have an understanding of [Egyptian] culture, but at least I fill in the gaps, and the world is not like this, there are many more people. And I have a good friend, he is from Egypt and I learn more about Egypt, and it is not the world represented in the movies. –Erin

Erin would not have met this student if she had not attended UCLA's Dashew International Center, which hosts programs and provides visa counseling for international students. While Erin had a naïve sense of the racial, ethnic, and cultural diversity that exists in the world, she did challenge herself to go outside her comfort zone and meet people that were different than her at the international center. Erin represented a majority of international students who viewed the world as mostly divided between the east and west, and as we will see, viewed America, as mostly having a white and black dichotomy. We turn our attention to what international students learned about American racial diversity in their home country, which will prove important for student affairs officers to know what to teach in future diversity workshops.

A majority of students said they learned in high school that America was not a melting pot; rather, a salad bowl where different racial/ethnic groups lived, often separate lives from one another. Additionally, eighty percent of international students learned about Martin Luther King Jr. in their high schools but explained it was only one page out of the textbook and was somewhat abstract because they had little interaction with African-American people. The struggle for civil rights on the part of Latin heritage

Americans was unknown, as was the name Caesar Chavez. Only a handful of students had a firm understanding of American history, let alone a deep understanding of American history from a multicultural lens. Jin, a Korean humanities undergraduate who lived in America for 5 years explained what she learned in middle school:

I just learned about world history, they expect us to assume there are a lot of other people, but they don't really specify about how to interact with them and they don't tell us the ideal attitude toward other ethnicities. Because most people that grow up in Korea don't have interaction with foreigners, so a lot of people in Korea, they are not used to interacting with foreigners so they freak out when they walk up to them and they point at the foreigners. And it is kind of weird. –Jin

While Jin briefly learned about Martin Luther King Jr. and the Civil Rights Movement, there was no instruction on how to relate to other ethnic groups because these groups were not present in everyday life (Adachi, 2010, Kim, 2008; Russell, 1991). As illustrated in chapter two, in the absence of contact and in-depth historical understanding of a racial/ethnic out-group, negative stereotypes immerge (Peng, 2010). In terms of understanding of Asian-American history, many students did not have formal education regarding this group's history, and many initially thought that Asian-Americans would be very similar to Asian internationals. Jin remembered seeing a 1980s picture of Asian-American people wearing out-dated clothing. This image, in her textbook, made her realize that there were some Asian people in America, but that they must not be in the mainstream of society, because they wore such untrendy clothes. Other students, felt that Asian-Americans were individuals that had to flee their home

country because of political persecution and saw them as brave pioneers for leaving their home country. However, on the whole, Asian international students had little knowledge of Asian-American or Latino history, prior to arriving in America. Student affairs officers and policy makers should not assume that international students have a firm grasp of American history, race relations, government, or institutions. In fact, it would be beneficial to have an American history/government requirement for international students that also discusses race relations in a US context (Lin & Yi, 1997). In this way, international students, who will be the future leaders in their home countries and America, will better understand how to interact with American racial diversity, but also understand our political and social institutions more in-depth (Chang, 2002; Hurtado, Dey, Gurin, & Gurin, 2003).

In the rare case that contact was made with a racial out-group in one's grammar school years, shock and curiosity of the unfamiliar was a common reaction. As illustrated by Hank's comments when he first saw a white person in his home town, in Guanxi province:

When we saw [white people], we would be like wow they are from outer space. Just imagine you are living a boring life, seeing the same type of person everyday and then one day this person who looks completely different pops out of the air and he looks so different from you. You could be like get out of my territory. What would you do? Get out of my territory, no they weren't trying to invade us. So as a kid I was like man that is so cool! I've seen you on TV! I've seen your race on TV, that is the first time I saw someone who was white, when I was six. –Hank

Hank was excited and surprised to see a person who was white not only because of the uniqueness for a child to see someone who had a different skin color, but also because he had seen positive images of this racial group on TV. He indicated that the white woman was “so hot”. Even at the age of seven, Hank had linked white skin and blond hair with the idealized form of beauty depicted on TV. Media played a large role in the formation of East Asian students’ stereotype formation and conceptualization of race, as illustrated in Talbot, Geelhoed, and Ningal’s study (1999). Talbot et al. (1999) found that TV, movies, and news reports of the Rodney King Riots led Asian international students to view African-Americans as violent and second-class citizens. While Hank was excited to see a white person, Hachi, a Japanese undergraduate student studying communications, indicated that the first time he saw black people was a strange and somewhat scary experience:

I went to France and I saw the black French. I saw them on a train. I think that was the first time that I saw the black people. So I felt scary. I don’t know why.
–Hachi

Hachi was not necessarily prejudiced toward people with darker skin, he had simply never seen this physical feature. However, negative media images of black people, had accumulated in Hachi’s mind, thus leading to a negative view of this group in real life. Hachi explained that Japan is 95 percent Japanese and that people are not used to seeing foreigners. He compared his experience to looking at an apple. You expect it to be red, yellow, or green, but if it is blue, a person would be perplexed. He expected people’s skin color to be some shade of yellow or white, but not black or brown.

Hachi's initial feelings of uneasiness and stereotypes of black people were somewhat naïve and easily changeable. Many international students developed negative stereotypes of African descent people because of images portrayed through TV and film media produced in America as well as their home country. Both Hank's and Hachi's astonishment at seeing someone who looked different and the following accounts of students who develop stereotypes in their home countries are explained by media consumption. Cultivation Theory (Shanahan & Morgan, 1999) posits that the more negative imagery a person sees on TV, the more they believe these stereotypes to be true. Furthermore, the heavier doses of TV consumed, the more likely the individual is to alter his/her behavior in real life, based off of the fictionalized world portrayed on the TV screen (Fujioka, 2000; Tan, Zhang, Zhang, & Dalisay, 2009; Woo & Dominic, 2003). In this study, I utilized Sociocultural Theory (Turner & Tajfel, 1986) as well as Cultivation Theory (Shanahan & Morgan, 1999) to indicate that many of the students interviewed came from racially and oftentimes ethnically homogeneous milieus, which made their first encounters with racial out-groups jarring. Additionally, media consumption also played a role in stereotype formation as illustrated below.

Perceptions of African-American People. Before delving into cross-cultural interactions, it is important to identify racial stereotypes East Asian international students held of the four most populous racial/ethnic groups, as specified by UCLA's Office of Analysis and Information Management (UCLA Office of Analysis and Information Management [AIM] Website, 2010). International students were asked about their views toward African-American people prior to arriving in America and seventy percent said they held negative views toward this group. Findings indicate that media, family/friends,

and historical precedents, all fed into negative stereotypes of black people. Linzy, a Korean undergraduate who went to high school in Canada, explained that prior to attending UCLA, she viewed African-American people as a threat:

Well I was scared [of them]. I know it sounds terrible. I don't want to lie. But I think it is the media's fault because I watch the movies and I see big guys, drug dealing and I saw the big aggressive guys are tough and they shoot. I thought only black people are very violent and aggressive. If you never met them, you would be scared. I think I still have a little, you know. If you never met them I think I'd be scared. –Linzy

More than fifty percent of students were even warned before coming to America to watch out for African-American people because they were often less educated, carried guns, and were prone to committing robberies. A majority of students credited films like *Crash*, NBA basketball games, and MTV hip-hop videos for inculcating them with ideas that African-Americans were dangerous, good at dancing, athletic, and aggressive (Fujioka, 2000; Johnson, 2007; Russell, 1991; Talbot et al., 1999; Tan et al., 2009). As Fujioka (2000) points out, Japanese international students who were exposed to negative images or positive images of African-Americans were influenced more dramatically than white domestic students. International students both in Fujioka's study (2000) and the current study, were heavily influenced by American media that portrayed African-Americans in a mostly negative light. Hank, explained that it was not only American media that was perpetuating stereotypes of African-Americans as aggressive and violent people:

In this Chinese TV drama, it is about this guy who goes to America and gets robbed by a black guy and that is the only time a black guy appears in the movie. So if I'm a Chinese person, what do you think I'm going to think of black people 'Oh man, better watch out for black people when I come to America!' that's how it was dude! The only scene in the whole 42 episodes, what do you think people will think of black people?

Hank, as did Yoon, felt it was only natural that Chinese people would internalize images of violent African-Americans because it is promulgated widely in media. Cultivation Theory posits that the more these images are consumed, the more they are internalized as 'truth' from the media consumer's perspective. Cultivated stereotypical images combined with a lack of physical contact with a given out-group results in perpetuation of prejudice (Fujioka, 2000).

Zeek, a Chinese humanities undergraduate student, explained that when he visited America with his middle school class, he was advised by his teachers to be wary of black people on the street in Washington D.C. The teachers explained that "they might kill you if you don't give them some money", and this fear was compounded by a story his father told him:

I also heard a case from my dad who was a visiting scholar in Berkeley. He heard a story about a Chinese guy who got shot because he turned around to see the black person's face [who was robbing him] and he got shot. So that gave me an impression that black people don't necessarily negotiate. They are hard to communicate with and they use violence a lot.

Zeek heard from trusted adult figures, that black people were prone to violence and were to be avoided as a safety precaution in America. Zeek was socialized, mirroring Sociocultural Theory logic, to have a negative view of African-Americans. This was only challenged when he took a diversity course at UCLA, which will be described in the next section.

Stereotypes toward African-American people were promulgated further, by friends, family, and media. Elan, an undergraduate humanities major who was born in America but moved to Hong Kong when she was a child, explained how she was socialized by her family members to think a certain way about black people:

My grandma would say, Elan, don't talk to those *mak yen* people (meaning ink colored/black people). And she would say, 'oh that is a mak yen, don't date them.'

I figured she was just old fashioned. –Elan

Elan understood that her grandmother grew up in a more conservative time and disregarded this statement as 'old fashioned.' When Elan came to the US, other information she received about black people was also negative, leading her to the conclude that African-Americans as well as Latinos, had a different culture than her:

But black people are fine, but they are...they have a really sexualized culture, just like Latinos. Have you seen that youtube video called Walla Walla and it's just black women dancing with their butts, that's great, that's how you dance, but it's like four minutes of butts in a Walmart and it's not classy at all, I don't know. I've met some really great Latino and Black people in my life, but in general, they are not really my type. –Elan

Elan's statement is troubling because her prejudices toward African-Americans and Latinos are being created through media that objectify and simplify these racial groups into stereotypical, monolithic groups. Many international students interviewed, mirrored the sentiments of Elan, in the sense that they did not hate African-Americans and Latinos; however, they did feel uncomfortable around them and chose to distance themselves from these groups. According to Hurtado, Milem, Clayton-Pedersen, and Allen (1999) and Hurtado et al. (2003), a vital part of creating a campus climate that promotes racial tolerance, starts with a tolerant psychological climate. This refers to the attitudes one group has toward another group. If international students are entering UCLA with negative attitudes toward certain groups, or gleaning negative stereotypes through a lack of interaction and an absorption of media, then the goal of creating a racially tolerant campus is in jeopardy. International students are being admitted at a startling rate (Open Doors Report, UCLA, 2010), but if student services, faculty, and staff do not pay attention to educating international students about issues of racial/ethnic tolerance, there will be a missed opportunity to enrich both domestic and international students' educational experience (Berryman-Fink, 2006; Lin & Yi, 1997). At worst, continued balkanization and negative stereotype accumulation may lead to racial confrontations as illustrated in the tragic Chinese university race riots in the late 1980s (Johnson; 2007; Sullivan, 1994).

Elan came to the conclusion that African-American people were not people she would want to befriend through messages she received from media that portrayed black people as hyper sexualized and of lower-status than she. These impressions of black people as hypersexual and violent were also prevalent in the Korean students

interviewed. One student, Young, a Korean humanities graduate student, said her mother was open to her daughter dating people of other races, but told her to avoid black men, due to historical issues in Korea:

In Korea, not only me, but other people have prejudice against black man. There is a US military in Korea and there are a lot of Black people and they violate and they bully Korean women and they go away, go back to their country without any punishment and it made Korean people get angry a lot. These accidents happened a lot and that made Korean people prejudice against them.

Kim (2008) described how white-American GI's antagonism toward black GIs was internalized by Koreans, during the Korean War. Furthermore, accounts of African-American servicemen raping Korean women during the war as well as the Korean-Black violence that occurred during the Rodney King Riots all perpetuated a deep seeded mistrust between the communities (Kim, 2008; Park, 1996). Media portrayals, familial influence, and historical precedents created a perfect storm for Korean students to have the most negative stereotypes out of the three Asian nationality groups surveyed. Perceptions of white people were extremely different, illustrating that media images, family and friend influences, as well as home country schooling, represented white people in a more positive light. Closely tied with positive stereotypes of white people was a racial hierarchy that placed white people at the zenith.

Perceptions of White People. Film and television shows in Asian countries gave East Asian international students' positive impressions of white Americans and Europeans. For many, the word America, evoked images of blond-haired, blue-eyed, and

white skinned people who lived comfortably, were well-educated, wealthy and physically beautiful (Kim, 2008; Kobayashi, 2009; Larson, 2002). There was a desire to want to emulate the white American lifestyle of having a nice house, fancy car, and a good education. Part of some international students' goal of coming to study in America was to gain a better job and a higher status in their home country. Another aspect of gaining status in America and abroad was linked with financial status, but also the status of one's romantic partner. Zhun, an electrical engineering Chinese graduate student, explained that dating white people was a sign of prestige in China, while dating a darker skinned person was a sign of lower-status:

I think if you get an American boyfriend than you get more respect because you are more competitive I think maybe Chinese people more like to get not the African people, maybe the native US boys. Because the white boys are more beautiful in their minds. -Zhun

Zhun was speaking of historical antagonism between Chinese and Africans. Cheng (2011), pointed out that historical Chinese nationalism has evolved into Chinese racial/ethnic superiority, as China has become a global economic power. Dikotter (1997), He (2005), and Wyatt (2010) indicated that the Sino-Barbarian dichotomy combined with Social Darwinism created a racial hierarchy, in which white and yellow races were seen as intelligent and hard working, while blacks were seen as uncivilized and unintelligent. These racist thoughts remained through the decades of Mao and Deng, as illustrated by Chinese intellectuals even in the 1990s feeling that much of America's poverty and crime was caused by African-American populations (Lufrano, 1994). These racist views have even made their way onto college campuses as illustrated in the 2008 Columbia

University Chinese Scholars and Students Association play entitled Finding Li Wei. In this student performed drama, one actor said that America was a nice place, but that “We need to get rid of those Black people in Harlem. I’m terrified by Black people!” (Cheng, 2011; Blaag, Tumblr of Columbia University's Asian American Alliance, 2008). This comment received a great deal of laughter, causing some black organizations and bloggers to question the racial equity and sensitivity in China (Cheng, 2011). The racist dialogue was in reference to a Columbia incident in which Ming-Hui Yu, a graduate statistics student, was struck dead by a car after fleeing a fourteen-year-old African-American assailant near Columbia University (Amzallag, Peacocke, & Pianin, 2008). Racially charged incidences like these fed into racial stereotypes of black people as being dangerous and animalistic, while whites were viewed as the exact opposite.

Zhun, indicated that it is not desirous to date a black person in China because it is associated with Africa and the developing world (Dikotter, 1992; Johnson, 2007; Russell, 1991). On the other hand, she viewed dating white men as improving her social status because whiteness was tied to western economic development, America and England’s prestigious education system, and Hollywood movie stars. Larson (2002) and Kang (1991) explained that European-Americans have historically been portrayed as heroic, intelligent, and powerful characters in films; therefore, stereotypes of a similar yolk would be perpetuated. Dae, a humanities undergraduate student, felt that African-American people “did not get enough education so they grow to be criminals.” She went on to describe them as violent because she saw the film *Step Up*, where African-American protagonists “smash in cars and steal.” When asked whether she would be open

to dating an African-American student, she was hesitant because of the violent images she was fed as well as the physical appearance of African-Americans:

They will hurt me because they are so big and I don't like their curly hair and big lips...it's not my style. It may come from Western aesthetics of blond and white. When I see [white] guys with their shirts off running, me and my friends say cool! Wow, Brad Pitt is walking! -Dae

Dae's description of African-American men is particularly disturbing because of the derogatory language used and the lack of racial sensitivity or even understanding that not all African-American men are violent individuals. Dae was in the minority when it came to explaining why international students would not want to date African-American people. A majority of students felt that making friends on the college campus was alright because they were thought to be well educated people, not criminals. However, there was a sense that African-American people outside of campus (on the street or on the bus) were not to be trusted. Nonetheless, at least seven students reiterated Dae's sentiments, illustrating that there was a phenomenon of taking media stereotypes at face value. A majority of the seven students who shared Dae's feelings toward African-Americans, had been living in America for one to three months, lived off-campus, and reported few interactions with racially diverse others in their weekly interaction charts. These three factors proved to be important for international students' attitudes toward and willingness to engage with racial out-groups. While befriending African-American people was alright, dating them was usually not acceptable. Not only women were turned-off to dating African-American men, but Chinese, Japanese, and Korean male international students also had reservations about dating African-American women because they felt

they might be less educated, hard to communicate with, more sexually promiscuous, and came from financially disadvantaged families. These were not just stereotypes at play here, there was a larger world view, on the part of international students, which categorized the world based on a racial/ethnic and economic hierarchy.

Global Racial/Status Hierarchy Created from Stereotypes. Zhun's and Dae's trepidation and fear of dating African-American men was linked to perceived levels of wealth, education, and status. Whiteness was something that connoted higher status, while black skin did not. Skin color was used as an identifier of one's socio-economic level. Black and Southeast Asian people were often associated with nations that had low Gross Domestic Products (GDP), while white and Asian people were associated with nations of higher GDP (Bonilla-Silva, 2004; Grant & Lee, 2009). All too often students would rationalize the lack of a strong GDP in a country to the laziness of a racial group, thus creating a global hierarchy where skin color connoted national origin, as well as individual behavior.

This was problematic because many African-Americans and Latinos were born in America, but were viewed as lower status in society, due to what Bonilla-Silva (2004) referred to as perceived black collectiveness of marginalized racial groups. International students rationalized this fact by explaining that it was not always national origin that determined societal outcomes of certain groups, but it was also culture. African-Americans were thought to be raised in mostly impoverished neighborhoods, thus they developed a poor work ethic and often resorted to lives of crime to make a living. Lee (2010) describes domestic students' racism toward international students as neo-racism, which refers to the negative attitudes and discriminatory treatment based on an

individual's country of origin and of an individual's culture. I would argue that international students also illustrated neo-racist tendencies toward domestic students because of the hierarchical classification many created based on culture, race, and national origin. There is a historical precedent in Western colonialism and economic dominance that is deeply connected to why this hierarchy came about, including Europe's dominance over Africa and Asia for much of the 19th century and America's involvement in the Sino-Japanese War and the Korean War (Kim, 2008). America's presence in Asia in the 19th and 20th centuries led to the promulgation of negative African-American stereotypes through commercial blackface/darky products such as Aunt Jemima, Darkie toothpaste, and Sambo characters (Kim, 2008; Russell, 1991). Following America's victories in two World Wars and the subsequent rebuilding of Japan fed into students' views of whiteness as closely linked with military, economic, and cultural superiority:

I think Asian people think that White culture is a little higher than Asian culture. We are proud of our culture, but you can't help the fact that white people created all the structures in the world. Also Japan was democratized by Americans, and maybe that's why I think American is a bit higher than Japanese. –Keiko

Keiko, a Japanese humanities undergraduate, was honest about her historical views of Western powers being dominant militarily and economically throughout Asia. American and European colonialism in Africa and Asia led to a widely held belief among international students, that not only was whiteness something that connoted prestige, but that Western culture was placed above Asian culture in a global hierarchy. This hierarchy was heavily based on economic output of a given country/region, and an individuals' skin color indicated one's position on this totem pole of status. Thirty percent of students used

the gross domestic product (GDP) estimation of a given country to illustrate how Asian countries were faring in what appeared to be a globally constructed status index. Korean students seemed to be more aware of this status differentiation as explained by Jay, a former police officer in Korea, turned graduate student. Jay articulated that Argentina and Korea had the same GDP fifty odd years ago, but that Korea was now more economically powerful than Argentina. Again, mirroring Lee's (2010) neo-racist construct, Jay attributed this GDP disparity to cultural differences. Four out of eight Korean students, explained that the disparity between Latin-American countries and Korea was due to a strong work ethic, emphasis on education, and a desire to move up the socio-economic ladder in Korea:

It's education. The main thing is that Korean people give motives to educate, but this stems from a culture of discrimination. So if you do well, that's good, but if not, people look down on you. In some ways it is very mean. The suicide rate is very high, among Asian countries. It is number one suicide rate. We are obsessed with being number one. -Jay

This emphasis on being number one was closely tied to Jay's purpose of coming to the US. He wanted to receive a college education from an American university, in order to leave his job as a police officer and become a professor in Korea. He explained that professors are well respected in Korea and share the same, if not higher, social status as lawyers. Jay rationalized Latin-America's lack of economic rise to a lack of concern with higher education on the behalf of Latin-American parents. But Jay conflated Argentina's GDP with low-income Mexican-American workers in Los Angeles. He saw a common link in Latino culture, which stressed a lack of hard work and a diminished

emphasis on education. He juxtaposed Asian culture to Latino culture, in an effort to explain Asia's economic progress and South America's perceived lack thereof:

The reason is because their nature, they don't pay attention to education.

Japanese, Chinese, and Korean society has a frenzy for higher education. But I was told that the Latino people are not so interested in pursuing higher education or studying hard. And many scholarships ask if you are Latino because many people are not studying who are Latino, so they have affirmative action. So if you are Latino and you study a little bit harder, I think they have a higher chance to have a good education because the competition rate is lower. But Taiwanese and Korean people are very hard working but there is much more competition between them. –Jay

Jay conceived of Latino people as a monolithic group, with little differentiation within the racial category. He thought of Latino people in Los Angeles as sharing a similar culture as Latino people in Argentina, which showed a lack of historical understanding of this racial group. Many of Jay's stereotypes were based on Korean textbooks, American news articles, and his observations of Latino day laborers in Los Angeles. His negative stereotypes were compounded by a lack of interaction with Latino students at UCLA.

There seemed to be a lack of historical understanding as to why affirmative action programs were created, why there were scholarships geared toward Latino students, and the socio-economic barriers that prevent some Latino high school students from pursuing a higher education. Also apparent, was a need for Jay to elevate his own ethnic status into

the honorary white status (Bonilla-Silva, 2004), in light of a perceived lower-status out-group. Kim (1991), explained that some of the hierarchical differentiation could be explained by a human desire to want to elevate one's own in-group status, while cultivating a lower social status perception of an out-group. Additionally, Sidanius and Prato's (1999) Social Dominance Theory, indicated that societal hierarchies persist because groups adopt hierarchy-enhancing myths in the hopes of gaining entry into higher-status groups. Tajfel and Turner's (1986) Social Identity Theory also corroborates this notion that people create perceptions of out-group members in order to increase self-worth and feelings of in-group camaraderie. Social Identity Theory will be discussed further in the cross-racial contact section.

Prior to coming to America, a majority of international students interviewed, had a mental hierarchy, based on skin color, of a person's education level and economic status. June, a Korean undergraduate student did not necessarily subscribe to a racial/status hierarchy, but admitted she was influenced by it:

We think whites are superior, everything is like whites whites whites! Blacks nope, not as good, and Southeast Asians, nope. I don't know why, I think this way about blacks, maybe because we were influenced by the whites. And America helped us a lot and we think American whites are superior and blacks aren't and the South Eastern Asians aren't. Their countries are poor, so we are wealthier than them and they look poor. –June

June was explaining that Southeast Asians and blacks were looked down upon in Korean society, while whites were lauded. Jay reiterated this sentiment, adding that the

reason whites were on the top of the hierarchy was because of the superior education system they have in America as well as the historical dominance of Western powers over Asia, Africa, and Latin-America. Jay went a step further by explaining that English was closely associated with Caucasian people, not with racial/ethnic minority groups in America (Kobayashi, 2009):

Many Koreans think white people are superior to Asian people and second is East Asian people and it's kind of my stereotype. In my opinion many people think African-American people and Southeast Asian people are inferior to East Asian or white Caucasian people. It is interesting thing in Korea, many people want to learn English because it is a symbol of the socio-economical status, because if they know English they have a chance to go to a good university and get a good job. –Jay

The goal of coming to America to learn English, gain a better education, and improve one's status in one's home country all fed into the racial/financial status hierarchy (Vandrick, 2011). Similar to prior research, learning English and studying in America were often associated with Caucasian people, thus leading to the perception that African-Americans, Latinos, and Asian-Americans were not optimal English language teachers and were looked at as not authentically American (read Caucasian) (Grant & Lee, 2009; Kobayashi, 2009; Tanaka, 1997; Murphy-Shigematsu, 2002).

Fourteen of the thirty-three students indicated that there was a racial hierarchy, and several even drew a diagram of the hierarchy to illustrate the point. African-Americans and Africans (often conflated), were seen as having the lowest status because

of the poor living conditions in Africa and the criminal and economically depressed images of African-Americans seen on television. Latinos were placed slightly above African-Americans, then came Asian-Americans, and on top were whites (both Americans and Europeans) (Bonilla-Silva, 2004; Grant & Lee, 2009). This racial hierarchy was often reaffirmed by family members, peer influence, and media portrayals. But the racial/status hierarchy was not an abstract idea, rather it was used in everyday life to make decisions such as who to date, befriend, and interact.

Ally, a Hong Kong undergraduate student who had several residential life leadership roles, explained that there was a Southeast Asian-American person at her work, that was romantically interested in her. She was conflicted as to why she did not want to date him, but then came to the conclusion that:

Um Burmese, probably not the type of person I would date. It's not really racism, but it would not be the type of person I would date. Like, I probably think a person from Manhattan would not date a Brooklyn person. Those uptown girls don't date Brooklyn guys. -Ally

There was clearly a perceived economic difference that Ally was alluding to. She conflated ethnicity and socio-economic status because she made an analogy in which she was the Manhattan, upper class woman, who would not dare think of dating a lower-class Brooklyn man. But thinly veiled, beneath this analogy was a potent feeling of racial/ethnic superiority that Chinese/Hong Kong women do not date Southeast Asian men. Ally had the stereotype that Southeast Asian people were of lower status than Chinese people and was basing her decision to not date her Burmese friend, based on this

stereotype. When asked to clarify why she did not want to date her Burmese co-worker revealed not only her stereotypes, but the significance racial/socio-economic hierarchies played in some international students' minds:

Yeah because, you know, Southeast Asia, they usually represent poverty and drug dealing things, I don't know, because we want to date a better social class. I would love to make friends with them, but when it comes to dating, it is totally another issue. –Ally

Ally was a member of residential life and was a student employee of UCLA. She went through diversity training with the office of residential life and she thought of herself as very tolerant of others. She explained that many of her friends were from various racial/ethnic backgrounds; however, Ally clearly held serious prejudices toward African-Americans and Southeast Asians that may affect how she treats others in her role as a student residential life leader. In Ally's case, friendship making with people lower on her hierarchy was acceptable, but dating them was scoffed at. The stereotypes that she learned from her mother, media, and her social milieu in Hong Kong, directly affected her choice of whom she chose to date and how she viewed the world. However, Ally was similar to many international students who contradicted themselves by saying that stereotypes do not affect how they interact with different racial/ethnic out-groups on campus, but clearly Ally's negative stereotypes of Southeast Asians was so potent, that she refused to get involved romantically with this out-group (Liu, 1995). Ally was involved in an organization (UCLA residential life) that promoted racial tolerance and diversity programming; however, she was also having to balance the conservative views with which she was raised. This balancing act between home country conservative values

and American liberal attitudes toward racial diversity was exhibited by many international students (Lin & Yi, 1997). Those who stayed in America for a longer period of time and had more contact with racial out-groups were more likely to shed their conservative home country views toward race, but in the case of Ally, she was still working through this developmental process.

Racial hierarchies and positive impressions of white people were a dominant theme throughout the interviews. Today, large populations in America have adopted a more liberal and tolerant attitude toward race and ethnicity, in which racial stereotyping and discrimination is frowned upon (Maranto, Redding, & Hess, 2005). However, China, Japan, and Korea do not have a similar history of racial strife that America has had, and as a result, a similar attitude of speaking about and interacting with people from different backgrounds is not always handled in a sensitive manner. This does not justify some international students' racial stereotyping or racist views. But I do hope to offer the reader a lens through which an international student approaches his/her experience in America. Many racial/ethnic stereotypes are adopted through socialization processes as a way of protecting international students from dangerous situations or people in a new country. These international students grow up in a different social context than many Americans, and are thus socialized to conceive of racial diversity in a different way. However, the racial/socio-economic hierarchy of international students mirrors that of an American person's hierarchy, which goes to show that much of America's racism is exported abroad through media (Fujioka, 2000; Tan et al., 2009). Thus it is not surprising the amount of racial baggage international students bring with them to America. If anything, it is a call to action on the part of college officials to create programs and

policies that help ameliorate these racial/ethnic prejudices and misconceptions. Before exploring how stereotypes are changed, we will examine stereotypes toward two other student populations at UCLA: Latino students and Asian-American students.

Latino Stereotypes. When asked if international students had stereotypes or ideas about Latino people prior to coming to America, sixty percent said they did not have any ideas about this group because they did not see this racial group in their home country, nor in popular media (Rivadeneira, 2006). Yet, Korean students, who had stayed in the country longer, expressed a sense of camaraderie with Latinos due to common immigrant values of hard work and family unity (Cheng & Espiritu, 1989; Min, 2007).

Yuki, a Japanese UCLA Extension student enrolled in a four-month program, explained:

It's difficult for us to think about Latin people because they are not in the Hollywood movies so I don't have an image of them. -Yuki

Students had some vague ideas that Latin American people had pretty eyes and were good at soccer, but when it came to identifying Latino people, a majority of students could not tell the difference between white and Latino people. The lack of stereotypes toward this group was a result of few images in the media. Many students had no idea that Los Angeles would have a large Latino population, but developed ideas about Latino people through daily experiences and observing their surroundings in Los Angeles:

I didn't know much about them before I came here. I think my stereotype is after I came here, because I saw, in our dining hall, that the workers are mainly Mexican-American workers. So I think they don't receive as much education as

the white man. Because the worker who is repairing the bathroom and pool of my aunt's house are all Mexicans, and the people who work in Covell Commons, they are Mexican Americans too, doing the lower jobs. So I formed a stereotype about them. And orientation, there is a boy who said that he is the first from his community to ever come to the college. -Mingqu

Mingqu saw that Mexican-American people were doing menial jobs at UCLA and at her aunt's house, therefore she developed ideas that many Latinos were working class people. She even met a Latino student who explained that he was a first generation college student, further feeding into her stereotype that Latinos had financial difficulty sending their children to college. Other students did not know what Latino meant, and were educated by their friends as to what type of person was considered Latino. Dae, a Korean humanities undergraduate student, studying at UCLA for three months was confused by what Latino meant and asked her friends to explain. She saw a blond haired, Brazilian man, and thought he looked American:

Yeah, in my building off-campus, there was a blond guy so I saw him and I turned to my roommate and said, 'He really looks like an American guy.' But she said that he is Brazilian. But I said, 'Wow he is Brazilian, he looks American!' I never imagined that a Brazilian man had blond and white skin. So I say that you guys said that Latino people are the same as Brazilian? And my friend said no, [Brazilians] are not Latino, only Mexicans are Latinos. -Dae

Even when international students sought clarification from domestic students as to how to interpret the racial diversity around them, they sometimes adopted the prejudices

of their domestic counterparts (Dovidio et al., 2010; Schneider, 2004). Pettigrew (1998) and Allport (1954) pointed to the fact that increased contact between different groups promotes tolerance, but unfortunately extended periods of interaction with domestic students led to an adoption of domestic students' stereotypes. When Dae asked her roommate if Brazilians were discriminated against in America, she said they were not because they were blond and light-skinned, therefore they were equal to white people. Dae was learning from her white-American roommate how to categorize different racial and ethnic out-groups. Dae thought that because they were light-skinned and blond haired, they might be more Spanish, linking them to Europe, which, for her, was a continent that represented European high culture and a strong economy. This was problematic on many levels because it fed into Dae's conception that light skin and blond hair were the epitome of beauty, were markers of status in America, and helped reinforce negative stereotypes she had about Latinos.

The majority of interviewees had no prior stereotypes of Latino people, and a majority could not tell the difference between white people and Latino people because they had never seen Latino people on television or in real life. A majority of students did not have any perception of Latinos prior to arriving, but simply talking with other international students who had been in Los Angeles longer and observing people on Los Angeles buses led to stereotype development. More than thirty percent of students grouped African-Americans and Latinos together as being of lower economic status and more prone to commit robberies. Negative stereotypes were perpetuated by older international students, who warned newly arrived co-nationals that Latino people were likely to rob them in certain neighborhoods. A majority of students interviewed, reported

that they saw few African-American and Latino students at UCLA with which to interact, therefore negative stereotypes could not be broken. A lack of students and faculty of Latino background led to a rationalization of Latino culture as not hardworking:

And for Hispanic people, they would like to live a happy life and when they have time they would rather sing and dance and have fun with family and they don't want to devote all their life to research and work. That is why we don't see a lot of Latino professors because you have to sacrifice a lot. –Yenzi

Yenzi developed this idea by observing Latina women on the bus. She thought they lived a relaxed life because she observed that the Latina women on the bus had a lot of children and she assumed they had the time to take care of them. Just by observing racial out-groups on TV or in real life, but not interacting with them in a positive manner, could promote negative stereotypes (Bandura, 1994; Schneider, 2004). She had been in America for only five months, lived off-campus with her family, and interacted only sometimes with people outside her racial/ethnic group. Yenzi was not blatantly racist, rather she was uninformed and had no one in her life to educate her about racial and socio-economic differences in Los Angeles. As Yamato (1991) points out, there is blatant racism, in which people are outright racist without apology, telling certain people that they dislike them because of their skin color. Unaware or unintentional racism is when someone has good intentions but is operating on misinformation and as a result behaves in a racist manner (Yamato, 1991). Many international students exhibited signs of unaware/unintentional racism because they either learned negative stereotypes from the socialization process in their home country, and/or were acquiring new stereotypes in America, from international and domestic peer groups. A majority of students indicated

in so many words that everyone should be treated equally, no matter what their skin color was. But all too often, international students contradicted themselves by adopting stereotypical and racist views toward racial out-groups. There was some variability in who held more stereotypical views. Students who had lived in the US for more time learned the common American (nonetheless, derogatory) stereotypes for Latinos:

But I know that majority people are immigrants and they get low paid jobs and they have to do several jobs a day so they don't have time to teach their kids and they have a lack of education and a lot of them are short and they don't... I don't discriminate about any ethnics, but I just don't have a chance to make friends with them. –Gao

Gao had been in the US for three years and had attended a community college that had a large Latino population. He also took ESL courses at a night school where his classmates were working-class, middle-aged, Latina women. All these factors influenced his perceptions of Latino people. He explained that he doesn't discriminate against anybody, he just simply has not had the opportunity to interact with this racial out-group on a deeper level. Gao's stereotypes were modified when he became romantically interested in a Latina student who happened to be in a community service club he attended. Gao's perceptions of Latino people changed when he met her, illustrating the power that romantic relationships can have on stereotype change (Shibazaki & Brennan, 1998; Mok, 1999). The important role romantic relationships play in stereotype change will be discussed in a section below.

While Chinese and Japanese students were not very familiar with Latino culture, four out of eight Korean students not only knew something about their culture, but felt that there were commonalities that Latino and Korean people shared:

To tell you the truth I love Latino students. We get along really well! Basically the family values we share, because Latino/Latina culture really value families right? Probably because they are Catholic, I don't know. I grew up Catholic so that is one reason I felt comfortable being with Latino and Latina people. And even from my MA program, my two best friends are Latinas. –Yoon

Yoon felt that she shared common religious and family values with Latino students. Additionally, Young, another Korean graduate student, felt that she knew little about Latino culture, but once she met students in her classes, she felt that they were family oriented like her:

Before I came here I had no thoughts about that. So there was no clue to compare to before but after interacting with them I thought their culture was similar to Korean culture, they are very nice, they are friendly and I don't know outside of the campus, but on campus the students who are Latino and Latina they are very nice and family oriented, and friendly. -Young

Both Young and Yoon were graduate students in the humanities who had taken courses on diversity and were in classes where they were able to interact with Latino students. These factors may have contributed to some Korean international students positive views of Latino students. In a 1995 survey of Korean merchants in Los Angeles (Yoon, 1997), 80% of respondents preferred Latinos as employees while only 10%

preferred African-Americans as employees. Ethics, personality traits, and cultural similarities were sighted as main reasons why Korean store-owners favored immigrant Latino workers. These groups were thought to share strong family values, children's respect for parents, belief in the American rags-to-riches dream, and Christian values (Cheng and Espiritu, 1989; Min, 2007). Several Korean students who did interact with Latino students did find that there were more similarities than differences, indicating that positive contact could reveal commonalities between groups. However, social distancing between these groups often occurred because of a lack of interaction as well as negative stereotype accumulation. Interacting with and taking classes about diversity played a large role in not only having a tolerant attitude, but also finding common cultural threads between seemingly different groups. Overall, international students were unfamiliar with stereotypes of Latino people and only learned about this group after spending time in America.

Asian-American Stereotypes. Understanding Asian international and Asian-American relations is vital to higher education research because in 2011 alone, Asian-American/Pacific Islander students comprised 37% or 9,941 in population of the UCLA campus (UCLA Office of Analysis and Information Management, 2011). As illustrated in chapter two, studies on international students views toward African-Americans have been executed (Talbot, Geelhoed, and Ninggal, 1999), but studies regarding Asian-American and Asian international relations are few and far between. As illustrated in this section, many Asian international students chose to attend UCLA because they thought they would have less culture shock at a university with a large Asian-American population. International students anticipated a cultural and social closeness with Asian-American

students, but for the most part, Asian-American students were thought to be too Americanized and were unwilling to interact with Asian internationals. International students' stereotypes of Asian-Americans as being hard working and intelligent was similar to domestic students' stereotypes of this group. However international students' notions that Asian-Americans were more Americanized, differed from higher education literature that indicated that Asian-Americans sometimes feel like perpetual outsiders in their own country (Sue, Bucceri, Lin, Nadal, and Torino, 2007; Museus and Kiang, 2009)

East Asian international students had few preconceived notions of Asian-American students prior to arrival, because there was a dearth of media portrayals of this group in film, television, and news as well. There was, however, an understanding that UCLA had a large population of Asian-American and Asian international students. This was a major pull factor for internationals to attend UCLA, rather than a Midwestern or east coast American campus. International students were pleased at how many Asian looking students were at UCLA when they arrived, however they quickly realized that Asian-American students were more Americanized than they previously thought. There was a cultural barrier between Asian-American and Asian international students, which led to a lack of interaction. Four students described Asian-Americans as "bananas," stating that they had difficulty making friends with them because "inside they were white." Lan, a Chinese graduate student explained her perceptions of Asian-American culture:

When they grow up here, they have the culture of here. So they may look Asian, but they are already equipped with American culture, they know

what other Americans think and they can act in the American ways. You know when they eat, when they discuss with people, when they do a speech, they are totally American. But people from international, they are not born here, so they equip themselves with their own culture from outside this country when they come they will feel the conflict. -Lan

The conflict Lan is referring to, is one of straddling two cultural worlds. More than half of students interviewed said that Asian-Americans were Americanized, however one third, mostly from the science fields, felt that Asian-Americans were caught between being Asian and being American. Hu, a Chinese science graduate student, who lived in America for three years, explained his perceptions of Asian-Americans:

I feel a little sad about them because they are not really American, they are not really Asian. Most of the times they are with another American-born Chinese. They form like a small group, which is kind of pathetic, it's not good for them, they are kind of isolated. -Hu

Hu, a material science graduate student, felt a level of sadness regarding Asian-Americans because he felt they were left out of both Asian international and white social circles. Hu may have been referring to the fact that some students in the STEM (Science, Technology, Engineering, Mathematics) fields came from immigrant families, faced linguistic and cultural barriers on campus, and as a result, felt more comfortable interacting with Asian international students (Ma, 2010; Xie and Goyette, 2004). It became evident that international

students from math and science fields held the view that some Asian-American students in their STEM classes were culturally more similar to Asian internationals, thus they were easier to befriend. On the other hand, students in humanities majors viewed Asian-American as identical to white Americans:

Asian-American people are Americans, they are not our people. But sometimes I think they have prejudice against their own country because Taiwan and Japan and China are almost as developed as America, but they think about the old days when East Asia was not so developed. –Jay

There was a perceived level of hostility in Jay's words, in that Asian-American students believe that Asian countries were less developed than America. Jay believed that most Asian-Americans had a lack of connectedness and awareness of the growth of East Asian countries. While Jay seemed to make a clear distinction between Asian-Americans and Asian international students, Himal explained that Asian-Americans and Asian-international students were only generations away from having a similar culture. She also echoed Jay's concern of Asian-American students rejecting and losing their Asian heritage:

First generation has a little mixed [culture], second generation not so much, and by fifth, no more. Depending on generation. Yeah I was a little bit sad to see, Korean-American cannot speak Korean. But that is the situation. I advice if you are Korean, at least you should know your mother tongue. -Himal

Himal stated that Korean-Americans were simply American, and the above quotation is her explanation of how, over time, Korean immigrants' culture becomes eclipsed by an American identity (Zhou, 2004). She, along with other international students were saddened by a lack of cultural connectedness Asian-American had. She also voiced a level of disappointment in Korean-Americans not being able to speak Korean, thus turning their back on their culture. Upon arrival at UCLA, she felt comfortable that many of the students and staff faces were Asian looking; however, she quickly realized that their culture was different from hers'. Keiko shared similar views but went further by saying that "inside of them is white. So I don't have similar topics as them, even though they look similar." International students' perceptions of Asian-American students was unique, because it challenged international students' racial hierarchies.

This hierarchy was challenged because Asian-Americans were phenotypically Asian, but culturally they were American. There was almost a level of admiration toward Asian-Americans because they spoke perfect English, had some Confucian values from their parents, were perceived to be 'model minorities' in America, and were also accepted by white social circles (Tuan, 1999; Zhou, 2004). There were some detractors that indicated that American culture had corrupted Asian-Americans' Confucian values by making them more sexually liberal and less respectful to authority. But for the most part, Asian-Americans were initially thought to be ideal roommates and friends.

International students who had stayed in America for at least four months, began to recognize that Asian-Americans were culturally more similar to Americans than Asian internationals. This realization was spurred by interactions with Asian-American students where there was a perceived communication barrier, a perceived lack of desire on the part of Asian-Americans to associate with the lower social status international student out-group, and a perceived Asian-American “whiteness.” International students’ perceptions of Asian-Americans as being “white,” in a cultural sense, prevented them from wanting to socialize with this group. Keiko’s main group of friends was international students, both Asian and European. She expressed that she could practice English with her international friends; therefore, she did not “care about [making] native friends.” Additionally, she, along with a majority of international students, found it difficult to find common topics to discuss with Asian-American or white-American students, and as a result she distanced herself from these communities. A lack of common topics of interest to discuss led to frustrating interactions with Asian-American and European-American students; therefore, many international students, gave up trying to befriend or get to know European-American students.

Social Identity Theory (Tajfel & Turner, 1986), indicates that international students choose their social networks based on comfort level, perceived social status, and perceived common identity between members. In Japan, Keiko thought of herself as having a Japanese identity. Upon coming to America, her social identity was altered because she adopted a new international

student identity. Kobayashi (2009) indicated that international students had a tendency to adopt a pan-Asian international identity when they study in a non-Asian country, but Keiko took on a pan-international student identity that allowed her to be friends with both Asian and European students. It was not uncommon for international students to only associate with international students because of cultural closeness, a common sojourn experience to bond around, and language commonalities. Keiko was a unique case in that she could speak English fluently but chose to only interact with Asian and European international students with whom she felt like she had more in common. However, Keiko was representative of the larger international student population sampled in the sense that she was more than happy to interact with Asian-Americans who were interested in Asian culture. International students were hard pressed to find Asian-American students who were, in fact, interested in Asian culture, unless they met at international clubs or Asian culture based clubs. Overall, international students felt that Asian-Americans were more American than Asian, therefore it was more difficult to socialize and befriend them.

Students who had lived in America for four months or more indicated that Asian-Americans were more Americanized, but students who were here less than four months, had notions that Asian internationals and Asian-Americans shared common Confucian values and beliefs. International students explained that Asian-American students shared remnants of Confucian culture where elders are respected, group unity is prized, hard work is rewarded, and being humble is valued. Takahashi felt that all Asians, no matter where they were born, shared a

common culture of hard work and strove to improve their station in life, which was a representative voice of those international students who, at first, felt that one's Asian appearance would be indicative of his/her values and behaviors. He compared Asian-Americans to Latinos:

The first generation immigrants don't speak English well. And I think that is right for every race or kind of people, but the Asian people are, I don't know biologically hard working, like culture makes them work hard. Hmm...so they try to climb the ladder to succeed, but Latinos, I think they stick to their own culture, generation to generation. –Takahashi

Takahashi did not have any knowledge of Asian-American cultures prior to coming to America, but he felt that there was a universal quality about Asian people that made them hard working. Takahashi's racialized thinking of Asians as a monolithic group that inherently had a culture of hard work, further fed into this student's conception of a racialized global hierarchy. Takahashi was only one of four students who spoke of biological racial differences in regard to learning abilities. A majority of students did not subscribe to a biological construction of race, in which characteristics and abilities were based on one's physical appearance.

A majority of international students viewed Asian-American students as being more Americanized than Asian internationals (Zhou, 2004). However, ten international students surveyed felt that Asian-Americans exhibited the best of both American and Asian cultures, illustrating a hybridized culture that some international students aspired to adopt. Part of this admiration of Asian-Americans was due to the fact that Asian

international students were seeking acceptance into a new American environment and to better improve their English abilities. Asian-Americans were thought to have both of these qualities and thus were perceived to be a higher social status group, which Bonilla-Silva (2004) refers to as honorary whites. One student chose her roommate because she had heard that Asian-American roommates were the best:

They make the best roommates because their mentality is the same as us and we can eat some Asian food without considering the smell and that kind of things, but they are good at English because they are natives so it is the best! Haha! Yeah my friend has one Japanese one and she is very satisfied with her roommate because she can eat Asian food because her roommate is native and it is good to learn some English from her. But one of my friends is blond and is a very beautiful white girl but she is a party girl and she smokes pot in rooms so there are conflicts with that. So she is having conflict with her. All my friends watch these two cases. So we all think American-Asian is the best choice. –Dae

Dae observed her friends' roommate experiences and concluded that rooming with Asian-Americans was the best because they shared a common culture, studied hard, and were willing to practice English. Her positive view of Caucasian roommates was somewhat tarnished, but this one event did not alter her positive stereotypes of white Americans. Dae, along with other international students indicated that Asian-American students that were friendly and made good roommates were more 'Asian' in culture and demeanor. Asian-American students with whom international students felt they had little in common with, were viewed as honorary whites or too American (Bonilla-Silva, 2004; Tuan, 1999). They were considered honorary whites in the eyes of lower status

international students, because of the cultural, social, and economic capital that some Asian-Americans possessed (Bourdieu, 1994; Zhou, 2004). This was one instance where race, culture, and societal status collided. Asian-Americans were always racially/ ethnically Asian; however, their cultural closeness with international students' Asian culture was a defining factor to friendship development and a feeling of acceptance on the behalf of internationals. Asian-American students who could speak an Asian language, enjoyed eating Asian food, and attended Asian ethnicity based clubs were more likely to befriend Asian international students because of perceived cultural closeness. International students also commented that Asian-Americans who were more in touch with their Asian heritage were somewhat ostracized by the mainstream American/white culture on campus. International students related to this feeling of ostracization and were viewed as cultural outsiders on campus, thus certain Asian-American students who shared these sentiments were viewed as in-group members to the Asian international student group. However, these Asian-American and Asian international friendships were not as common as international students thought prior to arrival at UCLA.

Overall, Asian-American students were looked at as being more American than Asian (Zhou, 2004). Additionally, Asian international students felt as though they could not develop meaningful relationships with Asian-Americans because they had few common interests to discuss, their culture was too different, and there was a perceived air of superiority on the part of Asian-American students toward internationals, which will be discussed in the stereotype change section.

Stereotype Change

The Role of Contact in Stereotype Change. As illustrated in the above section, international students do not view Americans as a homogenous group. Rather, there are stereotypes specific to each racial/ethnic group at UCLA, which appear to affect who international students interact with and befriend. These racial/ethnic stereotypes were learned from media, friends, family, and peers in one's home country as well as in America. The following section will explore how these stereotypes are challenged, if at all, through international students' experiences while at college. Following Astin's (1991) I-E-O Model, we now explore the *environment* of college and how it affects international students' beliefs and attitudes about racial diversity.

Allport (1954) and Pettigrew (1998) indicated the importance real life contact could have on prejudice reduction. These authors found that prejudice reduction took place when specific conditions were in place, as illustrated in chapter two. For example, when both groups making contact have common goals, support from authority figures, equal status, and time for friendships to develop have all been proven to reduce stereotypical views of out-group members. Furthermore, diversity courses were shown to be instrumental in changing racial attitudes of undergraduate students, by teaching the history of out-group members and promoting a culture of racial equity and awareness (Chang, 2002; Hurtado et al., 2003). Nevertheless, international students often befriend co-nationals in order to form an emotional and social support network in their new college environment (Maundeni, 2007; Woolf, 2007). These co-national networks help reduce stress, homesickness, and improve psychological health (Kim, 2001). Similarly, international students' friendships with domestic students proved to lessen international

students' homesickness, increase levels of acculturation, and improved their language abilities (Church, 1982). While research enumerates the benefits of domestic friends and points to the fact that international students desire friendships with domestic students, all too often language and cultural barriers, lead to social distancing between international and domestic students (Church, 1982; Hayes & Lin, 1994). Few research explores the role stereotypes and prejudicial views play in international students' friendship formations on college campuses. Thus, this study seeks to shed light on this overlooked area.

As indicated in chapter three, international students filled out a weekly interaction chart. These charts indicated who international students interacted with in a given week. From triangulation of data collected from interaction charts and interviews, it became apparent that international students did not have more than one or two interactions with domestic students on a weekly basis. Even if international students did come into contact with racial/ethnic out-groups, first impressions and stereotypes of a particular out-group could affect international and domestic students' interactions. As Behao pointed out, it usually took more than one positive experience with a racial out-group member to challenge his prejudices. When asked to quantify how many people it would take to break a given stereotype, Behao, an undergraduate Chinese economics students living in America for three months, indicated that first impressions were important to how he viewed racial/ethnic out-groups. Behao's story will be explored, in an effort to represent international students who had only been in the country for one to three months and their experiences on campus that spurred stereotype change:

If I meet one bad guy first and five positive cases, maybe it will be a little bit different because the first impression is very important for me. -Behao

First impressions proved to be important for many international students who illustrated a great deal of cognitive dissonance because at one level they were relying on media and peer influences to categorize racial/ethnic out-groups and predict their attitudes/behavior. But at the same time, international students were having real life experiences with domestic students, and were recalibrating their racial out-group stereotypes based on usually one or two interactions with a given racial/ethnic out-group. For example, Behao, was roommates with several white American students. He had a positive impression of white people before coming to America. However, living with white roommates gave him the impression that white people like to party, do not worry too much, and lead simple lives. Behao grappled with the impression of white people he saw on TV and the real life experiences he was having with his white roommates. He did not throw away the stereotype of the wealthy, well-educated white person he saw on TV, rather he developed multiple stereotypes, which added a level of complexity to his view of white people.

When Behao spoke of white people at UCLA, his new impression of white UCLA students were that they were carefree partiers, who did not focus as much on their studies as Chinese international students did. But when Behao, and other international students, spoke of white people on a broader scale, they fell back on first impression stereotypes, that this group was advantageous to marry with because of their wealth, work ethic, and higher social status. Many international students had similar contradictory attitudes toward racial out-groups because the more experiences they had with domestic students,

the more they had to process new pieces of stereotype affirming or disconfirming evidence. There was often a struggle between relying on old stereotypes and processing new ones, as illustrated by Rothbart's (1981) Stereotype Bookkeeping Model.

Behao also indicated that first impressions affected his perceptions of dating partners. When asked if he would date an African-American women, he replied:

I don't know, maybe not. Maybe there is still the stereotypes thing. This is like the first impression because the first impression came from the movies and this gives a negative image of this person, so when you see this person, that negative image will first jump up [in my mind]. –Behao

When Behao was asked if he would date a white-American woman, he said he would because he had a positive first impression of white women. But when it came to black women, Behao's first impression was too negative for him to date a member from this group. Behao did not come into contact with black people in his residential halls or in his classes, therefore this negative first impression remained. In the case of his white roommates, Behao did form an opinion about them, but he admitted that he rarely talked with or even interacted with them, even though they lived together (Church, 1982; Hayes & Lin, 1994). It was common throughout the interviews to hear that international students did not talk much with their roommates, yet stereotypes were created from observations and short interactions international students had with their roommates. Behao's case illustrates that it is not enough that international students live with domestic students, there must be a concerted effort on the behalf of residential life coordinators to

encourage positive cross-racial and cross-cultural interaction (Shook & Fazio, 2008; Van Laar, Levin, & Sidanius, 2005).

Field of Study's relationship to Inter-Cultural/Racial Contact. Contact experiences and stereotype formation did not only take place on-campus, but also occurred off-campus, usually on the bus or in the workplace. Humanities students appeared to take more classes that dealt with racial diversity, and had safe spaces where they could discuss issues of race, while math/science majors did not. Yung's story illustrates how observing race relations off-campus, combined with on-campus diversity courses, could be a powerful catalyst for stereotype change (Pettigrew, 1998). Yung, a Korean graduate humanities student, was told by her mother to watch out for black people and heard stories about African-American men raping Korean women during the Korean War (Kim, 2008). She had also seen negative portrayals of black men on the internet and TV which frightened her to even sit next to African-American people on the bus:

I can tell a story, if black people sit next to me, I feel a little bit uncomfortable, maybe this is my prejudice. I heard there are accidents that black people did, and the news reported these things and they are related to gangs, in addition, some news reported that black people do um, something with drugs. Yeah drug dealing or whatever. -Yung

Yung's view of African-Americans changed when she started taking education courses that taught her about education inequalities and American history of race relations. Similar to Chang's (2002) and Hurtado et al.'s (2003) work that found that

undergraduate diversity courses fostered tolerant views toward minority groups, Yung's classes challenged her thinking about African-Americans, Latinos, Asian-Americans, and white-Americans. But there was one event in particular that made Yung drastically change her stereotypes toward African-American people and even the way she treated racial out-groups. Yung was riding the bus when an African-American woman and the Latino bus driver had a disagreement about where she was allowed to disembark from the bus. The bus driver finally opened the bus doors to let the woman off, but as the woman stepped off, the bus driver purposefully started to move the vehicle forward, causing the woman to stumble slightly. The bus driver then began to clap, and soon all the passengers joined in the applause; a sign of contempt and jubilation at extricating the African-American woman from the bus. Yung said she was disturbed by this incident for several days, which made her realize the following:

It made me realize the reality in America that racism still exists. I thought it still existed in America, racism, but some people said oh no there is no more racism here. But I saw it. So I am a witness of that. –Yung

Yung vowed to treat African-American people better from that point forth and began talking to some of her fellow classmates who were African-American. This marked a significant stereotype transformation for Yung, which closely resembled Rothbart's (1981) Stereotype Conversion Model. In this model, a person's perceptions of a racial/ethnic out-group can change drastically based on a personally significant event or experience. Although Yung did not interact directly with the African-American woman on the bus, she witnessed a racially charged event, and received a great deal of disconfirming evidence. The bus experience made Yung want to learn more about

African-American people, therefore she began talking with a fellow classmate, whom she quickly befriended. Other students observed racially charged events off-campus, but there was not a place in their department or at UCLA to process what they experienced, therefore they often interpreted these encounters through common stereotypes. However, Yung was in a humanities department that stressed issues of race and diversity, thus she could process her experience. Similar instances of rapid stereotype change were rare amongst the international students interviewed. Most international students' stereotype change process was gradual, occurring over several years.

Yung's experience was more speedy. The fact that Yung was in a master's program that had African-American students in her classes, she was taking courses on diversity issues, and was already interested in researching multicultural issues prior to coming to America were all factors that led Yung to change her views in a timely manner. Yung's interest in racial diversity, combined with the bus incident led her to be open to befriending African-American students:

One of my friends is black, but she is a genius, very clever. Her thought is very clear and she analyzes things really good, so whenever I hear her opinion, I follow her, my mind changed like that. Sometimes I ask her about prejudice, and she gives me kind of answer and she is also interested about prejudice topics. –Yung

Yung represented a population of international graduate students who came to America to study about multicultural issues, thus she was being exposed to the history and culture of different racial groups (Bowman and Denson, 2011; Eller & Abrams, 2004). She was one of five graduate students who were either studying education or

anthropology. All six of these students were interested in issues of race, were open to interacting with racial/ethnic out-groups prior to arrival, and were willing to challenge their prior perceptions (Vandrick, 2011). Also, students like Yung were more likely to have racially diverse classmates, smaller classroom sizes, and more classroom projects that required student interaction (Hurtado, 2001; Hurtado, 2005). Other international students attended large lecture halls where there was little chance to cross-racial interaction, there were few lecture hall group projects, many of their lab partners were Asian international students, and their lab principal investigators were often Asian-American or Asian international as well. Yung and other graduate international students studying in the humanities proved to experience the most contact with racial out-groups, took the most amount of diversity courses, and had the most racially tolerant attitudes of international students in the study.

Diversity Courses Effect on Stereotype Change. Observations and physical contact in one's daily life proved to be an effective avenue for stereotype change, but so too did college courses on diversity. Only eight out of thirty-three students interviewed took a diversity course, but all students who did, said it affected how they perceived and thought about race. As illustrated in chapter two, diversity courses have been shown to increase cultural awareness, interest in racial differences, foster a greater appreciation for multiple cultures, and even increased students' critical thinking skills for domestic students (Astin, 1993; Hurtado, 1996; Chang, 2002; Gurin, 2004). The following examples illustrate that diversity courses had similar affects on international students as well. Zeek, a Chinese undergraduate studying humanities in the US for three months, explained that he did not really like African-American people prior to taking a sociology

diversity course, which was part of his major requirements. From what he saw in the media, they seemed cocky, aggressive, and uneducated. Compounding this image was his middle school teacher telling his class stories of African-American men robbing and killing Chinese tourists in New York. Zeek interacted with African-American students on the basketball court. Here his stereotypes toward this group were affirmed because he experienced several altercations with African-American students over foul calls.

Zeek's prejudices were challenged when he read class assigned articles from an African-American journalist who described the difficulty of hailing a cab in New York City and the fear women had of him when he walked down the street at night. Zeek did not realize the hardship that some African-American people faced in America, and as an international student, Zeek even felt connected to the author's theme of being an outsider in America. He did not completely change his stereotypes but his view of African-Americans began to change. As Rothbart (1981) points out, Zeek was following the Bookkeeping Model of stereotype change, in which he was weighing both the positive and negative evidence he had for this group. Eventually the disconfirming evidence may change his ideas, but for now, he was still in the process of altering his stereotypes. Zeek was one of eight students who took a diversity course at UCLA. All eight students who took diversity courses indicated that it had a significant affect on how they viewed racial out-groups. However, six of the eight students who took diversity courses already had racially tolerant attitudes prior to arrival in the US, and were mostly graduate students who had already studied issues of diversity in their home countries (Bowman & Denson, 2011; Eller & Abrams, 2004; Vandrick, 2011). So while diversity classes were affective in altering stereotypes, it appeared that undergraduate students and students in the

sciences, business, and engineering fields were not being exposed to courses on racial/ethnic diversity.

Even humanity majors, who had taken courses on diversity in their home country colleges, benefited from diversity courses and built upon their understanding of race relations in America. Diversity courses in Amy's home country focused on inter-Asian diversity, rather than racial/ethnic diversity in an American setting, therefore she learned a great deal from UCLA diversity courses. Through these courses, Amy, a Chinese humanities graduate student living in America for five months, was surprised to learn that there were still instances of institutional and structural racism in America. She explained that watching positive portrayals of African-American people, such as *The Pursuit of Happiness* with Will Smith, in conjunction with taking a course entitled Race and Education, led her to realize the extent of inequality in America:

We see a lot of these movies but we don't know these types of problems. We know black people problems but we don't know the Mexican struggle. Before I came I felt like black and white people were pretty equal. But when I take classes and we talk about these issues I am shocked to learn that it is not true. Obama is the president now, so I thought they are pretty equal, but there is something underlying. -Amy

Amy did not interact with many Latino or African-American students or adults outside of the university. She did say hello to Latino students in her classes, but the contact was minimal. Even in America, her richest education about and experiences with racial out-groups were on the movie screen and from a college course on race. Amy was

not deliberately trying to avoid interacting with other out-groups, but simply felt more comfortable interacting with other Asian international students. From her class, Amy learned that microaggressions were subtle insults that were used to refer to a racial minority group (Solarzano, Ceja, & Yosso, 2001). Amy's Chinese international friends used to tell her to watch out for black men who may steal her purse when she traveled to downtown Los Angeles. But after taking the course on race, she recognized these statements as microaggressions and corrected her friends for their lack of sensitivity and understanding.

Knowledge gained in diversity courses was a powerful tool for Amy because she became equipped with language, history, and research about racial tolerance, which she used to educate her friends and family. Amy was representative of the larger humanities graduate student population who came into UCLA with a racially tolerant attitude, but by taking diversity courses, they learned even more about race relations in America (Gurin et al., 2002). While Amy did not necessarily have much contact with racial/ethnic out-groups as she would have liked, the lack of interaction with racial/ethnic out-groups was mitigated by the educational experience she received in class. For other students, mostly non-humanities majors, who did not take diversity courses and who did not have much cross-racial contact, they were more likely to develop negative stereotypes.

Winnie was a good example of the larger population of international students in the study who did not take diversity courses. She was a Chinese business graduate student who had no stereotypes or prior knowledge of Latino people before arriving in Los Angeles. She was even unaware that there was going to be a large population of Latino people in Los Angeles, because she thought America was comprised of

predominantly African-American and Caucasian people. Winnie observed Latino passengers on the bus and came to conclusions about this racial out-group based on observations, conversations with international friends, and the nightly news:

I don't think I have Mexican-Americans in our business school. But I meet a lot, they are all cooks and workers in the cafeteria and the driver of the bus is Mexican-American. Now I know about them, Mexican-Americans like to give birth to babies, they have a lot of babies. It is very poor in their country and they immigrate to America illegally, that is what I know now. And why they are not in higher education, they are very poor and when they come to America, we think that the jobs they do are very low, but maybe that is enough for them so they can live a good life with that, so maybe they don't feel they need to be well educated. And maybe they are just not smart. –Winnie

Winnie was a *tabula rasa* when it came to perceptions of Latinos, but after five months in Los Angeles, she learned, and appeared to internalize, all the negative stereotypes about Latinos. In the absence of a diversity course that could have challenged her stereotypes, Winnie relied on prejudiced views toward Latino people that were promulgated on the nightly news (Rivadeneira, 2006). Additionally, Winnie did have superficial contact with Latinos, but none of the criteria of Allport's (1954) or Pettigrew's (1998) Contact Theories were met. Allport stated that contact would not change stereotypes unless both parties were of equal status, there was potential for friendship to develop, there was an authority figure facilitating inter-group interaction, and there were mutual goals/outcomes for the meeting. Pettigrew (1998) added that friendship potential, repetition of positive encounters, and prolonged periods of time spent together must also

be in place for prejudice reduction to occur. Many international students, including Winnie, had vicarious contact with Latino people, however, they were as disconnected from the individuals they observed in the cafeteria and on the bus, as the images they saw on the TV screen. Winnie also matched a profile of international students who were more prone to developing negative racial stereotypes: they lived with other international students off-campus, did not work on-campus, attended few international student clubs/events, attended classes with few racial/ethnic minorities, lived in America less than one year, had few domestic friends, and came from relatively upper-middle class backgrounds (Elliot & Trice, 1993; Olaniran, 1993; Oliver & Wong, 2003). All these factors led to stereotype development, but there were also characteristics among international students that often predicted a more tolerant attitude toward racial out-groups.

Reason for Studying Abroad's Effects on Stereotype Change. Students who had the goal and intention of coming to America to learn about diversity proved to be much more tolerant and were excited to learn about racial, ethnic, and cultural out-groups, even if they were not required to take a diversity course. These students were more open to racial diversity even before coming to America, therefore, they were more likely to interact, befriend, and live with racially diverse others (Mok, 1999; Shibasaki & Brennan, 1998) Part of this openness stemmed from exposure to diversity in their own countries from a young age. Bowman and Denson (2011) point out that students who experience and learn about racial diversity and history of marginalized groups in K-12 education, are more likely to engage in and be more comfortable with cross-racial interactions. On the other hand, students who are not exposed to diversity prior to

college, are more likely to be more cautious, more superficial, more tense, and less engaged when they do have interactions with diversity on-campus (Bowman and Denson, 2011). Vandrick (2011) dubs this group, *students of the new global elite* (SONGEs), because they come from economic and cultural privilege, but have also been exposed to living in different cultural settings. They have vacationed, lived, and studied in different countries, are adept at American culture and speaking English, and many have attended international schools in their home countries. These students also exhibit global awareness, cross-cultural communication skills, and global citizenship identities (Vandrick, 2011). This section takes these findings a step further and asserts that international students who may or may not have been exposed to diversity from a young age (SONGEs), but were curious and eager to engage with diverse others, exhibited a greater propensity for stereotype change.

Kosu, a Japanese student who lived and attended community college in the US for three years, was very succinct about why he came to the US: “The reason I come here is because I want to experience diversity, that is why I came to LA.” He explained that he could have gone to college in Japan, but that he wanted to experience life in America. He felt that by coming to the US, he could learn different languages and cultures, which would one day help him as an international businessman. Kosu’s open attitude led him to change his stereotypes easily:

To break the stereotype, I need to meet someone from the culture. I met a friend from Yemen and we hang out a lot and he is a really nice guy. But before I met him, I wasn't that interested in Yemen, but after I met him, like the word Yemen sticks in my mind, so when I read the news, I pay attention and they are

translating into democracy so I ask how his parents are doing. Yeah, actually, my stereotype changed dramatically, because before I met him I had a doubt that all East Asians, no Middle East people is bad, but after I met him, I am confident that they are not all bad. –Kosu

Kosu lived off-campus and by himself, but in order to not feel isolated in his one room apartment, Kosu attended international student events and talked with students in his classes. He met his Yemeni friend at a community college student government meeting, of which he was a member before transferring to UCLA. Kosu said he joined student government because he wanted to challenge himself and he was told that other Japanese students do not do these types of things. Kosu was shy at first in America, but realized that if he did not involve himself on campus, his communication and social skills were not going to improve and he did not want to waste the resources his parents spent on him. Kosu attended community college for the first two years of college in America, in order to save money. He was from a fishing town in Japan and his father worked in the fishing industry. His middle-class background may have affected his desire to take advantage of all educational opportunities in America, and seek out leadership roles in student government.

There was something unique about students like Kosu, who deliberately went out of their way to challenge their beliefs and attitudes. There was a hunger for knowledge about America and a desire to improve their English abilities, but there was also a notion that their future career success was dependent on developing cross-cultural/cross-racial competencies. Seven out of thirty students had this attitude of wanting to challenge themselves. This group of students did not directly link themselves first with their

national identity, but identified more as global citizens. Attributes of the global citizen rang true for these seven students, who were more culturally aware, felt comfortable moving between cultures, were educated about global political and economic systems, tolerant of different races/cultures, and concerned about social justice issues (Banks, 2006).

Students who identified as global citizens, outgoing personality, and sought out cross-cultural/racial friendships often viewed themselves as weird or different from other international students. One Japanese humanities graduate student, Saiko, described herself as strange, because she did not fit into her stereotypical image of a Japanese woman. She felt that her eccentricities were not appreciated in what she viewed as a conservative and conformist Japanese society. Saiko deliberately lived off-campus, with a host family because she did not want to be surrounded by international students in graduate-school housing. Her reasoning behind this was: “If I want to talk with Japanese students, why not stay in Japan?” She also did not like spending all of her time with people her age because she found value in interacting with different age groups. Saiko explained that her world out-look was shaped by her high school years, in which she recalled learning about current events and different geo-political issues through experiential classroom activities. She said this informed her liberal view of the world and made her want to leave Japan, to live and work in Venezuela for several years. Her cultural curiosity led her to befriend an African-American Muslim classmate for whom she had many cultural questions:

I have huge questions about this because she is my first Muslim friend so I must ask. I can't stop asking things. –Saiko

This curious and tolerant attitude was conducive with breaking stereotypes and being racially tolerant, however, it did have its downsides. Saiko explained that while her gregarious personality helped her meet domestic students, her ambiguous Asian facial features led her to be ostracized from many Asian circles:

Yeah I don't care, but Japanese people thought I am like Chinese or Korean, so they never talk with me. And Chinese people think that I am Japanese or Korean, so they never talk with me. So I'm good with Latino people. –Saiko

Saiko was referring to the balkanization that occurs even among Asian international groups. She felt as though she was not welcome in certain Asian international circles because of her appearance and was upset by this insularity on the college campus, therefore she befriended students who were from racial out-groups. Several students out of the seven who resembled characteristics of a global citizen identity sought to distance themselves from other international students because they had created a new in-group classification for themselves, as global citizens. Saiko was highly critical of what she perceived to be in-group exclusivity among Asian international students, therefore she distanced herself from these groups. She had somewhat of a prejudice against conservativeness she saw in her own culture, which propelled her to befriend Latino students and other groups. Saiko's attitude of being hyper critical of Asian international culture and subsequently wanting to distance herself from these social circles was evident in many international students who had been in America for more than four years and considered themselves either more acculturated or more global citizens. As illustrated in Berry's (2003) Psychological Acculturation Model, the author points out that the maintenance of one's original culture and the acquisition of a new one are two key

factors in examining acculturation. Through social skill acquisition and cultural learning, international students adapt to their new environment (Ward & Rana-Deuba, 2000).

Berry (2003) spells out four different methods international students deal with during acculturation: marginalization, separation, assimilation, and integration stances. Saiko and many students who had lived in the US for more than three years, had adopted the integration stance, whereby students maintained their original culture, while balancing the new one. Some of these students who viewed themselves as global citizens also subscribed to the assimilation stance, whereby students abandoned their original culture and adopted a new one.

The students who were most aware of ethnic conflicts and racial discrimination in their home country as well as America, lived with domestic students, socialized often with racial out-group members, and studied in the humanities fields. Kosu, like Saiko, was very aware of stereotypes and how domestic students perceived him. He felt that he represented Japan to Americans and other international students. Therefore, he found himself being overly friendly and talkative, in an effort to represent his country well and also break people's stereotypes of the quiet and stoic Japanese person. This culturally aware group was unique and offered insight into how a students' personality type, prior experience with diversity, and goals for coming to America could greatly shape their attitude and interaction with diverse others. These culturally curious students, were most adept at making friends, but many students were not as interested or skilled at making friends with out-group members.

Contact between Asian-American and International students. Social Identity Theory (Tajfel & Turner, 1986) posits that individuals construct their identity based on

their interactions with others. Tajfel and Turner (1986) explain that individuals develop multiple ways of being as they move from one social milieu to the next. Individual actors make decisions regarding whom to befriend, based on their perceived levels of cultural closeness and societal status. International students find themselves in a new American environment, and thus have to navigate which social circles to join. The racial/socio-economic hierarchy described above may also play a role in the friendship and acquaintance selection process. The following section explores how stereotypes play a large role in the friendship decision-making process between Asian international students and Asian-American students. Findings indicate that Asian-Americans in the sciences were considered easier to befriend because they were more in touch with international students' Asian cultures (Ma, 2010; Xie and Goyette, 2004), while Asian-Americans in the humanities were considered to be more Americanized (Zhou, 2004).

Stereotype change was most effective when positive cross-racial/ethnic interaction and friendship making took place (Allport, 1954; Islam & Hewstone, 1993; Page-Gould, 2008; Pettigrew, 1998; Paolini, Hewstone, Voci, Harwood, & Cairns, 2006). However, choosing with whom to interact proved to be a difficult decision. As illustrated above, international students were excited to see many Asian looking people when they first arrived at UCLA, because there was a perception that people who looked Asian would be more understanding and receptive to Asian international students:

I was very surprised in the beginning, because they looked Asian, and I assumed they were all international students. But they are not! Haha. I was wrong. -Yung

Yung was hoping that she could converse with many of the Asian looking students, but soon realized that there was a large gap between Asian international and Asian-American students. As one student put it:

I don't know, I didn't make friends with them [Asian-Americans]. Yeah they should be easy to make friends, we are both Chinese, so maybe it will be easier because we both have similar cultural background, but some say it will be hard because they are born in America so they think they are higher class so they don't want to be seen with you, they look down upon you. So maybe it is even harder to make friends. –Gong

As described earlier in this chapter, Asian international students' stereotypes of Asian-Americans were few, but once interaction took place, there was a prevailing notion that Asian-Americans were either Americanized or were very in touch with their Asian culture. Gong, a humanities graduate student who studied stereotypes, added to the complexity of Asian-American and Asian international interactions. He felt that Asian-Americans did not want to interact with him because they felt like they were better or of higher status than Asian international students. Students interviewed perceived that Asian-Americans did not want to interact with them because being seen with someone who was a foreigner may indicate one's foreignness, thus lowering Asian-American students' status (Turner & Tajfel, 1986). As indicated earlier in this chapter, while eight international students said they did have Asian-American friends, they explained that these friends were closer to their heritage and were interested in Asian culture. This may have been due to the fact that some Asian-American students who enter STEM fields are more likely to come from immigrant households and thus are more likely to speak their

parent's language and be more aware of their Asian heritage (Ma, 2010; Xie and Goyette, 2004). One student avoided trying to make friends with Asian-Americans because she felt there was too large of a cultural chasm between her and them:

Yeah I think they are very American and they grew up in America so they are very interested in American things, so I think inside of them is white. So I don't have similar topics as them, even though they look similar... Yeah I knew they had a different way of thinking so I didn't try to talk with them, so I make friends with Asian people because it is easy to make friends with them. –Keiko

Keiko went so far as to categorize Asian-American people as thinking in a different way than Asian international students. Skin color and perceived culture of out-groups were factors for Keiko, and other international students, in making friends, however, if someone was a European international student or was an Asian-American student interested in Asian culture, she was open to building friendships with these individuals. Keiko's attitude toward race, ethnicity, culture and friendship making was highly contradictory as were other international students' attitudes. At one level, Keiko was saying that all Asian-Americans were too American, thought a different way, and were only interested in talking about American pop culture (Zhou, 2004). But on another level, Keiko was saying that Asian-Americans who were in touch with their Asian heritage and were interested in Japanese culture, made better friends. She could not tell from one's physical appearance whether the person was a desirable Asian-American student to interact with, or a non-desirable one, therefore she chose to not associate with any Asian-Americans, unless she met them in a Japanese student culture club.

Interestingly enough, Keiko and Saiko, one of the most prejudiced students and one of the most tolerant students, respectively, both interacted with racial out-group members for different reasons. Saiko interacted with non-Asian international students more because she felt she could learn about different cultures from racial out-groups. Keiko wanted to interact only with people who were interested in Japanese culture and international issues, therefore she interacted only with Asian international students or European international students. Both students were part of Vandrick's (2011) Students of the New Global Elite (SONGE), because they had lived in America several years as children, were knowledgeable about American culture, and were fluent English speakers. However, students such as these, indicate that even within the SONGE group, there is variability of reasons for interacting with racial/ethnic out-group members. These cases also illustrate the importance of Social Identity Theory (Tajfel & Turner, 1986) in the acquaintance/friendship making process. International students made educated guesses as to who was best to interact with, based on physical appearance, common interests, group members, and perceived societal status. As we will see in the next section, length of stay in America tended to have a powerful affect on Asian international students' views of out-groups, as well as their own identity.

Acculturation and International Students' Evolving Identity. As indicated in chapter two, length of time spent in America has an affect on international students' friendship networks, sense of belonging, communication skills, and psychological well-being (Church, 1982; Ward, Okura, Kennedy, & Kojima, 1998). Additionally, length of stay in America can also change international students' social identity (Tajfel & Turner, 1986; Kashima & Loh, 2006). Kashima and Loh (2006) found that Australian

international students were more likely to indicate stronger cultural heritage identities if they had more conational friends. On the other hand, if students had more host national ties, they were less likely to adopt a strong cultural heritage identity. The current study found that international students who had closer host national friends and stayed in America for more than three years, began to adopt an American identity. This finding adds more complexity to the intersections of race and culture, but illustrates that culture is more fluid than international students reported when they first arrived in America.

Min, a Taiwanese humanities graduate student living in America for five years, explained his changing view of himself, in relation to his perceptions of Asian-American students:

Actually I thought they are pretty similar to us [Chinese students], but then I realized they are different. But now that I've stayed here a longer period of time, I am becoming more Asian-American. I read a paper that says if you stay here five years or longer, it says your values will change, to become more American. I feel like I am something in between Asian and American, but I can feel that I am changing. -Min

When asked why and how he thought he was changing, Min replied:

I focus more on my personal achievement. In Asia, you usually need to follow the norms and have to follow the authority, but here I challenge my adviser and show my different opinions, but I know in academia you usually have to respect the

advisers. But in Asia the people in high power don't need to listen to you, but here people actually do. –Min

Min's way of thinking about himself was changing and he was becoming more, as he called it, individualistic. As Min became socialized in a new American setting for five years, he began to adopt the cultural practices of challenging authority and asserting his opinion in meetings with his graduate school advisers. Not only was his attitude toward authority changing, his friendship circles and who he associated with were shifting as well. In accordance with Social Identity Theory (Tajfel & Turner, 1986), as Min became more acculturated to American life and his English abilities improved, he felt as though he could befriend and interact with all races/ethnicities of domestic students and professors. He explained that when he first came to UCLA, he really enjoyed his advisor who was also Taiwanese because they shared a similar culture and could speak Taiwanese together. However, as time went on, he began to value his relationship with his Jewish American adviser more, who would challenge his ideas, whose writing style impressed Min, and whose emotional support was equal if not higher than his Taiwanese professor. As Min became what he described as 'Asian-American', he began to need the cultural comfort zone of his Taiwanese professor less, and began valuing his relationship with his Jewish American professor more, an acculturation phenomenon that Berry (2003) referred to as integration. Min and other students who had been in the country for more than four years, began to adopt American views toward racial diversity, and bordered on the assimilation stance (Berry, 2003) in which they completely shed their previous culture. Additionally, as Min changed, he explained that before, he felt that he could only date Asian women, but that now he had improved his language abilities and

understood the nuances of American language and culture, and had less anxiety when talking to racial out-groups (Barlow, 1988; Zajonc, 1998). This allowed him, as well as six other international students who resembled Min's acculturation level to befriend and date Asian-American, Caucasian, Latino, or African-American people (Berry, 2003; Ward & Rana-Deuba, 2000). Romantic relationships will be further discussed in the next section. Min, along with other international students who mirrored his situation, felt that they were ready to meet new people outside of their racial in-group, but found it difficult to meet out-group members on- or off-campus.

Lack of Contact between Internationals and Domestics. More often than not, cross-cultural interaction and friendship making did not take place because international students said there were few opportunities in their classes and living spaces to do so. Additionally, students felt more comfortable interacting with international students, especially those from their home countries because they offered a sense of emotional and social support (Heggens & Jackson, 2003; Maundeni, 2007 Woolf, 2007). Language abilities and social discomfort also played a role in preventing domestic and international student contact (Church, 1982; Brown & Peacock, 2007). In this section, I argue that an additional reason for a lack of contact between groups was racial and cultural differences of out-group members.

Cat explained that she felt self-conscious about her language abilities when talking with domestic students. On the other hand, she felt very comfortable interacting with other Asian international students:

When I meet an Asian [international person], I feel much more comfortable, but when I meet with different people, I have to prepare some English phrases. I cannot make a mistake because there is this invisible pressure with these people. But not anymore, but it took a while to get used to them. -Cat

When Cat first came to the US, she felt a great deal of stress when talking with non-Asian international students because she felt as though native English speakers would frown upon her language abilities (Church, 1982). She felt that not speaking English well would give professors and fellow graduate students the impression that she was not well educated. Cat indicated that it was easier to talk with Asian international students, rather than with white domestic students. Over sixty percent of students interviewed said they were curious to talk to white students because of the positive stereotypes they had of this group (Liu, 1995). However, international students felt they could not speak with white and other domestic students for more than fifteen minutes because they would run out of topics to discuss (Yang et al., 1994; Pavel, 2006):

The Dashew [International] Center has the coffee break and it is good, but I think it is hard to make friends at the coffee break because there is nothing in common. I joined the coffee break and I say what is your major and where are you from, but after 15 minutes, what to talk about next? Because we have different cultures, it is hard to continue the topic but there are many other factors. -Erin

Erin, a Hong Kong humanities graduate student explained that she could not talk about Hong Kong movies, films, or foods, unless the domestic student was interested in her culture. She found it hard to strike up conversations and then to find topics that both

parties were interested in exploring. Erin learned English from a young age in Hong Kong, therefore language was not a barrier, rather similar interests and similar national/cultural specific topics were barriers to rich interaction. She tried to attend Dashe center programs where she was sure that there would be more inter-cultural mixing, however she ran into balkanization there as well (Spencer-Rodgers, 2001). Erin explained her dilemma about which group to join at the international student events:

People start to separate themselves by language and race. So there are people from Mainland China. My position is weird, I can join them, but I have to speak mandarin, and they assume that we [Hong Kongers] can speak Mandarin, but we just learn mandarin like we learn English. I would join them, but I don't want to because there are a lot of Mandarin speaking people in there and I think about how they look at me, do they think Hong Kong belongs to China? Because now China owns Hong Kong so maybe they think they own me. Yeah will they see me as I belong to them and that is why I can speak mandarin? So I don't want to join their group because their group is mostly from China. And for the western group, there are not many Asian people there. French, German, and American, they are all grouped together, there are not many Hong Kong people there. But the Japanese group it is easy for me to break the ice. I say a few words and then people go 'Oh, you know Japanese,' yeah we break the ice like this. And my best friend is from Egypt because he feels the same like 'which groups should I join?'

–Erin

Erin's quotation expressed a feeling of not fitting into the Chinese social circle because of the cultural divide between mainland China and Hong Kong. But on a more generalizable level, Erin's quotation elucidates the complex decision making process that international students experience when deciding on the 'right' group with which to associate. As illustrated in chapter two, Social Identity Theory (Tajfel & Turner, 1986) asserts that international students will chose to socialize with the group that the student feels the most comfortable with, and/or raises the international students' social status. In Erin and many other international students' experiences, the decision process of who to interact with is complex and layered.

The two Hong Kong students in the study explained that they felt Hong Kong culture was more Western and industrialized than mainland Chinese culture. Erin hit on a theme of inter-Asian hierarchies in which international students from metropolitan cities looked down on students from the countryside. She explained that mainland Chinese people she met in Hong Kong were from the countryside and therefore were not familiar with city life and did not have adequate hygiene. Inter-Asian relations stretched beyond urban and rural divides, as illustrated in Erin's political sensitivities. The Chinese take over of Hong Kong in 1997 altered her identity as a Hong Konger and affected her interaction patterns on campus. The complex relationship between mainland China and the Special Administrative Region of Hong Kong played a role in Erin's decision not to socialize with Hong Kong students because she was concerned that Chinese students may claim her as one of their in-group members, whereas she did not feel like she wanted to

be associated with this group, due to geo-political reasons. On the other hand, she did not feel comfortable joining the European and American group because there were no Asian students with whom she felt she would be comfortable. Finally, her knowledge of the Japanese language and interest in the culture led her to settle on this group.

When asked why she did not join the Hong Kong group, she said she did not come all the way from Hong Kong to speak Cantonese with Hong Kong students, thus indicating a desire to want to mingle with racial/cultural out-groups (Bowman and Denson, 2011). Erin had the personality type discussed above; someone who wanted to explore different cultures and came to the US in order to step outside her comfort zone (Shibazaki & Brennan, 1998; Mok, 1999). Erin also found friendship with an Egyptian student who also felt like he did not fit into a defined group. Erin's friendship with the Egyptian student would develop into a romantic relationship, which will be discussed in the dating section below. Erin's process of who to interact with was guided by her prior experience and her stereotypes toward racial and even co-national out-groups. Erin's example also indicates that racial/ethnic stereotypes did not only factor into acquaintance/friendship making with racial out-groups, it also factored into co-ethnic and even co-national out-group relationship choices. She ended up befriending Japanese international students because of her interest and perceived level of comfort with this ethnic out-group. Hong Kong and Taiwanese students often felt as though they were on the margins of several groups and found it difficult to choose who to interact with. While there were various barriers to cross-racial and cross-ethnic interactions, when it came to on-campus living situations, international students and domestic students seemed to mutually benefit.

Living Situations' Effect on Stereotype Change. While Erin did mingle with Japanese students at the UCLA Dashew International Center events (UCLA's main international center for visa counseling and social events), she already was familiar with this out-group and had many positive stereotypes about it. In her residential hall she lived with a Korean international student, an out-group with which she was less familiar. Fazio and Shook (2008), as well as Van Laar, Levin, and Sidanius (2005) point to the fact that living with diverse others in residence halls led to cross-cultural friendships and increased levels of tolerance. Student voices in this section illustrate that living with diverse others did lead to prejudice reduction, but graduate students were much less likely than undergraduates, to live on-campus and have non-international roommates, which led to feelings of isolation and a lack of cross-racial interaction (Lee, Koeske, & Sales, 2004; Shook & Fazio, 2008). When Erin was asked if she had learned about Korean culture or had rich interactions with her roommate, she replied:

Last year I lived in graduate housing. But for international students it makes no difference. I lived in [stated apartment name and number] and my roommate was Korean. And we stay in our room all day long and we seldom talk to each other and I talk to other international friends and I talk to my other friends and they say it is the same, they don't talk. And the living room, we don't use, we just store our books. -Erin

This was shocking, in the sense that, international students could live with a racial or ethnic out-group and not have significant interactions with them on a daily basis. Many graduate students, felt too busy to interact and spend quality time with their roommates. Out of all seventeen graduate students interviewed, three lived with

American students, eleven lived with international students, and one lived with a host family. Six undergraduate students lived with domestic students, while eight students lived with Asian international students. All graduate students lived off-campus because UCLA only offered graduate student housing or married student housing, which was located off-campus. The four graduate students who lived with domestic students reported having limited interaction with their roommates due to time spent studying. On the other hand, undergraduate students mostly lived in the residential halls and thus had more time, motivation, and student programming, which led to more interaction with domestic students (Fazio & Towles-Schwen, 1999). Graduate and undergraduate students who lived with a host family also had more exposure to Americans, but this did not always lead to stereotype change. For example, Emiko, a UCLA Extension Japanese undergraduate student, lived with a white-American host mother and had dinner with her each night. There was a language barrier and as a result their conversations remained superficial. When asked if living with her host mother changed her stereotypes of white people, Emiko said:

No because the [stereotypical] image [of white people] is of her. A single woman living in a house, and it is really nice, has a pool, good education, good job. I've never seen a pool in a house in Japan. -Emiko

In Emiko's case, living with a white-American host mother further affirmed her stereotypes that white people were wealthy, well-educated, and independent. Stereotypes were not altered in this living situation because the criteria put forth by Allport (1954) and Pettigrew (1998) for optimal contact were not in place. Both parties were not of equal status, there was not the same goal on both sides to become friends, and there was not an

authority figure facilitating positive and meaningful interaction. Living with someone from a racial out-group did not guarantee stereotype change. Students who lived on-campus with domestic students (seven students), reported the highest levels of interaction with racial out-groups (Van Laar et al., 2005). Students living off-campus with domestic students also, to a lesser extent, indicated positive experiences with domestic racial out-groups. Emiko and one other student were rare cases because they lived with a host parent, off-campus. While Emiko's stereotypes were solidified by living with a racial out-group, the overall trend in the study was that living on-campus and with domestic students resulted in the building of tolerant racial attitudes and frequent cross-racial interactions.

Interestingly enough, living with and having positive experiences with a racial out-group did change stereotypes, but this change did not always translate into international students wanting to make friends with these racial out-groups on campus. Language barriers, cultural comfort levels, and stereotypes persisted even in inter-racial roommate situations. Cat, who represented one of the more racially tolerant students interviewed, lived with a white roommate and had a positive experience, but still preferred interacting with Asian international students. She explained her initial thoughts about white people changed, after living with a Caucasian roommate:

At first, when I went to my dorm, I assumed she was white, because there were no chopsticks or anything symbolic things, so I was a little nervous that my first roommate was going to be a white girl. But that stereotype changed within a week so I guess my stereotypes toward white people changed because she was very nice if you interact more, you get to think differently. –Cat

From Cat's words, it appeared that her thinking toward white people was altered. Her thinking did in fact change, but this did not necessarily mean she sought out friendships with white students. Towles-Schwen & Fazio (2006) found that white freshmen who were randomly assigned to African-American roommates spent less time with their roommate, had less social interaction with their roommates' friends, and indicated that they did not want to room with their roommates the next year. The current study did not corroborate the overtly negative attitudes toward roommates as Towles-Schwen & Fazio (2006) found; however, the current study did find that positive experiences with one's roommate did not always mean that internationals desired to befriend more members from their roommates' racial background.

Cat was often invited to her white roommate's family gatherings and learned about American pop culture and idioms from her. Nonetheless, Cat's positive feeling toward her roommate was not extended to the larger white student population. She felt as though having one white friend was enough:

Cat: We live together so we talk, but if it was an option I don't think I'd talk to many white people.

Interviewer: You don't have an opportunity, or you're just not that interested?

Cat: Yeah I'm not that interested as much as when I was in middle school, when I wanted to make American friends. Now I want to make friends that I feel comfortable around, not feeling pressured. Because when I interact with American people, I make a [language] mistake and feel guilty but when I'm with Asian people, international Asians, we feel more comfortable with each other.

Cat did get along with her white roommates, however she was still in the Decategorization Stage of Pettigrew's (1998) Contact Theory Model. She viewed her white roommate as an individual, but did not see her as a representative of her entire racial group. This was a rare case, because a majority of students who lived with a racial out-group member, often indicated that their roommate was representative of all members of that out-group. The discrepancy between Cat and the rest of the participants was the amount of time Cat spent in America as a child. The longer a student was in America, the more their stereotypical views became challenged. But Cat was still in the process of moving along the continuum of Pettigrew's (1998) Contact Theory Model. In accordance with the Decategorization Stage (Miller & Brewer, 1984), Cat began to see the variability in the white students out-group, but even this variability was dualistic. There were two types of whites in her mind: one type had knowledge of Asian culture/history and could speak some Japanese, thus making them easy to interact with. The other type had little knowledge or experience interacting with Asian internationals; therefore, they were more difficult to communicate/interact with. Her roommate fell into the latter category because she was ignorant about Japanese culture, but even so, she and Cat learned from each other.

Two findings become significant here. One, living on-campus with American students led to the highest levels of stereotype change. Two, international students who did live with American students on-campus often developed a dualistic viewpoint toward a racial out-group. This was explained by the fact that racial out-group roommates came to be representatives for the larger racial out-group (Brown & Hewstone, 1986). And it was only with time and more interactions with different racial out-group members that

greater variability in international students' perceptions toward out-groups developed (Pettigrew, 1998).

Overall, undergraduate students living on-campus had the most interaction with diverse out-groups, while graduate students (all lived off-campus) had less time to interact with racially/ethnically diverse others because they lived mostly with international students. Those graduate students who did live with domestic students appeared to be more focused on their studies and were less likely to develop positive relationships with their roommates than their undergraduate counterparts.

Lack of African-American and Latino Students on Campus. While eleven students (two of whom lived with a single host parent) were able to interact with predominantly white students (and adults) in their living situations, the majority of international students rarely lived with or interacted in class with Latino or African-American students. Hurtado (2001) and Gurin et al. (2002) indicated that a lack of structural diversity can have deleterious affects on campus climate; often leading to a reduction in cross-racial contact and subsequent stereotype proliferation toward racial minority populations on campus. This appeared to ring true because it was found that a lack of African-American and Latino students in classroom settings led students to conclude that these groups had cultures that did not value education or that they were not as smart or hard working as Asian-Americans and whites.

Gong, a Chinese graduate student studying engineering explained that he did not see any African-American or Latino people in his engineering classes:

In engineering, it is even worse. I can say 99% are from Asia, no matter if [they are] from China, Korea, or the Middle East. And there are always Chinese around me. I feel like I'm still in Macau. Many Chinese. Maybe around 40% or 50% are from China, it is crazy. –Gong

Gong said he was frustrated by the number of Chinese international students in his program and indicated that if he wanted to interact with Chinese people, he could have stayed in Macau. Gong was open to meeting African-American and Latino students and was even open to building friendships with them. He was unsure why there were not many African-American and Latino students in his program. Nevertheless, a majority of students interpreted a dearth of African-American and Latino students to mean that they were poorer, did not think education was important, or were not as smart as Asian-Americans and white Americans. This is consistent with Peng's (2010) study, which found that in the absence of true contact with Japanese and American people, Chinese high school students fell back on stereotypes from the media and hearsay. One student in the current study said that it made sense that she mainly saw African-American student athletes on campus because her stereotype was that African-Americans were more athletic than academic. Once again, comments such as this were examples of Unaware/Unintentional Racism, in which individuals were not trying to be hurtful, but were operating off of racial misconceptions, and as a result, often sound ignorant and out of touch with reality Yamato's (1991).

Another student interpreted the lack of African-American and Latino students on campus to mean the following:

They are not serious about studying. I learned this in my sociology class. Blacks and Latinos are more likely to drop out of high school than whites and Asians and they give up the dream to succeed in America and they escape to their own culture. -Takahashi

A low African-American and Latino student population, in some departments, led international students, who already had negative stereotypes about these groups, to further build on these prejudices. It became apparent that international students were quick to draw conclusions as to why they did not see many Latinos and African-Americans on campus, while they did see large populations of Asian-American and white students. The large presence and subsequent opportunities for interaction with Asian-American and white students led a majority of international students to conclude that these two groups were hard working, smart, and valued education, while African-Americans and Latinos did not.

Romantic Relationships' Role in Stereotype Change

Culture Versus Race in Internationals Perceptions of Dating. The study did not initially seek to explore issues of race and romantic relationships; however, this theme proved to be the most effective way to have students explain their prejudices and their perceptions of race, without directly asking students if they had racial prejudices, which would most likely have resulted in feelings of discomfort and denial on the behalf of the student. Dating preferences may seem far from higher education literature, however as Hurtado et al. (2003) pointed out, campus climate is greatly affected by racial attitudes and beliefs of students, also known as psychological climate. Having a negative

campus climate and harboring negative stereotypes toward other students can hamper international students' adjustment to college life, negatively affecting their sense of belonging, and negatively affecting their educational outcomes (Milem, Chang & Antonio, 2005). Furthermore, healthy campus climates and positive intergroup interactions (even romantic dating) on campus, have been shown to equip students with cross-cultural communication skills that are vital for college, the workplace, and beyond (Saenz, Ngai, & Hurtado, 2007; Hurtado, 2005).

Contact Theory (Allport, 1954; Pettigrew, 1998) explains that prejudice reduction is most likely to occur when certain contact criteria are met. Pettigrew (1998) added that quality of the interaction, repeated positive interactions, and friendship potential strengthens the bond between two groups and leads to prejudice reduction. Building close friendships and romantic relationships can alter one's conception of out-group and in-group status as well. As Miller and Brewer (1984) put forth, strong friendships, and romantic relationships could result in a decategorization process in which members of a group are no longer looked at as representatives of their race or ethnic group, but are viewed as individuals. Gaertner and Dovidio (2000) took this thinking a step further, explaining that strong relationships can result in a recategorization process in which the line of in-group members is widened and re-imagined to go beyond race and ethnicity. In the current study, on-campus romantic relationships proved to have this power to change stereotypes and aid international students' ability to see the variability within racial out-groups.

Elena, a Hong Kong humanities undergraduate student who had lived in the US for several years as a child, represented the larger population of students interviewed

whose experiences dating racial out-groups challenged their racial and cultural stereotypes. She was told from a young age that she should not date white men because they were only interested in physical relationships. She explained that she did not follow her parents' warning, and did in fact date white students at UCLA. There may have been a level of comfort with white students because Elena grew up interacting with white students in her international school in Hong Kong (Fujino, 1997; Yancey, 2002). These experiences reaffirmed her parents' warnings. Elena seemed frustrated by the sexual and racial politics that played out in her college relationships:

Well I dated a white guy. And the thing is it's weird, let's see. White guys seem to have this conception of Asian girls as really innocent and at the same time they want to have sex with them, but once you have sex with them, they are not innocent anymore and then you blame them for ruining that image for them. I think that is really unfair. –Elena

Elena was frustrated by the contradictory white male college student desire for Asian women to be sexual ingénues, but at the same time, be willing to engage in a sexual relationship. She also was upset by the double standard, whereby American culture encouraged men to be sexually promiscuous, while the Asian female was expected to be virginal. Elena was hurt by her ex-boyfriend, whom she felt used her in a physical relationship. This relationship was several years in the past and she had found someone new, who was also a white student. When asked if she still viewed white male college students in the same negative light, she said that her new boyfriend was different. In fact, he was “Asian at heart.” Elena equated being a caring, gentle, and compassionate person with being Asian:

Some people you date because they are genuinely nice. I mean it seemed like Asians kind of move slower, and there is a bit more affection than white guys who say come here, do this, ok you can go now, I need to do my work now. But Asian guys are really girly or they are really clingy. I guess my boyfriend is not clingy. He likes to spend time with me and does not have to be forced to and he doesn't feel like it takes away from his masculinity. Yeah, and he is Asian in that I guess I feel the way he was brought up, his mom gave him a lot of unconditional support and he just turned out different and his friends are all similar like that so I guess they all just run together. -Elena

There was a complex redefinition of race and culture in Elena's words. The term 'Asian' was not used as a racial category. Rather, Asian was synonymous with culture and a way of acting, that any racial group could adopt. Elena attributed being gentle, having a loving mother, and being more sexually egalitarian as traits of those who subscribed to Asian cultural mores. Her new relationship challenged the perceptions she learned from her parents that all white men were womanizers. She was in the process of deconstructing her stereotype that all white men had certain romantic values. She was following Rothbart's (1981) Subtyping Model because she explained that her boyfriend was an exception to the monolithic stereotype she had of white men. It was a positive step in deconstructing racial stereotypes of white people, but by subtyping, Elena still had a prevailing sense that white men fit her old negative stereotype, even though the magnitude of her romantic relationship was very strong.

When asked if she thought Asian men had 'Asian' cultural qualities as well, she described her relationship with an Asian-American student. Her Asian-American ex-

boyfriend had cheated on her, thus coloring her view of Asian-American male college students. She explained that at first he had Asian characteristics, but then developed non-Asian views toward women:

No, he was really Asian inside [at first], he grew up here but we bonded over Hong Kong films and stuff, but he was in an Asian frat and they expect, well they have this different ways of treating women in a frat. No matter how good of a guy you are, you get presented with this meat market, you are not going to, um, you are going to see everything as meat, you can't help it. Yeah I mean Hong Kong really looks like American culture and Asian guys aren't really Asian guys anymore, so yeah. I mean just as you can be Asian at heart, you can turn the other way too. -Elena

Being Asian for Elena was no longer a racial category but a way of being, acting, and behaving. She alluded to the fact that Hong Kong culture was heavily influenced by America's culture, thus even Asian men no longer possessed the chivalric, gentle, and monogamous qualities Elena was looking for. In Elena's eyes, there was a culture clash between Asian values and American fraternity life that could not be ameliorated. Elena created a new social identity group with her white boyfriend by dubbing him Asian, indicating that they both shared similar values. Gaertner and Dovidio's (2000) recategorization process was taking place as Elena created a new social identity group for men who had a supportive family, good upbringing, and knew how to treat a woman well. Elena labeled this new social group 'Asian', but this new definition went beyond race and was expanded to include attitudes and behaviors. While Elena had had a positive experience that led her to challenge not only her racial stereotypes, she also

came to realize that attitude and behavior of her romantic partner was more central to her dating decision making process than race. Elena represented the small population of international students in the study that were confident enough in their English abilities and familiar enough with American culture, to comfortably date outside of their race/ethnicity. Of the five students who did date outside their race/ethnicity, all indicated that this experience led to prejudice reduction and a greater understanding of their partner's racial/cultural background.

Racial/Status Hierarchy's Effect on Dating Decisions. Sixty-five percent of students interviewed said they would ideally want to date someone from their own cultural background so that language and communication gaps would not occur. These students exhibited more in-group favoritism and identified more with their in-group identity, thus they were less likely to date outside their group (Levin, Taylor, & Claude, 2007). One student did date outside her race/ethnicity, but realized it was too difficult to love someone if she could not communicate her thoughts and feelings in her native language. Students also explained that parental approval was a major factor that went into the dating decision making process (Liu, 1995). A majority of students said their parents would feel more comfortable with someone who spoke their native language and was familiar with their home country culture. When it came to friendship, students were more open to making friends with people outside their race or ethnicity, but when it came to romantic relationships, the racial hierarchy explained above rang true. Dating someone who was white was viewed as a way of raising an international students' status in the eyes of his/her family, the international community, and the domestic student community. Dating someone who was African-American, Latino, or Southeast Asian was looked at as

less desirous because of the perceived lower status of these racial groups in both American and home country communities (Grant & Lee, 2009; Liu, 1995). Dating Asian-Americans and Asian internationals was less clear cut as to whether this was perceived to be a status raising or status lowering activity. Historical inter-Asian conflicts factored into the decision making process when international students were asked about dating Asian internationals and Asian-Americans.

Asian Internationals' Perceptions of Inter-Asian Dating. A majority of students indicated that they would be comfortable dating Asian-American students of their own ethnic background (Levin, Taylor, & Claude, 2007), but felt that Asian-American students did not want to date them because of the cultural divide discussed earlier in this chapter. Additionally, when it came to inter-Asian international dating, historical conflicts and parental messages were potent factors in the decision making process (Liu, 1995). While the current dissertation focuses on international students' perceptions and interactions with domestic students, it is also important to understand international students' stereotypes and prejudices toward other Asian internationals, because these perceptions affected their friendship making and dating patterns with Asian-American students. Stereotypes of a given Asian international ethnic group was often conflated with an Asian-American ethnic group.

For example, Amy, a Chinese humanities graduate student from Nanjing, explained that her parents would not be pleased if she dated a Japanese national or a Japanese-American person because members of her family were killed during the massacre of Nanjing during the Second Sino-Japanese War. As indicated in chapter two, it was a common stereotype amongst many Chinese citizens that Japanese were cruel,

cunning, and mean, due to the massacres committed during World War II (Peng, 2010). Similarly, a Japanese humanities undergraduate living in America for three years was open to dating American minority groups and white Americans, but knew that marrying a Korean-American or Chinese-American person would have detrimental effects for him in the future:

Because a lot of Japanese people have a negative view toward [Chinese and Korean people], if I marry them, then my social status would go down, my reputation. ‘Oh he is marrying a Chinese or Korean, that is abnormal or unusual,’ people might think. But Black, Latino, or White, they don't have negative views of them, so I think it is ok to marry them. –
Takahashi

Over half of the international students interviewed saw Asian-Americans as having an American culture, however international students’ racial stereotypes of Chinese, Japanese, or Korean nationals were often applied to Asian-Americans as well. International students, who were new to the country (lived here three months or less), and/or had little contact with Asian-Americans, were more likely to link an Asian national stereotype with that of an Asian-American ethnic group. Takahashi, who had lived in America for three years, but had little contact with Asian-Americans, was prejudiced toward Chinese people, describing them as bad-mannered and less culturally developed than Japan. He avoided making friends and building romantic relationships with Chinese or Korean Americans or nationals because he had such deep seeded prejudice toward them. However, he was open to dating Latino and African-American groups.

While Takahashi's prejudice toward Koreans and Chinese people was not representative of Japanese international students interviewed, an openness toward dating Latino or African-American people was a trend in Japanese participants. It was unclear why there was greater racial tolerance when it came to dating on the behalf of Japanese students, but high English proficiency levels, socially liberal attitudes, Americanization of Japanese culture (Beck, Sznajder, and Winter, 2003; Franz and Smulyan, 2012) and the larger presence of American ex-patriots in Japan, may all have led to an attitude of racial tolerance on the part of many Japanese student interviewees. Japanese youth interest in hip-hop and African-American culture may also play a role (Condry, 2007). New clothing styles that mimic African-American hip-hop culture, dress, and identity, called *ganguro*, became popular in the 2000s. In an attempt to rebel against the older ideals of beauty of white skin and blond hair, but at the same time imitate American popular culture, Japanese teenage women, adorned themselves with darker makeup. This phenomenon illustrated a break in the once rigid hierarchy of racial identity in Japan (Black, 2009). Along these lines, Takahashi explained that *gaijin*, or foreigners were admired for their cultural uniqueness, while Chinese and Korean foreigners were not:

I think Japanese people see black people as foreigners [*gaijin*], but Korean and Chinese are a threat. They are not just foreigners, but they assimilate into Japanese politics and society. –Takahashi

Takahashi was making a decision about who to date based on the way he was socialized in Japan, as well as a racial/status hierarchy. It became apparent that many international students were greatly affected by stereotypes developed in their home country, and thus made friendships and dating decisions based on these stereotypes

(McClain, Carter, & Soto, 2006). Takahashi did not want to marry a Chinese- or Korean- national or American person because he would lose his social status in Japan. But he was open to dating African-American and Latino students, which may be linked with Japanese youth culture's interest in American racial minorities (Black, 2009; Condry, 2007). Japanese students seemed to be more open to dating racial minority groups in America, but Korean students interviewed appeared to be less open to dating American racial minority groups, as illustrated in the domestic dating section.

Even when it came to Asian-American and Asian international dating; status, wealth, and power dynamics came into play. Min, a Chinese humanities graduate student, explained why Asian-American women were more inclined to date Caucasian men:

Well it depends on the gender, I think American born Chinese (ABC) like to interact with girls from Asia. But ABC girls don't want to interact with Asian international guys. Maybe they don't like the status, like girls want to pursue a higher status. This is my personal interpretation. But Asian-Americans, I think, I can come up with some reasons for that. Maybe ABCs are richer than the average families, but I don't know. –Min

Min attributed American born Chinese women's lack of interest in dating Asian international students to status differences. He considered Asian-Americans to be part of the honorary whites' group that held more social and cultural capital than Asian internationals (Bourdieu, 1994; Bonilla-Silva, 2004), therefore he believed Chinese-American women may be more attracted to Asian-American men. Romantic relationships were heavily driven by one's perceived status and socio-economic status. Social Identity

Theory (Tajfel & Turner, 1986) and Grant and Lee's work (2009), aptly explain the process taking place in the dating landscape. As international students come to a new social setting in America, they quickly learn the status hierarchy of their new environment. International students observed their surroundings and relied on their social networks to better understand which social groups were the most appropriate and advantageous with which to associate. They are socialized by friends, family, and media to avoid dating lower status out-group members (Liu, 1995; Vigotsky, 1978). As Min indicated, there was not only a status hierarchy present in inter-Asian dating perceptions, but also in international and domestic student dating behaviors.

International Students' Perceptions of Dating Domestics. The same racial/status hierarchy that was discussed in the above section also applies to international students' perceptions of international-domestic dating relationships (Bonilla-Silva, 2004; Grant & Lee, 2009; Liu, 1995;). International students were more prone to want to date Caucasians or Asian international students, rather than Latino or African-American students.

Himal, a Korean post-doc visiting scholar in the sciences, represents Korean international students who did not attend international schools and was not exposed to racial/cultural diversity growing up. She explained that she would not date Mexican-Americans because she had a negative stereotype of this group from her fellow co-workers. She did not have much contact with African-American people and was heavily influenced by the film *The Gods Must Be Crazy*. This comedic film depicted African men as uneducated hunters from the rural areas of Africa. While Himal did not think that all African people lived in the bush because she saw one film, however accumulated images

overtime of African and African-American people cultivated a negative perception in her mind (Shanahan & Morgan, 1999). A majority of international students were influenced by media portrayals of Africans and African-Americans as being criminals, uneducated athletes, or rap artists, that often led to negative stereotypes (Entman, 1998; Fujioka, 2000; Talbot, et al., 1999). She commented that she would not date or marry a black person not only because of her stereotypes, but because of the discrimination her child would face if he/she were black skinned. When asked if she would date or marry a black person, Himal replied:

Well I don't think so, because I would worry for my daughter's future if she had dark skin. Korea would not accept her. If I think about [the] second generation, it does matter. If it was just me with some guy, it doesn't matter, but thinking about the next generation, I wouldn't marry. –Himal

Himal was comfortable dating an African-American person, but she felt raising a family with a black person meant that her child would be discriminated against in Korean society. For Himal, skin color was closely linked with wealth, status, and class; therefore having a black child would hinder her child's chances of success in the world. This was an example of *Aware or Covert Racism* (Yamato, 1991), which happens when a person harbors racist opinions, but he/she does not call herself a racist. Instead one hides his/her racism verbally, in the company of racial out-groups, but will deliberately avoid making contact with a racial out-group. While Himal's reasoning for not dating an African-American person appears to be for practical reasons, she held deep prejudices such as African-American people are naturally less smart than other races, and that led her to avoid interacting with this group. Her attitude and behavior also correlates with

Liu's (1995) research on inter-racial dating, which indicated that there was a perceived dating racial hierarchy in which white college students were considered the most desirable dating partner by Asian-Americans, Latinos, and African-Americans because white college students were thought to have higher levels of education, wealth, and societal status. When asked if she would marry a Japanese or Chinese person, Himal explained that she could because historical animosities and Japanese colonization was a thing of the past:

Yeah it doesn't matter, this is just the historical background. I don't think it matters. Nowadays maybe Korea will become wealthier than Japan. Why should I hate Japanese people? -Himal

This response illustrated that economic status of countries was almost more important than ethnicity. Himal, and three other Korean students, spent a significant amount of time comparing different country's gross domestic products (GDP) and explaining that Korea was surpassing other countries because of Korean people's hard working culture and parental emphasis on education. With Korea's economy nearly eclipsing that of Japan's, Himal, along with other Korean students, felt there was no longer a reason to hate Japanese people. The economic ascent and push for educational achievement in Korea were seen as symbols of pride for Korean students. Three Korean students even talked about Korea's economy and education system outdoing America in the decades to come, thus there was a notion among these three students that Korean people were higher than white American people on the racial/status hierarchy (Kim, 2008). Even though Himal viewed the world through a racial/status hierarchical lens, she did not see any racism on campus, and therefore did not understand why I was

conducting a study on college race relations. Himal was forty-five and represented the three older international students in the study, who were less open to diversity, grew up in a less globalized Korea (Vandrick, 2011), and had more pronounced racial prejudices toward Latinos and African-Americans. Even some younger Korean students seemed to harbor the most negative views toward Latinos and African-Americans and of the Korean students that were more racially tolerant, they commented on what they perceived to be a very ethnocentric and status driven culture in their home country (Grant and Lee, 2009).

Reasons for Korean racist views toward African-Americans, in particular, have been said to stem from Hollywood movies and Korean television shows on the popular channel American Forces Korean Network (AFKN), which have been the primary exposure of American values and racial attitudes for Koreans (Grant and Lee, 2009). It is almost as if America's media is exporting its racism to Korea (Chang, 1999; Lee, 1999). Media images that show blacks as criminals, drug dealers, and rapists have affected South Korean viewers' racial attitudes (Chang, 1999; Lee, 1999). Research has even shown that South Korean high school textbooks teach prejudices against non-whites in subtle ways (Lee, 2003). For example, Jay, a student thirty-five year old Korean student interviewed, remembered reading that Latino people were lazy and the book indicated that is why Mexico's GDP was lower than Korea's.

Grant and Lee (2009) explain that many Korean immigrants view the American racial landscape in the frame of Bonilla-Silva's (2004) tri-racial system. There are whites, honorary whites, and collective blacks in this three-part puzzle. Whites occupy the highest standing and possess the largest cultural capital (Bourdieu, 1994). Honorary

whites are somewhat accepted by the white community and have gained this prestigious spot in society through educational attainment, income, occupational level, and skin color. Honorary whites and collective blacks feud to gain access to the honorary white class. Korean immigrants and students gain access to the societal prestige Bonilla-Silva (2004) and Hiral discussed above, by learning English well, attending cram schools in Korea, and earning a degree from an American college (Grant & Lee, 2009). As Korea becomes a globalized country, its young citizens who study abroad are participating in a global race for cultural, economic, and social capital accumulation, (Vandrick, 2011), which naturally creates a hierarchy of status and race (Grant & Lee, 2009).

Globalization in the context above is defined as the standardization of commodities, ideas, and culture as countries become more westernized and Americanized (Barber, 1998). Unfortunately, in this globalization and economic capital accumulation process, the collective black group is relegated to the bottom totem of the racial hierarchy. To compound this problem, Korean and other East Asian students, often lack a deep understanding of racial apartheid, slavery, historical and modern institutional racism, which has led to the economic disenfranchisement of many African-Americans. Instead, South Koreans think that personal incompetence and misfortune have led to black incarceration and poverty (Grant & Lee, 2009). International students tend to distance themselves from collective blacks, in order to gain acceptance in the honorary white category (Bonilla-Silva, 2004). Unfortunately, international students are coming to America with racial stereotypes and reproducing and acting upon racial hierarchies that were exported to their home countries. Universities are providing these students with an education, in return for out-of-state tuition rates. However, UCLA

appears to be doing a disservice to its international student population by not adequately educating them about the historical background of or how to interact with American racial diversity. University efforts to promote diversity education will be discussed in the final section of this chapter.

There was, however, a couple exceptions to this phenomenon of not wanting to date a black person among Korean international students interviewed. June, a Korean undergraduate student living in America for three years, was very eager to date an African-American person. She said that she had already dated a Mexican-American boy in high school and was teased by her Korean friends for doing so. Her family told her that it would be best to date and marry a Korean man, and if she could not find a Korean man, then maybe a Japanese or Chinese person would be acceptable (Liu, 1995). This was one of the rare cases in which the family placed the East Asian group above that of the white American group on a dating hierarchy:

They think Asians are like better than whites and blacks, and Hispanics. My father told me that if you can't get married to a Korean guy, at least get married to a Chinese or Japanese. It is like Korean, then East Asian, then whites and blacks.

Despite these social demands and racial hierarchy firmly stated by her parents, June indicated that she wanted to date an African-American person. Her mother was not sympathetic to this notion in the least: "My mom said she would erase my name from the family tree, they are serious about the race thing." When asked why she wanted to date a black boy in light of such opposition, she explained:

First of all, black boys are buff. I like buff boys. And they have the talents in dance, they have the groove in their bodies, so I want to learn that. Those are the top two reasons. –June

June's desire to date an African-American person was based on stereotypes gleaned from media; that black men are physically fit and skilled dancers. Even though it was commendable that she was willing to go against her mother's wishes to date a member of a racial out-group, June's essentialized view of African-American people was racist and one-dimensional. She did not truly understand the variability within the racial out-group, rather she exoticized their bodies and behavior and still viewed them as caricatures of pop culture images (Brown & Hewstone, 1986). June was still in the mutual differentiation phase because although she was tolerant enough to want to date African-American men, she still viewed members from this racial out-group as stereotypes, rather than individuals (Brown & Hewstone, 1986; Pettigrew, 1998). June may also have been attracted to African-American men because of the social taboo in her culture to date this racial group. This was consistent with Kouri and Lasswell's (1993) Racial Motivation Theory, which hypothesized that interracial marriage and dating occurs because one partner finds his/her partner more appealing simply because of his/her race. June was attracted to this group solely based on race, not because she wanted to learn more about an out-group's culture or broaden her horizons. June, as did many other international students, indicated that her parents' generation was more conservative because they had not grown up with as big of an American media influence or racial diversity. June had attended high school in America, and in accordance with data presented above, high school attendance in America was often a factor that led to

students being more open to dating outside their race, ethnicity, and culture (Fujino, 1997; Vandrick, 2011; Yancey, 2002).

The predominant view toward dating was that marrying within one's own ethnicity was the most practical and comfortable (Levin, Taylor, & Claude, 2007). But when considering dating outside one's race/ethnicity, a majority interviewed, were interested in dating white people (Liu, 1995). Behao, a Chinese undergraduate economics major living in the US for three months, explained that if a Chinese woman has a white husband, in China, that was considered "honorable." When asked why this was, Behao said it was closely linked to perceived status based on skin color: "The first impression thing, when we see a white person we see well-educated, rich, and tall. Haha!" This snap judgment approach of seeing a white person and automatically associating positive traits to them was surprising, but was expressed by roughly thirty percent interviewed. This notion that white people were thought to be better partners to date and marry than other out-groups, due to societal positive stereotypes, was supported by the literature (Liu, 1995; Sidanius & Pratto, 1999; Fang, Sidanius, & Pratto, 1998). The desire to want to date white-Americans was often based on global racial and economic hierarchy (Grant & Lee, 2003). Behao's statement illustrates that the racial/status hierarchy put forth in the earlier parts of this chapter was not just an abstract concept, but was used as a compass that informed how international students navigated their college experiences.

This racial/status hierarchy and negative attitude toward dating African-Americans also affected Chinese international students' views. Zhun, a Chinese graduate engineer living in the US for three months explained what she perceived to be a dominant

Chinese racial hierarchy factored into her and her friends' decisions when seeking romantic partners:

I think in [Chinese] people's minds there is a ranking where there are black boys, white boys, and Asian boys. Well, Chinese people think that Africa is comparatively poor and America is richer so it is better to have a white boyfriend. And Chinese people think that white is the most beautiful. Like if you are white there is a saying. There is a saying that if you are white it can cover up all your ugliness. So we think white is a beautiful color for girls. Boys like girls whose skin is white. We don't know why American women like to get so tan. So we buy products that make us more white. -Zhun

Zhun's explanation conflated African-American and African men. In her view, black skin was synonymous with poverty, whereas whiteness was associated with western industrialized nations and wealth. Zhun's words reflected Bonilla-Silva's (2004) racial hierarchy as being present in Chinese society as well as Korean society. Dating a black person was thought to lead someone to become part of the collective black group, and possibly lessen their social and cultural capital. Chinese students seemed to be more tolerant than Korean students, when it came to dating racial out-groups, but there was still a prevailing unease when it came to dating African-American students for Chinese students as well.

An overwhelming majority of international students interviewed in the current study, indicated that dating white people was seen as a boon. But only three out of all thirty-three participants were dating white partners. There were three other students who

had dated non-white domestic students who also had more tolerant attitudes toward racial out-groups. All six of these students were comfortable with English, were well adjusted to life in America, three of them attended high school in America, and they were open to the idea of living in America long-term, which were all factors indicating a greater level of acculturation. One student, Han, was well acculturated to life in America and also had a white girlfriend. He was a material science graduate student, living in America for three years. He explained that he was attracted to white women, not because they represented a position of high status in society, but because he liked their physical appearance and their open communication style. Asian women's faces were too flat and round, in his opinion, but white women's faces were three-dimensional. He clarified that all races and ethnicities could be attractive, but that he preferred white women. This was partly due to the media's glamorization of white women, but it also had to do with ways of communicating within relationships:

White girls are more open. When there is something wrong they will tell you, but Chinese girls will hide their feelings. Like in China, I know you love me and you know I love you, but let's just not talk about it. We hide it because we know it. Here I think people say I love you everyday, and I think this is good because people want confirmation each day. -Han

Han was representative of students who had been in America three years or more, who felt that they were becoming global citizens or more Asian-American (Berry, 2003). Thus, it was not exactly the act of being in a relationship with a white-American that made these students more open-minded and improved their English, rather they already had these traits prior to entering the relationship. This corroborates literature presented in

chapter two, which showed that American college students who exhibited lower levels of in-group favoritism, intergroup anxiety, and in-group identification before coming to college, were more likely to date racial out-groups during college (Levin, Taylor, & Claude, 2007). While Levin et al.'s (2007) study was conducted on American college students, the findings appear to corroborate trends in international students' interviewees as well.

Han's admiration and desire for a more typical American communication style in a relationship was indicative that he was becoming more acculturated the longer he stayed in the US. For all three international students who had white-American romantic partners, they all served as gateways into American culture and aided in their acculturation process in America (Berry, 2003; Ward and Rana-Deuba, 2000). By dating white-American students, international students became more exposed to American culture and ways of communicating. Han was often invited to his girlfriend's parents house, where he learned about politics, history, and even race relations. Elena, even developed further racial stereotypes because her boyfriend's family was prejudice against Latinos and African-Americans, thus supporting Elena's already negative views of these groups. Interestingly enough, these students explained that they did not deliberately seek out white-American partners, but they said unconsciously societal influences of beauty and status may have played into their romantic choice.

By dating white-Americans, these students did not experience a drastic stereotype conversion (Rothbart, 1981), but there was a greater understanding of in-group variability within the white-American monolithic group label. Han came to realize that not all white women communicated their feelings in an open and honest manner, Elena realized that

not all white-Americans were womanizers, and Saiko learned that there was no such thing as white culture that encapsulated all groups. These three students also did not view their romantic partner as solely from a different race. They built new inclusive identities with their white-American partners around shared values, goals in life, and shared interests in different cultures. Recategorizing one's identity to widen the criteria for in-group members, proved to be a sign of stereotype reduction and greater awareness of racial diversity (Gaertner et al., 1993).

When romantic relationships occurred between international and domestic students, they were powerful agents of stereotype reduction and change. However, many international students did not date outside of their national/ethnic group. They preferred intra-ethnic dating because of parental and societal pressure, as well as language and cultural closeness. A majority of international students explained that they did follow a racial hierarchy when it came to dating. African-Americans were viewed as the least desirable group with which to date, while white-Americans were the most desirable. Those students who had less stereotypes about racial/ethnic others, were more likely to date outside their in-group. There were several cases where negative dating experiences led to increased negative stereotypes, however positive dating experiences led to recategorization processes, in which new inclusive identities were formed across racial/ethnic lines.

Student Programs' and Policies' Effectiveness in Challenging Stereotypes

Graduate and Undergraduate Perceptions of Student Services. A majority of students from China, Japan, and Korea felt as though the university provided a sufficient amount of opportunities for international students to interact with domestic students. However, there was a common opinion that it was the international students' fault for not interacting enough with domestic students at the university. Cattie, a Chinese engineering undergraduate student, indicated that she thought UCLA provided enough services but that she needed to improve her English abilities, attend more events, and muster up the courage to talk to racial out-groups:

Maybe I don't know how to be friends with Mexican classmates, I want to be friends, but I don't know how. I don't have this opportunity. Maybe I have the opportunity, but I can't find it, I have to improve myself next quarter. -Cattie

There was a prevailing sense that the university could not do much to increase cross-cultural and cross-racial interaction, nor was it the university's job to do so. This perception may be partly due to the fact that East Asian student affairs is not as developed, or focused on racial diversity, as that of America's; therefore, students do not necessarily expect that these student services would be provided (Wen, 2005). Seven students did not understand why it was important to make friends of different races/ethnicities and saw it as a distraction from their studies. When Hanshi, a Chinese undergraduate engineering student was asked why he did not make friends with students of other cultures, Hanshi said a better question is why would he want to in the first place:

Sometimes we might just be lazy. Because we are focused on studying. It's not the problem that we don't want to make friends, if we want, we can but instead of asking why not, sometimes ask why. Sometimes we think why do we have to? I am not saying we don't want to but we just don't. -Hanshi

Hanshi was a minority voice when it came to socializing with others, but his comments of being too busy or being too shy were echoed by other participants, especially in the non-humanities fields, as reasons why cross-racial/ethnic interactions took place less often.

There was a palpable difference between the services undergraduate students needed and those that graduates felt they needed. Four graduate students commented that they avoided going to undergraduate clubs because they felt that those services were for a different age group. These four students were also well connected with their departments and had friends outside of clubs, but understood the importance of these organizations. Cat explained why she did not want to join the Japanese clubs at UCLA:

But I never feel like I want to join Asian-American associations or Japanese association because if I were undergrad I might, but I have friends to talk with here and I'm not that homesick because I feel when I talk with the JSA people I feel like the purpose for them is to heal each other [emotionally] by mingling. Because, if they are in America, you have to be [emotionally] strong, but at the club people value you and I do understand that concept [of being homesick and experiencing culture shock]. But I can heal my feelings from my friends here and there [from my graduate program]. So I don't go to the clubs. -Cat

Cat had developed friendships in her department and was curious to also meet students of different races and ethnicities; therefore, she did not want to attend race based clubs. Graduate students who had been in the US and were in a PhD cohort had more of a social network than master's students who were less connected to their department. Erin explained that graduate students were not receiving the attention that they needed. She did not have a car to get around Los Angeles and only had one close international friend that she spent time with:

The Graduate Student Association, I think, it is a good thing that they provide transportation. Domestic and international students come together to go to Hollywood and they give us tokens to go on the bus. And the Dashew center does the same. We can get to know each other when we go from one place to another. But the problem is they are international students so many are undergraduates or exchange students, they have different concerns. As a graduate student I feel like I am more isolated. They have fun and I want to join them to have fun. Being a graduate student is not for fun, it's for studying.

Erin utilized the services of the Graduate Student Association and the UCLA Dashew International Center, but felt as though she was too preoccupied with her studies to attend many of their events. Being a graduate student appeared to be an isolating experience for many international students, who were not closely tied with their departments and as a result suffered from acculturation stress and depression (Lee, Koeske, & Sales, 2004). Erin lived with a Korean international student, but they barely talked with each other. Even when she went to the Dashew International Center programs, she enjoyed them, but found it difficult to decide with which group to

associate. She did not know what to talk about with the European students after fifteen minutes (which was a common theme between internationals and westerners, as illustrated above) and she did not want to join the Hong Kong group because it felt too comfortable. Interaction with mainland Chinese students was hampered by language abilities as well as her feeling of unease that China now owned Hong Kong. Erin felt that there should be more services provided to graduate international students, other than the programs put on by the graduate student association:

We [graduate students] only have the academic services, we have the graduate writing center, academic hub, but for socializing we have Graduate Student Association (GSA). But [GSA] don't have too many graduate students coming, so maybe it is a cycle that they don't make many activities because of the low response rates. And I know there are a lot of international students, people from China in the science major, so they make their own group. They have their own fun. -Erin

Erin felt frustrated by the fact that the Graduate Student Association was not putting on enough graduate social events. As illustrated in chapter two, Rose-Redwood (2010), also found that international student events were sporadically scheduled throughout the year and when they did take place, there was often segregation by nationality and little instruction by authorities that encouraged cross-cultural interaction. This was somewhat true for students' comments about Graduate Student Association events, but was not true for Dashew International Student Events. Erin did not have a network of students with which to interact, therefore she was almost envious of international students majoring in the sciences because they met many international

students in their classes. She was lonely and only had one Taiwanese-American friend whom she described as being more Asian than American, which she explained was the reason they were such close friends. As illustrated above, students who were newer to America and found Asian-American students that spoke their language and were willing to befriend Asian international students were referred to as more 'Asian'. Erin was an outgoing person who was trying to make connections with diverse groups of students, but felt frustrated by her work load, her inability to maneuver around the city, and her lack of UCLA venues with which to meet other students. To compound all of this, Erin lived by herself, thus making her feel even more isolated. Erin was representative of the graduate international student population that was not as connected to their graduate school cohort, thus they felt isolated from the UCLA community.

Living Situations. While graduate students were less likely to join clubs and room with domestic students, over half of the undergraduates interviewed said they learned about different cultures by rooming with them. Mingqu, a Chinese undergraduate student who lived in the residence halls, learned a great deal about American diversity by living in the residence halls:

I think that it is very diverse here in UCLA because there are many students from different countries, and even if they are American, their parents are from different countries, like India. Yeah, I think we have lots in common but we also have many differences, like she [my roommate] will talk to her parents in Indian. And my other roommate she is from Korea and she will speak Korean with her parents, so we notice there is a difference. We find out that we have a lot in

common here. So we are not so different we find, by living together. Other students from China, I think they feel the same way as me. -Mingqu

Mingqu had a positive experience living with racial/ethnic out-groups in the residence halls. Other students lived with white roommates, which led to an altering of stereotypes. Linzy, a Korean undergraduate student living with white-American students off-campus, realized that the image of idealized white people in the media was not always true:

I met some dumb white guys and they laugh at anything that is really stupid and there were some poor white kids who were, their parents were like divorced and everything. And one of the culture shocks was using marijuana, if you use it in Korea, you will go to jail, here, people do it all the time, in the car and everywhere. -Linzy

Living with racial/ethnic out-groups was pivotal in changing stereotypes and educating international students about life in America (Shook & Fazio, 2008; Van Laar, Levin, & Sidanius, 2005). Some universities in America and Australia separate their international students in foreign student housing (Fincher, Carter, Tombesi, and Shaw, 2009). UCLA did not separate international and domestic students in the residential halls, which resulted in mostly positive experiences. However, UCLA could create more structured activities that foster cross-racial/ethnic interaction in graduate student housing, which graduate international students indicated had few residential activities.

UCLA Dashew International Center Diversity Programs. When asked about the services that the Dashew International Center provided, students explained that, for the most part, they had positive experiences with the center's programming. However, thirty percent of students did not like the orientation program because they said it was too long and a good portion of the material they already knew. They said there was minimal instruction about American diversity or how to interact with different cultures. One student explained that the extent to diversity training at the orientation day was a staff member explaining that UCLA was "one of the most diverse universities in the US and you are going to meet a lot of people from cultural backgrounds, and that was it." Students indicated that the Dashew International Center tried to cover visa paperwork issues, legal matters, American diversity, and American cultural information all in a single orientation day, which appeared to be nearly impossible. There should be a greater, prolonged effort to educate international students about acculturation, race, history, and governmental issues in American society (Lin & Yi, 1997). Several students explained that they would have benefitted from greater instruction on the sensitive nature of racial differences in America and how to interact with racial out-groups. As Berryman-Fink (2006) explained, it is not enough to have international student orientation activities that explore racial diversity, there must be a variety of programs that involve prolonged periods of engagement by the student, in order to reduce prejudices on campus.

The UCLA Dashew International Center did create programs that had positive, lasting effects, on international students. When it came to Dashew Center programs, thirty percent of students interviewed said they utilized the English Conversation Program service, which most found useful in improving their English skills. The English

Conversation Program was geared to help international students with their speaking abilities and to learn more about American culture (Dashew Center Website). Only one student was disappointed in the quality of her volunteer student instructor and the material covered. Heggins and Jackson's (2003) finding that international students felt like uninvited guests at their campus' international center was not found to be true. Another finding that was not corroborated was Akinniyi's (1992) research that international students avoided going to their college's international center because they felt student affairs' officers were out of touch with their needs as students and did not have culturally sensitive communication styles. Students at UCLA did feel like they could come to the Dashew Center for their administrative and social needs.

Another program called Global Siblings, proved to be somewhat affective for the ten students who participated in it. The program was designed to bring international and domestic students together through casual social events (UCLA Dashew International Center Website). The main critique of the program was that not enough domestic students joined:

Yeah because the global siblings was like 80% international students, I don't think that domestic students are really into this program. I think they are more interested in European international students. -June

June felt that domestic students did not join the Global Siblings Program because they were more interested in interacting with European students, than Asian ones. A staff member at one of the first Global Siblings events reiterated this notion at the opening ceremony of the Global Siblings program, thus making June feel as though domestic

students were not as interested in interacting with Asian internationals. This desire to want to interact with a certain type of race/ethnic/cultural group in these programs was also exhibited by international students.

Takahashi, a Japanese humanities undergraduate major living in the US for three years, wanted to interact with Latino and black students. He specifically did not want to be paired with an Asian-American person because he was prejudiced toward Chinese and Korean people (both nationals and Americans). Takahashi also did not want a Japanese-American person to be his sibling because that felt too comfortable for him. He suggested that the UCLA Dashew International Center should let international students indicate what race/ethnicity they preferred to be paired with. He also complained that the program was too lax and there were no authority figures to facilitate student interactions. When asked if he was currently participating in the Global Siblings Program, Takahashi replied:

No not really, because I've been matched up with a partner and I don't know if it's a he or she, and I didn't contact and we never met up. The Dashew center gave us information, but we didn't meet. The global sibling I did meet last year. But my sibling was a typical white sorority girl. It was hard to get along with her. We just had dinner together once, but that was it. -Takahashi

Contact Theory (Allport, 1954; Pettigrew, 1998) explains that without the supervision of authorities that help facilitate interaction, positive cross-cultural contact will not occur. Takahashi was willing and interested in meeting different American racial out-groups, but because there were no student affairs officer creating a structured course of action on how to interact or facilitate activities, an opportunity for positive interaction

and subsequent stereotypes change was missed. Takahashi felt he had little in common with his global sibling, who he called a 'typical white sorority girl.' He entered the interaction with preconceived racial/ethnic stereotypes, but there was no authority figure to help construct activities, which could possibly show Takahashi that he had more in common with his global sibling than he thought. In the absence of a more structured program, Takahashi missed an opportunity to break his prejudices and effectively gave up on the Global Siblings program entirely. While Takahashi was dissatisfied with the program, a majority of the ten Global Siblings participants interviewed, reported that the program gave them an opportunity to interact and learn from domestic students.

Another Japanese student, Shino, joined Global Siblings and was paired with an African-American student, who was nothing like the stereotypes of African-American people Shino had seen on TV. The African-American global sibling partner was not interested in sports, was a fan of Japanese comic books, and was very personable. Shino's impression of African-Americans did change, but even Shino said there needed to be more structured interaction with her global sibling at the international center, because casual meetings with her global sibling were not as fruitful as she had hoped. Of the other nine students who participated in the Global Siblings Program, a majority said the program was effective at introducing them to domestic students, but they would have liked to have more opportunities to interact with more domestic students in structured interactive activities.

Perceptions on Possible Diversity Course Requirement. When students were asked whether they felt it would be effective to have a mandatory course that would teach international students about diversity, there were only three students out of thirty-three who felt this was a good idea. A majority of students felt a mandatory diversity course would help change stereotypes, but that college was about free choice:

Yeah it would make a difference, but it's kind of cruel for a mandatory class. I can imagine they [international students] are complaining. You should have workshops, articles, and more student activities. -Amy

There was a prevailing view that international students had a busy schedule as it was, thus it would be imposing too much of a burden on them to make them take a diversity course. Students said that domestic students did not have to take a diversity course, so why should international students be forced to do so. Studies have shown that diversity courses help educate students, both domestic and international students, about the history of out-group members and promote a culture of racial equity and awareness (Chang, 2002; Gurin, Dey, Hurtado, & Gurin, 2002). Even in light of these studies, there is no diversity course requirement for international students. Even domestic students are required to take a course on American history or politics, but this requirement is waived for international students. It seemed counterintuitive that UCLA accepted a large amount of international students each year, yet did not attempt to educate them about racial diversity, American governmental systems, or US history. These international students will be future leaders and educators in America and their home countries (Lin & Yi, 1997). Even if international students in this study indicated that they would rather not be required to take a diversity course, it is up to the UC policy makers to enforce some kind

of diversity/history requirement for international students if it is to fulfill its goals as enumerated in the UC Diversity Mission Statement (UC Diversity Mission Statement, 2011).

Desire for Cultural Sensitivity Throughout Campus. While international students did not want a mandatory diversity course, they did want to see a campus climate that supported their needs and was more sensitive to the issues they faced. Mingqu took an anthropology course and learned something called ethnographic sensibilities. She explained that this refers to the process of an outsider learning about and from someone else's culture. She felt as though student affairs officers, professors, and other students should understand the needs of international students as well as adopt a level of sensitivity about international students' cultures. She explained that this level of deeper cultural understanding was exhibited by UCLA Dashew International Center student affairs officers, but that it needed to be present in all departments:

It should be in everything, in our daily lives. We go to class everyday, so these people should give us more attention too. Student service people as well. People we interact with everyday they should have more sensibilities. -Mingqu

This notion of international students wanting residence directors, professors, and academic counselors to understand their needs were closely linked to Robertson, Line, Jones, and Thomas (2000) findings. In this Australian university study, faculty and staff were less aware of the language, emotional, psychological and cultural challenges international students faced, thus international students did not feel comfortable seeking avenues of administrative help. At UCLA, international students interviewed appeared to

be comfortable seeking help. There was one case where a student felt that a professor treated international students in a rude manner, compared to domestic students. Another student explained that a career counselor in the business school was very rude to both domestic and international students alike. Overall, a majority of international students felt that student affairs officers were, for the most part, culturally sensitive.

Feelings of Dissatisfaction over High Tuition Prices. Tuition prices also came up when discussing issues of student services. Mingqu indicated that she was paying a lot of money to attend an American university, therefore she expected faculty and staff with cultural competencies as well as more academic services offered to international students, but not necessarily an increase in social programming (Lin & Yi, 1997). A stress on providing academic services, rather than social programs was explained by the fact that many international students' purpose for coming to America was to focus on their education, and socializing was a distant second. Another Chinese student, Fei, a visiting scholar in the humanities, commented that international students were excited to come to America and learn, but they should not be taken advantage of, by making them pay a great deal, while offering them few student services:

With the financial downturn, the university wants to diversify the student body. I think the admission of the students is not only for the money, it is also for academic diversity. So economically, you can have tuition fees and have an economic benefit, but it is a cross-cultural and cross-racial understanding...So do not take this group of students as an instrument to take money from, look at them as human beings. They want to live and study and benefit the whole culture of this campus.

Fei was explaining that international students should not be admitted just because they bring a much needed revenue source for the university. She said that international students have many choices throughout America, and that if word got out that a university is not providing adequate student services, there would be a detrimental effect on the international student populations' attendance to a given university. She felt that international students should be viewed as a cultural boon to the university and should be provided specific academic services. Almost all students explained that international student tuition was too high (Cadieux & Wehrly, 1987; Lee, Koeske, & Sales, 2004). There was a consensus that if tuition were to be this high, there should be more academic services provided, however, a majority of students felt there were enough social activities in place. International students' academic service concerns included the fact that international students could only receive one appointment a week at the graduate writing center, there were not enough academic tutoring services, and there needed to be more TA opportunities and fellowships for international students.

International students did not feel that there were many ways for them to earn scholarships, because these were limited to domestic students, and internationals also felt that they could not have a job off campus, because their visas did not permit this. Paper writing and revising help was a concern for many international students, but some felt that the UCLA Writing Center's policy of only one visit per week was not enough. While the study focused on diversity issues, it became apparent that international students were more concerned with financial issues and academic support during their college experience.

UCLA Extension Students' Issues

A minority group within international students at UCLA were Extension students. All three UCLA Extension students interviewed explained that they felt isolated from the UCLA community and did not have an opportunity to interact with racial/ethnic out-groups. Emiko, a Japanese extension student living in Los Angeles for three months, said she mostly interacted with Taiwanese and Japanese students from her English extension classes. She switched into an extension class that had more diverse students, and they were the ones with which she wanted to interact. She met a student from Gabon in the class, which changed her stereotypes of black people as being dangerous. Before she interacted with the student from Gabon, she thought:

We think they are dangerous having the gun and the drugs. In Japan many black man has the drugs. Black man in Japan sells the drugs. -Emiko

But after seeing this student in the same class of around thirty students each day, and talking with him on occasion, she began to view the monolithic black out-group as having much variety within it:

He is very intelligent, entertaining and he knows many things, friendly and very kind. He has money. And he likes movie too, so we always talk about movies...Before I met him, I had a strong stereotype for black man, but after I met him, my mind changed so I could make a friend with black man. -Emiko

She viewed this African student in a positive light, but as stated by Rothbart's (1981) Subtyping Model, he was categorized as an exception to the rule or monolithic stereotype she had of black people. She said she could now make friends with black

people, but her thinking toward black people was changed once again when she received news that her best friend was robbed by an African-American man. This information reaffirmed her original stereotypes of black people, however she was beginning to differentiate between wealthy and educated African students and street thieves. If Emiko were able to have more interaction with African-American students, she may have been able to, in accordance with Rothbart's (1981) Bookkeeping Stereotype Change Model, add more stereotype disconfirming knowledge to her mental stereotype score card (Rothbart, 1981). She could have gone back to Japan with a different mindset toward American diversity and even black people in Japan. However, in UCLA's Extension English as a Second Language Program, there was only one African student and there was virtually no class time set aside for students to get to know each other. Students were not encouraged to go outside of their conational comfort zone, therefore balkanization was a common occurrence in the classroom.

Emiko and the two other Extension students wanted to interact with more domestic students on UCLA's main campus, but they felt like a world away from the UCLA campus and domestic students. Extension students were geographically distant from the UCLA campus and thus felt isolated from the "real" UCLA student life they desired. They paid a great deal of money to attend UCLA Extension's program, in hopes of improving their language abilities and learning more about American culture. However, all three students interviewed lived with and befriended mostly international students, thus they had little opportunity to practice English or learn about diversity in the US.

Small, positive, interactions like Emiko's proved to be effective in changing UCLA Extension students' stereotypes, but Extension students particularly felt isolated from UCLA. They recommended that they should have access to UCLA's gym, be able to live on-campus with domestic students, be able to attend regular UCLA courses, and participate in UCLA's Dashew International programs. They felt as though they were being charged high tuition but were not having the opportunity to practice their English and socialize with domestic students. Emiko expressed her frustration with the UCLA Extension program: "We are like an island because we are so far away from the campus."

Extension proved to be a unique group of students who paid high prices to learn English, interact with American diversity, and learn more about American culture. However, these students were frustrated by the dirtiness of their UCLA living conditions, their social isolation, and the lack of programming afforded them. These students did not have any social programming division like UCLA's Dashew International Center. Extension students are not regular UCLA students, therefore, they did not have access to the Dashew International Center programming. As a result, extension students were not able to achieve their desired goals of improving their language abilities, meeting domestic students, and experiencing new cultures in the US. Additionally, these students complained that they were relegated to living in an old apartment building off-campus that had few activities and was in poor condition. All three students were thinking of switching to Kaplan, a different language program, that was less expensive and provided more opportunities to interact with domestic students. There may be room for UCLA Extension and Dashew International Center to collaborate on programming in the future,

so that international students from both schools are able to build social networks with domestic students and feel more comfortable in a new environment.

In terms of UCLA's international students, it was clear that undergraduate students who lived on campus, were more inclined to feel that there were enough opportunities to get involved on campus and interact with racial and ethnic diversity. However, of those undergraduates who did not live on-campus, they interacted with racial/ethnic out-groups only rarely. Graduate students, on the other hand, felt that there should be more programs catering toward graduate students' needs. Graduate students felt more isolated and less in contact with racial/ethnic diversity than undergraduates living in the residential halls. Additionally, undergraduates and graduates agreed that a diversity course would help them understand American racial diversity better, they did not want to be burdened with another general education course requirement. Students felt that as adults, they should be free to choose their own classes. Many international students felt they were being charged too much for their education, but mainly graduate students felt that programs for them were being cut and that not enough opportunities to socialize were being afforded to them. Additionally, undergraduates and graduates felt that the cultural sensitivity exhibited in the UCLA Dashew International Center should permeate throughout all departments of campus, as Asian international students are becoming a much larger presence on the UCLA campus (Rose-Redwood, 2010).

Chapter 5: Conclusion

In order to guide the reader, this final chapter of the dissertation restates the research problem and reviews the major methods used in the study. The major sections of this chapter summarize the results, discuss their implications, and offer recommendations for future practice, as well as research.

Statement of the Problem

The number of international students in American colleges and universities has nearly doubled in the last two decades from 366,354 in 1988/89 to 723,277 in 2010/11 (Institute of International Education, 2011). East Asian students have comprised the largest influx of international students. The number of Chinese students increased to 157,558, Indian students increased to 103,895, South Korean students increased to 73,351, and Japanese students increased to 21,290 in 2010 (IIE, 2010). UCLA alone served 660 Chinese graduate students, 701 Chinese undergraduate students; 200 Korean graduate students, 507 Korean undergraduates; 68 Japanese graduate students, and 93 Japanese undergraduate students (Open Doors Report, UCLA, 2011).

Universities go to great lengths to recruit international students because they bring a level of prestige (Lee, 2010), contribute to campus diversity (Pandit, 2007), encourage domestic students to build cross-cultural competencies (Zhao, Kuh, & Carini, 2005), and help advance America's research competitiveness in the STEM fields (Pandit, 2007). In addition, international students brought \$18.8 billion dollars to the US economy in the 2009-10 academic year (NAFSA, 2010). While these students are bringing prestige and diversity to US campuses, they are also bringing with them racial stereotypes (Kobayashi, 2010; Peng, 2010). These stereotypes may lead to racial hate crimes (Littlely, 2010;

Sullivan, 1994), racial misunderstandings (Mashhood & Parkinson-Morgan, 2011), reduced levels of cultural adjustment (Kashima & Loh, 2006; Lee, Koeske, & Sales, 2004), affect learning outcomes (Hurtado, 2005), encourage international student balkanization (Villalpando, 2003), and negatively affect campus climate (Hurtado, Dey, Gurin, & Gurin, 2003).

A rapid increase in international student enrollment, coupled with a lack of diversity programming for international and domestic students, may affect campus climate in a deleterious manner. Hurtado, Milem, Clayton-Pedersen, and Allen (1999) suggest that there are four dimensions that make up campus climate, including 1) an institution's historical legacy, 2) structural diversity, or the statistical representation of diverse groups on campus, 3) the psychological climate, namely perceptions and attitudes between groups, and 4) the behavioral climate, meaning the types of intergroup relations. When structural diversity is increased, without thinking about how this will affect the other three dimensions of climate, problems are bound to arise (Milem, 2001). As international student populations grow in American universities, these students' racial attitudes will undoubtedly affect their interactions with others, in turn, altering campus climates.

Review of the Methodology

As explained in chapter 2, this qualitative study sought to explore the racial, ethnic, and cultural stereotypes of Chinese, Japanese, and South Korean international students. The study was executed in order to see how these perceptions affected interactions on campus, as well as how stereotypes could be altered during one's college experience. The study looked particularly at East Asian international students because

this group comprises the largest number of incoming students to American universities (Hune, 2002). The Institute of International Education (2011) indicated that the number of Chinese students studying in US colleges and universities reached 157,558, Korean students reached 73,351 and Japanese students reached 21,290. Thirty-three students were interviewed using 60-90 minute-long semi-structured interview methods (Kidder and Judd, 1986). Participants included 16 Chinese students, 10 Japanese students, 4 South Korean students, 2 Hong Kong students, and 1 Taiwanese student. Students were recruited from UCLA's Dashew International Center English conversation and domestic-international friendship programs. Snowball sampling and convenience sampling were also utilized. UCLA was chosen as the research location because of the racial/ethnic diversity of the domestic student body, as well as the fact that it ranks sixth in the nation, when it comes to international student enrollment (Open Doors Report, IIE, 2011).

Weekly interaction charts (Rampersad, 2007) were also collected, to identify how often international students were interacting with domestic students and to encourage international students to think critically about their cross-racial/cultural interactions on and off campus. A constant comparative method was utilized (Glaser, 1965), whereby open, axial, and selective coding took place (Strauss & Corbin, 1998). Interview transcripts and interaction charts were compared for each student, in order to better understand the following questions:

- 1) What racial, ethnic, cultural stereotypes do East Asian international students bring to UCLA?

- 2) How and to what extent are UCLA East Asian international students' racial, ethnic, and cultural stereotypes challenged, or reinforced, through college experiences?
- 3) How do international students at UCLA perceive university efforts to promote cross-racial, multi-cultural, multi-ethnic interaction?

Summary of the Results

Prior to summarizing the results, it is important to clarify that this study did not seek to paint all East Asian international students as being racist or having heavily stereotypical attitudes. The individuals in the study varied in their perceptions of different racial/ethnic/cultural groups, and their views were theirs, and theirs alone. The individual students were not meant to be representative of all Chinese, Japanese, or Korean students. The study sought to understand what stereotypes East Asian international students brought with them to America, in order to better understand how stereotypes were challenged during their college experience. East Asian international students' stereotypes were very similar to American ones, illustrating that East Asian cultures are not inherently racist; rather there is a global racial hierarchy at play. There is a lengthy discussion of racial stereotypes in the literature review and findings section, in order to show that much of American racism is being exported to East Asia and is influencing some students' attitudes prior to arriving in the US.

Not all students will come to America with these biases, but literature suggests that there are some significant factors that may influence some students' racial/ethnic perceptions. East Asian international students' racial stereotypes were analyzed not because this group holds more stereotypes than another. In fact, domestic students may

have just as many preconceived notions of East Asian international students. But this study focused on international students' perceptions because this is an understudied area of inquiry.

This study was conducted because there is little literature on this subject and as this population continues to grow, there needs to be research that examines racial/ethnic/cultural perceptions and how cross-racial/ethnic/cultural interactions are taking place on college campuses. The reader must also keep in mind that perceptions and stereotyping is often created through a dynamic interaction between groups. In other words, international students may form their opinions about out-groups based on the stereotyping and discrimination that international students experience from domestic students.

In accordance with Astin's (1991) I-E-O Model (Input-Environment-Output), the first question explores the pre-college attributes, demographics, and the background characteristics of East Asian international students (input), that factor into the formation of stereotypes by this student population. Progressing into the Environment phase of Astin's I-E-O Model (1991), question two looks at how experiences during college affects and possibly alters the stereotypes of East Asian international students. Lastly, question three tangentially explores Astin's Output phase of his model (1991), by asking international students not about what values and beliefs they have gained from college, but about their ideas of the effectiveness of student diversity programs, that are created to produce outcomes of greater racial/cultural tolerance.

The first section lays the foundation for the rest of the chapter, because it explores international students' childhood and young adult experiences with racial diversity, in an

effort to examine how these pre-college factors shaped their stereotypes on American college campuses. Vigotsky's Sociocultural Theory (Ashmore & Del Boca, 1981; Vigotsky, 1978) is used to explain how socialization processes, through friends, family, and media work to inculcate students with racial stereotypes from a young age. A majority of East Asian international students felt that they came from racially homogenous countries. Even though there was a level of ethnic diversity in China and Japan, there was limited exposure to these groups, because a majority of those interviewed were from ethnic majority groups and grew up in metropolitan areas that did not have a large population of ethnic minorities. Those interviewed were also from financially privileged backgrounds, which may have affected their views toward disadvantaged ethnic minorities in their home countries as well as in America (Liu, 1995; Vandrick, 2011). International students who attended high school in America, had racially diverse friends in their home country, and/or traveled extensively in their youth, were more likely to hold racially tolerant attitudes. This section also discussed differences in home country ethnic tensions that proved to be indicative of international students' stereotypes in America.

The subsequent section explored East Asian international students' stereotypes about America, in general, prior to coming to UCLA. The major finding from this section was that there was a lack of American historical knowledge and understanding of other cultures and countries, which led to a void in students' knowledge that was filled by stereotypical media images and hearsay from family and friends (Peng, 2010; Smith, Bowman, Hsu, 2007; Tanaka, 1997). Many students had a perception of America as being populated mostly by Caucasian people, with a minority of African-Americans. This

lack of understanding of American racial demographics or history, resulted in many stereotypes about these groups, but little knowledge of groups such as Asian-Americans or Latinos. Many students divided the world into Eastern (Asia) and Western (Europe and America) parts, which were thought to be spheres of prosperity. Africa was thought of as poor, the Middle East was dangerous, and Latin America was mostly an unknown entity with a few students pointing to the violence in Mexico as an indication of a less civilized society than the West or Asia. High school curricula included American and European history, but little emphasis was given to other continents' histories. A majority of students knew about Dr. Martin Luther King Jr., but there was a superficial understanding of the history of the African-American Civil Rights Movement and almost no prior knowledge of Latino civil rights struggles.

Building upon the socialization data in one's home country, the findings section also uncovers the racial stereotypes held by a majority of international students, in regard to African-Americans, Caucasians, Latinos, and Asian-Americans. Cultivation Theory (Shanahan & Morgan, 1999) was utilized in this section to indicate how these images, if consumed over a long period of time, became internalized in international students and affected how they interacted with racial out-groups at UCLA. The frequency, depth, intensity, length of exposure to media, and real time experiences with racial out-groups led to both negative and positive stereotype development for international students. Stereotypes of African-Americans were predominantly negative, due to Hollywood films and home country TV networks depicting Africa as an impoverished, war-torn continent, and African-Americans as aggressive and loud criminals, athletes, and hip-hop artists.

Stereotypes of Caucasian people were drastically more positive, when compared to those of African-Americans. Caucasians were thought of as well-educated, financially successful, and culturally superior. These images were also perpetuated by media and solidified by a select number of interactions international students had with Caucasian English teachers in their home countries. Perceptions of Latinos and stereotypes associated with those perceptions were limited because many students did not see this racial group represented in media, and had virtually no contact with this group in their home countries. After attending UCLA for at least three months, students learned negative stereotypes from other international and domestic students, as well as American media, illustrating the rapidity with which international college students may be adopting American racial prejudices (Kim, 2008; Talbot, Geelhoed, & Ninggal, 1999).

When it came to Asian-American stereotypes, Asian international students had few because this group was also not heavily represented in popular media in their home countries. International students assumed that Asian-Americans were going to have values and communication styles that were similar to theirs, because both groups were ethnically Asian. However, as Social Identity Theory posits (Tajfel & Turner, 1986), Asian international students, over time, placed Asian-American students in a different social identity group than themselves, because they perceived Asian-Americans to be too Americanized (or considered 'white') and were, therefore, difficult to befriend or interact with.

Based on these stereotypes, a racial/status hierarchy was created in the minds of international students, which proved to be significant in friendship and dating preferences of international students (Bonilla-Silva, 2004; Grant & Lee, 2009). In accordance with

Bonilla-Silva's (2004) Tri-Racial System, Caucasian people were thought to have the highest social status and as a result were thought to be the most desirous to befriend and/or date. On the other hand, African-Americans were thought to have the least social status and were thus the least desirous to befriend and/or date. Asian-Americans were placed just below Caucasians, while Latinos were placed one level above, but sometimes on the same level as African-Americans. Comparisons between Africa, East Asia, and Latin America, also led to a hierarchy based on economic development and Gross Domestic Product (GDP) of certain countries in these regions. Some students erroneously indicated that cultural backgrounds of racial out-groups were to blame for economic inequalities in the world and in America. A lack of effort, low educational will power, and a lack of family values on the part of African-American and Latino families were reoccurring stereotypes of students who acquired prejudiced attitudes in their home countries, had little contact with racial out-groups in their home countries, and had few opportunities to interact with racial out-groups in America. A majority of students explained that they would be friendly to racial out-group members they came in contact with on-campus, but racial hierarchies did affect how they navigated their world in college, who they befriended, who they roomed with, and who they chose as romantic partners.

With a clear understanding of what racial stereotypes international students held, the next section explained how they could be challenged during one's college experience, by utilizing Rothbart's (1981) three stereotype change models, Social Identity Theory (Tajfel & Turner, 1986), and Contact Theory (Allport, 1954, Pettigrew, 1998). Positive racial interaction in residential living, classroom settings, club events, international

student programming, and even off-campus experiences proved to be effective in changing stereotypes. Hurtado, Dey, Gurin, and Gurin (2003) and Chang (2002) illustrated that structural diversity on-campus and in departments was shown to increase cross-racial interaction, foster a tolerant campus culture, and student openness to diversity. When these inter-racial/inter-cultural interactions occurred, stereotypes were almost always altered; however, data (a combination of interaction charts and interview transcripts) indicated that these interactions between international and domestic students did not occur often. Humanities majors, students living in the residential halls, undergraduate students, students with an outgoing personality, fluent English speakers, students who took diversity courses, and students whose goal of coming to America was to learn about different cultures, were all more likely to interact with racial out-groups.

Positive interactions with domestic students also appeared to increase acculturation and reduce racial prejudices. Contact Theory (Allport, 1954; Pettigrew, 1998) was reaffirmed, as illustrated by positive cross-racial interaction that involved prolonged engagement, was structured by student affairs officers, and had opportunities for both parties to become friends. However, opportunities for prolonged interaction between domestic and international UCLA students were not a common occurrence. Many undergraduate and graduate students in the science fields reported lower rates of African-American and Latino students in their classes, which resulted in reduced interaction with these racial out-groups. Negative racial attitudes toward these groups, compounded by a lack of interaction, led to a perpetuation of unaware and unintentional racist attitudes toward African-American and Latino students (Yamato, 1991). Undergraduate and graduate humanities students were more likely to have African-

American and Latino classmates, but even in classroom spaces, there were few opportunities for these groups to interact. Living spaces and Dashev International Center international-domestic partnership programs proved to be the most effective spaces for contact to occur.

While the above section spells out how stereotypes are changed during college, the subsequent section looks at the powerful role romantic relationships play in stereotype change. This section also looks at how the racial/status hierarchy described above, factored into the selection of romantic partners on campus (Liu, 1995). When it came to acquaintances, a majority of students said they would be comfortable having casual conversations and interactions with students from any racial/cultural background, but when it came to hypothetical dating partners, blatant racism (Yamato, 1991) was exhibited in some cases. Students who were dating outside their race, appeared to hold less stereotypical views toward their partner's racial out-group (Mok, 1999; Shibazaki & Brennan, 1998). This finding reaffirmed Contact Theory (Allport, 1954; Pettigrew, 1998) because positive romantic relationships resulted in prejudice reduction because romantic partners would oftentimes learn about each other's cultures.

These students began to see the variability within racial groups and even created common identities that went beyond race with their partners, affirming Gaertner et al.'s (1993) Recategorization or Common Identity Process. Similar results were apparent in students who had deep friendships with racial out-group members. Additionally, findings illustrated that Chinese and Korean students were more closed-off to dating African-Americans and Latinos, while Japanese students were more open to this idea (Black, 2009). A majority of students said they would be more comfortable dating co-nationals

who were also international students because communication would be easier and there would be less of a cultural difference (Levin, Taylor, & Claude, 2007; Liu, 1995). However, many of the international students who were dating domestic students were already confident in their language abilities, appeared to be well adjusted to life in America, and had been living in the US for two years or more. Therefore, it appeared that these students held racially tolerant attitudes prior to dating a domestic student, rather than having the romantic relationship be a seminal event that changed their racial attitude.

Questions one and two of the study focused on stereotype formation and how these stereotypes could be challenged through one's experience on campus. Question three asked about international students' perceptions of UCLA diversity programming, in order to better understand how institutions can aid international students in college adjustment and stereotype reduction. These findings went beyond issues of diversity, looking at academic and social needs of international students. Findings indicated that a majority of undergraduate students were satisfied with the amount of diversity programs in place, and felt that it was the job of the international student to take the initiative to socialize more with domestic students. International students placed the onus of involvement on the student, not the university, illustrating a difference in student affairs in Asia versus America. It became apparent that international students were not expecting a great deal of student services when it came to diversity issues, but that did not mean that there was not a need for student services that promoted cross-racial/cultural interactions. Students commented that they did attend international events, but rarely met domestic students; therefore, they felt that domestic students were not as interested in interacting with internationals (Rose-Redwood, 2010). In accordance with Social Identity

Theory (Turner & Tajfel, 1981), some international students internalized this notion that domestic students did not want to interact with them, thus some internationals deliberately avoided making friends with domestic students.

An unexpected finding was that diversity programming and cross-racial/cultural interaction was of secondary, or tertiary importance for international students; whereas, tuition prices and academic services were primary concerns. International students felt slighted that they were paying high tuition prices, but were not receiving the kind of academic support they needed from the writing center and other centers on campus (Lin & Yi, 1997). Graduates and undergraduates alike were upset about the lack of TA-ships and scholarships available for them. It became apparent that the university, while desiring the diversity and revenue that international students bring, was not providing enough academic or diversity services to international students. This lack of international student support could have a detrimental affect on international students' adjustment to college and negatively affect their ability to succeed academically.

When it came to diversity programming, international students indicated that Dashew International Center programs were the only place on campus that offered such services. International students who attended Dashew International Center diversity programs, were more likely to befriend domestic students and as a result, reduce their racial stereotypes (Allport, 1954; Pettigrew, 1998). However, many students did not attend these diversity programs, thus their racial stereotypes went unchecked and oftentimes proliferated in the absence of diversity courses and programs. These findings indicate that UCLA student affairs officers and faculty members may need to offer more

diversity programs and opportunities in the classroom for international students to interact with domestic students.

Only ten international students indicated that they attended UCLA Dashew International Center's Global Sibling Program and found it highly effective at having them meet domestic friends. But even these ten international students wanted more prolonged and structured activities within this Dashew International Center program (Berryman-Fink, 2006); once again reaffirming criteria of Contact Theory (Allport, 1954; Brown & Hewstone, 1986; Pettigrew, 1998). A majority of students felt UCLA's campus climate was friendly to international students; however, some students indicated that a campus culture of sensitivity should permeate not only residential living and the Dashew International Center, but also faculty and staff interactions (Lin & Yi, 1997). Lastly, all three UCLA Extension ESL students were not satisfied with their experiences at UCLA because they felt isolated from the campus and had few, if any, opportunities to interact with domestic students. On the whole, international students were satisfied with diversity programming at UCLA, but the goal of achieving high grades often resulted in more time being spent studying, rather than seeking out social interactions with domestic students. Additionally, international students wanted to meet domestic students, but were not sure how to do so, and were oftentimes intimidated by their lack of English proficiency. Understanding the needs and concerns of international students will hopefully aid university officials in creating policies and programs that better serve international students and help foster tolerance in this growing student population.

Discussion of the Results

Researcher's insights. This study yielded results indicating that international students bring a myriad of racial stereotypes and prejudices with them to America. In this time of financial crisis in higher education, there is a larger push to admit out-of-state and international students. In 2011, the University of California system admitted 72,000 students, and 18 percent of those students were out-of-state or international. That was a 12 percent increase from 2009, illustrating a significant trend toward admitting more out-of-state and international students to increase revenue (Russ, 2011). But what does this mean for the campus climate and learning outcomes of both domestic and international students, if international students' prejudices are only being challenged in a haphazard way on college campuses? International students with more racial prejudices appeared to be less likely to interact with domestic students of any racial out-group membership, leading to increased balkanization. Language barriers and racial misconceptions, combined with a lack of student programming, led to further prejudice accumulation and cultural misunderstandings. All these factors point to the need for university policies and programs to promote cross-cultural/racial interaction between international and domestic students, in order to build a more tolerant society in the US and abroad.

Relationship of the current study to prior research. The current study is somewhat unique in the field of higher education because few, if any, studies have been executed on the topic of international students' racial attitudes and college experiences with diversity. Several studies looked at media's affect on stereotype development of Asian students (Fujioka, 2000; Tan et al., 2009), general societal stereotypes in Asian countries (Kim, 2008; Kobayashi, 2010; Peng, 2010), but only one study in the literature

review focused solely on Asian international students' experiences with cross-racial interactions on campus (Talbot, Geelhoed, & Ninggal, 1999). Talbot et al.'s (1991) work explored international students from mainly Malaysia, Japan, and Indonesia's stereotypes of African-American students, at a Midwestern public university. The current dissertation differs from Talbot et al. (1999) because it focuses on Chinese, Japanese, and South Korean international students' racial attitudes not only toward African-Americans, but toward other racial/ethnic groups. It also explores in more depth home country socialization processes, was conducted at a racially/ethnically diverse college campus, and focuses on internationals' views of university diversity efforts. This dissertation strives to fill the gap in the higher education literature regarding international students' racial attitudes prior to coming to college, and how their American college experiences affect these racial/cultural perceptions. Hopefully, this study will help student affairs officers create effective diversity programs and aid scholars in better understanding the lived experiences of international students.

Theoretical implications of the study. Vigotsky's (1978) Sociocultural theory was reaffirmed in the sense that socialization processes in one's home country greatly influenced how they interacted with and viewed racially/culturally diverse others in the US. Social Identity Theory (Tajfel & Turner, 1986) was also reaffirmed because international students socialized with racial/cultural groups with which they felt a sense of belonging. The theory was also affirmed because international students appeared to categorize others into cultural/racial/ethnic groups, leading to in-group favoritism and out-group discrimination. This theory was also challenged somewhat, because Japanese, Taiwanese, and Korean international students seemed to create close friendships even

though they came from different cultural/ethnic backgrounds. Some students may have adopted a pan-Asian international student identity when studying abroad in a non-Asian majority country, such as America. Future theoretical research should explore how international student identities develop in college, how social interactions affect one's national and ethnic identity, and why certain cultural groups gravitate toward each other.

Rothbart's (1981) stereotype change models proved to be true, in the sense that they were affective at explaining how international students altered their perceptions of different student groups on campus. However, there may be room for the development of new change models that takes into account the power brief acquaintance encounters with strangers can have on stereotype development and reduction. Many students in the study indicated that observations of racial out-groups on public transportation, and brief interactions with UCLA students, staff, and faculty all factored into positive and negative stereotype development. New stereotype models that illustrate how stereotypes develop through brief interactions and observations of out-groups, may help researchers better understand how to reduce the harmful effects of stereotyping. In addition, while Rothbart's (1981) bookkeeping model appeared to be accurate, there was also a pattern that whatever the last experience someone had with a racial/ethnic out-group, was the experience that affected his/her perception of a given group the most. Time was important in terms of stereotype formation, but so too was the magnitude of an experience. One student's mother was robbed at gun-point; therefore, the trauma of this event was forever linked with the gunman's racial/ethnic group, in the eyes of this international student. A stereotype change model that takes into consideration time and magnitude of interactions and observations should be considered.

Contact Theory (Allport, 1954; Pettigrew, 1998) was also reaffirmed, in the sense that friendship potential, support from student affairs officers, extended periods of time spent together, equal status of group members, and common goals of the individuals participating in contact all factored into prejudice reduction. Future contact theories should take into consideration an individual's prior experiences with an out-group population, prior to entering a contact experience. Many international students in the study had few, if any, interactions with different American racial/cultural groups, but media, family/friend influences, and home country schooling all created stereotypical images in their minds. Therefore, a person who has no racial perceptions of another group would be more likely to have their opinion changed more readily, than someone who came into a cross-cultural/racial interaction with more accumulated stereotypes. Additionally, Contact Theory (Allport, 1954; Pettigrew, 1998) would be more effective if it borrowed from Astin's I-E-O Model (1993a), and took into account the pre-entry attributes, the contact experience itself, as well as the specific learning outcomes (besides simply stereotype reduction) that result from the contact experience. If there were more details as to what types of contact experiences led to what specific types of outcomes, there might be a greater chance of creating programs and policies.

Along these lines, contact theories should also take into account vicarious contact, meaning contact heard through friends and experienced through media images. The study illustrated that stereotypes are not always changed or created via physical contact; rather, some of the most impactful experiences stemmed from movie watching, family and friends explaining to future international students to beware of certain racial groups in America, and school curriculum teaching the history of American cultural history in a

limited manner. Further theories are needed to understand what conditions are necessary for prejudice reduction to take place when contact is not physical, but vicarious.

Education scholars often argue that physical contact, increased student programming, and required diversity courses are necessary to combat prejudices. While this is true, the reality appears to be that vicarious contact, more often than not, is what takes place in an international students' life. Thus we need to understand vicarious contact processes in order to educate students in regard to being critical consumers of media and being discerning observers of their new American environment.

Unanticipated findings. There appeared to be a unique group of students who were the most comfortable interacting with racial out-groups. Students who lived in America for more than three years and interacted often with racial diversity, explained that they felt they were becoming global citizens and several students even felt they were becoming Asian-American. A global citizen is someone who respects and values diversity, is aware of political, social, cultural, and environmental issues in different countries, cares about social justice, and contributes to his or her community locally or internationally (Oxfam, 2006). Students who identified as global citizens were often more tolerant, sought out experiences with domestic students, and were more comfortable linguistically and culturally in America. There was a slight difference between students who saw themselves as global citizens and those who felt they were becoming Asian-American. Those who classified themselves as global citizens, usually had lived in several countries before coming to America. On the other hand, those that felt they were becoming more Asian-American, had lived only in the US and were hoping to work and gain citizenship in America, after graduation. This population of global citizens and

students who felt that they were becoming Asian-American, illustrated a level of comfort with moving between cultures. In relation to Social Identity Theory (Tajfel & Turner, 1986), these students' had cultivated relationships with students from their own cultural background, as well as domestic students, resulting in changed personal identities and increased levels of racial tolerance.

Implications for Future Practice. As universities strive to create global citizens who are tolerant of differences, culturally competent, multi-lingual, and aware of global issues, universities must also create the infrastructure necessary to promote this racial/cultural awareness. But in the midst of an economic crisis in American higher education, how are universities expected to allocate funds for increased international student services? Additionally, if international students' racial prejudices are not being challenged on campus, what kind of future leaders and educators are American universities sending out into the world? Universities must take a more active role in educating international students about diversity in living situations, orientations, workshops, and in classrooms. During orientation, international students should be given a greater tutorial on American history, information about race relations in America, and a session on demystifying racial/ethnic/cultural stereotypes. Students indicated that there was only a cursory mention of diverse racial out-groups that they were going to be interacting with, but there must be more.

Furthermore, diversity courses have been shown to foster more tolerant racial attitudes; therefore, there should be a diversity course requirement for domestic and international students (Chang, 2002; Hurtado et al., 2005). UCLA International students as well as domestic students are not required to take a diversity course, which does not

necessarily help foster a campus culture of tolerance. Domestic students are required to take a US government and history course; however, international students are exempt from even taking this course, let alone a diversity one. International students make up 7.4% of the UCLA undergraduate population (2,014 students). If international students are going to be the future leaders of companies, governments, and educational institutions, then there should be required courses for them (UCLA Undergraduate Admissions Website, 2012; Vandrick, 2011). There must be a more concerted effort not only to educate international students about America's democratic institutions, but also about the history of African-American and Latino Civil Rights, the model minority myth promulgated about Asian-Americans, and the racial microaggressions and hostilities that still plague America today (Lin & Yi, 1997; Solorzano, Ceja, & Yosso, 2001).

Additionally, there should be more offerings of Inter-Group Dialogue courses that follow a peer-to-peer learning model, in which students create a safe environment where they educate one another about cultural/national/racial diversity through interactive classroom activities (Zuniga, Nagda, & Sevig, 2002). Hopefully these efforts would result in international students relying less on racial/status hierarchies and stereotypes to navigate their college experience, by providing disconfirming evidence that deconstructs these intolerant constructs. If orientation programs and diversity courses are implemented, international students will hopefully leave UCLA with a greater awareness of, tolerance for, and level of comfort interacting with American racial diversity.

Living on-campus and with domestic students also proved to be affective in stereotype reduction, indicating the need for more students to live on-campus and with diverse out-groups (Shook & Fazio, 2008; Van Laar, Levin, & Sidanius, 2005). However,

only twelve out of thirty-three international students reported living with American students, thus a majority of students were missing out on having interactions with domestic students. There should be an effort on the part of UCLA's residential life to place undergraduate international students with domestic students in living situations. But it is not enough to just have students from different cultures/races living together, there must be student programming that helps foster student interactions (Berryman-Fink, 2006). There appeared to be an ample amount of diversity programming and opportunities for undergraduates living on campus to participate in; however, there was not enough programming available to graduate students (who were all required to live off-campus). Even UCLA apartments for graduate students could have done more to put on programs and give roommates activities in order to have them engage on a deeper level.

When it came to clubs on campus, international students expressed that the Dashew International Center was the only place on campus that was actively organizing programs that helped international students interact with domestic students. International students wanted more opportunities to improve their English and to make domestic friends. Departments, cultural clubs, residential halls, off-campus apartment representatives, and the Dashew Center could put on socials and informational workshops that help international students and domestic students meet each other. But it is not enough for them to just meet, there must be support from student affairs officers that help guide these interactions (Allport 1954; Pettigrew, 1998). A common concern of international students was that they felt embarrassed or unsure of their English skills and also felt that they had little in common to talk about with racial out-group members.

These insecurities, combined with racial/cultural stereotypes led to balkanization on campus. Social isolationism on the part of domestic and international students could be ameliorated if both groups of students were required to take a diversity course, received diversity training in their living spaces, were given structured activities in classrooms, and were provided with living spaces that promoted cross-racial/cultural interaction. These efforts would hopefully lead to stereotype reduction, greater levels of adjustment for international students, increased cultural competencies that will benefit international students beyond college, and improved psychological wellbeing of all students (Antonio, 2001b; Astin, 1993a; Chang, 2002; Hurtado, 2001). Even the students who participated in the UCLA Dashew International Center's Global Siblings Program explained that they wanted to have more structured activities with their domestic partners, because without facilitation from authorities, conversations and relationships were much less likely to develop.

International students indicated that they had the most negative stereotypes of African-Americans and Latino students. However, there was a small population of these students at UCLA, thus East Asian international students had less interaction than they did with Asian-Americans or white Americans. Hurtado, Milem, Clayton-Pedersen, and Allen (1999) indicate that if there is a lack of structural diversity on campus, then this may lead to negative psychological (attitudes of students) and behavioral climates (behaviors of students). UCLA has been working on its efforts to recruit and enroll African-American, Latino, and Native-American students; however, there needs to be greater effort to increase these populations. There should be even greater diversity within departments because some students in the sciences rarely see or interact with African-

American or Latino students. The lack of students from historically underrepresented groups in the science laboratories and classrooms resulted in some international students concluding that these students were not smart enough to be at UCLA or in their departments. UCLA is working to increase its African-American, Latino-American, and Native-American student enrollments; but in the meantime, there needs to be efforts to educate and expose humanities, social science, and physical science students to American diversity. All too often, physical science graduate students explained that their faculty advisers and laboratory colleagues were all from the same nationality and racial/cultural background. Many international students explained that they chose UCLA because they knew there would be a large population of co-nationals in their given department; however, if a UCLA international or domestic student goes through their entire college experience without learning about the histories of different cultural groups or how to interact with individuals other than co-nationals, the UC's may be sending culturally unaware and socially limited students into the work world.

One student had an interesting idea for promoting cross-racial interaction. June, a Korean undergraduate humanities major, mentioned that there are so many domestic students taking Korean, Japanese, and Chinese language classes, that there should be some kind of language partner service on-campus, that helped connect domestic students with international students. This way, there would be cross-racial/cultural interaction taking place in a structured manner, international students would improve their English, and domestic students would improve their foreign language abilities as well. While these services were provided at the UCLA Dashew International Center, students felt that many domestic students were also interested in learning European languages at the Dashew

Center language study student programs. There was a feeling that if the UCLA Asian Languages and Cultures Department encouraged or made these domestic-international partnerships part of an academic class, there would be greater positive contact between groups as well as increased language acquisition for both international and domestic students.

Implications for future scholarship. Few, if any, studies analyzed the racial attitudes of East Asian international students, let alone how these attitudes affect international and domestic student interactions. This study was an initial effort to explore this area; however, further research is needed to explore what diversity programs are most effective at stereotype reduction, how international students from other parts of the world interact with American diversity, and how other universities are responding to the new influx of international students. There should be further studies that take a mixed methods approach when looking at not only Chinese, Japanese, and South Korean international students, but international students from all parts of the globe. Indian and Middle Eastern students are growing in number as well. Thus, it would be beneficial to widen the study to include students from a variety of different countries, to better understand all international students' socialization processes and stereotype change experiences on campus. Being exploratory in nature, this study sought a broad understanding of issues such as pre-college attributes, perceptions of race prior to entering college, interactions on campus with diverse others, and perceptions of diversity services on campus. This was an ambitious project, but a level of depth of analysis could not be reached on all these above stated areas, in the current study. Therefore, there should be future studies that look separately, at each one of these areas.

One of these areas of exploration should be on pre-college attributes of international students, looking specifically at what factors contribute to greater racial tolerance and stereotype reduction prior to entering college. Avenues of research include an exploration of K-12 and college diversity curriculum in international students' home countries, media socialization processes in home countries and in the US, efforts to create global citizens in K-12 and college curriculum, and perceptions of American culture, prior to attending college in the US. As Vandrick (2011) points out, there is a new global elite of affluent international students, but not enough is known about this populations' educational experiences in their home countries, nor about their experiences studying in America. How do their family education levels, educational experiences in America, and interactions with diversity in their home countries affect their conceptions of racial out-groups? By following these lines of inquiry, one will better understand the pre-college inputs that will affect psychological climates on campus (Astin, 1993a; Hurtado, Milem, Clayton-Pedersen, & Allen, 1999; Hurtado et al., 2003).

Additionally, there needs to be more in-depth longitudinal studies that point to what kind of stereotypes were present prior to coming to America, and how interactions challenged these stereotypes; rather than the current study, which asked students to reflect back on their time prior to coming to college. Longitudinal studies should also follow international students well beyond their college years, to see how their university experienced with diversity affected them (Astin, 1993a).

In terms of interaction on the college campus, there needs to be research that explores more precisely different interactions in various types of relationships and types of college campuses. For example, a better understanding of roommate, faculty-student,

TA-student, classmate, and off-campus contact experiences will shed light on how stereotype change can take place in different relationships (Shook & Fazio, 2008; Van Laar, Levin, & Sidanius, 2005). In the current study, there appeared to be a pattern of graduate international students feeling more comfortable with professors who were from their home country or spoke their mother tongue, indicating that there should be more research relating to issues of culture and faculty adviser-graduate student relationships. Not only departmental level research is needed, research regarding how different institutional types are responding to the rapid influx of international students must also be investigated. What kind of student services are different universities offering international students that aid in their adjustment to college and the understanding of diversity? How do international student experiences with diversity differ, depending on the racial/ethnic demographics of a given college campus? In this dissertation study, students explained that they chose UCLA because of the large Asian international and Asian-American population on campus. They also indicated that they avoided colleges in the rural parts of America, because of the racial discrimination they heard they may face if they attended these colleges. Future studies should explore how international students' attitudes toward and experiences with racial diversity differs depending on campus geographic location and student demographics.

There should also be further investigation into student satisfaction with student services that strive to challenge racial/ethnic/cultural prejudices. The current study did a cursory job of asking UCLA students what they thought of certain programs, but further research is needed on best practices when it comes to diversity programming that works best for international students. The current study found that UCLA's Dashew

International Center's Global Siblings program was effective at having domestic and international students mingle. But close observation of these interactions between domestic and internationals in various structured and unstructured activities must be examined to fully understand how stereotype change can take place more readily.

As more students of the new global elite (SONGEs) (Vandrick, 2011) come to the US, we have to take a closer look, not only at a wide variety of international students from different countries, we also have to remember to take into account the attitudes, feelings, and beliefs of domestic students. What are domestic students' stereotypes of various international student groups? Do domestic students avoid befriending international students because of perceived racial hierarchies, cultural differences, language barriers, and various socialization processes (Ashmore & Del Boca, 1981; Vigotsky, 1978)? The current study indicated that international students thought domestic students were deliberately not attending international events because they were more interested in interacting with European international students rather than Asian international students, due to a perceived cultural superiority of Europe. Positive campus climates and inter-group interactions occur from a synergistic relationship between both international and domestic students; therefore, further studies examining both domestic and international racial attitudes must be conducted.

Along this line of domestic-international student interactions inquiry, there needs to be more research that looks at Asian-American and Asian international student interactions, because currently, these are the largest populations at many universities in America (CARE and APIASF Project, 2011). The current study found that relationships between these groups were somewhat strained because of a lack of common culture, but

there was some variation in cultural closeness between international students interviewed in the science fields. There must be further investigation into Asian-American students' attitudes toward Asian international students, in order to understand these cross-ethnic interactions with groups that are sometimes conflated in research. Also African-American and Latino student perceptions of Asian international students would be interesting to explore because Asian international students had the most negative perceptions of these two groups. If African-American and Latino students also expressed negative attitudes toward international students, then student affairs officers will know how to better facilitate interactions between these groups. Caucasian student perceptions of Asian international students should also be explored to shed light on why there is not more cross-cultural/racial interaction taking place between these groups, when international students reported the most positive attitudes toward Caucasian students. The current study found that international students felt they had little in common with Caucasian students, thus they did not interact with them. However, understanding the reasons why Caucasian students are not interacting with international students on a frequent basis would be useful.

Student perceptions are important, but future research must also focus on faculty and staff. The population and culture of many academic departments are changing because of an influx of international students to American colleges and universities. How are professors adapting to this new wave of students? Do international graduate students work best with professors from their home country? Are international students choosing universities and majors that they know will have a large international student population? Understanding departmental and campus-wide changes, as a result of an influx of

international students is a ripe area for research. Furthermore, what are the attitudes of faculty toward international students? If there are conflicts, language barriers, different conceptions of academic dishonesty, and learning acquisition issues between international and domestic educational systems, then faculty-student conflicts may ensue.

In order to understand how best to facilitate international and domestic student interaction, student services must also be explored more. How are student services supporting a growing number of international students in a time of shrinking public funds to education? What are the best practices in international student diversity programs and how can they be implemented at private, public, and liberal arts college campuses? How can residential life, student organizations, student services, and the academic realm better coordinate their efforts to expose international students to domestic students and make them feel comfortable in their new environment? These questions are for future scholars to mine, and when they do, higher education will have a better understanding, not only of the perceptions, needs, and desires of international students, but also the services needed to help international students learn and grow during their time in college and beyond.

Conclusion

The number of international students studying in American colleges and universities, especially from East and South Asia are growing at rapid rates. In light of California's economic crisis, more international students from Asia have been admitted to the University of California System. The UC mission statement calls for racial tolerance and diversity, but when structural diversity is altered without emphasis on how it will affect the psychological and behavioral components of campus climate, there may be deleterious consequences (Hurtado, Milem, Clayton-Pedersen, & Allen, 1999; Hurtado,

Dey, Gurin, & Gurin, 2003). This study sought to explore what racial stereotypes East Asian international students bring with them to US college campuses, and how these stereotypes affect student interactions on campus. It was found that a majority of international students constructed a racial hierarchy from a young age, through various socialization processes in their home country. This hierarchy consisted of Caucasian people being first, Asians/Asian-Americans being second, Latinos being third, and African-Americans/Southeast Asians being lowest, in terms of societal status and acquaintance/friendship desirability.

Students who were more tolerant and interested in issues of diversity prior to coming to UCLA were more likely to have tolerant attitudes and be more willing to interact with racial out-group members. International students who lived on-campus, attended diversity events, took a course on racial/cultural diversity, and/or made friends with domestic students, were more likely to have positive experiences with racially/culturally different students, but also felt more comfortable at UCLA. Diversity programming on campus was sporadic, but some programs were shown to be effective. Nevertheless, many students did not attend these diversity programs because of busy schedules and language/cultural anxieties. Additionally, many domestic students did not participate in this programming either. There needed to be more structured diversity courses and student services, besides UCLA Dashew International Center's Global Siblings program. Overall, the study found that a majority of international students' stereotype change and prejudice reduction was haphazard at best. There must be a more concerted effort on the parts of faculty, student affairs officers, and residential life administrators to expose international students to American racial diversity. If American

college and university educators help foster cross-racial/cultural interactions during the college years, a new generation of global citizens will emerge, who will bring an ethos of tolerance and curiosity for differences to workplaces, schools, and governments in America and throughout the world.

APPENDIX A: INTERACTION CHART

Day	Who	Sex	Race/ethnicity	Type of Meeting	Location	Pos+, Neg-, O
Monday						
1)						
2)						
3)						
Tuesday						
1)						
2)						
3)						
Wednesday						
1)						
2)						
3)						
Thursday						
1)						
2)						
3)						
Friday						
1)						
2)						
3)						
Saturday						
1)						
2)						
3)						
Sunday						
1)						
2)						

APPENDIX B: INTERVIEW PROTOCOL

Introduction

1) Thank you for participating in this study. My name is Zack, I am a PhD student in Education at UCLA. I am 25 years old and was born and raised in LA. *The participant is then asked to introduce him/herself in the same manner.*

Home Country Experience with Diversity (Code list: HCE)

1) What do you think the majority of people in (student's country of origin) think about racial diversity in America?

2) What kind of racial/ethnic diversity exists in (students' country of origin)?

Thoughts about American Before Coming (Code list: BC)

3) Did you learn about different American ethnic groups in high school in your home country?

Probe→Did your friends (and family) tell you positive or negative things about a certain racial group?

4) Did you have any stereotypes about white-American people before you came to UCLA? If so, what were they? (Repeat this question for Latino, African-American, Asian-American people).

Probe→Where do you think you got these stereotypes from?

Probe→Did television or films play a role in your stereotype formation?

Campus Experience with Racial Diversity (Code list: CE)

5) Have you interacted with any of these racial groups at UCLA?

Probe→What was the nature of the interaction? (Refer to interaction chart)

Probe→Where did this interaction take place? (Refer to interaction chart)

6) How, if at all, did this interaction change your stereotype of this group?

Note: Look for stereotype change, 1) Conversion Model 2) Bookkeeping Model 3) Subtyping Model 4) New Model

7) Who do you room with?

Probe→Do you get along with your roommate?

Probe→Do you interact with people of different races in your living space?

8) Do you TA any courses or hold any leadership positions?

Probe→Do you interact differently with people of different races?

Dating (Code list: DA)

9) Have you or would you ever date someone outside your race/ethnicity?

Probe→ Do societal racial stereotypes affect your decision of a partner?

10) Have your views toward (a given race group) changed during your stay at UCLA?

Probe→ What do you think led to this change, or lack thereof?

Campus Programs and Suggestions (Code list: CP)

11) Have you attended any clubs or international student activities on campus?

Probe→ Who do you interact with at these clubs/organizations? Do you interact more with international students or domestic students at these events?

12) In international student orientation, was there talk about racial diversity and how to interact with different cultures on campus?

Probe→ What are your feelings regarding UCLA's efforts to encourage racial diversity at UCLA? Do you think it is overemphasized or not emphasized enough at UCLA?

Probe→ How do you think UCLA could help international students interact and learn about racial diversity?

APPENDIX C: PRE-INTERVIEW QUESTIONNAIRE

Please complete the following survey by marking the circles that best apply to you.

Name: _____

Email: _____

Date of Birth: _____

1. Sex: Female Male

2. Country of Origin _____

3. What type of student are you? Undergraduate Graduate

4. How long have you been in America?

1-3 months 4-6 months 7-11 months 1-2 years 3-4 years 5+ years

4. Did you transfer to your current institutions from another college? Yes No

If yes, please specify the institution: _____

5. What is your major, or department affiliation?

Major _____ Minor _____

6. Where do you live? On campus Off campus

7) Do you work on campus? Yes No

8) Do you attend international student events/clubs?

Often Sometimes Rarely Never

9) Who do you live with?

- No one International students American students

10) Do you socialize with people outside your racial/ethnic group?

- Often Sometimes Rarely Never

11). What kind of job do your parents have?

Mother: _____

Father: _____

APPENDIX D: PILOT STUDY (p. 283) and DISSERTATION STUDY (p. 284-286) STUDENT INFORMATION CHARTS

Name	Age	Sex	Home Country	College Level	Time in America	Major	Living Space	Mother's Education	Father's Education
Rex	20	M	China	Undergraduate	3-4 years	Engineering	On Campus	Some College	Some College
Zhun	23	F	China, Changzhou	Undergraduate	1-3 months	Engineering	Off Campus	Bachelor's Degree	Bachelor's Degree
Rui	19	F	China, Dalian	Undergraduate	1-2 months	Undeclared	On Campus	Bachelor's Degree	Associates Degree
Guo	24	M	China, Dong Guan	Undergraduate	3-4 years	Architecture	Off Campus	High School	Some College
Sherly	21	F	China, Xi'an	Undergraduate	1-3 months	English	Off Campus	Bachelor's Degree	Bachelor's Degree
Bao	23	M	China	Undergraduate	3-4 years	Math/Econ	Off Campus	Bachelor's Degree	Graduate Degree
Han	25	M	China, Shanghai	Undergraduate	1-3 months	Science/Engineer	Off Campus	High School	High School
Dae	21	F	Korea	Undergraduate	1-3 months	Political science	Off Campus	Grammar School	Grammar School
Linzy	23	F	Korea, Soeul	Undergraduate	3-4 years	Psychology	Off Campus	Bachelor's Degree	Bachelor's Degree
Jay	34	M	Korea, Daejeon	Graduate	1-2 years	Public policy	Off Campus	High School	Associate's Degree
Himal	45	F	Korea, Seoul	Graduate	1-2 years	Elec. Engineer	Off Campus	Graduate Degree	Graduate Degree
Keiko	23	F	Japan, Tokyo	Undergraduate	4-6 months	Political Science	On Campus	Associate's Degree	Graduate Degree
Hideki	23	M	Japan, Himeji	Undergraduate	1-3 months	Communication Studies	On Campus	Bachelor's Degree	Bachelor's Degree
Shiso	35	F	Japan, Yokohama	Graduate	4-6 months	Comp. Studies	Off Campus	Bachelor's Degree	Bachelor's Degree

Name	Age	Sex	Home Country	College Level	Time in America	Major	Living Space	Mother's Profession	Father's Profession
Han	26	M	China, Shanghai	Graduate	3-4 years	Science/Engineer	Off campus	Businesswoman	Engineer
Mei	40	F	China, Shanghai	Graduate	7-11 months	Education	Off campus	Blank	Civil Servant
Gong	27	M	China, Hunan	Graduate	1-3 months	Engineer	Off campus	College Administrator	Professor
Han	23	M	China, Shanghai	Graduate	1-2 years	Engineer	Off campus	Engineer	Engineer
Winnie	25	F	China, Mudonjiang	Graduate	4-6 months	Finance	Off campus	Housewife	Businessman
Chin	25	M	China, Mudanjiang	Graduate	4-6 months	Business	Off campus	Government worker	Government workers
Amy	24	F	China, Nanjing	Graduate	4-6 months	Education	On Campus	Accountant	Businessman
Hank	22	M	China, Liuzhou	Undergraduate	5+ years	Economics	Off campus	Stock trader	Unemployed
Zeek	20	M	China, Guangzhou	Undergraduate	1-3 months	Sociology	On Campus	Housewife	Investment banker
Collin	20	M	China, Guangzhou	Undergraduate	1-3 months	Physiological Science	On Campus	Government worker	Company industry
Yenzi	30	F	China, Beijing	Graduate	4-6 months	Biostatistics	Off campus	Nurse	Manager
Ally	19	F	China, Beijing	Undergraduate	4-6 months	Psychobiology	On Campus	Doctor	Professor
Lan	29	F	China, Beijing	Graduate	3-4 years	Engineer	Off campus	Doctor	Police Officer
Behao	19	M	China, Hangzhou	Undergraduate	1-3 months	Economics	On Campus	Government worker	Doctor

Mingqu	18	F	China, Tianjin	Undergraduate	4-6 months	Economics	On Campus	Accountant	Engineer
Elena	21	F	China, Hong Kong	Undergraduate	5+ years	English	Off Campus	Investor	Pastor
Erin	29	F	China, Hong Kong	Graduate	1-2 years	Cinema	Off campus	Housewife	Engineer
Min	32	M	Taiwan	Graduate	5+ years	Management	Off campus	Housewife	Engineer
Cattie	23	F	China, Nanjing	Graduate	4-6 months	Engineer	Off campus	Accounting	CEO
June	21	F	Korea, Seoul	Undergraduate	3-4 years	Math/econ	on campus	Housewife	Entrepreneur
Ja-Sun	20	F	Korea, Seoul	Undergraduate	5+ years	Psychology	On Campus	None	Businessman
Yung	31	F	Korea, Seoul	Graduate	1-2 years	Education	Off campus	Housewife	Businessman
Yoon	28	F	Korea, Seoul	Graduate	5+ years	Education	Off campus	Restaurant owner	Real estate broker
Riu	24	M	Japan, Tokyo	Undergraduate	1-3 months	Economics	Off campus	Real estate broker	Banker
Mo-moko	26	F	Japan, Tokyo	Undergraduate	5+ years	Asian studies	Off campus	None	Contractor
Taka-hashi	24	M	Japan, Tokyo	Undergraduate	3-4 years	Political Science	On Campus	Restaurant worker	Toyota worker
Yuki	22	F	Japan, Tokyo	Undergraduate	1-3 months	Economics	Off campus	Pharmacist	Businessman
Saiko	30	F	Japan, Tokyo	Graduate	1-3 months	Education	Off campus	Teacher	Businessman
Emiko	22	F	Japan, Tokyo	Undergraduate	1-3 months	Law	Off campus	Nurse	Businessman
Kosu	22	M	Japan, Chiba	Undergraduate	3-4 years	Political Science	Off campus	Housewife	Fish broker

Kenny	22	M	Japan, Hadano	Undergraduate	1-3 months	Engineer	On Campus	Teacher	Engineer
Cat	26	F	Japan, Kobe	Graduate	1-3 months	Education	On Campus	Professor	Businessman
Roko	25	F	Japan, Fukuoka	Graduate	5+ years	Anthropology	On Campus	Library	Media

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