

International Berkeley: Past and Current Debates on the Role of International Students in an American University

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Abstract. The argument that cultural and other forms of diversity enhance the educational experience of all students is generally associated with post-1960 efforts to expand the presence of disadvantaged groups on the campuses of America's universities and colleges. Yet, in the case of the University of California-Berkeley campus, arguments on the merits of cultural diversity have much earlier roots in the historical enrollment of international students. Debates in the late 1800s and early twentieth century revolved around the appropriateness of enrolling foreign students, particularly those from Asia. The result was an important intellectual discussion on the merits of diversity that was eventually reframed to focus largely on underrepresented domestic students. In this short essay, I dis-

cuss how the notion of diversity, and its educational benefits, first emerged as a value at Berkeley. I then briefly discuss the significant increase of international students at Berkeley and other public universities. Thus far, the primary impetus of this increase has been mostly financial—Berkeley has faced significant public disinvestment, seeks new revenue sources, and can charge international students tuition rates similar to elite private colleges and universities. By targeting 20 percent of all undergraduates as international or out-of-state (US-resident non-Californians)—the majority international—the Berkeley campus is essentially diversifying its student body. How does having more globally inclusive enrollment fit into our contemporary ideas of diversity? I attempt a brief discussion of this question and the policy challenges generated by the dramatic increase in international students at the undergraduate level at Berkeley and other UC campuses.

Keywords: higher education, access, equity, multicultural diversity, foreign students, international cooperation, academic mobility.

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Cultural diversity among a university's student population has become a major focus of American higher education over the past four decades for two primary reasons. One, universities and, in particular, public universities, have long had the goal of providing admission to a broad and representative spectrum of society. For public universities, the primary frame of reference for this goal—one articulated

in the original charter for most institutions, including the University of California—was the population of the state that created and nurtured them. At least initially, providing access to higher education and notions of inclusion were largely framed around economic diversity and geographic representation. Even California's famed 1960 Master Plan for higher education, which modified an already productive mass higher education, made no mention of race and ethnicity in expanding access to the state's network of public community colleges and universities [Douglass, 2007a; 2007b]. The rise of the Civil Rights movement and greater societal concern with issues of equity and race increased pressure on the University of California to more fully reflect the demography of the state's burgeoning population.

A second reason for the elevated role of cultural diversity in American higher education relates to educational policy. Advocates have argued and attempted to document the notion that undergraduates should be exposed to persons of different racial, ethnic, and economic backgrounds in the course of their academic and social experience at a university (for an example of current research on this topic, see [Chang et al., 2005]). This concept has been reiterated and debated in a series of legal cases defending various forms of affirmative action—essentially, providing some form of preference for underrepresented groups in admissions to highly selective public universities, like the University of California-Berkeley campus. The US Supreme Court considered this argument in their 2004 decision regarding the use of racial preferences at the University of Michigan in undergraduate and graduate admissions—the first major review of affirmative action by the court since the 1979 *Bakke* case (for a discussion of the politics of affirmative action and the challenges of admissions at places like UC Berkeley, see [Douglass, 2013a]). The value of diversity was again debated before the Supreme Court in the more recent *Schuetz vs the Coalition to Defend Affirmative Action* case, where opponents of affirmative action in university admissions sought to overturn a lower court ruling that struck down a voter-approved ban of affirmative action in the State of Michigan as unconstitutional.

Currently, the merits of having a culturally diverse student body is measured by the number of students from underrepresented groups, particularly low-income families and minorities, including the growing population of Chicano Latinos. Yet, the idea that cultural and other forms of diversity enhance the educational experience for all students and produce larger social benefits has deeper historical roots at Berkeley, and perhaps at other major American colleges and universities. The original justification for student diversity arose from university interest in enrolling international students and, in turn, enhancing the educational experience of all students while also extending California's economic and political influence. Debates in the late 1800s and early twentieth century centered on the appropriateness of enrolling foreign students, particularly those from Asia. The result

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was an important intellectual discussion on the merits of diversity. The resulting innovative approaches to issues such as housing proved to be important for expanding the enrollment of underrepresented minorities in later decades. In short, programmatic efforts to support international students also came to benefit minority groups in general in their individual efforts to integrate and gain value from their university experiences.

In the following, I discuss how this early debate on international students shaped diversity as an important value at Berkeley. I then briefly discuss the significant recent increase in international students at the campus, and in other public universities. The cultural and educational value of international students enrolling and interacting with the campus community has dissipated. Today, the primary motivation, thus far, has been mostly financial—the Berkeley campus has faced significant public disinvestment, seeks new revenue sources, and can charge international students tuition rates similar to the elite private colleges and universities. By targeting 20 percent of all undergraduates as international or out-of-state—US-resident non-Californians, with the majority international—Berkeley is essentially diversifying its student body.

I then attempt a brief discussion on a related issue: how does Berkeley's increased enrollment of international students at the undergraduate level impact the enrollment of Californians within the UC system? The intent is not to provide an exhaustive analysis, but simply to link the past and present debates related to international students, and to pose a few macro policy challenges facing the UC system (a network of ten campuses) as it undergoes yet another shift in the composition of its student body. One major contemporary policy concern: is the increased number of international students, particularly at the undergraduate level, crowding out Californians at Berkeley and throughout the UC system. At the same time, the enrollment of international students at Berkeley, and at other major universities, should be about more than just the money. There is a need to articulate and research the role of international students as a component of campus diversity objectives and how they contribute to the academic milieu in an era of globalization and talent mobility. While this essay focuses on Berkeley, the policy issues are universal.

Having students of varied socio-economic backgrounds learning together forms one of the fundamental purposes of America's particular breed of public universities. The land-grant university movement—and, more generally, the concerted effort by states, particularly the mid- and far-west states, to create public institutions—embraced the concept that talented students could be found in all classes of people, and that there were inherent benefits of working and studying together. This core belief explains free tuition and why admissions standards

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at new institutions like Berkeley barred the use of religion (the great political divide of the 19th century) as criteria. Many public universities attempted to include students from all corners of a state—admittedly a form of inclusion also based on an understanding that wide public support was a political necessity. With some glaring exceptions, public universities operated very differently from their private counterparts in their admissions practices. For most of their history, the vast majority of private college and universities remained bound to accepting students from the sectarian communities that sustained them, and often systematically excluded various groups, often the latest wave of immigrant groups.

As the foundation for the world's first mass higher education system, public universities were overtly created to be grand social-engineering experiments, generating talent and leaders from all (or most) sectors of society—to provide what James Rowland Angell once proclaimed as an “uncommon education for the common man.”

The ideals of a having a socio-economically diverse student body was not an American vision alone—although no other country pursued it so vigorously. In his famous 1852 tome on the importance of community within the English college, Cardinal Newman insisted that students from different backgrounds learning and living together were important in both the classroom and the boarding house. Students, he remarked, “are sure to learn from one another, even if there be no one to teach them; the conversation of all is a series of lectures to each, and they gain for themselves new ideas and views, fresh matter of thought, and distinct principles for judging and acting, day by day” [Newman, 1852]. America's first public universities all understood their state-chartered role as a melting pot and focused on the concept of producing talent, whatever its origins—although with obvious and usually racially insensitive limitations. Yet, as noted, the ideals of diversity, and debates on its various merits, had their first intensive debate around the enrollment of international students and the prejudices they faced.

As early as the 1870s, California's state university professed an interest in educating a cohort of international students. The university's second president, Daniel Coit Gilman, was the first to articulate why this was of interest to the university and California. Looking not toward Europe, but to the vast markets of Asia, he thought both the enrollment of international students and the promotion of scholarly research on major international powers held numerous benefits. Their presence would enlighten the academic community, argued Gilman, provide a service for other nations and cultures, and promote commerce. California was a “new civilization of the Pacific Coast,” and as such it needed to foster and build on “the enlightenment of Asiatic nations ... for it is obvious that California is not only granary, treasury, and mart for the American States which are growing up on this

long coast, but it is the portal through which the Occident and Orient must exchange their products and their thoughts.” China and Japan, Australia, and the “Islands of the Sea,” he noted, “are the neighbors and the customers of the Golden State. Shall they not also look here for instruction in the arts and sciences, and for an example of a well-organized and well-educated community? The endowment of a professorship, which shall be devoted to the study of Chinese and Japanese, indicates an early recognition of this intimate relationship. We can not be too quick to prepare for the possible future which may open upon us” [Gilman, 1872].

By the early part of the 20th century, university officials claimed that California’s state university enrolled the largest number of foreign students of any public university—a claim not easily substantiated. University president Benjamin Ide Wheeler, like Gilman, saw the presence of these students and the development of academic programs with international components, such as commerce, as pivotal for the maturation of the campus.

The relative isolation of California, even with the transcontinental railroad, made such programmatic efforts seemingly even more important. The educational background of many faculty at Berkeley also was an influence. Like many academic leaders, Wheeler gained his graduate degree at a German university. Prior to coming to Berkeley from his position at Cornell, he proved to be an accomplished scholar in linguistics and the antiquities, and he was a renowned internationalist. He helped to lead the movement to reestablish the Olympics while serving for a year as the chair of the American School for Classical Studies in Athens. The purpose of the Olympics was not simply to promote athletic competition, but also international understanding.

Taking the job of University of California president in 1899, Wheeler sought state and philanthropic contributions in part to fund international anthropological expeditions. Just prior to the spectacle of San Francisco school board’s rebuilding and maintaining a separate “Oriental School” to include not only Chinese, but also students of Japanese and Korean background, Wheeler argued that, “A fixed prejudice is a case of arrested development. Like the petty village aversions, racial and social prejudices generally affect what is near at hand, what one sees and does not know. The man who has made up his mind that he dislikes Jews or Chinese or some other blood has introduced into his life a persistent source of narrowness, blindness, and poverty. He has raised a barrier between himself and the exceeding richness of human fellowship” [Wheeler, 1926a].

Unlike China, Japan was an emerging economic and military power, as demonstrated by its decisive victory in the Russo-Japanese War of 1904–05. Forcing some ninety-three Japanese students, twenty-two who were U.S. citizens, into the Oriental School caused an international controversy. The Japanese government protested directly to President Roosevelt. At some political risk, Wheeler opposed the

effort to segregate Japanese students; Roosevelt called the board's action a "wicked absurdity." Concerned with the geopolitical consequences, the president convinced the school board to visit Washington and struck a deal with California lawmakers and the Japanese Government—the board ended the segregation order, but in return the Japanese government would stop issuing passports for laborers to the U.S. [Douglass, 2007b. P. 62–64].

A few years after the incident in San Francisco, in the wake of increased anti-immigration clamor, Wheeler purposely struck an apologetic note when he spoke to a gathering of the university's Japanese students on campus. A personal friend of President Roosevelt from his days at Cornell, the sting of California's racist predilections remained a concern for him. He insisted that the "Japanese and the people of the Pacific Coast must be good friends." The mutual location along the Pacific Ocean not only required it. It was destiny. California and Japan, he continued, must trade together, and one must supply what the other lacks.

They must know each other and commune frankly with each other... The instincts of the two peoples are in many regards different; their inheritance is very different. But they are able, working together, to help each other greatly because one can bring to service what the other lacks. We Americans, and especially we Californians, admire very greatly the ready adaptability of the Japanese man to new conditions and strange tasks. We admire very greatly his capacity for organization, such as he showed in the medical department of his army during the recent war with Russia. We admire beyond all measure his devotion to his country and his Empire and his willingness to make personal sacrifice for the greater cause. We admire the delicate taste in form and color and action that the best of his people display. There is no finer taste in color and there is no finer courtesy of act than that which appears under the name and the auspices of Japan. May the two peoples always fairly understand each other [Wheeler, 1926b].

Yet coloring these notions of tolerance and mutual respect was a general neglect of the university's role in integrating the minority groups already residing in California. Internationalism was strongly rooted in the ideas of manifest destiny and the need to learn about, influence, and exploit new markets. Commerce was clearly a major objective—although, realistically, California's economy remained focused on agriculture and domestic markets. Within this commercial agenda, and influenced by broader notions of internationalism, lay the first seeds of cultural diversity as a value for a major institution of higher learning.

Forms of Xenophobia

The internationalist desire of University of California officials did not necessarily reflect the sentiments of the state government or the university's governing board. In fact, the university's relatively high enrollment of foreign students caused a serious confrontation. The bitter and often violent anti-immigrant, and specifically anti-Asian, sentiments of Californians gave rise to a period of internal evaluation of the merits of enrolling foreigners and, by implication, non-Euro-Americans. California, like the rest of the nation, turned decidedly isolationist in the aftermath of the conflict in Europe.

Responding to significant state budget cuts and a dramatic rise in enrollment demand during the post-World War I recession, members of the Board of Regents voiced xenophobic concern about the number of foreign and out-of-state students attending the University. Neither paid tuition. The university, and essentially California taxpayers, subsidized the education of these students.

Supported by the university faculty's representative body, the Academic Senate, Wheeler's successor, David P. Barrows, argued against imposing an additional fee, reporting on the number of non-resident and minority students enrolled at the Berkeley campus to support his position. Within the social mores and political context of the post-World War I era, Barrows offered a formal plea for cultural diversity among the university's student population. In a report to the university's regents, Barrows stated that Berkeley enrolled a total of 9,967 students. At least 1,151 of these were non-residents, representing nearly 12% of Berkeley's enrollment. Most came from other western states, Hawaii, the Philippines, China, and Japan. For the purpose of his report to the Regents, Barrows had the university examiner and the university registrar tabulate the ethnic and racial composition of a significant part of the student body.

In 1921, approximately 172 Asian students were California residents, including 66 of Chinese ancestry, 62 Japanese, 33 Filipinos, and 11 Hindus¹. Combining non-resident and resident, the Berkeley campus enrolled a minimum of 312 students from what we would today call minority populations from the various regions of the state—or approximately 3% of all graduate and undergraduate enrollment. While this may seem a statistically small percentage, it is significant when compared to the total minority population of the state, which in 1920 stood at approximately 8 percent according to the US Census.

The president cited no figures on the number of African Americans or Native Americans, perhaps in part because the report focused on foreign student populations. Berkeley did have a small number of

¹ January 4, 1921, Regents Special Meeting, "Tuition on Aliens and Non-Residents." The presence "of Japanese, Chinese, and other Oriental students" at Berkeley, noted the University Recorder in 1921, "has caused a good deal of discussion and has resulted in greatly exaggerated statements concerning the number of these students in attendance."

African Americans in the 1920s, with the first enrolling in the 1890s. The total number of African Americans in the state, however, was extremely small, representing less than 2 percent of California's population between 1880 and the late 1920s.

Of more importance than the actual numbers of Asian and Asian-American students, and of non-resident students, was the conviction of Barrows and other University officials that the presence of these students was a positive influence on the academic culture of the university. Concern over their enrollment, insisted Barrows, was misplaced.

In most areas of University management, Barrows was arguably inept, and consequently his tenure was short. The university was wracked by state budget cuts and had undergone a successful drive by faculty for more power over University affairs. In many areas, Barrows was extremely conservative and not particularly politically adept, despite his teaching and research as a political scientist. He had served as the Superintendent of Schools in Manila before taking a professorship at Berkeley, and then the presidency.

Barrows was convinced of America's destiny as a world power, with the markets of Asia its first major conquest. Ironically, his imperialistic tendency made him, in effect, a staunch defender of foreign students at the university. California, he stated before the regents, "must enjoy its due weight in the councils of the nation through superior character and education of its people and through their unification in common spirit." He continued:

I think it could be shown that the state is economically benefited due to the increase in wealth and new taxpayers by the privileges of free education that it accords to potential citizens. As for the foreign-born students: they are not very significant. They do not impose any special burdens. In some cases, notably the Chinese and the Russian students from Siberia, as well as certain students who are beginning to come from Latin American countries, I feel that the promised advantages to the commerce of California, as well as to our international relations, are considerable [University of California, 1926].

Barrows was successful in convincing the regents to continue enrollment of foreign students. Less than a decade later, Berkeley would enroll some 340 foreign students from 44 countries. But in accommodating these, and all, students flowing to Berkeley, and to UCLA, housing was a crucial problem. Until 1929, the University of California did not operate a single dormitory. Instead, students rented from local communities or joined one of the growing numbers of fraternities and sororities whose principal attraction was a place to live near the campus.

In 1874, the Regents approved the construction of eight cottages for the use of students on university property. Each cottage accommodat-

ed ten persons. By 1900, there were some 45 social fraternities [Stadtman, 1967. P. 300]. All of these operated relatively independently, with minimal oversight by university officials. Most, if not all, excluded minority groups. The city of Berkeley also used zoning ordinances and allowed for exclusionary clauses in rentals as well as in property deeds—another common form of racial and ethnic discrimination pervasive until a state court ruling in 1947 made it illegal. Yet many cities maintained social mores and behaviors that excluded Jews, African Americans, and other unwelcomed groups. In the area around the Berkeley campus, landlords and the city would not rent to African Americans or most other minorities, including the sizable population of foreign students.

As a result of the difficulties in finding affordable housing near the campus, almost half of the male students attending Berkeley as late as 1926 lived in San Francisco and commuted across the bay to attend classes. One reason was the availability of jobs in San Francisco. By one university estimate, some 70 percent of male students engaged in some form of part-time employment—a figure similar to that of the 1880s [University of California, 1926].

The pattern for women, however, was different. A survey completed in 1923 showed that, of 3,217 female undergraduates attending Berkeley, a high percentage—some 43 percent—reported living at home or with friends and relatives in the East Bay. Another 16 percent lived in mostly “approved” boarding houses, and another 15 percent lived in social clubs. Only 5 percent resided in apartments. The number of women living across the bay in San Francisco was approximately 10 percent [Stebbins, 1926].

Most major American colleges and universities, and all public institutions, at first relied largely on local communities to provide housing for students—unlike the English model which insisted on university-operated residences as a key component in building an academic community. In part, the decision for public institutions was an economic one: Resources were limited for capital construction and institutions devoted most funding to academic buildings and operations as they grew in enrollment.

A turning point came in the late 1920s as both university officials and students identified the need for housing as critical for the welfare of the institution and students alike. The biases of local landlords and increasing rental rates prompted two important projects, both funded by outside sources. The first was a gift from Mrs. Mary McNear Bowles for the building of Bowles Hall, Berkeley’s first university-operated dormitory with accommodations for 204 men. The second was an initiative to establish the nation’s second International House on the Berkeley campus.

The first International House came into fruition under the leadership of Harry Edmonds, director of the YMCA in the city of New York.

International House

He observed the racism and isolation experienced by foreign students attending Columbia. A chance encounter with a student from China started when Edmonds offered a simple greeting of hello and then learned of the profound sense of isolation the student faced and the challenges of living and learning in the city. This prompted him to approach John D. Rockefeller Jr. to fund the construction and operation of a complex to house both foreign and American students. Interaction would breed familiarity and eventually collegiality. The first International House opened in 1925 in New York City. That same year, a similar effort was made in Paris to create what became known as "Cité U." Following the destruction of World War I, the Minister of Education, André Honnorat, conceived the idea of creating a "campus" in the heart of Paris intended to house foreign students and thus to contribute to mutual understanding and peace in the world. Like Edmonds, Honnorat sought the ideal of a physical space where the youth of the world would learn to live together. Two French industrialists provided the initial funding for its construction of various "houses" and operating costs, joined soon afterward by support from Rockefeller for the building of Maison Internationale, its central meeting space to this day.

Soon Edmonds desired to establish another International House on the west coast, again with the support of the Rockefellers. Working with University of California President William W. Campbell and Vice President Robert Gordon Sproul, Edmonds agreed on Berkeley as the best possible location. As noted, Berkeley contained a sizable foreign student population, among the highest in the nation. While proposed principally as a means to house international students, I-House (as it became known) also offered a method for Berkeley to provide housing to African American and Asian American students. When first proposed and publicly discussed in 1927, Berkeley residents and the city loudly noted their objections. The idea of an interracial, coeducational residence in the nearly all-white neighborhoods that surrounded the Berkeley campus incited some 1,000 residents to protest the proposal. Placement of I-House on campus property meant that the project was outside the jurisdiction of city zoning laws and covenants.

I-House opened in 1930 and soon accommodated 530 undergraduate and graduate students. It offered the only local housing available for African American students. It also offered dining facilities, in part because most local restaurants refused to serve minorities.

Encouraged by university officials and prompted by Berkeley students affiliated with the YMCA, other forms of housing that accepted ethnic minorities followed. In 1933, students concerned with the availability of low-cost housing and the social conditions of a nation in the midst of a severe economic depression created the first cooperative boarding house open to all races. One boarding house grew to accommodate over five hundred students in five buildings within just six years—including one dormitory exclusively for women. A sim-

ilar cooperative was established at the Los Angeles campus in 1935 and, like Berkeley, required boarders to complete three hours of work a day to maintain the facility.

The presence of foreign students and domestic minority groups, the context of the Great Depression, and the changing academic culture of a growing public university, raised the social consciousness of at least a portion of the student body and faculty. The discriminatory policies of local communities remained a significant problem as university enrollment continued to grow. In and around Berkeley, members of the African American community requested that the university take a more concerted effort to mitigate and fight discrimination by landlords. Black students at first welcomed the opportunity to take residence at I-House. But they soon viewed it as just another form of segregation, since there were few other housing choices. In this environment, a group affiliated with the YWCA and concerned with race relations circulated a petition against discrimination in local boarding houses.

Berkeley's student government, the Associated Students, followed this by establishing a list of approved boarding houses that did not discriminate on the basis of race. They also circulated a petition calling on students to boycott those that did not make its list. At least initially, university officials were reluctant to support these initiatives, perhaps in part because housing was a limited resource and they desired to lessen an already antagonistic relationship with the local community.

Not until World War II and its aftermath did the university's administration adopt the student government's list of approved accommodations and, in general, take a more active role in developing student housing. The first state-funded dormitory was built after the war. It was not until July 17, 1959 that the regents, largely due to student activism, stated that fraternities and sororities could not bar any student membership on the basis of race, religion, or national origin. At the behest of university president Clark Kerr (1958–1967), this policy was extended to all student organizations.

In the early controversy over the role of international students at Berkeley lay the seeds of a larger debate over the role of race and ethnicity in promoting greater cultural diversity among students, faculty, and staff in American universities. At the heart of arguments made before the University of California Board of Regents in the early 1920s were two basic concepts:

First, there were benefits to the educational process for all students at the university by including not only students from all economic classes and geographical regions in the State of California (values articulated in the very earliest days of the university's exist-

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ence), but also students from different racial, ethnic, and cultural backgrounds.

And, second, it was incumbent on California's state university to enroll, educate, and influence students with diverse backgrounds who might then go out into the world and promote commerce *and* extend the values of American society. The university needed to be to some degree cosmopolitan in its nature—in the composition of its students and in the range of its curriculum—to adequately participate as an agent of progressive change.

The original impetus for internationalism had strong tones of American hegemony mired in the then-popular ideas of *Manifest Destiny*. At the same time, it created an ideological framework for enrolling students from around the world and laid the foundation for more actively recruiting and enrolling domestic students from different racial and ethnic backgrounds—now an integral value in modern American universities and colleges made more urgent in the wake of large-scale demographic changes in states such as California.

How different was the University of California from other American universities? It appears that both demand by international students (and their national governments, which often encouraged some of its elites to seek advanced education in America and parts of Europe) and the interest of a selective group of institutions engaged in similar debates. However, because of Berkeley's and UCLA's position along the Pacific Rim, the relatively rapid rise of Berkeley as one of the nation's elite universities, and the inherent values of a public institution embracing notions of broad public service and equality (values simply not found in any private institution), the debate had a particular intensity.

Despite the debates in the 1920s about Berkeley's larger role in the world, in the decades that followed, a relatively small number of international students enrolled at the Berkeley campus, and in the UC system in general, particularly at the undergraduate level. In a state constantly growing in population, the primary concern of academic leaders, and politicians in the state's capital in Sacramento was to accommodate Californians and to expand the enrollment capacity of the UC system. The 1960 Master Plan for Higher Education, for instance, referenced international students and, in subsequent years, there was a general agreement with lawmakers that "out-of-state" student numbers, including international students, would remain relatively low—although there was no legal restriction against out-of-state students at UC as there were in some other states.

From the 1960s until around 2000, international students represented only about four percent of all undergraduate students at Berkeley and about 19 percent of all graduate students, with most enrolled in fields such as engineering. The UC's multi-campus system as a whole had similar numbers, though a bit lower on average (see Tables 6 and 7a for Fall 2000 enrollment numbers [Department of Information Resources and Communications, UC Office of the President, 2001]).

Berkeley and a Global Thirst

Fast-forward to 2014, and the globalizing world is characterized in part by the increased mobility of talent and an insatiable thirst for higher education. One recent report estimates that world demand for international higher education will increase from 1.8 million students in 2002 to over 7.2 million in 2025 as countries such as China, India, Indonesia, Brazil, Mexico, Chile, South Korea, Vietnam and Saudi Arabia grow economically and struggle to meet domestic demand for high quality, advanced education [Bohm et al., 2002]. International students are already a major stimulus to the US economy (not to harp on the economic gains for regional economies, but the impact should not be ignored). Today, American colleges and universities enroll over 800,000 international students.

Globally, the competition for these talented students is growing. Almost all developed and developing nations realize that their economic competitiveness relates heavily to generating and retaining highly skilled, creative people. And nations are investing in and attempting to improve the quality and attractiveness of their higher education systems for this cause—often combined with scholarship programs and new paths to citizenship for foreign-nationals². But because demand continues to grow and the mobility of talent increases, the result is an ever expanding, if more nuanced, world market.

Within this context, Berkeley continues to attract increasing numbers of international applications. In fall 2013, Berkeley enrolled a record 5,645 international students, including 3,456 at the undergraduate level and 2,189 at the graduate level—representing nearly 15 percent of all enrollment (including 327 students on Education Abroad exchanges). Compared with fall 2012, Berkeley experienced an approximate 22 percent increase in the total number of applications from international students to enter at the freshman level, perhaps bolstered by the campus's declaration to seek students outside of the state's borders³. As shown in Figure 1, students from East Asia and Pacific nations represent the biggest enrollment for Berkeley for both undergraduate and graduate students. They represent approximately 61 percent of international students. This concentration of students from China, South Korea, and to a lesser extent India reflects national norms, each representing the largest source of international students for US universities and colleges.

As indicated in Figure 2, Berkeley has long had a substantial population of international students at the graduate level. Graduate education, like the pool of potential faculty, is clearly an international market. At the undergraduate level, public universities like Berkeley have

² For a discussion of national policies to attract and retain international talent, see [Douglass, Edelstein, 2009].

³ Berkeley International Office, "International Student Enrollment Fall 2013: http://internationaloffice.berkeley.edu/students/current/enrollment_data

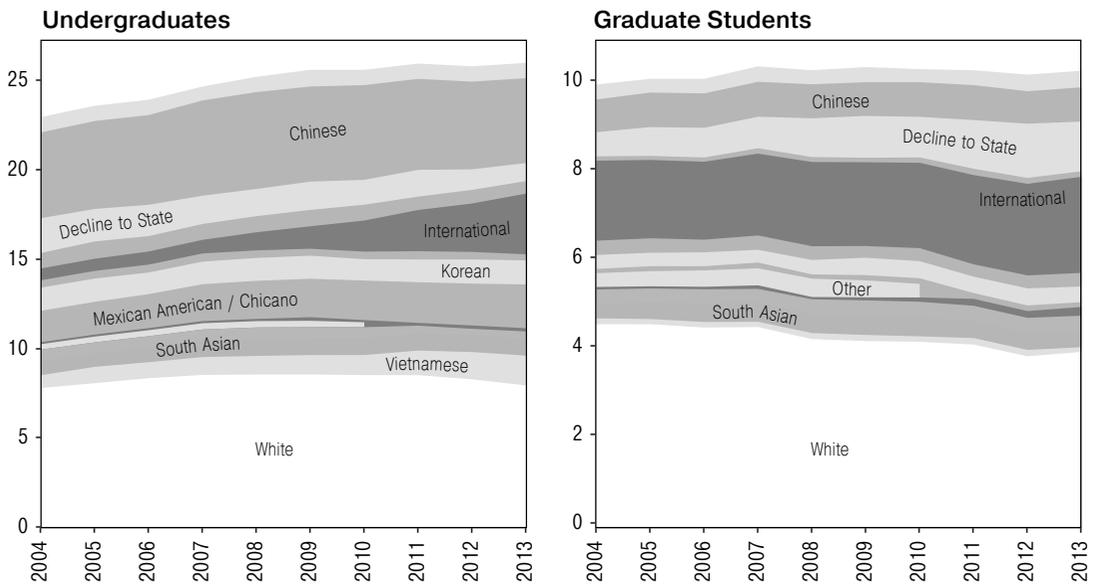
had a history, and political pressure, to largely serve the state's population. That commitment remains, although within the context of a richly diverse domestic population, many of whom are recent or second- or third-generation immigrants⁴. (The demographic complexity of modern California, including a rapidly growing multi-racial population, points to a much broader consideration of the idea of cultural diversity, which goes well beyond the rather simple divide of five or so racial or ethnic groups.)

Of all the undergraduate sub-populations, international students show the largest gains in enrollment most recently, particularly from 2009 on. As noted previously, a major impetus is the search for new revenue as state funding has declined precipitously. The reduction in state support started before the Great Recession, but accelerated greatly during that time resulting in a 30 percent decrease in state funding to UC over the last decade or so. Predictably, UC has raised tuition fees for California residents and has sought greater numbers of out-of-state—particularly international—students to *partially* make up for this huge loss in income [Douglass, 2013b; Zacalo, 2013].

International students, and out-of-state US citizens, are charged a supplemental fee of almost \$23,000 a year, on top of the normal \$11,200 tuition fee. And while domestic students have access to federal, state, and most importantly UC financial aid—about 33 cents of each tuition dollar goes to financial aid at UC—international students at the undergraduate level are not eligible. Some of these students have funding support from their national government, but most do not; this influences the socio-economic background of the students who apply and enroll at Berkeley and other UC campuses. The typical international student is upper income or middle class, with very high levels of parental education achievement and high test scores; some find work to supplement their education; most international students, like domestic students with immigrant backgrounds, seek degrees in professional fields and STEM—Science, Technology, Engineering, and Math—in which the investment, made often by parents, appears to link directly to a well-paying and relatively robust international job market. While many look to an education in California as a path to employment and perhaps citizenship in the US, many plan to return to their native countries or work in other parts of the world—much more so than their domestic counterparts. And like underrepresented domestic students that can be a relatively small proportion of the student population, and depending on their cultural background and language capabilities, they can face difficulties integrating into

⁴ According to data from the Student Experience in the Research University (SERU) Survey (known as UCUES within the UC system), some 64 percent of all undergraduates at Berkeley have at least one parent who is an immigrant. For an earlier study on immigrant students at UC and at Berkeley in particular, see [Douglass, Thomson, 2010].

Figure 2. UC Berkeley Fall Enrollment by Domestic Ethnicity and International Status—2004 to 2013 (Student Headcount)



Source: UC Berkeley Office of Planning and Analysis

the larger university community. Thus far, support services for international students and tactics for greater integration are not well developed at most universities.

The dramatic increase in international students at the undergraduate level is largely about the money, thus far. And Berkeley is not the only large public university opening its doors wider to global talent. Between 2012 and the 2013, international student enrollment in the US grew by over 6 percent, with most of the growth in big, public land-grant universities, mostly in the mid-west and including Indiana, Purdue, Michigan State, Ohio State and the Universities of Minnesota and Illinois. The flagship Urbana-Champaign campus of the University of Illinois has nearly 9,000 international students, second only to the University of Southern California [Pope, 2012].

Among the UC campuses, Berkeley has been one of the most aggressive in setting a target of 20 percent of out-of-state undergraduates, which it has already reached, as noted previously, with about 15% being international students. In 2000, non-Californians represented only about 6 percent of all undergraduates within the UC system, with only 1.8 percent being international; Berkeley had a higher percentage of non-Californians, with a total of 11.7%, with only 3.4 percent international (Fall 2000 enrollment. See Table 6 in [Department of Information Resources and Communications, UC Office of the President, 2001]). At that time, Berkeley's Academic Senate

set a general target of about 10 percent of all undergraduates being non-Californians⁵, hence, Berkeley was already ahead of the UC system in recruiting international students, but not so much for the tuition income as a source of talented students and perhaps influenced by enrollment practices at other top tier universities.

As this essay has partially chronicled, increasing the numbers of these students, while shifting the historical notion of UC's social contract, does fit into a larger ideal of the role of the university in a globalizing world. Further, this increase in international student enrollment adds to an already complex notion that students, indeed the entire academic community, gain from an expanded idea of cultural diversity that was first argued at UC by President Barrows and others in the 1920s.

While many public universities in the US have initially viewed international students at the undergraduate level primarily as an alternative and much welcomed funding source, they are beginning to consider and embrace the larger rationale and benefits of a more globally representative student body, including the needs of students who come from often very different cultural backgrounds and traditions.

All of the arguments made in the past four decades surrounding affirmative action in the US—such as the need for inclusion and equity; the educational and social benefits of a diverse student body, however defined; and the role of leading and highly selective universities in generating the nation's, indeed the world's, next generation of social and business leaders—should include international students. One can extend the argument that major universities need a critical mass of international students in order to attain or shape the global and intercultural competencies or domestic US students [Douglass, Zhao, 2012]. In short, having a substantial body of international students is not just good for international students; it is good for all students and the academic community in general [Peterson, 1999].

Like the debates over the educational benefits that result from including underrepresented minority students, and the concept of critical mass as a prerequisite to creating a sufficient sense of belonging and support among these students and to achieve benefits to non-minority students, it is a bit difficult to actually provide measurable proof of these seemingly apparent correlations. We have indicators that that students of different backgrounds have positive influences on learning and social behaviors, particularly outside the classroom, but we need more research and thinking on this important topic.

Some studies conducted outside of the US, including Australia's aggressive international recruitment, suggest significant challenges in integrating international students into academic and so-

⁵ Personal correspondence with Calvin Moore, March 21, 2014.

cial activities with domestic students [Summers, Volet, 2008; Volet, 2004; Pritchard, Skinner, 2002]. A common pattern is that international students seek comradery and support, academic or otherwise, from fellow nationals—a form of “balkanization.” This mirrors some of the challenges faced by American universities in their efforts to not simply recruit underrepresented groups but to integrate and support them within the larger academic community—including providing special support services to help them adjust to the rarified, foreign air and expectations of a place like Berkeley. The national and socio-economic background of students—for example, international students with limited English skills—also plays a significant role in shaping their behaviors.

The objective and challenge at Berkeley, as at any large university, is to seek paths for the best possible academic and social integration of international students. This is not a new issue or goal. But the importance of this effort has grown considerably in its saliency as university leaders, and faculty and staff, become engaged in the larger question of how international students fit into the mission and activities of public institutions that have long defined their role as providing access largely to the citizens of their state. The rapid decline in state funding for all public higher education systems in the US is one cause for this need to refocus; but it is also relates to the need for American higher education officials to become more cognizant of our unique place in the global world. In some measured way, campuses like Berkeley need to seek greater numbers of talented students and faculty from throughout the world; and they also need to properly assess how they fit into the academic goals of the institution, how to properly support and integrate them into the milieu of campus life, and how to more consciously shape the curriculum towards global or intercultural competencies.

We have a tremendous opportunity to delve more thoroughly into the questions of how well international students are being integrated into the academic social life of Berkeley and other major public universities: their sense of belonging, their learning outcomes, and their influence on the educational experience of native students—what might be called “the international student effect.”

The Student Experience in the Research University (SERU) Consortium, based at the Center for Studies in Higher Education at Berkeley, includes a census, online survey of undergraduates, and soon graduate students, at 15 research-intensive universities (all members of the Association of American Universities, or AAU). SERU provides a wide array of survey questions and a large database on the background, experiences, expectations, and behaviors of students and a unique ability to compare the responses of domestic versus international students. A pervious look at a slice of the data on undergraduates, and more recent analyses on a number of campuses, indicates that international students at UC have a similar socio-economic

background as students at other AAU campuses; but they also have less satisfaction with their overall academic experience and report the lowest sense of the value of their educational experience versus the costs of tuition and housing. One question asked: does the presence of international students on a campus positively influence the behaviors and learning gains of domestic students, and visa versa? Among the SERU Consortium university members, there was a positive correlation with the “density” of international students related to satisfaction among all students with their overall educational experience, engagement with studies such as academic involvement and collaborative work, gains in non-quantitative skills (such as gains in Cultural Appreciation and Social Awareness and Computer and Research Skills), and use of time (in both academic efforts and employment). This is an important preliminary finding as it adds considerably to why it is important for major universities to have a significant number of international students—a form of “critical mass” often discussed in issues related to enrolling underrepresented domestic students in the US. If universities public or private wish to be more influential global participants, the proportion of international students is an important policy variable for both domestic and international students⁶. Yet this is an area of inquiry that needs much more exploration, which should include both quantitative data (like survey results) and qualitative analysis.

**The Macro
Question—Is it
a Zero Sum
Conundrum?**

Beyond the confines of a campus like Berkeley, there are important macro questions that UC’s network of nine undergraduate campuses and, more generally, California’s higher education system, needs to confront, describe, and resolve. With this surge of international students comes significant new policy challenges. In the modern era, Berkeley and most of the UC campuses are no longer growing in enrollment capacity. For various reasons, often including local-government-imposed limits on enrollment, campuses like Berkeley will no longer grow in students, despite attracting greater and greater numbers of applications by highly qualified students from California and from throughout the world.

In the modern context, enrollment is a zero-sum game, particularly since the early 1980s. Before then, Berkeley was expanding enrollment quotas; admitting international students, or out-of-state applicants, did not displace Californians. The UC system has long had a clear social contract that Californians who meet “UC Eligibility” re-

⁶ Douglass J. A., Zhao Ch.-M. (2012) SERU ongoing research recently completed a preliminary data analysis comparing the responses of international students at 6 SERU member campuses that indicates these findings. For more information on the SERU Consortium and research agenda, see: <http://cshe.berkeley.edu/SERU>

quirements (a sliding scale of grades and test scores) will have access to a spot in the UC system, but not necessarily the campus of their choice. This conceptual model gave UC Berkeley some leeway in rationalizing increasing international students. Provided that UC enrollment capacity at other campuses could accommodate qualified Californians, the Berkeley campus had some license to shape its students body. But there are also geographic considerations to consider. For example, generally students from lower income families, who are often the first to go to college, have less ability to travel far distances or have cultural tendencies and family obligations to stay close to home.

In short, when large numbers of international and out-of-state students are enrolled at Berkeley, there is a cascading effect on access for Californians. At the same time, Berkeley's academic leadership has made the argument that it is accommodating as many Californians as the state is willing to subsidize. After years of enrolling more undergraduates than the state funds (essentially, un-funded students), Berkeley has stated that this practice is no longer possible, thus providing enrollment spots for full-paying students from outside of the state, especially international students. It is an argument echoed by other UC campuses.

There are great benefits to enrolling even greater numbers of international students at Berkeley, and more generally within the UC system. A maxim that my colleague, Richard Edelstein, and I have coined and often reiterate is that, "The most competitive economies in the world will be those that both nurture and develop native and international talent from throughout the globe," and that, "These are not mutually exclusive goals" [Douglass, Edelstein, 2009]. The problem is that California, and Berkeley in particular, has not engaged in creating a rationale or path to make this true (For a conceptual idea on how this might work, see [Douglass, Edelstein, Haoreau, 2013]). We are in an era of "University Devolution," in which campuses such as Berkeley are, on their own, attempting to forge a viable future to maintain their hard won high quality and financial future [Douglass, 2012].

States with growing populations and growing labor needs, like California, must construct a funding model that allows for expanding program and enrollment capacity—supported in part by new revenue from international students—and assurances that state residents have access to quality academic programs and degrees. Simply allowing each UC campus to forge individual paths regarding international student enrollment is not adequate policymaking. This does not mean that Berkeley, for financial or other reasons, should not maintain or even expand its number of international, and out-of-state students. Rather, these efforts should be part of a larger enrollment plan that assures that future California students have a place somewhere in the higher education system. Whether or not this will be accomplished, California's higher education institutions, and other major

public universities in the US, are becoming increasingly international in the makeup of their student bodies, and one would hope in the perspective and their curriculum and academic adventures.

Concluding Thoughts

There is an important historical link between international student enrollment and contemporary ideas about the educational benefits of a diverse student body. There is also a need to see international students as an important component in the diversity objectives of universities. Within the context of Berkeley, and the UC system, diversity objectives can come in different forms: a) diversity as reflecting the state's population primarily focused on geographic and socio-economic representation; b) diversity as representing the state's mix of cultures, race and ethnicities, and particularly "underrepresented" African Americans and quickly growing Hispanic populations; c) diversity as embracing the different nations and cultures of the world and as a form of global participation and interaction; and d) diversity focused on maximizing income from all sources in a global market⁷.

This last objective has dominated the rationale for international students at the undergraduate level in US universities, thus far.

In an increasingly global economy, there is a need for awareness of the larger world, and expanding international student populations should be viewed as a component in an expanding effort to become even more globally aware and active. That effort should also include modifications to the curriculum, internationally relevant research, and, perhaps most importantly, greater opportunities for interaction and collaborations with actors outside of the confines of California.

But it is also true that we need to know more about the academic integration, experiences, and influences of international students, at both the undergraduate and graduate levels, to more fully understand the challenges and effects on domestic students. Such analyses can provide guidance on assessing the proper place of international students at Berkeley, and similar research-intensive public universities, as well as the macro issues, and necessary funding models, to maintain higher education access for Californians and attracting talent from throughout the world. These are compatible goals.

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