

Reflections on the Development of Intercultural Competence: A Mixed Methods Study
with Undergraduate Seniors at the University of California, Santa Cruz

A Dissertation

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ABSTRACT

This mixed-methods study sampled students in the transitional and intercultural orientation stages of the Intercultural Development Continuum, using the Intercultural Development Inventory, and then sought to understand each participant's self-analysis of what intercultural competence development meant to them and what contributed most to their intercultural development.

Student participants in this study acknowledged the importance to their intercultural development of the following university experiences and practices: curriculum, programs and organizations, living and learning communities, and leadership development programs. They highlighted the importance of intense shared experiences including high-impact educational practices such as short-term study abroad programs, field work, and internships. Students also credited mentorship and naturalistic engagement with others from different cultural backgrounds, both in childhood and within university life. Several students also discussed how their identity as part of a minoritized group within their community helped them to empathize with other minoritized individuals and reflect on intercultural learning more broadly. Those who scored in Acceptance and Adaptation had intense interpersonal experiences that forced them to engage and reflect in certain ways—even if they were uncomfortable. These experiences, however, were supported by mentors and guided reflection activities that allowed for students to sit with and learn from their discomfort. The lived experiences of students in this study demonstrate that students who scored further along the developmental continuum were characterized by their repeated seeking out challenging intercultural experiences, and a desire to engage with intercultural learning and growth.

For students positioned further on the Intercultural Development Continuum, intercultural engagement was both challenging and fulfilling.

The discovery of high-impact, high-intensity intercultural practices at home is important to intercultural development, as reported by students who score in transitional or intercultural positions on the Intercultural Development Continuum. Findings from this study may encourage educators to develop and encourage participation in these types of practices on and near U.S. campuses. These local high-impact, high-intensity program opportunities may broaden the availability of intercultural learning opportunities for all students, not just those who can afford to study, research, or intern abroad. These programs, however, appear to be most effective when they are interpersonally intense and provide support and mentoring for students.

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Chapter One: Introduction

“One of the fundamental duties of U.S. higher education is to prepare students for productive and responsible citizenship. In the early 21st century, this means preparing students to live and work in a society that increasingly operates across international borders. Graduates must possess intercultural skills and competencies to be successful in this globalized world, and higher education institutions must commit to helping students achieve these outcomes” (American Council on Education, 2012, p. 1).

In an increasingly interconnected world and within an increasingly diverse United States, students of U.S. higher education will require intercultural skills to further mutual understanding, solve transnational problems, and work with colleagues and clients from diverse cultural backgrounds. Rapidly changing demographics in the U.S. mean that historical and inappropriate models of cultural assimilation to majority values will remain inappropriate and irrelevant and will be increasingly challenged by advocates for more pluralistic values. U.S. academic institutions have begun to recognize over the last couple of decades the importance of intercultural competence as an important developmental outcome for students. The notions of intercultural competence, global competence, multicultural competence, cross-cultural competence, and international competence overlap, but they are all built on a foundation of intercultural sensitivity, in which students recognize and value cultural differences (Bennett, 1986, 1993, 2004). However, despite intercultural initiatives, neither international students nor domestic students in the U.S. seem to score more than “ethnocentric” or “transitional” on measures of intercultural competence development, unless they receive targeted intervention (Bosley & Lou, 2011, 2012). Further, there is a nativist movement, a sort of xenophobic nationalism, in the United States that asserts the dominance of Whiteness and the centrality of Christianity, while expressing what Earl Lewis and Nancy Cantor call “a fear of the erosion of some foundational American identity and

way of life—an existential threat that puts under siege the place and privilege of those who once dominated the landscape and controlled the narrative” (Patel, 2018, p. xv). Such discourses have emboldened some members of campus communities to act explicitly against supporting intercultural sensitivity, preferring to adhere to concerns about White replacement theory or White victimhood (NPR, 2021). Despite these challenging times, some students still manage to demonstrate development on intercultural sensitivity measures. This study seeks to understand influences on students who have achieved significant intercultural development by their senior year of undergraduate study. The rationale for the study is to examine what influences, if any, may be targeted and enhanced by creating and supporting programs and practices for undergraduate students.

U.S. Population Trends

By 2045, the number of non-White residents within the U.S. is projected to surpass the number of non-Hispanic White residents, due to immigration trends and varied birth rates (Vespa et al., 2020). Members of this group, often called “minorities” or “minoritized people,” are defined as belonging to any group other than non-Hispanic Whites alone (Colby & Ortman, 2015). In a related trend, the foreign-born population in the U.S. has risen rapidly from 9.6 million (4.7 percent of the population) in 1970 to 44.0 million (13.6 percent of the population) in 2019 (U.S. Census Bureau Quick Facts, 2021). By 2060, nearly one in five U.S. residents is projected to be foreign-born (Vespa et al., 2020). By 2025, there will be no single ethnic majority graduating from U.S. public high schools. Rather, a true plurality will be present for the first time in U.S history within the next few years (Bransberger et al., 2020).

In U.S. higher education institutions, too, White domestic students make up a declining share of total enrollment, having dropped from 67 percent in 1998 to 58 percent in 2008, while the non-majority domestic students' share rose from 26 percent to 30 percent (Kim, 2011). It is projected that the percentage of White Non-Hispanic domestic students in higher education will drop to 52 percent by 2028 (Dinkes, 2020). U.S. institutions of higher education are becoming increasingly international and culturally diverse in character, both through international student enrollment and via domestic students who are first generation or 1.5-generation Americans. Generation 1.5 Americans are those who either are the first in their families to be born in the U.S. or who immigrated to the U.S. before adolescence. In addition, the Institute on International Education's 2021 *Open Doors Report* demonstrated that although the number of nonimmigrant international students at colleges and universities in the United States fell by 15 percent during the 2020-2021 year, largely due to the pandemic, it had hit a record high in the 2018-2019 academic year at 1,095,299 students, or 5.5 percent of the total student body (Open Doors, 2021a). In some of the more selective institutions of higher education in the U.S., international student enrollment is 10 percent or more of the student body—and higher if we consider recent heritage. For example, 40.9 percent of all Black students in Ivy League institutions had at least one parent born outside the U.S. in 2007 ("University Race-Sensitive Admissions," 2007). All measurements indicate student bodies growing in diversity and cultural complexity. Such diversity presents tremendous opportunity for U.S. institutions of higher education and for students from all backgrounds, but only if embraced and if students are strategically supported in becoming interculturally competent.

Learning From Diversity

The importance of learning about oneself and others across differences has been documented in Bowen and Bok's 1998 *The Shape of the River*. In a survey reported in the book, 70 percent of Black respondents and 63 percent of White respondents "believe that their undergraduate experience was of considerable value to their ability to work effectively and get along well with people of different races/cultures" (Bowen & Bok, 1998). Bowen and Bok quote James Axtell, history professor at College of William and Mary, to explain that college serves as an unusual opportunity to meet and understand others, a time when "students are thrown together in close quarters with several thousand self-selected and usually friendly 'others' in a relatively safe environment where speech and thought are ideally free, and intellectual stretching is encouraged by parents, faculty, and society at large" (Bowen & Bok, p. 219). Bowen and Bok's findings validate some of the early findings by social scientist Allport (1954), who developed a contact hypothesis about the gains in understanding that can occur through interpersonal contacts. This theory will be discussed in detail in Chapter Two.

At the same time, Allport, Bosley and Lou (2011, 2012), and others have noted that intercultural learning, development of understanding, and effective intercultural communication do not develop by simple contact or accidental engagement. Rather, scholars have noted that students need to be cognizant of power differences (Allport, 1954) and need to understand the cultural subtleties of communication (Bosley & Lou, 2011, 2012) in order to develop effective communication. According to Bennett's (1986) developmental model, intercultural competence develops over time and with both education and reflection on cultural communication.

Intercultural Competence

U.S. colleges and universities have increasingly expounded on the value of intercultural skills and competencies or intercultural competence as an outcome objective for recent graduates. Many colleges and universities, including Augsburg, Bates, Carleton, Grinnell, Kalamazoo, Randolph, and Spelman, explicitly suggest in their mission statements that intercultural competence is one of the major skills with which institutions of higher education should equip students before graduation. The 2017 *Mapping Internationalization on U.S. Campuses* report by the American Council on Education—the most recent report until 2021 data are released later in 2022—found that in 2016 nearly half the institutions surveyed (49 percent) had mission statements referring to internationalization or related activities. A similar percentage (47 percent) have included internationalization or related activities among the top five priorities in their current strategic plans (*American Council on Education, 2017*). These percentages varied by institutional type: higher for doctoral and master’s institutions and lower for associate and bachelor’s institutions (*American Council on Education, 2017, p. 8*). Not all definitions explicitly include developing intercultural competence for students (or faculty and staff) among the goals of institutional internationalization, but some do. The 2012 report summarizes:

One of the fundamental duties of U.S. higher education is to prepare students for productive and responsible citizenship. In the early 21st century, this means preparing students to live and work in a society that increasingly operates across international borders. Graduates must possess intercultural skills and competencies to be successful in this globalized world, and higher education

institutions must commit to helping students achieve these outcomes (American Council on Education, 2012, p. 1).

Similarly, the Association of American Colleges and Universities *Greater Expectations Project on Accreditation and Assessment* reported that “global knowledge and engagement, along with intercultural knowledge and competence, have been identified as essential learning outcomes for all fields of concentration and all majors” (McTighe Musil, 2006, p. 1).

Although many leaders of U.S. colleges and universities seem to agree that intercultural competence is a necessary skill for twenty-first century success in solving our increasingly complex global problems and to get along in our increasingly intercultural world, little evidence is presented on how to meet these objectives. Although academic and administration leaders at U.S. institutions of higher education increasingly recognize the need for intercultural competence, it is not clear how students are guided to achieve these skills or competencies. As Richard Arum and Josipa Roksa note in their influential book *Academically Adrift*:

organizational inertia, the assumption that students are meeting the academic goals espoused in mission statements, and a lack of external pressure to demonstrate learning have all contributed to a failure systematically to measure and evaluate students’ gains in higher education (p. 17).

Likewise, the American Council on Education’s report, *Mapping Internationalization on U.S. Campuses* (2017) found that although 64 percent of institutions nationally report having developed specific international or global student learning outcomes, only 29 percent of responding institutions have conducted large-scale

assessments to benchmark internationalization progress or impact, having declined from 37 percent in 2011 (American Council on Education, 2017).

In university mission plans, the terms “internationalization” and “intercultural competence” are often used side by side, or even conflated. However, intercultural theorists suggest that a distinction should be made between intercultural competence and country-specific knowledge, language, or area studies. Derek Bok (2006) asserts, “Undergraduates cannot possibly amass all the information they would need to know about even the most important foreign cultures with which they might come in contact ... As a result (institutions) must be chiefly concerned with teaching students to think interculturally ...” (p. 249). Unfortunately, most assessments of global learning outcomes are primarily evaluated through individual course assessments, and the majority of these courses have traditionally been either language- and area studies-focused, or aimed at acquiring content knowledge in international relations or global issues more broadly, rather than requiring students to reflect upon and orient toward acquiring intercultural skills (Bok, 2006; *American Council on Education*, 2012, 2017). In addition, one need not cross a national border to employ intercultural communication skills. Such skills are essential both in international projects as well as day-to-day campus interactions.

Bok suggests that undergraduates may benefit by contact with international students from the same country where they study abroad, if they are encouraged to explore ideas and reactions from their encounters abroad and have taken appropriate area studies and language courses. To accomplish this integration of learning, Bok suggests that the home institution’s international student office, the study abroad office, and the relevant arts and sciences departments must work together in collaboration. What our

colleges offer now, writes Bok, “is a cafeteria of individual courses to choose from, with a menu that reflects the cumulative effect of hundreds of disaggregated decisions” (Bok, 2006, p. 251). There is no guarantee that any of these courses individually or in combination result in developing intercultural competence without some added intercultural mentoring from the institution. For this reason, Vande Berg, Paige, and Lou (2012) suggest that reflection on intercultural learning must be explicitly identified in curriculum and educational programming for students.

For example, two studies demonstrated that differences in intercultural development may be minimal between students who study abroad and those who participate in local activities. Johnstone, Soria, Bittencourt, and Adjei (2018) found similar outcomes in cultural appreciation between students who studied abroad and those who participated in service-learning programs. In Gabriele Bosley’s extensive studies of all students at Bellarmine University enrolled between 2008-2012, first-year students from 2008-2012 (n=1225) averaged 81.89 on the Intercultural Development Inventory, placing them in the “monocultural mindset” categorization, with results specifically described as “polarization (defense, reversal)” (Bosley, 2016). Seniors from 2008-2012 who did not study abroad (n=381) averaged 85.59, on the very cusp of minimization, and seniors who studied abroad in the same years without intervention averaged 89.72 (n=109), squarely within minimization (Bosley, 2016), differences that are not statistically significant. Bosley’s study indicates that the average undergraduate student, even those enrolled at a prestigious liberal arts college with a focus on internationalization, graduates with little progress in intercultural development.

Despite the lackluster findings about student intercultural development, some students continue to progress in their intercultural knowledge. If study abroad and exposure to diversity on campus are not satisfactory answers to how students develop interculturally, then more study is needed to figure out how students progress and how students understand their process of development. To what do students attribute their progression to the intercultural stages of intercultural development? The following paragraphs will outline a study that will examine the experiences of relative outliers among undergraduates. The purpose is to understand how students understand how they have come to score so highly on measures of intercultural competence. Understanding these students' experiences may inform assumptions about intercultural development (Bennett, 1998), more recent research on the role of reflection in intercultural development (Vande Berg et al., 2012), and overall program development aimed at enhancing intercultural development in undergraduate students.

Significance of the Study/ Rationale for Conducting the Study

As noted above, whereas many colleges and universities have begun focusing on intercultural competence development as a potential outcome of study abroad, at the height of historical trends, only about 11 percent of all U.S. college undergraduate students study abroad at any point in their undergraduate years (IIE Open Doors, 2020), a percentage which dropped precipitously during the SARS-CoV-2/COVID-19 pandemic to 5.3 percent (IIE Open Doors, 2021). And even when students do study abroad, increased intercultural sensitivity isn't necessarily or automatically an outcome of their study abroad experiences. Scholars suggest that increased intercultural sensitivity does not occur just because the students have encountered difference (Beelen & de Wit, 2012;

J. Bennett, 2008; Bosley & Lou, 2012; Engle & Engle, 2002; Savicki, 2010; Vande Berg, Paige, & Lou, 2012). Empirical research shows that students left to their own unguided experiences make little progress in intercultural development during their study abroad—whether these are U.S. students studying abroad or international students in the U.S. (Vande Berg, Connor-Linton, & Paige, 2009; Paige & Vande Berg, 2012; Bosley & Lou, 2012; Vande Berg, Paige, & Lou, 2012; Lou & Bosley, 2012). The literature shows that students don't develop this competence by “rubbing shoulders” with other students from different cultural backgrounds; rather, progress is made through guided reflection and a deliberate curriculum (J. Bennett, 2008; Savicki, 2010; Vande Berg, Connor-Linton, & Paige, 2009).

Studies on both the “cafeteria” approach to undergraduate learning (“individual courses to choose from, with a menu that reflects the cumulative effect of hundreds of disaggregated decisions” Bok, 2006, p. 251) as well as the benefits of intercultural foci suggest that additional focus on intercultural development may be needed in order to yield results. Despite the internationally focused course offerings, including language classes and international content classes in which many enroll, study abroad, and interaction with others in a culturally diverse student body, most students display little growth in intercultural development unless intercultural learning is an explicit function of programming or curriculum (Bosley, 2016, Hammer, 2012, Lou & Bosley, 2012, Vande Berg et al., 2009). At the same time, students come to higher education institutions with vastly different intercultural experiences. Such experiences may also inform their perspectives and measured effectiveness on intercultural assessments.

Study Purpose

The purpose of this study is to identify the influences that senior undergraduate students at the University of California, Santa Cruz, perceive to be most important to their intercultural development. The study will be a study of the lived experiences of the intercultural development of senior undergraduate students at the University of California, Santa Cruz. Using the method of interpretive phenomenology (psychology) and interviewing students in the intercultural development stages of acceptance and adaptation using the Intercultural Development Inventory as a sampling mechanism, I examined recorded conversations with students to explore the questions:

- How do students in the intercultural development stages of high minimization, acceptance, or adaptation of the Intercultural Development Continuum understand their own intercultural development?
- In what ways do students explain influences related to their intercultural development?
- In what ways do undergraduate students understand intercultural development as an aspect of their anticipated futures?

Ideas for the types of questions used in my study come from interpretive phenomenology and are modeled after the type of questions used in Brown and Tignor's 2016 article, *Preparing Culturally-Competent Teachers Through Faculty-Led Study Abroad*.

Interpretive phenomenological analysis seeks to offer insights into meaning-making, or how a particular individual in a certain context makes sense of a particular phenomenon, such as intercultural development.

Qualitative work will explore the students' understanding of their intercultural competence and its development in their own voices. Examining the students' experiences through their own perspectives will aid my division in designing further opportunities that will assist students in moving forward on the continuum of intercultural competence. The study is intended to contextualize theories of intercultural development and to identify potential program offerings to support such development, with implications for informing policy and practice at other institutions of higher education.

Understanding how these students understand their own intercultural competence development and identifying programs that support that growth will fill significant gaps in existing research, which has been largely limited to intercultural development during study abroad. Bosley and Lou have expanded their research to include international students who study in the U.S. (Bosley, 2016, Bosley & Lou, 2012, Lou & Bosley, 2012). The Georgetown consortium study identified factors that contribute to more significant growth in intercultural competence among U.S. college students: study abroad, gender, academic major, prior language study, group mentoring (Vande Berg et al., 2009). Large-scale studies have identified predictive factors for intercultural development, but few studies have engaged in complex student narratives around their own perceptions of their development. One such study validating the IDI (Paige, Jacobs-Cassuto, Yershova, & DeJaeghere, 2003) had a qualitative component that used interpretive interviews to understand influences, particularly for those at more advanced stages of intercultural development. To engage with these data, my sample is drawn from students with objective levels of intercultural development of high minimization, acceptance, and adaptation (as measured by IDI) and affiliated with College Nine, which provides a wide

variety of opportunities, both curricular and extracurricular, for intercultural development beyond study abroad alone. Seniors affiliated with College Nine may be expected to have achieved high levels of intercultural competence, given the residential college's international and global theme for its core course and opportunities for engagement in living learning communities and global/international-themed college programs. However, not all students will achieve such competence. This study is particularly interested in the explanations of students who have achieved intercultural competence (measured by IDI results). The study seeks to determine, among the wide variety of opportunities available to students and their personal experiences, what particular events or opportunities students believed were most important in their development.

Research Participants

As noted above, the sample is drawn from undergraduate seniors affiliated with College Nine, which is a university unit that embraces a commitment to "International and Global Perspectives." Participants were identified using the Intercultural Development Inventory as a sampling mechanism. These students were selected because of their chosen affiliation with College Nine, the International and Global residential college which requires an associated core course, *International and Global Issues*, and reached a particular threshold on the IDI. Interviews were conducted with students measuring in high minimization, acceptance, or adaptation categories on the Intercultural Development Inventory. The students successfully completed the International and Global Issues course and were offered a wide variety of college co-curricular programs with international and global themes. They would presumably be well-positioned and able to reflect on their intercultural learning to date. The study was a study of the lived

experience of the intercultural development of senior students affiliated with College Nine at UC Santa Cruz, where the theme is international and global perspectives. The study is intended to contextualize theories of intercultural development and to identify potential program offerings to support such development.

Using the method of interpretive phenomenology (psychology), I will examine recorded conversations with students that explore how students make sense of a particular phenomenon (Brown & Tignor, 2016). In this case, the phenomenon I am studying is relatively high achievement on a metric of intercultural competence and associated life circumstances related to intercultural development. I anticipate that the study may shed light on how students develop an understanding of intercultural development as an interpersonal skill, alongside content knowledge (language skills, academic understanding of international development, economics, political science, etc.).

Definition of Key Terms

Acceptance: Acceptance, in the context of the Intercultural Development Continuum, is the orientation in which a person “begins to understand how a cultural pattern of behavior makes sense within a different cultural community” (Vande Berg, Paige, & Lou, 2012, p. 123).

Adaptation: Adaptation, in the context of the Intercultural Development Continuum, is “the developmental orientation associated with a growing ability to shift perspective and change behavior in different cultural contexts” (Vande Berg, Paige, & Lou, 2012, p. 413).

Culture: Culture, for the purposes of this paper, is construed as the set of shared values, beliefs, ideas, and behaviors that form a worldview held by a particular group of people. Collectively, these things form an approach to dealing with reality that seems normal to

this group of people. However, we need to keep in mind that culture is not static and doesn't exist apart from the people who create it. Culture is ongoing and co-constructed (Baldwin, 2012). As Starosta writes, "the cultural is not a static location, but rather a series of locations that can be accessed only through the triangulations of a particular intercultural exchange" (Starosta, 2014, p. 96). Yep (2014) remarks that identities and cultures are "social constructions that exist within specific historical and political circumstances" (p. 341).

Intercultural competence: DeJaeghere and Cao's 2009 work defines intercultural competence as "an individual's worldview, and in turn, his or her perceptions and responses to cultural difference" (DeJaeghere & Cao, 2009, p. 438; see also M.J. Bennett, 1986, 1993; Hammer, 2008; Hammer & Bennett, 2001; Hammer, Bennett, & Wiseman, 2003).

Intercultural competence development: For the purposes of this study, I will define intercultural competence development as "increasing cultural self-awareness; deepening understanding of the experiences, values, perceptions, and behaviors of people from diverse cultural communities; and expanding the capability to shift cultural perspective and adapt behavior to bridge across cultural differences" (Hammer, 2009, 2010, 2011).

The primary tool designed to measure intercultural competence development is the Intercultural Development Inventory (IDI).

Intercultural sensitivity: The cognitive foundation of intercultural competence is intercultural sensitivity, which reflects the ability to shift mental frames of reference to a given cultural context (M. Bennett, 1993; Vande Berg & Paige, 2009).

Context of the Study

The research took place at the University of California, Santa Cruz, a mid-sized research-based institution founded in 1965 as part of the University of California. As noted above, the study was conducted with students from College Nine, the UCSC college with a global and international theme. Students from this college demonstrate interest in international and intercultural conversations and might reasonably be expected to be further along in their intercultural development journeys, towards the interculturalist end of the Intercultural Development Continuum, which is demonstrated in its collegiate theme:

College Nine's theme of International and Global Perspectives recognizes the importance of cultural competency in the 21st century. The College Nine community offers students a range of opportunities to explore these issues and to develop skills as dynamic leaders (UCSC, n.d.).

The study follows an explanatory sequential mixed-methods design. All senior College Nine affiliates were invited to take the Intercultural Development Inventory in October of their senior year. All participating senior College Nine affiliates were invited to have their IDI scores interpreted in November. Students who fall within the adaptation, acceptance, or high minimization levels on the Intercultural Development Inventory were invited to participate in individual interviews in the spring semester of their senior year. These interviews examine the students' reflections of their own intercultural development journeys and their perceptions of how they have achieved growth along the continuum. Their words also help to illustrate the stages of minimization, acceptance, and adaptation so that international educators will be able to recognize and guide students into and through these stages. A two-phase data collection project allows the quantitative data,

using the IDI, to inform “which participants will be purposefully selected for the qualitative phase and the types of questions that will be asked of the participants” (Creswell & Creswell, 2018, p. 222). In that way, the mixed methods design allows the qualitative data to help explain the quantitative data in more detail (Creswell & Creswell, 2018). It is illustrative to hear how students understand their own intercultural development.

Theoretical Model Guiding the Study

The theoretical model that guides this study is the Intercultural Development Continuum (IDC) (Hammer, 2012), which is a revised version of Milton J. Bennett’s Developmental Model of Intercultural Sensitivity (DMIS) (Bennett, 1986, 1993, 2004). The IDC and the DMIS are theoretical models which conceptualize the process of developing intercultural competence as a series of stages in which a person is increasingly able to recognize and accommodate cultural difference (Bennett, 1986, 1993, 2012). Bennett’s DMIS proposes six major developmental stages of intercultural competence to “depict an individual’s reaction to cultural differences” (Lai, 2006, p. 3.). According to Bennett’s theory, individuals begin in the stages of ethnocentrism: denial and defense, in which “one’s [own] culture is experienced as central to reality,” and then may move through minimization towards stages of ethnorelativism: acceptance, adaptation, and integration, in which “one’s culture is experienced in the context of other cultures” (Hammer, Bennett, & Wiseman, 2003), or as “just one organization of reality among many viable possibilities” (M.J. Bennett, 2004). Bennett’s theoretical model asserts that individuals may move through these stages as they grapple with and construct increasingly complex understandings of cultural difference. There may be some retreat

between stages, perhaps when an experience or set of experiences (like study abroad) threatens the subject's worldview, but Bennett theorizes that people generally move through the stages in one direction.

The DMIS was revised more recently into the Intercultural Development Continuum (IDC) by Mitchell Hammer, following IDI research findings that supported the basic theoretical model of the DMIS but which prompted revisions to some of its stages (Hammer, 2009, 2011). IDI Version Three validation “confirms Denial, Polarization (which includes Defense and Reversal), Minimization, Acceptance, and Adaptation as the primary orientations of intercultural competence” (Hammer, 2012). The IDI stage of “Minimization” falls in the middle of the continuum as a transitional stage between the ethnocentrist or monocultural orientations of the IDI participant (these are framed as “Denial” and “Polarization”) and the ethnorelative or intercultural orientations (framed as “Acceptance” and “Adaptation”) (Hammer, Bennett, & Wiseman, 2003). Integration has been removed from the IDC because it describes “construction of an intercultural identity, rather than the development of intercultural competence” (Hammer, 2012).

Each stage of the IDC has its own unique characteristics that are measured in the IDI (see Figure 1). People who score within the *Denial* orientation fail to recognize differences in perceptions and behavior as cultural (Hammer, 2012), often because they have had little exposure to people from other cultural contexts than their own or because in the past they have kept their distance from people from other cultural contexts than their own. When members of an organization, and particularly leaders of that organization, hold a monocultural orientation, members of a culturally minoritized group

often feel ignored or unrecognized. Students in a study abroad setting who score in the *Denial* stage on the IDI may rapidly become overwhelmed when their skill set turns out to be insufficient to make sense of cultural differences (Hammer, 2012). *Polarization*, the second stage of development measured by the IDI, is characterized by a judgmental mindset encompassing both *Defense* and *Reversal*. In this stage, an IDI participant may acknowledge differences, but regard these differences as worse or better than the person's own culture. IDI participants scoring in the *Defense* stage may be characterized as individuals who see their way of doing things as superior to others.

Further, those who score in *Reversal* are described as those who privilege other cultural ways or practices as better than their own. *Minimization* is a category that resides in ethnocentric stages of the IDI. Those who score in Minimization may assume their own cultural patterns can explain the essential commonalities between people. According to the DMIS and IDI, people in a minimization stage may identify surface-level cultural differences and acknowledge the full humanity of others (Bennett, 2004); it thus represents a transitional stage between ethnocentrism and ethnorelativism. The *Minimization* stage is described as one in which a person believes that all people are essentially the same and should be guided and judged by universal values (those of the beholder). *Acceptance* is the first true ethnorelativist or intercultural stage: Cultural differences are acknowledged and respected. Finally, people who score in the *Adaptation* stage answered IDI items that indicate they have appropriate behaviors for communication and relating to people from cultural backgrounds different than their own, in addition to the acknowledgment and respect found in the previous orientation stage (M.J. Bennett, 2004, Hammer, 2012).

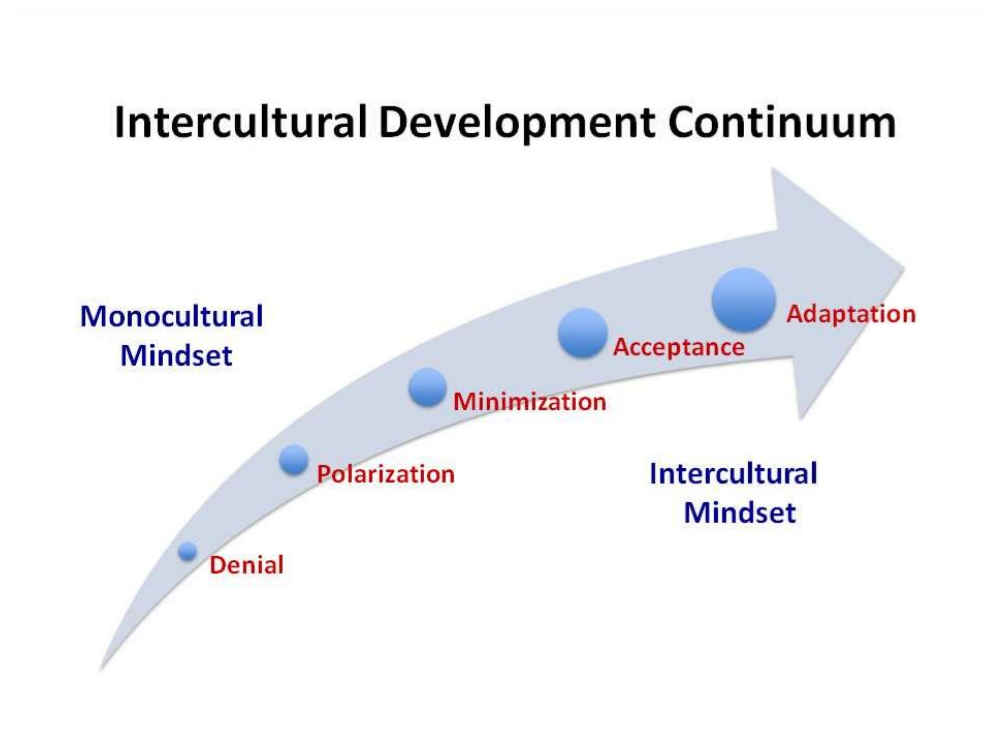


Figure 1. Stages in the Intercultural Development Continuum. *Source:* Hammer, 2012.

Utility of the Intercultural Development Inventory

The DMIS was formed using a grounded theory approach in which patterns emerged through systematic observations. Later, the Intercultural Development Inventory (IDI) (Hammer, 2003) was designed as an instrument for measuring a person's position within the progressive DMIS stages. The IDI was created based on interviews with 40 individuals from a multitude of experiences and cultural backgrounds; they generated more than 350 statements relevant to intercultural sensitivity, which were then culled and reviewed by seven experts familiar with the DMIS, resulting in 145 items that met inter-rater reliability standards (Paige et al., 2003). A 2003 assessment of the IDI instrument (Paige et al., 2003) found it has strong face and statistical validity, is reliable, and is suitable for training and education programs. The IDI also possesses strong content and

construct validity (Hammer, 2009, 2011; Hammer et al., 2003; Paige et al., 2003). The nature of the way the IDI was formulated means that criticism of the IDI is also criticism of the DMIS theory, as the tool is largely consistent with the theory (Bosley & Lou, 2013). While I am using the IDI, my approach is also phenomenological to explore students' perceptions of their intercultural development and how they have developed interculturally.

Positionality of the Researcher

The complexities of intercultural communication make it an interdisciplinary field, one which has broad relevance throughout all university disciplines and functions. According to Josef Mestenhauser (2011), the practice of international education, where my professional life resides, is composed of interdisciplinary knowledge in international studies/international relations, area studies, foreign languages, and other related academic disciplines (history, psychology, economics, political science, communication, etc.) with implications for foreign policy, intelligence, media, business, student affairs, public policy, and so on. I learned in college to operate within the social science/positivist paradigm with coursework in the natural sciences, economics, political science, international relations, history, and Russian area studies. Some critical theory was introduced in my literature and history classes, but rarely made explicit. I was trained in some intercultural concepts in the Peace Corps (Ukraine, 1993–1995), but it wasn't until I left a master's program in Russian and East European Studies to join a master's program in Intercultural Relations with a focus on International Education that I was able to begin to grapple with an interpretive (constructivist or subjective) paradigm. Much of the work in my Intercultural Relations program was still centered in the post-

positivist/objective paradigm, such as the notion taught to us that culture is a set of values, beliefs, and ideas passed along from one generation to the next (static culture), but at the same time there was much discussion of fluid identities and negotiated culture.

As Mestenhauser reminds his audience in his reflections on internationalizing higher education (Mestenhauser Lecture Series on Internationalizing Higher Education, 2009), “what we know depends on the questions we ask.” Although there is certainly some utility in having a foundation in understanding some of the ways that cultural values can differ, it is not useful or fair to make assumptions about individuals based on our etic understanding of their home country’s cultural context. As Moon criticizes, “The outcome is that diverse groups are treated as homogenous, differences within national boundaries, ethnic groups, genders, and races are obscured, and hegemonic notions of ‘culture’ are presented as ‘shared’ by all cultural members” (1996, p. 7). This notion of cultural parameters is too reductive; there are too many variables related to individual personality and identity. Mestenhauser explains that any similarities and differences between cultures are not symmetrical, and there is a wide variety of similarities and differences within cultures and co-cultures. As Starosta writes,

The research of that day was about binaries. The researchers saw or acknowledged no real difference within a nation, and looked down on those co-cultural researchers who attested to alterity. Their subjects had no history and no context. They had no life narratives. They had no voice. They were objects to be aggregated in arrays as examples of one societal binary or another... (Starosta, 2013, p. 93).

My current understanding of intercultural concepts and my conceptual framework for this study is situated within the constructivist paradigm where knowledge is furthered by introspection, intuition, and shared constructs, assisted by observation which is done best when I am aware of my own positionality, with tendencies in my less examined moments to gravitate back towards positivism, or the notion of objective knowledge. I acknowledge the value of measuring outcomes in international education, but I see additional value in qualitative research, where concepts may be defined and shaped by an *emic* understanding of culture, in a fluid and socially constructed cultural context. Knowledge, in my view, should emerge from the cultural contexts studied, and the community members should retain the privilege of accepting or rejecting the concepts that emerge, which should not be imposed or overlaid on someone else's culture or worldview.

Starosta writes in his article on the history of the field that Lee, Nakayama, Cargile, Eguchi, and others

noted that the cultural is not a static location, but rather a series of locations that can be accessed only through the triangulations of a particular intercultural exchange. We will know from the essentialisms roughly where to search, but will know only at that moment what we will find" (Starosta, 2013, p. 96).

Therefore, my study will acknowledge the statistical capacity of instrumentation like the IDI to measure concepts with a level of objectivity. At the same time, students' understandings of their own intercultural development are critical to expanding knowledge in the field. The nuanced combination of experiences, identity, and self-reflection are not always discernible in assessments. Therefore, I will seek to both

identify (quantitative) and understand (qualitative) the phenomenon of intercultural competence in students, using the IDI to select student participants for the study who score in high minimization, acceptance, or adaptation positions on the IDI.

Today, I have been in the field of international education for nearly 30 years, the first few years as an English as a Foreign/Second Language teacher and the next 25 as an international student/scholar advisor, ten concurrently as a study abroad advisor, and a practitioner in intercultural programming and training for many of those years. Today, I work at the University of California, Santa Cruz, as the Director of Global Programming (orientations, programs, and events) as I complete my Ed.D. in Leadership for Intercultural and International Higher Education. My interest in fostering intercultural competence development in undergraduates comes from these perspectives and this work.

Potential Study Limitations/Delimitations

By necessity of budget and achievability, the sample size of the study is limited. An Ed.D. is designed to focus on research to further knowledge and improve practice. My study is designed to investigate intercultural development at UC Santa Cruz, where I work and can influence practice. Therefore, student participants include only College Nine affiliates at UCSC, a mid-sized public R1 institution. The student participants in the qualitative section of the study will measure at the higher end of the intercultural development continuum. College Nine is a themed college, which I hypothesize attracts and develops students who may have advanced along the Intercultural Development Continuum. Therefore, I use this college as my starting point. The application of findings will be most appropriate to students studying at institutions of this type, and the

qualitative data collection will allow the study to go in-depth in understanding students' lived experiences.

Additionally, some of the College Nine students are international students whom I may have encountered at my events and programs; however, all of the students I interviewed were oriented before I began at UCSC, so I didn't know them well. While I recognize these possible biases, these are the students I have access to work with, with whom I share their academic journey, and who may be most responsive to my recruitment requests. My connection to the university where the students study may enhance their comfort and trust, which may enhance honesty and depth of the conversation. My mixed-method study begins with a theoretical model that empirical evidence has shown to be effective, reliable, and valid cross-culturally (Paige, 2004) and follows with qualitative work that allows the students to tell their own stories about their understanding of intercultural development and what influenced their own intercultural learning.

Chapter Two: Literature Review

With the growing interest in internationalization on college campuses in the United States and beyond, it is not surprising that an increased emphasis on outcomes assessment in international education has arisen over the couple of decade. Administrators and faculty members seek to know whether these efforts at internationalization have a measurable impact on students. The rhetoric of college and university mission statements often includes the desire to graduate students who have global knowledge and intercultural skills and competencies. As mentioned in Chapter One, data from the American Council on Education 2017 report (which is the most recent report until a 2022 report is released later this year) shows that 49 percent of responding institutions' mission statements specifically refer to internationalization or related activities (e.g., international or global activities), and 47 percent of responding institutions have included internationalization or related activities among the top five priorities in their strategic plans (American Council on Education, 2017). The 2016 data mirrors the 2011 data, showing only 27 percent of institutions have a separate strategic plan that specifically addresses institution-wide internationalization (ACE, 2017). And only 29 of institutions reported formal assessment of their internationalization progress or impact in recent years, having declined from 37 percent in 2011 (ACE, 2017). Large-scale assessments to benchmark campus-wide outcomes in internationalization are relatively uncommon.

Proponents of increased internationalization have assumed that the most direct route to globalizing or internationalizing education is through study abroad, where the students are expected to naturally gain intercultural skills and competencies. A long-

standing focus in the internationalization of college campuses has been to facilitate student mobility, particularly in study abroad, with an assumption that doing so would increase intercultural competence development (Beelen & de Wit, 2012; Vande Berg & Paige, 2009; Vande Berg, Paige & Lou, 2012). Beelen and de Wit wrote in an editorial on internationalization in higher education that “international educators have focused too much on activities such as mobility, study abroad, and international classrooms, as goals in themselves” (2012, p. 1). These activities may advance the stated goals, but participation alone does not guarantee students will emerge with the desired competencies such as increased intercultural competence. The authors further noted: “We have assumed for a long time that these activities or instruments were good in themselves and that by undertaking them, students would automatically develop competences related to these activities, without any proof that they have” (2012, p. 1). Studies have shown that the gains in intercultural competence during a semester or year of study abroad are marginal when students are left to their own devices (J. Bennett, 2008; Bosley & Lou, 2012; Engle & Engle, 2002; Savicki, 2010; Vande Berg, Paige & Lou, 2012; Weber-Bosley, 2016).

In his commentary on Internationalization at Home (IaH), de Wit offers nine misconceptions about the internationalization of higher education, including the misconception that students “normally acquire intercultural and international competencies if they study or serve their internship abroad or take part in an international class” (2017, p. 11). De Wit echoes Jane Knight in “Five Myths About Internationalization” by saying that “internationalization is regarded as synonymous with a specific programmatic or organizational strategy to promote internationalization—in

other words, where the means appear to have become the goal (2017, p. 9).” De Wit argues that where internationalization itself is seen as the specific goal, it remains marginal to the goals and mission of higher education. An overemphasis on study abroad as a means to internationalization and the development of intercultural competence can be found in statements such as this from the Commission on the Abraham Lincoln Study Abroad Fellowship Program (2005): “What nations don’t know can hurt them. The stakes involved in study abroad are that simple, that straightforward, and that important. For their own future and that of the nation, college graduates today must be internationally competent” (p. ii).

In the paragraphs that follow, I will discuss the literature of internationalization of college campuses in the U.S., followed by a discussion of intercultural competence development as one important aspect of internationalization. Previous studies that have identified factors related to intercultural development will be highlighted. Related literature that frames undergraduate student learning goals and outcomes comes into play in this discussion, along with the literature of social contact theory. Specific strategies to advance intercultural development in students follow, particularly the paths offered by education abroad and Internationalization at Home. The theoretical framework of the experiential learning theory and the theoretical model of the Intercultural Development Continuum, as well as the relevant qualitative research on intercultural development will undergird the review of literature and this study. In the last sections, leadership theories related to internationalization and the difficulties of implementation and the UC Santa Cruz College Nine context will be discussed.

Internationalization

Ellingboe (1998) and Knight (2004) have developed working definitions of internationalization that are particularly helpful in clarifying rationale, developing strategy, and discussing process. Ellingboe (1998) states:

Internationalization will be defined as the process of integrating an international perspective into a college or university system. It is an ongoing, future-oriented, multi-dimensional, interdisciplinary leadership-driven vision that involves many stakeholders working to change the internal dynamics of an institution to respond and adapt appropriately to an increasingly diverse, globally-focused, ever-changing external environment (p. 199).

Knight (2004) further expands the definition by proposing that internationalization is “the process of integrating an international, intercultural, or global dimension into the purpose, functions, or delivery of post-secondary education” (Knight, 2004, p. 11). Knight highlights the inputs, processes, and outputs or benefits reflecting the particular priorities of the institution. She operationalizes the concepts of “integrating,” “purpose,” “function,” and “delivery” as elements of internationalized higher education. Knight specifically identifies “integrating” as the process of infusing or embedding the international and intercultural dimension into policies and programs to ensure that the international dimension remains central, not marginal, and is sustainable; “purpose” meaning the mission or mandate of the institution; “function” as the primary elements or tasks characterizing the institution (teaching, research and scholarly activities, and service to the society at large); and “delivery” as the offering of courses either domestically or in other countries (Knight, 2004, p. 12).

In 2015, Knight broadened her definition to read, “Internationalization at the national, sector, and institutional levels is defined as the process of integrating an international, intercultural, or global dimension into the purpose, functions or delivery of postsecondary education” (2015, p. 2). She commented that this definition does not contradict the 2004 definition, which was widely used, but broadens it to include national and sector-specific applications. Knight does not attempt to indicate all of the “rationales, benefits, outcomes, actors, activities, or stakeholders of internationalization,” as she frames it, because these particular “elements vary across nations and from institution to institution” (Knight, 2015, p. 2).

Although Knight’s 2004 and 2015 articles are helpful in framing internationalization efforts, they lack detailed discussion of concrete steps to implement internationalization at all levels of institutions of higher education. Neither do her definitions describe ways of measuring progress or assessing outcomes.

Hudzik (2011) expanded upon Knight’s comprehensive internationalization work by claiming:

Comprehensive internationalization is a commitment, confirmed through action, to infuse international and comparative perspectives throughout the teaching, research, and service missions of higher education. It shapes institutional ethos and values and touches the entire higher education enterprise. It is essential that it be embraced by institutional leadership, governance, faculty, students, and all academic service and support units. It is an institutional imperative, not just a desirable possibility (Hudzik, 2011, p. 6).

Although these definitions are helpful, they offer little in the way of concrete direction or ways to measure progress in internationalization at the institutional level. To that end, Paige (2005) provided ten indicators that help to measure internationalization efforts on campuses, specifically:

- 1) Leading the Process—Internationalization at the Top;
- 2) Guiding and Integrating the Process—Internationalization Strategic Plan;
- 3) Supporting the Process—Institutionalization of International Education;
- 4) Implementing the Process: Professional International Education Units and Staff;
- 5) Implementing the Process: Internationalized Curriculum;
- 6) Implementing the Process: International Students and Scholars;
- 7) Implementing the Process: Study Abroad;
- 8) Implementing the Process: the University Faculty;
- 9) Implementing the Campus—Campus Life, Co-curricular;
- 10) Monitoring the Process: Performance Assessment/Performance Indicators (Paige, 2005).

In an academic class, Paige suggested that an eleventh indicator could be added to examine student learning outcomes assessment (Paige, Class Notes: EdPA 5080, 2011). These definitions and indicators are helpful in guiding processes and measuring progress, but even with indicators for evaluating internationalization, institutions often struggle with the process of internationalization.

Further, there is not any guarantee that any of these processes will have meaningful intercultural outcomes in students. Mestenhauser explores the complexity of

the task by discussing the nature of international education as a “fragmented, complex, multidimensional, interdisciplinary, intercultural field” (2007, p. 61) “divided by various administrative and instructional units, reporting to various structures, and fluctuating in emphasis from ‘process’ to ‘product’ learning” (2011, p. 2). He proposes that only systems thinking will be adequate to analyze the patterns and relationships between the various parts, priorities, and needs of the institution to be recognized and changed sufficiently to align with strategic priorities.

Recent critiques of internationalization (Beck, 2012; de Oliveira Andreotti, Stein, Ahaneke, & Hunt, 2015) have questioned the ethical underpinnings of internationalization as it is implemented in contemporary U.S. universities. These critiques focus on the capitalist nature of internationalization and the shortsightedness of relying on nation-state frameworks for understanding the world. These critiques are useful for further informing questions about why students may or may not develop intercultural development in universities. If universities continue to focus on increasing numbers of mobile students, developing profit-oriented international contracts, and ignoring histories of colonization, student development may be stunted. The following section outlines research on intercultural competence development in students, as it relates to internationalization as a construct of study.

Intercultural Competence

One of the essential goals of internationalization is to develop intercultural competence in students and faculty members. DeJaeghere and Cao (2009) note that intercultural competence has been defined in a variety of ways (Bhawuk & Brislin, 1992; Hammer, Gudykunst, & Wiseman, 1978) and measured by distinct assessments or

instruments (Paige, 2004). The varied terms *intercultural competence*, *global competence*, *multicultural competence*, *cross-cultural competence*, *cultural intelligence*, *cross-cultural awareness*, *transnational awareness*, and *international competence* are similar in meaning but have arisen out of different disciplines and have been applied to a variety of assessment tools (Deardorff, 2011; Fantini, 2009). Deardorff later tried to operationalize the term intercultural competence using a Delphi study of experts. She started by defining intercultural communication as “any who interact with those from different backgrounds, regardless of location” (2011, p. 66) and later moved to define competence in this area.

Broadly defined, intercultural competence is the ability to work successfully within and across various cultural settings and contexts. When discussed in more detail, definitions vary, most incorporating aspects of the cognitive, affective, and behavioral domains. Some of the definitions that are widely embraced include:

- Knowledge of others; knowledge of self; skills to interpret and relate; skills to discover and/or to interact; valuing others’ values, beliefs, and behaviors; and relativizing one’s self (Deardorff, 2004)
- A set of cognitive, affective, and behavioral skills and characteristics that support effective and appropriate interaction in a variety of cultural contexts (J.M. Bennett, 2008)

Deardorff’s Delphi studies (2004, 2006, 2012) aimed to reach consensus among leading intercultural experts (though primarily from the United States) by defining intercultural competence as “the ability to communicate effectively and appropriately in

intercultural situations based on one's intercultural knowledge, skills, and attitudes" (Deardorff, 2012, p. 33).

In the context of higher education, scholars have subsequently turned their attention to identifying ways that postsecondary students develop intercultural competence.

International experiences and language learning are often viewed as strategies for students. Fantini (2000), for example, noted that there is wide agreement about "the 'double-edged' nature of the intercultural experience; that is, the development of competence in another culture and proficiency in its language provide the opportunity for powerful reflections into one's own native world view" (p. 26). Competence itself, however, is often framed as process as much as end goal. Researchers generally confirm that intercultural competence is an ongoing process and takes years to develop (Bhawuk, 1992; J. Bennett, 2008; Deardorff, 2011; Behrend & Porzelt, 2012; M.J. Bennett, 2012). Stier distinguishes this tension in his definition of intercultural competence between "content-competencies" and "processual competencies," the latter being the "knowing how" interactional context (Hall 1976; Stier 2003, 2004, 2006).

Critics of the idea that intercultural competence can be defined and measured cite these same authors to show confusion in terms and instruments. As Deardorff writes in 2011, two studies (Deardorff, 2006; Hunter, White, & Godbey, 2006) show that most of the definitions used in postsecondary institutions rely primarily on faculty discussion, without consultation of nearly five decades of literature (Deardorff, 2011). In discussing her Delphi study of intercultural experts, Deardorff says that "intercultural experts agreed on only one aspect of this study: the ability to see from others' perspectives" (p. 68).

For the purposes of this study, I will define intercultural competence as “an individual’s worldview, and in turn, his or her perceptions and responses to cultural difference” (M.J. Bennett, 1986, 1993; DeJaeghere & Cao, 2009; Hammer, 2008; Hammer & Bennett, 2001; Hammer, Bennett & Wiseman, 2003). The cognitive foundation of intercultural competence is intercultural sensitivity, which reflects the ability to shift mental frames of reference to a given cultural context (M. Bennett, 1993, p. 22; Vande Berg & Paige, 2009, p. 424). One frequently employed tool designed to measure intercultural competence development is the Intercultural Development Inventory (IDI) (Hammer, 2012, Paige & Vande Berg, 2012; Vande Berg, Paige, & Lou, 2012). The IDI is widely accepted and favorably tested to be valid and reliable (Paige, Jacobs-Cassuto, Yersheva, & DeJaeghere, 2003) and is used with participants from a variety of cultural backgrounds in 40 countries, showing strong validity and reliability across diverse cultural groups (Hammer, M.R., 2011).

The Development of Intercultural Competence

Essential to this study is the concept of intercultural competence and the desire to understand how it develops in college students. Research shows us that a necessary but not sufficient condition of intercultural competence development is exposure to, or immersion into, cultural experiences beyond the one that a person has been socialized into in childhood. In this section, I will discuss social contact theory, and then previous studies that focus on intercultural competence development in undergraduates. Last in this section, I will review two strategies to advance intercultural competence development: study abroad and Internationalization at Home.

Social Contact Theory

Social contact theory is often used in study abroad literature to promote the idea that student contact with host country nationals will diminish prejudice and move students toward increased intercultural competence. Robin Williams Jr.'s 1947 book *The Reduction of Intergroup Tensions* offered 102 testable “propositions” on intergroup relations that included an initial formulation of intergroup contact theory (Pettigrew & Tropp, 2006). In particular, Williams noted that intergroup contact would “maximally reduce prejudice when the two groups share similar status, interests, and tasks and when the situation fosters personal, intimate intergroup contact” (p. 751–752). Williams’ hypotheses were followed by increased interest in studying intergroup contact. Researchers such as Deutsch and Collins (1951) began to conduct large-scale field studies in U.S. public housing. The authors found that White women in desegregated public housing had far more optimal contact with their Black neighbors and held their Black neighbors in higher esteem. Early contact theory research looked at contact through a lens that centered Whiteness. Further research extended this work, showing that equal status interracial contact in public housing related to more positive feelings and intergroup attitudes for both Blacks and Whites (Wilner, Walkley, & Cook, 1952; Works, 1961, as cited in Pettigrew & Tropp, 2006) and that contact can work to diminish prejudice in other areas beyond race and ethnicity (Pettigrew & Tropp, 2006). A necessary factor in reducing prejudice and increasing positive attitudes towards members of the other racial groups, according to Wilner et al., was that participants in this study were of relatively equal status.

Gordon Allport further formulated a contact hypothesis (which has developed now into what is called either social contact theory or intergroup contact theory) in his 1954 work, *The Nature of Prejudice*. Allport hypothesized that contact with people from another group which represents difference brings about a reduction of prejudice when conditions are positive. Allport held that reduced prejudice will result when four positive features of the contact situation are present: equal status between the groups in the situation; common goals; intergroup cooperation; and the support of authorities, law, or custom (Allport, 1954).

It is interesting to note that these four features are often optimally at play at undergraduate, residential colleges. For example, many colleges begin new student orientation with a conversation about diversity and identity in which members of different groups are presented as respected and important members of the larger student community in presentations, skits, and discussions with first-year students. In doing so, the college administration demonstrates that “our” campus culture recognizes and respects aspects of diversity and that we work together to understand ourselves and each other better on our way towards successful completion of our studies. An important aspect of this effort is to encourage students to think of themselves as peers from a variety of co-cultures, together comprising a diverse student body that recognizes and reflects a wide variety of experiences and backgrounds as equally valued on campus. Requiring or strongly encouraging students to live on campus, at least for their first year or two, reinforces these ideas—all students live together and interact in the same dining halls and residential areas, sharing co-curricular and extracurricular activities in a shared campus environment and co-creating a shared campus culture and identity.

Brown & Hewstone (2005) and Pettigrew (1998) have taken the contact hypothesis and advanced it into a developed theory, which they have tested in a meta-analysis of 515 individual studies, involving 250,089 individuals from 38 nations. Pettigrew and Tropp affirm the basic contention that intergroup contact typically diminishes intergroup prejudice in their meta-analytic test of intergroup contact theory (2006). The authors were careful in their meta-analysis not to confuse *opportunity* for contact (i.e., proximity in housing) with *actual* contact. Their findings demonstrated that intergroup contact generally relates negatively and significantly to prejudice, though psychologists would consider this effect size to be “small” to “medium” in magnitude (Cohen, 1988). However, given the large number of studies, the effect is highly statistically significant ($p < .0001$), and 94 percent of the studies show an inverse relationship between contact and prejudice (p. 757).

Pettigrew and Tropp contend that Allport’s conditions are not essential for intergroup contact to achieve positive outcomes; however, they act as facilitating conditions (p. 766). The Pettigrew and Tropp study included samples in which one or more of the Allport conditions did not hold true, but these samples still showed some reductions in prejudice through contact “with no claim to these key conditions” (p. 766). Thus, Pettigrew and Tropp contend that researchers should not assume that Allport’s conditions are necessary to reduce prejudice with contact, but may be facilitating conditions. Further, Pettigrew and Tropp have found that institutional support “may be an especially important condition for facilitating positive contact effects”— “samples with structured programs showed significantly stronger contact-prejudice effects than the remaining samples” (Pettigrew & Tropp, 2006, p. 766).

Pettigrew and Tropp's 1998 study addresses the issue of process: Just how does contact diminish prejudice? Pettigrew and Tropp tested the three most studied mediators: contact predicts lower levels of prejudice when (1) knowledge is enhanced about the "outgroup," (2) anxiety about intergroup contact is low, and (3) empathy and perspective taking occurs. Their meta-analytical tests reveal improved intergroup effects for all three of these mediators. However, the mediational value of increased knowledge appears less strong than anxiety reduction and empathy. These two factors (anxiety reduction and empathy) explained only about half of the contact-prejudice association (Pettigrew & Tropp, 1998, p. 922).

The assumption that exposure to, or immersion in, other cultural contexts creates intercultural competence in most study abroad participants does not hold up under examination. Victor Savicki's 2010 study demonstrates that social contact theory does not hold well in many study abroad programs, in part due to the amount of time in many programs that students spend with their peer cohort and with people at home or elsewhere abroad (electronically) instead of with peers from the host culture, and in part because contact may be fraught with negative situations and anxiety. As Savicki writes, "Just placing students in another culture to fend for themselves does not guarantee positive outcomes" (Savicki, 2010).

Savicki (2010) quotes Janet Bennett, in one of her five foundation principles of developing intercultural competence: "Cultural contact does not always lead to a significant reduction of stereotypes" (in Bennett, 2008, p.17). Proximity is a necessary but not sufficient condition for social contact, and intergroup proximity does not necessarily lead to meaningful contact (Pettigrew & Tropp, 2006). Cultural exposure is

not “magic”; there is no “alchemy somehow activated by the sheer fact of being abroad” (Engle & Engle, 2002, p. 26). Particularly important is the recognition that it is difficult to arrange the conditions that Allport (1954) says lead to reduction of prejudice; meanwhile, study abroad students are likely to experience stress and anxiety as a result of their clashes with their host culture’s “foreignness” (Ward, Bochner, & Furnham, 2001, as quoted in Savicki, 2010). Even when students are well-adjusted to host cultural practices, they are likely to revert to the cultural assumptions and communication patterns of their home culture when they are under stress (Hammer, 2005; Ting-Toomey and Oetzel, 2001).

Student Development Theory

Traditionally-aged postsecondary students (i.e., those aged 18-23) are well-positioned developmentally to navigate identity development on college campuses as undergraduates and to further their intercultural development. Indeed, building on Erickson’s theories of identity development (1959, 1980), student development theorists such as Chickering (1969), Kegan (1982, 1994), and Baxter-Magolda (1998, 2001, 2004, 2008) offer empirically guided models that tell us that identity development is essential in undergraduate college life. Chickering saw the “establishment of identity as the core developmental issue with which students grapple during their college years” (Evans et al., 2010, p. 65). Baxter-Magolda (2008) draws on Kegan’s work (1994) to define self-authorship as “the internal capacity to define one’s beliefs, identity, and social relations” (p. 269, as quoted in Evans et al., p. 183). During a student’s undergraduate years and throughout his or her twenties, according to Baxter-Magolda (2001, p. 15), these questions take precedence: “How do I know?” “Who am I?”, and “How do I want to

construct relationships with others?”— i.e., the cognitive, intrapersonal, and interpersonal realms of identity are questioned during this stage of student development. Baxter-Magolda (2001) says that the environments that are most effective in promoting self-authorship challenge dependence on authority. Three assumptions, addressing cognitive, intrapersonal, and interpersonal aspects of development guide her approach: First, knowledge is complex and socially constructed. Second, self is central to knowledge construction. Finally, authority and expertise are shared in the mutual construction of knowledge among peers (Baxter-Magolda, 2001). These student development theories are consistent with an assumption that working to establish and develop self-identity is important, even essential, for undergraduate students.

William Perry’s Model of Intellectual Development (1968, 1970) offers a developmental model that in many ways mirrors the IDC: Dualism, Multiplicity, Relativism, and Commitment in Relativism are stages similar to Polarization, Minimization, Acceptance, and Adaptation. In Dualism, people recognize that other perspectives exist but judge perspectives different from one’s own as bad or inferior, similar to Polarization. In Multiplicity, there is a recognition that ambiguity exists and solutions may vary, but when overwhelming leads people to oversimplify, parrot back solutions provided, or give up, concluding that all solutions are equally valid, similar to the oversimplification in Minimization. In Relativism, people recognize that there are multiple solutions, ambiguity is normal, context matters, and choices are personal, similar to a greater understanding of cultural differences in Acceptance. In Commitment to Relativism, people integrate knowledge and learning with their own experiences, as with Constructivism, and make a commitment to values important to them, recognizing

learning as an ongoing activity, similar to the process of gaining understanding of oneself and others that is necessary for Adaptation. So while students are fostering self-identity and potentially developing increased intercultural competence, they may also be working through a parallel process in their intellectual development, concurrently.

These student development theories lend additional credence to the idea that college is a developmentally appropriate period of a person's life to foster increased intercultural competence. Hess and Winston (1995) caution, however, that students tend to attend collegiate programs that address their more developed skills and avoid the programs that address their less developed skills. On the other hand, several colleges have found success with first-year experience programs that "shape first-year experiences in educationally purposeful ways" (Kuh et al., 2010). "Formal programs that support students from groups historically underserved in higher education and affirm institutional commitment to diversity are powerful tools to bring students successfully into the institution" (Kuh et al., 2010, p. 116). First-year experience programs can serve to acknowledge and affirm diverse styles of learning and help students connect with their peers and the institution (Kuh et al., 2010). Indeed, Kuh suggests that exposure to diversity through co-curricular programming is one of the most important tasks of a university or college.

Baxter-Magolda (1999) first outlined the concept of "self-authorship" of students. This process is one in which students integrate experiences in their lives, but begin to define their own identity through values exploration, decisions, self-reflection, etc. Pizzolato (2003) asserts that some students reach self-authorship prior to beginning college "as a result of experiencing challenging situations early in life that required them

to make decisions and take action on their own,” such as negotiating college admissions as first-generation college students (as quoted in Evans et al., 2010, p. 188.) As these students join a college environment made up of students unlike themselves, they may find their self-authorship challenged, which can lead to anxiety and dissonance. College programs that provide the right blend of challenge and support may help these students return to the self-authored perspective (Evans et al., 2010). These findings of student development research indicate that undergraduate life is a developmentally appropriate time for colleges to intervene with guided reflection to foster intercultural learning.

Empirical Research on Intercultural Competence Development

Despite focused efforts on developing intercultural competence, Hammer (2012) and Lou and Bosley (2012) found that students taking part in an undergraduate program of study make very little progress on the intercultural development continuum (Hammer, 2012, Lou & Bosley, 2012; Weber-Bosley, 2016). Research indicates that although U.S. colleges have sought to internationalize or globalize the college curriculum, and although U.S. students and international students are living in proximity to each other in college dormitory settings, as well as participating in college extracurricular opportunities together, nevertheless their scores on the Intercultural Development Inventory (IDI), an instrument that measures movement on the intercultural development continuum, do not rise significantly (Hammer, 2012). A growing body of intercultural research, using the IDI, shows that “students’ intercultural competence does not significantly develop as a result of their on-campus, presumably ‘global’ education” (Hammer, 2012, Lou & Bosley, 2012; Weber-Bosley, 2016).

One strategy long assumed to ameliorate the lack of intercultural development is

study abroad. Recent studies indicate that both international undergraduates and U.S. domestic undergraduates start their study abroad experiences at approximately the same developmental point: For example, Lou and Bosley at Willamette University and Bellarmine University found that for their U.S. undergraduate students, the average IDI score before study abroad was 92.31 (n=298) (Lou & Bosley, 2012, Weber-Bosley, 2016). The average for Bellarmine and Willamette international undergraduate students at the start of their sojourn in the U.S. was 92.08, just slightly lower (n=106) (Lou & Bosley, 2012, Weber-Bosley, 2016).

As Lou and Bosley (2012) discuss, these initial orientation starting points on the IDI seem counterintuitive. The authors expected international students—and European students in particular, who made up 76 percent of their international student sample—to have had more opportunities for immersion in other cultures when compared with U.S. students, given the proximity and geographic size of their neighboring nations. Lou and Bosley then posited that the IDI results support the assertion that “greater exposure to difference alone does not necessarily translate into greater intercultural development” (p. 342). Both U.S. domestic and international students in the Lou and Bosley study began their study abroad ventures—international students studying abroad in the U.S.— by scoring in the low Minimization range on the IDI on average (Lou & Bosley, 2012, p. 343), a stage that reflects a tendency to highlight commonalities across cultural groups (Hammer, 2011).

To better understand the magnitude of study abroad’s impact on student movement along the Intercultural Development Continuum, authors of the Georgetown Consortium Study showed an average gain through study abroad of just 1.32 points on a

90-point scale with a standard deviation of 15 points among participants in 61 study abroad programs (Paige & Vande Berg, 2012). International students without a guided intervention actually *lost* ground in intercultural competence after one semester abroad in the U.S. (−1.91 points, n=30) and gained an average of only 1.2 points after a full year (n=12) (Lou & Bosley, 2012).

In fact, students in direct enrollment situations in host university courses—those most “immersed” in regular university courses, housing, and student life with minimal intervention from a study abroad provider or equivalent—fare the worst in their intercultural competence development, with an average of 0.71 points on the IDI scale among U.S. students abroad in the Georgetown Consortium study (Paige & Vande Berg, 2012, p. 37). Students who stayed at home without the study abroad experience did not score better—the non-study-abroad students gained an average of 0.07 points in the Georgetown Consortium study (Paige & Vande Berg, 2012). In summary, a growing body of intercultural research, using the IDI, shows that “students’ intercultural competence does not significantly develop naturally, without intervention, as a result of study abroad (Lou & Bosley, 2012; Hammer, 2012; Vande Berg, Connor, Linton, & Paige, 2009; Vande Berg & Paige, 2009, Weber-Bosley, 2016). Mentorship, structured programs, and guided reflection have similarly long been found to be important in social contact theory (Pettigrew and Tropp, 2006) and student development theories: “Mentoring is firmly grounded in developmental and modeling theories and offers potential for institutions of higher education seeking ways to maximize student development” (Thomas, Murrell, & Chickering, 1982).

Findings in Cultural Intelligence and Undergraduate Students

A newer area of research involves using the Cultural Intelligence Scale to measure the construct of cultural intelligence (CQ) in undergraduate students. Cultural intelligence is defined by Ang, Van Dyne, Koh et al. as “an individual’s ability to understand, act and manage effectively in culturally diverse settings” (2007, p. 337). Ang et al. (2008) found motivational and behavioral cultural intelligence (CQ) factors significantly predicted cultural adjustment among 235 undergraduate students in the U.S. and 358 undergraduate students in Singapore.

Lin et al. (2012, p. 541) found that “CQ had a positive effect on cross-cultural adjustment after controlling for gender, age, previous overseas experiences, English ability, and host-country language ability” among 295 international students studying Chinese in Taiwan. In 2014, Engle and Crowne found that when a short-term service abroad program was designed to meet the conditions of Allport’s hypothesis, students in the test group had significant increases in all four of the CQ factors: cognitive, motivational, behavioral and metacognitive intelligence. A study of undergraduate and graduate students in Iran (Khodadady & Ghahari, 2011) showed that students coming from underprivileged cities had significantly higher total cultural intelligence as well as higher CQs in all four subareas of the assessment, and female students had higher metacognitive CQ than male students. Graduate participants showed significantly higher cognitive and behavioral CQs. Counterintuitively, participants who had not traveled abroad had higher total CQ than those who had traveled abroad, including in all four areas—possibly this finding may be due to regression, as sometimes is seen with the IDI during or after study abroad, when a person’s IDI score may move from Minimization to

Polarization, as cultural differences become more clear and overwhelming. Or, because CQ is self-reported, perhaps participants who have traveled abroad have more realistic or modest self-ratings. In general, the majority of studies using Cultural Intelligence (CQ) have been done with graduate students and professionals in business contexts, rather than with undergraduates. A promising area for future study and application would be to use both Cultural Intelligence, questions for which demonstrate social desirability, with the IDI, which has little to no social desirability bias (Paige et al., 2003) to increase more complex understanding through triangulation.

Intercultural Development Interventions for Students

This section will focus on intercultural development interventions in education abroad (the focus of much of the existing research) and on home campuses. As Jane Knight proposes in her 2004 internationalization remodeled article, internationalization occurs in two locales for students—in education abroad and on the home campus (“Internationalization at Home”). In “Updating the Definition of Internationalization” (2015), Knight discusses the term intercultural as “relating to the diversity of cultures that exist within countries, communities, and institutions” (p. 2), acknowledging that these encounters take place at home and abroad. Various scholars including Bathurst and La Brack (2012), Bosley and Lou (2012), Engle and Engle (2012), Paige and Vande Berg (2012), Vande Berg, Connon-Linton, & Paige (2009), and Vande Berg & Paige (2009), show that intercultural development can be accelerated in undergraduate students through deliberate study abroad design for intercultural development, using cultural mentoring, discussed in more detail below.

Study Abroad Program Design for Intercultural Development—Cultural Mentoring

The Georgetown Consortium study cited above (Vande Berg, Connor-Linton, & Paige, 2009), a multiyear study of 61 study abroad programs for U.S. students, demonstrates empirically that U.S. students benefit in their intercultural learning when reflection on their experience is facilitated by instructors or mentors (Vande Berg & Paige, 2009). The relatively small intercultural development gains by students who study abroad, which came to light in the Georgetown Consortium study, led Vande Berg and Paige to author a chapter entitled “Why Students Are and Are Not Learning Abroad” (Paige & Vande Berg, 2012), which argued that the immersion hypothesis doesn’t hold up without cultural mentoring.

Challenging the “traditional learning paradigm,” held by many faculty members and study abroad advisors, which assumed that more immersion of longer duration was the most effective way to make intercultural gains, Vande Berg, Connor-Linton, and Paige (2009) critiqued educators who assumed that if students spent enough time immersed in another cultural environment, its duration alone would provide sufficient cultural contact, which would naturally lead to intercultural competence. This core assumption meant that study abroad programs were believed to be most effective in providing cultural learning when they were most immersive, such as when students directly enroll at a local, host university or participate in a homestay, and when they lasted the longest (Vande Berg & Paige, 2009). In time, the assumption went, students would learn culture-specific information about their host culture and the local language. The authors then cited Bruce La Brack, a scholar at the University of the Pacific and early skeptic of the traditional learning paradigm, challenging the assumptions “that

students learn effectively when left to their own devices” (Vande Berg & Paige, 2009, p. 423). As an intervention, Vande Berg and Paige then implemented an intercultural training regimen to improve student learning via pre-departure, in-country, and reentry stages of the study abroad experience, one which La Brack calls “a continuum of experiential learning” (2003, p. 245).

La Brack’s work stands as one of the earliest examples of targeted intervention to enhance student learning. In 2003, La Brack and his colleagues at the University of the Pacific published an online course, “*What’s Up with Culture?*” with the financial support of the U.S. Department of Education. The course is available now at no cost to any individual student or college/university program interested in using it (La Brack, 2003). *What’s Up with Culture* has online modules for students to use pre-study abroad and before/during reentry to their home cultural context. The modules include a discussion of culture, understanding one’s own cultural values, cultural dimensions, culture shock, and intercultural communication. Further, The University of the Pacific requires all School for International Studies students to enroll in pre-departure and reentry classes, Cross-Cultural Training (CCT) I and II. Students completing both courses prior to and immediately after their study abroad show an average IDI score gain of 19.78 points (Bathurst & La Brack, 2012). Bathurst and La Brack call this program “a carefully guided, interventionist approach,” and, “to the best of our knowledge... the oldest continuous, conceptually linked, credit-bearing courses of this type in the United States” (Bathurst & La Brack, 2012, p. 261).

Milton Bennett and Janet Bennett began an intercultural training program in 1977 that prepared high school teachers before they took high school students abroad. Through

this train-the-trainers program, Bennett and Bennett began formulating some of the theoretical constructs of the Development Model of Intercultural Sensitivity, discussed in Chapter One. The Bennett and Bennett training model assumed, like La Brack's work, that individuals need "some form of education, training, and mentoring to become interculturally competent" (Vande Berg & Paige, 2009, p. 423). Bennett and Bennett created a year-long training program designed to train teachers to foster group cohesion and mutual responsibility for learning with their students, to facilitate the students' intercultural experiences, and to promote cultural learning. The program was designed to address the concerns that the students were not taking advantage of culture-specific learning abroad and that many of the students were misbehaving while abroad to an unacceptable degree (Vande Berg & Paige, 2009). Teachers attended three weekend courses focusing on teaching and learning area studies content, training in leadership and group dynamics, and in facilitating intercultural learning of the students. Prior to departure, teachers led a pre-departure orientation using the knowledge they had gained in the weekend seminars. Formal assessment of the Bennetts' training of trainers program using the IDI was not possible, since the IDI hadn't yet been developed, but their work helped to inform the DMIS, which is the theoretical underpinning of the IDI. Milton Bennett later wrote in his 1993 chapter "Towards Ethnorelativism: The Developmental Model of Intercultural Sensitivity" that intercultural sensitivity is not natural: "Education and training in intercultural communication is an approach to changing our natural behavior" (M. Bennett, 1993, p. 21).

Another intervention, launched by Lili and John Engle at the American University Center of Provence (AUCP) in 1994, continues today. Engle and Engle found that

students “just weren’t seeing culture,” so they introduced a French Cultural Patterns class to examine behavioral, cognitive, and affective dimensions of intercultural learning (Vande Berg & Paige, 2009). Vande Berg, Connor-Linton, and Paige call the Engle and Engle’s intervention with the AUCP program a “reverse engineered educational experience” (2009, p. 71). Engle and Engle identified the program’s learning goals and then developed the course with related activities to move students toward those goals. The authors report that the IDI scores of the 366 students who studied in cohorts at the AUCP over seven years/14 semesters showed, on average, an improvement of 11.97 points. Women averaged a 12.55 gain while men averaged an 11.85 point gain on the IDI (Vande Berg, Connor-Linton, & Paige, 2009).

At Bellarmine and Willamette Universities, Lou and Bosley (2008) have developed an online intercultural training writing course in which students both abroad and on the home campuses interact with their peers around the world to reflect on intercultural topics. Lou and Bosley use peer mentoring to pair students whose IDI scores in the beginning of the course fall at adjacent stages, e.g., one in low Minimization with one in high Defense, one in low Acceptance with one in high Minimization, and so on (Vande Berg & Paige, 2009). Lou and Bosley’s Intentional Targeted Invention (ITI) at Bellarmine and Willamette shows how bringing together international students and U.S. study abroad students in partnership can be successful via online education (Lou & Bosley, 2012). According to Lou and Bosley (2012), 80 percent of undergraduate students on their programs never leave the Minimization stage of the DMIS in one semester abroad without intervention. Lou and Bosley report improvements in IDI scores

ranging from 9.4 points to 10.27 points over the course of a semester, when engaged in this course (Vande Berg, Connor-Linton, & Paige, 2009).

The Maximizing Study Abroad course (Paige, Cohen, and colleagues, 1999 to present) and the CIEE Seminar on Living and Learning (2006 to present), both offer theory-driven curricula in intercultural learning with empirical testing, using the IDI to measure intercultural learning (Vande Berg & Paige, 2009). The CIEE Seminar on Living and Learning course asked students to reflect and articulate what they have learned “in ways that home school faculty, family and future employers will understand and value” (Vande Berg & Paige, 2009, p. 433).

Courses draw on Deardorff’s 2008 intercultural competence model, Bennett’s 1993 DMIS, and Kolb and Hay’s 1984 learning styles inventory (Vande Berg & Paige, 2009). Both courses have demonstrated effectiveness in supporting students’ intercultural competence development, according to the students’ improved scores on the IDI. Whereas the Maximizing Study Abroad (MAXSA) program (Cohen, Paige, Shively, Emert, & Hoff, 2005) at first showed no statistical difference between the intervention group and the control group, the program design and studies done with MAXSA contributed to the findings that students require guided intervention to make progress in their intercultural development. When this cultural mentoring was fostered in CIEE’s Seminar on Living and Learning Abroad, data drawn from 13 seminars showed an average of 9.0 points gained on the IDI among student participants in spring 2011 (Paige & Vande Berg, 2012).

All of the above interventions are intended to facilitate intercultural reflection in students in study abroad programs. Engle and Engle (2003), for example, note that study

abroad should “present participants with a challenge—the emotional and intellectual challenge of direct, authentic cultural encounters and guided reflection on those encounters” (2003, p. 6-7). Further, Deardorff, Paige, and Vande Berg (2008) write, “students should be assisted in the reflection and processing of cultural clashes in values, assumptions, and expectations. Programs must provide both challenge and support” (as quoted in Savicki, 2010). As reflected in Engle and Engle’s AUCP model, student intercultural learning may depend in part on the frequency with which resident faculty or staff provide “guided reflection on student experience” (Engle & Engle, 2003, p. 8, as quoted in Vande Berg, Connor-Linton, & Paige, 2009).

Intercultural competence development is a lifelong endeavor. At the same time, evidence suggests that little progress can be made in a semester or year of study abroad unless significant support systems are in place. The seven intervention studies of college students abroad that are discussed in Paige, Vande Berg, and Lou’s *Student Learning Abroad* provide examples of programs that offer such support: the MAXSA research program; The Georgetown Consortium Project; The American University Center of Provence; The Willamette University-Bellarmino University Intentional, Targeted Invention; University of Minnesota-Duluth; University of the Pacific, and CIEE’s Seminar on Living and Learning Abroad.

Several themes connect the programs. Paige, Vande Berg, and Lou’s conclusions identify seven overarching recommendations. First, program authors note that there should be cultural content: Knowledge of the self and others in a cultural context, including content to discuss cultural values, intercultural competence development, and culture-specific and culture-general concepts. Second, they recommend cultural

mentoring, in which a person familiar with intercultural theory and training guides the students in helping them reflect upon and frame their intercultural experiences, providing feedback, and helping them to understand the cultural bumps they encounter during their intercultural encounters. Third, program evaluations identify that students need ongoing opportunities for reflection on the intercultural experience. Fourth, they suggest that students should be involved in ongoing and sustained cultural engagement. Fifth, program designers suggest that intercultural learning should be part of each stage of the study abroad cycle (before, during, after). Sixth, the Willamette and MAXSA programs demonstrated that while online interventions show some impact, having a mentor present with the students during their experiences and encouraging reflection shows greater effect. Seventh, intercultural reflections should be “woven into the fabric of the larger educational experience” (Vande Berg, Paige, & Lou, 2012, p. 55). This ongoing mentoring and engagement must be over a significant period of time (Bathurst & La Brack, 2012; Bosley & Lou, 2012; Cohen et al., 2005; Engle & Engle, 2012; Paige, Cohen, & Shively, 2004; Peterson, 2010; Vande Berg, 2009; Vande Berg, Connor-Linton, & Paige, 2009; Vande Berg and Paige, 2009).

The previous paragraphs discussed intercultural interventions designed as an aspect of education abroad. Each education abroad provider designed intervention as an aspect of the program in order to further student participants’ cultural awareness and intercultural competence, and research demonstrates that such interventions do advance study abroad students’ intercultural development; without intervention there are often no intercultural development gains. Another possibility for guided intervention is on the

home campus, using Internationalization at Home (IaH) strategies as discussed in the next section.

Internationalization at Home

Internationalization at Home (IaH) is a movement that originated with an article by Bengt Nilsson (Malmö University, Sweden) in the spring 1999 issue of *EAIE Forum*, a journal of the European Association for International Education, at a time when—despite more than ten years of ERASMUS (European Community Action Scheme for the Mobility of University Students)—no more than 10 percent of European students were going abroad to study at foreign universities in the course of their undergraduate degree programs.

Nilsson asked how universities might give the remaining non-mobile 90 percent of students “a better understanding of people from different countries and cultures, increase their knowledge of and respect for other human beings and their way of living and to create the global society in a multicultural context” and suggested intercultural education as a mainstream subject in all educational programs in Europe as a solution (Crowther et al., 2000, p. 1). The well-received article resulted initially in 80 people from 50 institutions in Europe coming together to form a working group to discuss Internationalization at Home (IaH) (Crowther et al., 2000). IaH has been adopted by some North American institutions of higher education as well, with an equivalent non-mobile majority of students in mind. In the U.S., only about 11 percent of undergraduate students study abroad (Open Doors, 2020).

IaH is composed of the following characteristics, according to Beelen and Leask, 2011:

1. IaH is aimed at all students.
2. IaH is a “set of instruments and activities ‘at home’ that focus on developing international and intercultural competences in all students” (p. 10).
3. IaH is based on the assumption that the majority of students will not engage in academic co-curricular travel or study abroad, though they may travel for personal reasons (de Wit, p. 10–11).

The term “Internationalization at Home” has been developed to “bring attention to those aspects of internationalization which would happen on a home campus, namely, the intercultural and international dimension in the teaching and learning process, the extracurricular activities, and the relationships with local cultural and ethnic community groups” (Wächter, 2003, p. 6, as quoted in Knight, 2004). More recently, IaH has been described as a “new paradigm in the discourse on strategic institutional policy development of the internationalization of higher education, with a strong emphasis on intercultural learning and teaching for all students, abroad and at home” (Teekens, 2007, p. 3).

A more recent chapter by Beelen and Jones (2015), defines Internationalization at Home as “the purposeful integration of international and intercultural dimensions into the formal and informal curriculum for all students within domestic learning environments” (p. 69). Internationalization at Home comprises activities that help students develop international understanding and intercultural skills (Knight, 2006, as quoted in Beelen & Jones, 2015). Activities may extend beyond the home campus into the local community through service-based learning projects and courses, community service, or joint programs with local cultural, ethnic, or religious groups (Beelen & Jones, 2015). Other

means suggested include “using a tandem learning system or other means to engage domestic students with international students, or exploiting diversity within the classroom” (Beelen & Jones, 2015, p. 69). Beelen and Jones stress the importance of the “articulation and assessment of internationalized learning outcomes within the specific context of a discipline which will allow such environments to be used as a means of achieving meaningful international and intercultural learning” (p. 69).

Some recent studies investigate Internationalization at Home and intercultural competence development. Soria and Troisi’s (2013) study of students’ self-reported global, international, and intercultural competencies found that students report greater gains in these competencies through “global/international coursework, interactions with international students, and participation in global/international co-curricular activities,” (p. 261), but limited their co-curricular investigation to high-impact practices abroad (study abroad) and local interactions with international students, not asking about high-impact intercultural experiences at home. Agnew and Khan (2014) suggest backward course design for global learning to further Internationalization at Home and intercultural, international, and global learning. Suematsu (2018) recommends “intercultural co-learning collaborative classes designed to promote meaningful interactions between international and domestic students” as having “great potential to develop students’ intercultural competence” at home (p. 1). Mudiamu (2020) studied collaborative online international learning (COIL) with her dissertation and wondered “whether COIL can be a high-impact practice within Internationalization at Home” (p. 12).

Wickline, Wiese, & Aggarwal (2021) created “The Crossing Borders program, a course-based, experiential learning approach that intentionally pairs international and

domestic students for a series of shared cultural experiences and dialogues” (p. 1). Then they studied 207 students to investigate whether their intercultural competence scores changed over the course of an academic semester with the program, using the Global Perspectives Inventory as their assessment tool. All of these studies investigated curricular changes related to course internationalization. Agnew and Khan (2014), Suematsu (2018), and Mudiamu (2020) speculated about intercultural development using curricular practices for Internationalization at Home but did not use an assessment tool. Soria and Troisi (2013) and Wickline, Wiese, & Aggarwal (2021) did assess intercultural learning related to internationalization of the curriculum and/or study abroad, but not high-impact practices at home. A gap in the literature seems to exist here at the intersection of high-impact practices and Internationalization at Home.

Internationalization at Home and other campus-based programs rely on theories of constructivism, which were originally developed by educator John Dewey (1859–1952). Dewey wrote that education must engage with and expand experience. Dewey believed that educational methods must provide for exploration, thinking, and reflection, and that interaction with the environment is necessary for learning. Humans are “observers, participants, and agents who actively generate and transform the patterns through which they construct the realities that fit them” (Dewey, as reported in Smith, 1997).

A variety of studies based on Dewey’s theories indicate that students do not learn just by having a series of experiences but by reflecting on the experiences that happen to them and constructing knowledge from these events. Both experience in context and the process of reflection matter, which is of considerable importance for intercultural learning. Dewey’s framing serves to explain why students make the greatest gains in their

intercultural development when they are mentored or guided by a faculty or staff member with intercultural expertise who helps the students reflect on cultural differences and their understanding of their own culture and other cultures.

This study aligns with constructivist theories and seeks to identify which experiences or influences College Nine affiliated seniors will indicate are most explanatory of their intercultural competence. Some of these students have experienced both Internationalization at Home and education abroad-related interventions while UCSC students. Empirical data in my study will demonstrate a connection to current literature on interventions of practice.

Leadership for Internationalization and Guiding Student Experiences

The development of student intercultural competence, like many internationalization initiatives, requires organizational leaders committed to its success. Knight (2015), for example, proposes that senior level commitment and infrastructure is needed in order for institutions to internationalize. The effectiveness of intercultural development efforts on campus depends on committed leadership.

Leadership models in higher education are often disputed. Sternberg (2004) offers a WICS (“wisdom, intelligence and creativity, synthesized”) Model of Organizational Leadership, which says that creative leaders operate in one of three modes: They accept current paradigms but find ways to extend them, they reject the current paradigms and try to replace them, or they integrate current paradigms to create a new one.

As Kezar writes in her book *Understanding and Facilitating Organizational Change in the 21st Century* (2001), change in higher education is often political. Several of Kezar’s competing theories of change are illustrative for the discussion of the college’s

move toward increased diversity. The teleological model says that leaders and other change agents may see the necessity for change and that internal decisions motivate change, which happens under the guidance of those leaders. In contrast, the dialectical model suggests that second-order (revolutionary) change occurs when conflicting forces are at an impasse and then there is rapid change in response to this tension. If we would like our institutions to fall into the former camp, significant strategic resources must be put in place to transition our colleges to institutions that reflect diverse realities, experiences, and perspectives.

University leaders—including college provosts and presidents—who seek increased intercultural competence development for their college graduates must lead by changing the paradigm. Study abroad is not limited to being an extension of the academic content learning that is available on the home campus; its primary goal does not have to be the same academic content that could be acquired on the home campus. A primary goal of education abroad or at home can be intercultural competence development. One of the goals of this study is to identify the nuances of studying and living on the home campus in relation to intercultural development.

Because most internationalization efforts are decentralized in U.S. higher education institutions, senior staff leaders guide the work of operational faculty and staff. As Mestenhauser writes in his systems perspective article (2002), positive achievements in international education are usually the result of individual practitioners or scholars. “To institutionalize this complex field and move it to the next level would require combining knowledge about and insight into international education as a whole” (2002, p. 167). Mestenhauser proposes that barriers to internationalizing include “conceptual

confusion about what international education is, administrative fragmentation, difficulties in thinking in interdisciplinary and intercultural terms, academic ethnocentrism, and conservatism” (p. 168). Mestenhauser offers this equation of international education (2002, p. 168):

disciplinary knowledge + interdisciplinary knowledge + knowledge of one’s own culture + knowledge of other culture(s) and language(s) + knowledge about knowledge and its acquisition + the integration of all of the above

In Mestenhauser’s view, international education professionals—including international student and scholar advisors, study abroad advisors, international admissions officers, teachers of English as a second language, and the like—know more about international education and its component parts than anyone else; yet they are given low status because others don’t understand the complexity and interdisciplinarity of their work in a complex system (Mestenhauser, 2002).

Mestenhauser and Ellingboe (2005) explain that educational institutions are highly structured vertically along some seven levels of organizational complexity. To institutionalize international education, international education professionals will need to become familiar with each of these levels, each with its own internal logic. However, the complexity of the college or university functions at a level that is higher than where most international education professionals are located in the hierarchy. “They are the only people who understand the complexity of international education; but if our assumption is accurate, they do not have the opportunity to represent their case” (p. 40). In contrast, as Mestenhauser and Ellingboe write, top-level administrators may function at high levels of complexity domestically, but they typically operate at much lower levels internationally and cross-culturally. In other words, intercultural competence development facilitation

and its importance is not usually within their expertise. Mestenhauser and Paige write that internationalization is a “multidimensional learning process that includes the integrative, intercultural, interdisciplinary, and comparative construction and transfer of knowledge-technology, contextual, and global dimensions of knowledge construction” (Mestenhauser & Paige, 1999, p. 504). Requiring someone to understand this complex system in addition to their own academic content knowledge and having effective leadership skills to move the institution is a tall order.

For this reason, Knight (2015) argues that it is important for the president, provost, and other well-positioned agents of change to communicate the college’s vision to prioritize these changes and to establish a new culture to support the changing demographics of the college. As the president, provost, and their allies work to diversify the college, it is important for them to communicate a principled bargaining based on shared interests, guiding standards of fairness, and creating value for all parties—i.e., they will need to explain why the college should change and how it is an economic and ethical imperative in an increasingly diverse nation and world to guide our students in intercultural competence development. Because the primary mission of the college is education, it is important that leaders express the academic benefits of a diverse student body (Bowen & Bok, 1998; Bok, 2007) and the importance of intercultural and cross-cultural competencies (Association of American Colleges and Universities report, 2007).

A strategic plan that includes specific goals for internationalization, intercultural competence development, and a more diverse faculty, staff, and student body will be important in evaluating and measuring the successes of the college’s progress. The

complexity of the field demands a systems approach. Some indicators of an intercultural learning environment are:

- intercultural and international learning take place; internationally oriented knowledge is shared, and interactions take place;
- intercultural awareness, sensitivity, and inclusivity thrive;
- multiple components of an internationalized campus are found; and
- a positive campus ethos for internationalization exists and “outsiders” are welcomed as “insiders” (Ellingboe, 1999).

Transformational Leadership theory suggests a process that takes an organization through a major change, using the leader’s vision and charisma, long-term goals, ethics, high standards, emotions, values, and motivation of others (Northouse, 2010; Mestenhauser & Ellingboe, 2005). Transformational leadership is often identified as useful for leaders of internationalization and applicable to an international education context, but it can be criticized because in this theory, as in trait theory, much rests on the charisma of the leader.

In contrast, a potentially more effective model for change, which was developed through grounded theory via interviews with leaders, is that of exemplary leadership (Kouzes and Posner 1987, 2002, 2012). Kouzes and Posner asked leaders, “What do you do as a leader when you’re performing at your personal best?” From the answers generated by some 75,000 written responses, Kouzes and Posner developed their five fundamental practices of exemplary leadership, available to anyone, whether or not they are charismatic: model the way; inspire a shared vision; challenge the process; enable others to act; and encourage the heart. These five practices are available to all leaders and

do not require special traits or abilities. Campus leaders who seek to integrate an “international, intercultural, or global dimension into the purpose, functions or delivery of postsecondary education” (Knight, 2015, p. 2) could employ Kouzes and Posner’s strategies of exemplary leadership, which successful leaders have said are most effective. For internationalization efforts to be successful, leaders must gather faculty support for internationalizing the curriculum, student affairs and student services staff support for furthering their own cultural learning and intercultural sensitivity, and international education and diversity office support for fostering intercultural development. Such leadership may be directly or indirectly experienced by students as they develop intercultural capabilities. At minimum, leadership choices help to determine which types of programs and staff are funded, potentially influencing students experiences in intercultural spaces with guided support through staff or faculty mentorship.

In the preceding section, we have examined internationalization, student development, intercultural development, and intervention literature abroad and at home. The literature tells us that guided intervention by faculty or trained facilitators with intercultural expertise is important to the process of student intercultural development. The study at UCSC will help to identify the extent to which existing curriculum and co-curricular aspects of College Nine are viewed as instrumental in intercultural development by UCSC College Nine affiliated seniors.

Conclusion

In this literature review chapter, I have examined internationalization, intercultural competence and its development, student development theory, the importance of cultural mentoring, the design of study abroad programs for intercultural

competence development, Internationalization at Home, and leadership as it relates to intercultural competence development on a college campus. The literature reported above outlines the current state of knowledge on intercultural development of university students. In the next chapter, the study design including methods, subjects, instruments, procedure, and related subjects will be discussed.

Chapter 3: Methods

Overview

The purpose of this study was to identify the influences that senior undergraduate students at the University of California, Santa Cruz perceive to be most important to their intercultural development. The study was of the lived experiences of the intercultural development of senior undergraduate students at the University of California, Santa Cruz. The study was intended to contextualize theories of intercultural development and to identify potential program offerings to support such development.

Using the methods for a sequential mixed-method explanatory study (Creswell & Creswell, 2018; Ivankova et al., 2006), I examined recorded conversations with students, selected through their IDI scores, that explored how students make sense of their own intercultural development. The phenomenon I have studied is that of students' understandings of intercultural development, among students who score relatively high on a metric of intercultural competence development. I anticipated that the study may shed light on how students develop an understanding of intercultural development, alongside the content knowledge explicitly taught in their coursework (language skills, critical race theory, international development, economics, political science, etc.).

Through the use of quantitative methods to identify students who score high on quantitative instruments of intercultural competence, I later employed qualitative methods to explore the students' understanding of their intercultural competence and the process of its development in their own voices. Creswell describes qualitative research as “an approach for exploring and understanding the meaning individuals or groups ascribe

to a social or human problem,” an approach to research that “honors an inductive style, a focus on individual meaning, and the importance of reporting the complexity of the situation” (Creswell & Creswell, 2018, p. 4). Examining the students’ experiences through their own perspectives and their reckoning of which (if any) curricular, programmatic, mobility, proximity, biographic, or other experiences make a difference could aid my division in designing further opportunities that will assist students in moving forward on the continuum of intercultural competence development. This study also has implications for informing policy and practice at other institutions of higher education. The data that emerged from the qualitative study were descriptive and “focused on the participants’ perceptions and experiences, and the way they make sense of their lives” (Fraenkel & Wallen, 1990; Locke et al., 1987; Merriam, 1988, in Creswell & Creswell, 2018, p. 204).

Setting and Participants

The research took place at the University of California, Santa Cruz, a mid-sized research-based institution founded in 1965 as part of the University of California. UCSC had 19,842 students in its Fall 2021 snapshot, just under 17,207 of whom are undergraduates (UCSC 3rd Week Enrollments, Fall 2021). Santa Cruz has a population of about 65,000 people and is both historically a unique small beach town and has more recently become a bedroom community for people who work in Silicon Valley and the larger Bay Area. It is located about 35 miles (45 minutes) southwest of Silicon Valley.

The University of California, Santa Cruz, is ranked 103rd in *U.S. News and World Report*’s ranking of national universities, 71st in best undergraduate teaching, 46th in top public schools, and 12th in top performers in social mobility in 2022 (U.S. News, 2022).

Although a comprehensive research university, 100 percent of first-year students live on campus in one of ten themed and residential colleges, many living in that residential college for all four years. In the QS World University Rankings 2018, UCSC was ranked third in research influence, tied with Stanford University—perhaps in large part because UCSC was the first university in the world to share a draft of the human genome in 2000. UCSC has consistently ranked well in the categories of Top Public Schools, Top Schools for Social Mobility, Best Undergraduate Teaching, Most Innovative Schools, and Best Value Schools (U.S. News, n.d.).

The University of California, Santa Cruz, has had a significant increase in the diversity of students over the last decade. In 2011, the student population (undergraduate and graduate) was 42.7% White, 0.4% Pacific Islander, 23.1% Hispanic/Latino, 23.5% Asian, 1.2% American Indian/Alaskan Native, 2.9% African American/Black, 0.4% International, and 5.8% unknown. In 2020, those percentages have become 30% White, 0.3% Pacific Islander, 26.1% Hispanic/Chicanx/Latinx, 28.8% Asian, 0.7% American Indian/Alaskan Native, 4.6% African American/Black, 7.6% International, and 1.8% unknown (IRAPS, 2020). Thirty-one percent (31%) of undergraduates are from underrepresented U.S. racial and ethnic groups, 55% are from U.S. minoritized racial or ethnic groups, 35% are the first in their family to attend a four-year university, and 72.42% of students are of traditional college age (18-21) (UC Santa Cruz by the numbers, 2020). International students at UCSC are from 70 different countries (Fall Enrollment at a Glance, 2020). In 2012, UC Santa Cruz reached the federal designation as a Hispanic-Serving Institution, having achieved the threshold of greater than 25 percent of its undergraduate population as Hispanic or Latinx. UC Santa Cruz holds the distinction of

being one of only two members of the American Association of Universities (AAU) designated both as an Hispanic Serving Institution (HSI) and an Asian American Native American Pacific Islander Serving Institution (AANAPISI) (UC Office of the President, 2022).

In contrast with these indicators of diversity, there is limited understanding of students from non-dominant, non-traditional (for the institution) cultural backgrounds. There is little in the way of a path for students to develop intercultural learning skills or for staff to develop intercultural competence. Most offices and faculty members have not been encouraged to make any significant changes to accommodate diverse student needs. A critical summary of the college's intercultural offerings would highlight that UCSC is teaching specific academic content and associated theory, but not focusing on intercultural development theory or applying intercultural sensitivity in working with students, faculty, staff, parents, or other community members of the college.

Despite these shortcomings, students affiliated with College Nine and its theme, International and Global Perspectives, may be particularly well-suited to make connections between their core class (titled International and Global Issues), personal experiences and international/global interests, and their intercultural development, or to explain where college efforts have fallen short in supporting their intercultural development. According to the College Nine website, the College Nine theme, International and Global Perspectives, "recognizes the importance of cultural competency and focuses on issues such as economic globalization, environmental degradation, human rights, and international and ethnic conflicts" (UCSC, n.d.)

Methodology

Participant Sample

Seniors affiliated with College Nine, themed International and Global Perspectives, were sampled 24 at a time. College Nine was chosen because the International and Global Issues core course and the International and Global Perspectives residential college theme attract students with interests in issues of identity and social and material conditions related to language, ethnicity and race, history, and culture, including practice with international comparative studies. College Nine-affiliated students have relatively high institutional exposure to global issues and intercultural opportunities. Students affiliated with this college were selected in order to sample students who might reasonably be expected to be further along in their intercultural development journeys, towards the interculturalist end of the Intercultural Development Continuum. College Nine's theme of International and Global Perspectives "recognizes the importance of cultural competency in the 21st century" and "offers students a range of opportunities to explore these issues and to develop skills as dynamic leaders (UCSC, n.d)."

The sampling included students from the following demographic cells: White-majority U.S. students, minoritized U.S. students, and non-immigrant international students (with student visas). Recruitment continued until a minimum of nine students were found in the transitional and intercultural stages of intercultural development, according to the Intercultural Development Inventory, and who were willing to participate in the second stage of the study. Once a total of nine students were identified who met IDI criteria, recruitment stopped. Careful attention was paid to one student who scored at the extreme end of the Intercultural Development Continuum (ICD) with a score of 132.72, indicating she scored in Adaptation. Rather than excluding that student

from the study, extreme sampling allowed me to examine whether the model holds for extreme or deviant cases, increasing confidence in any conclusions that confirm influences as they relate to the ICD. Considering the whole sample as well as the extreme or deviant cases will help to prevent selection bias (Miles, Huberman, Saldaña, 2020, p. 28).

Students were invited to take the Intercultural Development Inventory between November and April of their senior year. All participating students were also invited to have their IDI scores interpreted between November and April. Ten students who scored highest on the Intercultural Development Inventory were invited to participate in individual interviews in the winter or spring quarters of their senior year, between January and April. One didn't reply; nine were interviewed. These interviews examined the students' reflections of their own intercultural development journeys and their perceptions of how they have achieved growth along the continuum. Their words also may help to illustrate the stages of high minimization, acceptance, and adaptation so that international educators will be able to recognize and guide students into and through these stages. Appendix A provides a month-by-month timeline.

Research Design

This study followed an explanatory sequential mixed-methods design and employs a phenomenological approach in order to better understand the lived experiences of the student participants in their intercultural development. A two-phase data collection project allowed the quantitative data from the IDI to inform “which participants will be purposefully selected for the qualitative phase” and for “the types of questions that will be asked of the participants” (Creswell & Creswell, 2018, p. 222). In that way, the mixed

methods design allowed the qualitative data to help explain the quantitative data in more detail (Creswell & Creswell, 2018). This study seeks to move beyond quantitative analysis to help provide student-level context related to intercultural development.

Additionally, the assumption that these students were developing interculturality in College Nine was evaluated within the sample, through the use of the IDI. Although there is some face validity that students who are exposed to a curriculum that includes courses focused on global and international topics and co-curricular housing, programs, and co-curricular experiences convening students from multiple cultural perspectives will develop some intercultural competence, Vande Berg, Paige, and Lou's (2012) work demonstrates that a metric is needed to demonstrate such competence. Further, qualitative data can help inform the unique aspects of students' intercultural development that have yet to be considered in contemporary literature.

Until now, few studies have engaged in complex student narratives around their own perceptions of their development. This study was designed to understand the explanations of students who have developed some intercultural sensitivity (as measured by IDI results). The study seeks to determine, among the wide variety of opportunities available to students and their personal experiences, what particular events, circumstances, or opportunities students believe are most important in their development.

Instrumentation

The primary instrument in my study was the Intercultural Development Inventory (IDI), an existing instrument used in hundreds of studies to measure intercultural development. The IDI is widely accepted and favorably tested to be valid and reliable (Paige, Jacobs-Cassuto, Yersheva, & DeJaeghere, 2003) and is used with participants

from a variety of cultural backgrounds in 40 countries, showing strong validity and reliability across diverse cultural groups (Hammer, 2011).

Scores on the IDI presented in a linear continuum ranging from 0-145 points. I looked for students who scored at 100 or higher, suggesting that they have transitioned to an intercultural frame of reference, at minimum in high Minimization, moving towards Acceptance. The IDI is an electronically-generated instrument, and all scoring was done through the instrument's platform. After completing the instrument, I received scores for all participants, which were shared in the debrief process at the start of the interview.

In this section, I will discuss why I have chosen the IDI and not one of the myriad other instruments for measuring intercultural mindsets or skills. In his 2004 article "Instrumentation in Intercultural Training," Paige offers ten criteria by which to select an appropriate instrument. In addition to the IDI being the tool that most closely measures what I would like to measure (intercultural development), some of the other salient criteria that lead me to choose to use the IDI include the theoretical support for the instrument, i.e., the Intercultural Development Inventory, updated from the Developmental Model of Intercultural Sensitivity, on which the IDI is based, and the IDI's favorable testing for reliability and validity.

Additionally, the IDI has been used in a wide variety of empirical studies. As Paige writes,

It is important for the instrument to be based on a theory or conceptual model.

The existence of a theoretical foundation that provides the trainer and participants with a frame of reference for follow-up discussion lends a sense of legitimacy to

the instrument itself and serves as the reference point for psychometric analysis (Paige, 2004, p. 91).

Bennett (2004a) asserts that the most basic theory in the DMIS is that experience is constructed, the central tenet of cognitive constructivism (Brown, 1972; Kelly, 1963; von Foerster, 1984 cited in Bennett, 2004). M.J. Bennett reminds us that the “DMIS is not predominately a description of cognition, affect, or behavior, but a model of how the worldview moves from ethnocentrism to ethnorelativism. Changes in knowledge, attitudes, or skills are taken as evidence of changes in the underlying worldview” (p. 11), an assumption which allows the DMIS to model a mechanism of intercultural adaptation.

Second, the IDI has been tested favorably as valid and reliable. As discussed previously, the IDI was created from interviews with 40 individuals from a diversity of experiences and cultural backgrounds, who generated more than 350 statements relevant to intercultural sensitivity. These statements were then culled and reviewed by seven experts familiar with the DMIS, resulting in 145 items that met inter-rater reliability standards (Paige, Jacobs-Cassuto, Yersheva, & DeJaeghere, 2003). Paige, Jacobs-Cassuto, Yershova, and DeJaeghere found the IDI to be a sound instrument, valid and reliable, and suitable for training and education programs with alpha coefficients ranging from .77 to .93. The IDI shows sound internal consistency reliability (Paige, 2004). Hammer (1999) reports alpha coefficients from .80 to .91 for the six IDI scales (60-item version) and alpha coefficients of .80 to .84 for the five scales (Hammer & Bennett, 2001; Hammer, Bennett, & Wiseman, 2003, as reported in Paige, 2004). The IDI is the gold standard in terms of reliability and validity for intercultural instruments.

Further, the IDI has been used extensively in a variety of intercultural learning

and training applications. Paige (2004) writes in his instrumentation article: “In addition to the original validation studies, empirical studies that demonstrate the settings in which the instrument can be used and that provide external support for its measurement capabilities are extremely valuable (but not common)” (p. 91). The IDI has been used in a wide variety of empirical studies, creating a growing body of literature that has used the IDI to measure intercultural sensitivity or competence. The IDI has been used to measure the intercultural sensitivity of short-term study abroad participants (Anderson et al., 2006), the intercultural sensitivity of foreign student advisors in the United States (Davis, 2009), the intercultural competence of U.S. teachers (DeJaeghere & Cao, 2009), the intercultural sensitivity of a third-culture kids (Greenholtz & Kim, 2009), the development of intercultural competence in students enrolled in geography classes at Miami University (Thomas & Martin, 2003), the intercultural sensitivity of high school students attending an international school (Straffon, 2003), and the intercultural development of study abroad participants (Bosley & Lou, 2012; Lou & Bosley, 2012; Paige & Vande Berg, 2012; Vande Berg, Connor-Linton, & Paige, 2009), among others.

According to Matsumoto and Hwang, a variety of studies have provided evidence of the ecological validity of the IDI with demographic variables such as intercultural experience, friends from other cultures, and language study (Paige et al., 2003), years spent in another cultural context (Yuen, 2010), and length of time attending international school (Straffon, 2003) (Matsumoto & Hwang, 2013, p. 860).

Similar results were produced in my cohort colleagues’ dissertation research, with Jubert (2016) finding ecological validity of the IDI with the number of years that administrators in international schools had spent living outside their passport country and

Steuernagel (2014) finding school counselors in international schools with coursework in multicultural counseling, or professional development in intercultural competence or intercultural communication, length of time they had studied abroad, and the total years spent outside the school counselor's passport country.

Last, regarding the utility of the IDI, Hammer (1999, as quoted in Paige, 2004) explains how the instrument can be used in several ways, including 'to increase the respondents' understanding of the developmental stages of intercultural sensitivity which enhance intercultural effectiveness ... to evaluate the effectiveness of various training, counseling, and education interventions ... as a feedback instrument ... and to identify cross-cultural training needs of targeted individuals and groups'(Hammer, 1999, p. 62). Though all of these areas of utility are useful to me, increasing the respondents' understanding of the developmental stages of intercultural sensitivity which enhance intercultural effectiveness, evaluating the effectiveness of various training, counseling, and education interventions, and identifying cross-cultural training needs of targeted individuals and groups are specifically matched to the purpose of understanding how College Nine affiliated seniors have developed their intercultural competence and what more colleges may do to support intercultural learning.

As part of the IDI process, students answered some customized questions in a demographic survey so that I could investigate biographic details and related experiences of each participant. Demographic questions included gender, race/ethnicity (using UCSC categories for domestic students: African American/Black, American Indian/Alaskan Native, Asian, Hispanic/Latinx/Chicanx, Pacific Islander, White, or Non-Immigrant International), LGBTQ identity (optional to disclose), and total time the student has lived

in another country (not country of citizenship) on the same scale that is used on the IDI: never lived in another country, less than 3 months, 3-6 months, 7-11 months, 1-2 years, 3-5 years, 6-10 years, over 10 years. Students were also asked whether they have lived with a family member, roommate, or housemate who is from another country of citizenship: never lived with family member/roommate/housemate from another country, less than 3 months, 3-6 months, 7-11 months, 1-2 years, 3-5 years, 6-10 years, over 10 years. They were also asked whether they are part of any minoritized group in their home country.

Qualitative Data Collection and Analysis

In part two of the study, I interviewed students who scored in the transitional and intercultural stages of the Intercultural Development Continuum to explore the questions: “How do students who score in the intercultural development stages of acceptance or adaptation of the Intercultural Development Continuum understand their own intercultural development?” and “In what ways do students explain influences related to their intercultural development?” Ideas for the types of questions used in interpretive phenomenology come from Brown and Tignor (2016) and aligned with the mixed-methods approach to this study. Questions to the students included the following:

- Please tell me about some experiences that have been most impactful to you in terms of cultural learning.
- What does intercultural development mean to you?
- Did anyone act as a mentor to help you develop intercultural sensitivity or competence? If so, who and in what ways?
- What has been most influential to your intercultural journey?

Questions used during interviews are listed in Appendix B. Participants were given an IDI debriefing with their profile which introduced them to the Intercultural Development Continuum and their perceived orientation score, their developmental orientation score, and the orientation gap score (the difference between the perceived and actual scores). All participants at the start of the interview were shown the Intercultural Development Continuum model and where their developmental orientation score placed them, with an ensuing conversation about their results and why they were selected for the study.

After sampling using the IDI, the second stage of my study was to work with participants in interviews of approximately an hour. Interviews were recorded via Zoom with an auto-transcription using Otter.ai and converted from text to Google Docs; then the auto-transcriptions were reviewed with the audio-recording so corrections could be made in Google Docs. Then the interviews were coded in the first cycle using In Vivo Coding — “using words or phrases from the participant’s own language in the data records as codes” (Miles, Huberman, Saldaña, 2020, p. 65.). A second cycle of coding using Pattern Coding was used to group the first cycle coding into a “small number of categories, themes, or concepts” (Miles et al., 2020, p. 79). Some examples of these categories in my research included “mentor/cultural guide,” “being minoritized,” “activism,” and “intense shared experiences.” The coding was done using Quirkos software, with phrases and sentences grouped and color-coded by pattern concepts. Following the coding, I began analyzing concepts as I wrote, creating some assertions, propositions, and ultimately some hypotheses.

Ethical Considerations

Care was taken to protect students' identities and to present minimal risk or exposure to psychological harm to the participants and to ensure that the participants fully understood the nature of the study and that participation was voluntary. The study was reviewed by the Institutional Review Boards of both the University of Minnesota and the University of California, Santa Cruz, and was found exempt by both. The confidentiality of data was maintained at all times, and identification of participants was not made available during or after the study. If the participants chose to have their IDI scores interpreted, special care was taken to convey that very few people fall into the adaptation stages of the IDI and that achieving a score at that end of the continuum can take a lifetime of work. Through transparent presentation and member-checking with students about qualitative themes, I sought to establish that the research study's findings are credible, transferable, confirmable, and dependable, which together establish trustworthiness (Lincoln & Guba, 1985).

Summary

The methodology employed in the mixed method study enhanced the validity of findings through triangulation (Eisner, 1991). This study employed mixed methods to understand the *who* and *why* of intercultural development in undergraduate students. I sought to ensure the diverse voices represented at UCSC were represented in the overall results. IDI scores identified who in the sample reflects a high degree of intercultural sensitivity (according to IDI results). Qualitative data helped to answer why the students believed they developed such sensitivity. Overall, this research will inform the field of intercultural development by providing empirical qualitative information on influencers of intercultural development. The study will also support practice at UCSC by providing

details on the potential programmatic elements that are deemed most influential by students.

Chapter Four: Findings

Introduction

Twenty-five College Nine affiliated students in senior standing were given the Intercultural Development Inventory in winter and spring, 2021. One student was unable to complete the assessment, saying she was not able to generalize about her own cultural group and another cultural group. She illustrated a limitation of the IDI with this comment in that it forces participants to think of their cultural group as fixed and singular, in comparison to more recent thinking on intersectionality. This limitation will be discussed further in Chapter Five.

The remaining 24 student participants completed the IDI, with orientation scores ranging from 57.84 (Denial orientation) to 132.72 (Adaptation orientation). The average score was 93.39 and the median score was 91.34, both in the low Minimization category of the assessment. Although the study was conducted with small numbers of participants and the sample is not large enough for inferential statistics, it is interesting to note that the female-identifying students (n=13) had an average orientation score of 92.7 (low Minimization), the male-identifying students (n=9) had an average score of 84.08 (Polarization), and the two nonbinary-identifying students (n=2) had an average score of 129.88 (Acceptance). Although generalizations about female, male, and nonbinary students cannot be drawn from this sample, the findings are noteworthy for potential future study and informed the interview findings described below.

The average IDI score for this sample of students from College Nine is similar to findings from previous studies. For example, Bellarmine University's seniors averaged a score of 90.38 (n=169) in 2012 after considerable intervention (Weber-Bosley, 2015).

From the sample of College Nine IDI takers, I interviewed students who scored in the high Minimization, Acceptance, and Adaptation categories about their understanding of intercultural development and their lived experiences. Themes emerged from the students, identifying the following areas to which they attributed their intercultural development: curriculum, university programs or organizations, including identity-based organizations, ethnic resource centers, student media organizations, College Nine programs in housing and leadership development, intense shared experiences including high-impact educational practices such as short-term study abroad programs, field work and internships, mentorship, and naturalistic engagement. Students also reflected on how their identification with a minoritized community encouraged them to reflect on the experiences of other minoritized people. These themes will be described in further detail in the paragraphs below.

Demographics

In total, nine respondents participated in the interviews between February and June, 2021. Seven of the respondents scored at the high Minimization orientation (between 100 and 115 on the IDI), one scored at the high end of the Acceptance orientation (127.04) and one student scored in the Adaptation orientation (132.72). One identified as male, two as nonbinary/gender fluid, and six as female. Two participants identify as Latinx, one as White/European, one as Black, two as Asian, two as Biracial (White/Asian), and one as multiracial (White/Latinx). Four students identified as LGBTQ, three as not LGBTQ, and two indicated they were not sure. Eight are U.S. citizens and one is a Chinese citizen. Table 1 provides an overview of some aspects of the students' identities, demonstrating why one student may have difficulty identifying a

singular “cultural group.”

Table 1:

Student Identities

Name/Alias	Gender Identity	Racial/Ethnic Identity	Sexuality	Minoritized Identity
Avery	Nonbinary/ Gender Fluid	White	LGBTQ	Yes
Bobbie Joe	Nonbinary/ Gender Fluid	Hispanic/Latinx/ Chicanx	LGBTQ	Yes
Ilana	Female	Black	Not sure	Yes
Jiani	Female	Asian	LGBTQ	Yes
Julie	Female	Hispanic/Latinx/ Chicanx	Not sure	Yes
Lily	Female	Multiracial (White/Asian)	Not LGBTQ	Not sure
Mathias	Male	Multiracial (White/Latinx)	Not LGBTQ	Yes
Miranda	Female	Asian	Not LGBTQ	Not sure
Olivia	Female	Multiracial (White/Asian)	Not LGBTQ	No

Five of the students who scored in the transitional or intercultural stages (i.e., scores of 100 or higher) have never lived outside of their home country, including the student who scored in the Adaptation orientation. Avery, the student who scored in the Acceptance orientation, has lived outside of their home country for less than three months in high school, while visiting a friend in Germany who had been an exchange student at their high school. The other three who scored in the high Minimization had lived outside

of their home countries for periods of time ranging from less than three months to six to ten years, the longest being the student from China, Jiani, now living in the U.S.

Both students whose scores located them in the intercultural stages identify as nonbinary/gender fluid and queer/LGBTQ. One other student (categorized in the Minimization stage) identified as LGBTQ and two said they were not sure. Four said they didn't identify as LGBTQ. Of the nine students interviewed, six of them said they are part of a minoritized group in their country of citizenship. One student said no, they are not part of a minoritized group in their country of citizenship. Two said they weren't sure whether they are part of a minoritized group in their country of citizenship.

Research Questions and Findings

I began with these two foundational research questions:

- How do College Nine affiliated students in the intercultural development stages of high Minimization, Acceptance, or Adaptation on the Intercultural Development Continuum understand their own intercultural development?
- In what ways do students explain influences related to their intercultural development?

These questions work on the assumption that students with these scores had some degree of intercultural sensitivity and competence (as identified by the IDI). Before I discuss practices that the students recognized as contributing to their intercultural development, I asked the student participants what intercultural development meant to them, if anything, to further understand the role and importance of this concept in their everyday lives.

Syntheses of the interviews are as follows.

Students who Scored in Minimization Orientation

Students who scored in the high Minimization (IDI score 100 to 115) answered, “What does intercultural development mean to you?” in several ways. Ilana, a Black woman from the United States, grew up in various parts of Maryland and then took a leap of faith and moved across the country to Santa Cruz, having never been anywhere in the U.S. beyond the East Coast before. Ilana spoke about some formative experiences she had around experiencing different cultures when she was younger, by attending a variety of church services with her mother in Maryland:

...So I grew up Catholic Christian, but we went through this period where she was really interested in like learning about other like religions and things like that, so we would go to different kinds of churches....I would always find myself in like different churches and the way they do things is very different and there's also like different cultures that draw different religions, of course... So for me, it was a huge culture shock, like religion and culture kind of intermixed with each other, but like how that really influences people's perspectives, and also just how they approach religion in general based off culture, even if it's the same religion: based off culture, I find that the approach is different. And so, for me, that was like really, really cool to see, to learn about different people and what their lives are actually like, what it actually entails on a day to day basis....That's probably like one of my most impactful experiences, definitely between hopping churches of different cultures and then college. (*Ilana, Zoom interview, April 16, 2021*)

Here is what Ilana shared with me as her understanding of intercultural development:

[Intercultural development is] forming somewhat of an identity that's rooted in the mixing of different cultures, in a way, like not only finding some sort of appreciation, but really understanding that culture and to be able to interact with it, not as an outsider, if that makes sense. Yeah, that's what I would say it means to me personally. I think my intercultural development obviously needs some work, but I would definitely say that. At least to me, I think it is an important thing in my life. So I am a legal studies and psychology double major. So a lot of the things that I feel like we talked about has to do with, at least my interest falls into what other countries are doing, like international law is very, very interesting to me, so for me, intercultural development, that's also understanding how systems work for other people as well. So that's something that I would say is pretty special and important to me in trying to find a good balance between knowing, you know, the boundaries of or not burdening a culture. Especially with my own questions because, you know, Google is free, but also, trying to learn the authentic, from something that's authentic and real and like from the actual culture. In a way that I can respect it and not shed any boundaries, but also be a part of it in a way that's respectful. (*Ilana, Zoom interview, April 16, 2021*)

Ilana makes three main points here as she discusses intercultural development: she wants to find a respectful relationship to cultural differences, to be able to shift her behavior to be able to interact with another culture respectfully while keeping her own cultural identity, and to understand how culture plays out in societal systems, such as the law. Ilana's application of intercultural competence is both academic (in her understanding of legal studies and psychology) and personal, in her relationships with

other people, like her housemates from a variety of cultural backgrounds. Ilana seeks connection across difference, finding commonalities, and fostering harmony in her interpersonal relationships, while furthering social justice for marginalized people.

Julie, a Latina woman from the U.S., shared that some of her earliest and most memorable experiences around cultural learning in California had to do with seeing her parents discriminated against when her mother spoke with a strong accent when speaking English. Julie's reaction as someone who grew up bicultural and bilingual has been to ask people to recognize her parents' humanity and to want to speak for them and protect them. In this way, Minimization has been a strategy to show people that her parents are worthy of respect:

When I was answering the questions, a lot of it was I was just thinking about my own family members. Just like, if it was this in a situation, like against somebody who was being harmful towards them, the first thing I'd want to do is jump in and be like please don't — they're a person and they're trying their best....Intercultural development, honestly "intercultural" is a word that I didn't fully understand when I got to UCSC and I'm still, I still don't really get it, because in College Nine and College Ten, they have like two different things. Like I know, College Nine has Intercultural Weekend versus College Ten has Multicultural Weekend, which are two very different things. But, like, I think, maybe intercultural development, I spent a lot of time that weekend kind of learning about other cultures and just kind of understanding, like how little things can be just different, if that makes sense? It can be one way here and a different way here, and then something in the middle somewhere else, and I guess maybe intercultural development, I don't

know, I'm still struggling with that. If I had to put some words to it, like maybe like kind of just learning, not only to just accept like other cultures, but to...— because I think acceptance is a very basic thing, it's like yeah you can tolerate someone, but if you can't live with someone, care for someone, work together with someone with their strengths and ... I don't know, I'm like struggling to define it myself. I thought it's a concept that I'm still...I didn't fully understand. And I know I still don't have it. (*Julie, Zoom interview, April 19, 2021*)

Julie's reflections on intercultural development are focused on progressing from passive tolerance, not causing harm, to being able to live with and care for people who differ culturally and wanting to receive such care for herself and her family, in addition to offering it to others. She has needed to employ strategies of Minimization to implore people not to behave with bias and judgment in interactions with her parents—using Minimization to show how we are all human, worthy of respect, to try to move others from Polarization (defense) toward Acceptance, with Minimization as an intermediate goal.

Jiani came to the U.S. some years ago from China and has had the challenge of being othered by many of her peers, as well as feeling like she is neither fully Chinese nor American.

Well, I think it's finding out who you really are and accepting your true self that you're kind of from a mixed culture...yeah. So I had times that I refused to accept myself, because I feel I don't belong to any side. But right now I just feel more like I am who I am and whatever kind of culture I grew up with, it's just part of me (*Jiani, Zoom interview, May 27, 2021*).

Jiani spoke about moving out of cultural isolation and away from judgment of difference, which reflects her moving from Defense to Minimization. She discusses this process for her as feeling emotion, particularly “the desire for freedom,” in modifying and developing her own sense of self. She said her classmates have helped her by telling her we’re all the same:

Like, I always felt like I was different from, you know, American-born kids, but after meeting people who are all like me, so people immigrated, and they started to accept or they started to be accepted, so I talked to them and I got a lot from them, I started feel like, yeah, maybe I should learn from them.... (*Jiani, Zoom interview, May 27, 2021*).

Jiani’s positionality is as a Chinese national who has spent many years now in California, living with relatives and attending a U.S. high school and now UCSC, where she has begun to recognize and accept herself as not “belonging to any side,” or what Janet Bennett has called “cultural marginality.” It has been a process for her to realize it is okay to move between cultural ways and be “something in between” as her true self, feeling not fully Chinese or American, but having the freedom to be herself in that liminality.

Mathias, a multiracial U.S. student from San Diego, said he grew up in a diverse community with a mother who taught him to be open-minded: “Growing up in San Diego and a very diverse part of the diverse area...I had never seen, like so many like White people in one place until I came to Santa Cruz.” Mathias describes intercultural development this way:

Probably being able to get along with people from all cultures, but being able to respect the different individual aspects of each one and their uniqueness, instead of lumping them all together.... My mom was always just like ‘treat everyone as you would want to be treated, we’re all people, we all want to be treated nice and treated respectfully’ (*Mathias, Zoom interview, April 26, 2021*).

The emphasis for Mathias is seeing uniquenesses, developing respect for differences, and treating everyone in a way that feels kind and fair, employing the golden rule. However, he does not attempt to understand deeper cultural differences or to treat people as they would wish to be treated, the so-called platinum rule; perhaps, he doesn’t recognize that his culturally based understanding of how to treat people may vary from theirs.

Miranda, an Asian American student who grew up in the San Francisco Bay Area, said:

I feel like there's a couple of stages in this concept: it's like recognizing your own identity and your own culture and then relating that to other cultures of those around you and working towards a goal, where these differences are celebrated and, not so much seen as like, we are all the same, we're all human, but like celebrating our cultural differences. The development of you know that recognition, I think, maybe that's what intercultural development is (*Miranda, Zoom interview, May 5, 2021*).

Miranda is conceptualizing what Acceptance might look like: recognizing your own cultural identity, understanding how it differs from others around you, and accepting and celebrating the differences.

Olivia, a mutiracial U.S. student (white/Asian) whose mother is Chinese-American describes intercultural development this way:

I guess development has to do with growth and change, so I guess as one experiences different cultures, whether that means different, you know, cultural, ethnicity, or sexuality, or gender, religion, like a different way of perceiving the world or having relationships with people. Just like, I guess, shifting your idea from like believing in, I guess, like broadening your idea of what, how people can live with each other. I think you know the difference between the perceived and [developmental orientation] is interesting because, on an intellectual level, you know, I recognize the way acceptance is like further. And I guess I intellectually agree with the things that are associated more with acceptance, right? Yeah, I guess I am not thoroughly familiar with the acceptance category. I'm like, there are significant differences between cultures that you know are important, but with the minimization there's like ... I guess, yeah I don't know. Yeah, I think I have a hard time adapting to other cultures, I guess, I don't know. I don't know, I can't really think of what that really means in a concrete way (*Olivia, Zoom interview, April 16, 2021*).

Olivia, like Miranda, shows awareness of how Acceptance and Adaptation would differ from Minimization, how she might “broaden your understanding of how people can live with each other,” but she articulates struggling with what Acceptance and Adaptation might look like in practice. Possibly, this practice is complicated for Olivia by her family history, in which her Chinese grandparents adapted to the United States by

embracing U.S. cultural practices, while letting go of their now minoritized cultural traditions and practices.

Lily is a multiracial U.S. student, Asian (with a Japanese grandfather) and European. She said, “Intercultural development, I would think it means developing awareness of other cultures (*Lily, Zoom interview, April 23, 2021*).” Lily is articulating an aspect of Acceptance, that is, recognizing deeper cultural differences. Lily is practicing this awareness in college for the first time, having come from a more culturally homogeneous high school setting.

What these students have in common is that they recognize cultural differences and view differences as interesting and enriching, while articulating the importance of respect for all people and recognition of each other’s essential humanity. However, these students also may not recognize how their own patterns of thought and behaviors are culturally grounded and may over-assume that other people are essentially like them and want to be treated in the same culturally-bounded ways. As the IDI Individual Profile for Minimization says, highlighting commonality may either stem from less cultural self-awareness or may function “as a strategy for navigating values and practices largely determined by the dominant culture group, more commonly experienced among non-dominant group members within a larger cultural community” (Hammer, 2007-2011). Some students may be concerned about being asked to adapt to dominant cultural practices and losing their own identities in doing so. I will discuss these ideas more in the next section about Minimization as a strategy.

Minimization as a Strategy

Several students who are themselves minoritized spoke of Minimization as a strategy to counter bias and may in part explain why they scored in Minimization on the IDI. For people who have themselves long been othered or who have needed to protect their loved ones from bias and discrimination, pointing out how human beings are essentially the same and worthy of respect becomes a strategy to demand fair treatment. As Julie explained, she grew up watching her parents encounter racism and nativism. She described when she was at a real estate office with her mom, looking for a house for their family, and the realtors were “very cold, very distant,” asking questions like, “How many family members do you have, how many people is it?”

All these kinds of berating questions and my mom walking out and being very frustrated and flustered. And my asking what? Why didn't we find anything? What happened? And she's like, that's just how they treat me, like whenever I walk into a thing. Because she has a very strong Spanish accent. And like, you know, she's a Latinx woman, and it was just one of those things, like, there's just little moments like that, where I just kind of see, like, I know my parents, I know how smart they sound in their own language and yeah, it's hard, and it's hard because throughout my entire life there's like little moments like that, where it's just watching my parents try to navigate systems in the U.S., like based off of trying to do this in English as their second language, you're trying to do it past the fact that people are already treating them a certain way, right off the bat.... The first thing I'd want to do is jump in and be like please don't — they're a person and they're trying their best (*Julie, Zoom interview, April 19, 2021*).

I discussed the hypothesis of Minimization as a strategy with Ilana, who said, “That’s interesting. I never thought of a humanistic stance as a coping strategy.” I asked her about humanistic views of people and intercultural development and she said:

I feel like we are all of course similar on just the basis of human race and I think that drawing commonality from that could be very powerful, it has some sort of capacity to create a sense of compassion and empathy, which is great, but also, I do realize the importance of difference, I think. A lot of times people confuse difference as a negative thing, as in like this otherness which is not necessarily the case. I think we have to really value cultures, because that's like an opportunity, a learning space to learn a lot and to be able to coexist with each other in a way that we can acknowledge these differences, but not necessarily make those differences a defining feature of, say, resources, or how we redistribute wealth. Things like that, it can be super super complex and intricate when you really, really get down to the layers of like race and even gender, because at the end of the day, I don't know, I believe they're all just like social constructs, really, but not really mean anything, or at least they don't call them on a value that I feel like people place, that perpetuate kind of like these stereotypes or these systems that oppress people. And I think when we try to target that, that's when we forget that we place this sort of like narrative of, like, well people have always been made out to be the other because of their differences, so let's draw on these commonalities and be inclusive.... So for me, I feel like personally in my life, you know, being not only African American, with also being darker skinned as well, even within my own community like being made out to kind of feel the other but also, you know, at the

end of the day, we're included, we're all Black, but my experience is different and that's important because it adds value to our culture as well, and that's okay, good, I think it's this weird kind of complex that almost like an anomaly of like considering differences, and trying to find that silver lining of values in them but also not enmeshing these identities, together, to the point where they don't hold any value at all. For me, I think that's my outlook, kind of, now. On I guess the basis of trying to draw commonality, because also I find that even when we talk about oppressive rhetorics and systems and kind of how people interact with the world based on these intersections is that oftentimes I feel as though...we should all, at the end of the day, all help each other, because you know, we're all the same, but also I feel like that's also sending the message that I have to be like you to care. And then that's not necessarily the case.

Ilana is discussing some ways that Minimization is helpful in establishing solidarity or in moving from allyship to dismantling oppression for others, by becoming what the students call co-conspirators in fighting racism, sexism, colorism, etc. "We should all, at the end of the day, all help each other, because you know, we're all the same." This feeling of all being the same was reinforced when Ilana visited different prayer services as a young person with her mom. Practices and beliefs varied, but she was taught we are all children of the same God, all essentially the same with the same needs for love, respect, support, and being treated equitably.

It is interesting to consider that the Intercultural Development Continuum might work differently for some students from minoritized populations, especially as they consider their interactions with others who seemed to be positioned in Polarization

(defense). I also wonder whether my positionality as a mostly White researcher has affected how some of the participants of my study responded on the IDI. They may possibly have responded to the IDI questionnaire in a purposeful way to illustrate to me (a White-appearing person) that race and culture are socially constructed and shouldn't elicit bias and judgment against the minoritized group. Additionally, Minimization seemed to be viewed as a positive for this group. They are well aware of cultural differences and may consciously choose Minimization as a strategy for navigating their interpersonal interactions.

Students who Scored in Acceptance Orientation

One student's developmental orientation score positioned them in the orientation stage of Acceptance on the IDI. Avery, a white LGBTQ nonbinary student said:

I think it would mean growing towards an understanding of different cultures, like I don't think you could reach peak understanding, like infinite, I think there's a limit somewhere that you would be approaching. I think it's an active process, like after you reach a certain point, you have to actively realize maybe I shouldn't think that about this situation and I need to actively make a commitment to not judge people in that way and there's a lot of active effort that needs to be done in order to keep moving forward at a certain point (*Avery, Zoom interview, February 19, 2021*).

Avery offered two aspects of their background that they think led them towards intercultural learning: one, their own curiosity to know more about how other people in the world live, and two, their growing up in a monocultural area:

I grew up in a really un-diverse area and so kind of like seeing that and the kind of behaviors and constant repetition of people, like not really learning from it, or growing from it, and I wanted something else, and I wanted to not be that in my life, and I wanted to make an active commitment to learn more things and not kind of be stuck in the same place, like metaphorically and ideologically (*Avery, Zoom interview, February 19, 2021*).

Avery discussed their experiences in high school with an exchange student from Germany who became a friend and later a boyfriend.

It probably started in high school...because I was a freshman in high school when I met Janic [an exchange student from Germany] and I was fascinated with him. I genuinely really wanted to talk to him about his language and like what they did in Germany and how they celebrated their birthdays and that kind of stuff. We became really good friends and we stayed talking, even after he went back to Germany, and we started dating. After like a year or so, and when I went to Germany, I had started learning a little bit of German but was really struggling with it, and so we both basically just spoke English the entire time I was there. But it was really interesting to me because I was living with his family and he had three siblings and they were all teenagers and I was another teenager, so we had five teenagers in the house. And we were like fully immersed in school and all of these activities, and soccer, and they were Catholic, so they went to church. And so I had a lot of fun just kind of like, I didn't have to go to school, but I went to school with them and I wasn't an exchange student, I just sat in the classes and like goofed off and like helped them learn English and kind of messed around.

Yeah and it was genuinely like the best introduction, I think I could have had to any kind of cultural experience...Once I traveled abroad for the first time I knew I wanted to do that so much more and I wanted to experience so much more. Germany...even though I, the United States, might have similar experiences in a lot of areas, it was still so different from what I knew that it was kind of the point where I was like, I could do this for the rest of my life, and it was the point when I really, it clicked that we all have so many different experiences and I was fascinated with in German how there's words for a lot of specific situations. So I think, I just became fascinated with languages, at the same time when I went to Germany, and so this was the point where I was like I could do this, and once I knew that I could do it, it just, that's what I did (*Avery, Zoom interview, February 19, 2021*).

Avery's discussion of their understanding of intercultural development focused on an active commitment to the process: "I need to actively make a commitment not to judge people in that way" and to make an active effort to seek to learn more, practice fighting judgment, and work to progress along the continuum. Avery's position toward intercultural competence development shows their commitment to self-awareness, including challenging their moments of judgment, and dedicating themselves to learning more. This is a different position than the students who have scored in Minimization who might be content with the universalist notion that we are all human, which may not require as much self-challenge and growth, or which may require the different challenge of maintaining one's cultural identity in an environment which prefers that the minoritized people adapt (and not the members of the majority cultures).

Students Who Scored in Adaptation Orientation

One student's IDI score placed her in the Adaptation orientation stage of the Intercultural Development Continuum, according to her IDI score. Bobbie Joe, a Latinx nonbinary U.S. student described intercultural development like this:

It is definitely a big word that I probably didn't know anything about until recently. In terms of knowing the definition of those words but I guess upon learning a little bit more and interpreting it for myself, I guess, intercultural development to me, would mean, it's like kind of what we've already been discussing, like being able to, I guess see other people, where they are, for who they are, and where they are, where they're at and not, as we've mentioned, like not trying to put people into boxes constantly of, well you're different for me and constantly... again, even saying that "different from me," that centers oneself. And I think intercultural development is really like breaking away from that kind of center and always seeing yourself as like the marker, I don't know, like the marker for where humanity is at, or where other people need to be at. Intercultural development is about, like, moving beyond yourself, I think, and really seeing that like, yes, you are a person who, you know, you have your beliefs, you have your behaviors, you have your customs, but you are not like the baseline for humanity, and your culture is not the baseline for humanity, like there's a whole group of, there's so many, so much more beyond you, like the human race, like it's this huge collective, right? So it's really I think about looking at that wholeness and not trying to divide people by will they act this way, like okay, will they act this way, compared to what? You know, it's really, I think, kind of stepping back from that

view of, like my culture, myself being the center, which I think is really hard, especially if you're an American, or if you were raised and born and raised in America, because there's this idea that, like you and your country are like the baseline for everything. Even if it's not explicitly said that way, like if you're told America is the best country on earth like since you're born, it's going to give you some ideas about yourself, if you're from here. So yeah, to me it's just moving beyond that kind of egotistical centering and trying to understand that the human experience is a bunch of various beliefs and customs and behaviors, and you know, you would probably be better off and be happier if you accepted that. Instead of, you know, wondering why is everyone so different, it's like, well, difference is good. Difference, variation, is how we survive and, you know, how we progress. So I guess all of that is how I would view intercultural development, I think (*Bobbie Joe, Zoom interview, April 7, 2021*).

Bobbie Joe's understanding of intercultural development emphasizes recognition of a wide variety of cultural practices and beliefs and the self-awareness to avoid centering one's own cultural context as the "norm" or the baseline. Like Avery, Bobbie Joe emphasizes the importance of variation and difference to human thought and behavior. Avery and Bobbie Joe are each just one person, each of whom has scored in either the Acceptance or Adaptation categories, so we do not have enough participants to synthesize findings in these categories; yet, interestingly what seems to distinguish them from the students in Minimization is their understanding of deeper cultural differences and their willingness to engage with those differences over time in a long-term sustained way, while examining their own emotional reactions and tendencies to center themselves

as “normal” or to judge others negatively for differences. Avery’s focus is on language, while Bobbie Joe discusses the importance of cultural variation to human scientific advancement and survival.

Students’ Self-Analysis: What Contributed to Their Intercultural Development

One guiding purpose of the interviews was to understand what experiences, opportunities, or practices the students believed contributed to their intercultural sensitivity and competence development. Participants were asked to tell about the experiences that have been most impactful to them in terms of cultural learning.

Many of the participants mentioned friendships that developed at school, in religious communities, or in their neighborhoods that came about naturally, without anyone orchestrating the connections or guiding conversations. For my study, I will call these types of experiences naturalistic engagement. All of these experiences reflect sustained or repeated proximity to difference that influences the person’s perceptions of others and awareness of self as a cultural being over time. In the words of Bryan Stevenson, the students had to “get proximate” for this learning to take place (Stevenson, 2018).

When the students were asked if particular features of college life were important to their intercultural development, they discussed the following categories: curriculum, university-related organizations or programs, and co-curricular or extracurricular experiences that share some qualities, which I will call high-intensity shared experiences, such as internships, athletics, activism, and student leadership. Additionally students discussed naturalistic engagement, spending time in the company of people who come

from a different cultural background in their growing up years. Each of these categories is discussed below.

Curriculum

Students were asked: “What university courses, if any, have been most important to your intercultural development?” The answers vary broadly, ranging from their shared core course in Global and International Studies to classes specific to their majors.

Ilana, one of our students who scored at a Minimization orientation, credited her international law course for helping her consider how industrialism affects people in other places. For example, she said the course helped her connect the impact of electronics production on the civil war in Rwanda and child labor in Congo. She also learned about intellectual property, how companies buy plants from Indigenous communities and then sell products to the economically developed world for many times more, which can result in the Indigenous communities no longer having access to the plant’s properties, potentially changing their traditions and what medicines they use in their spiritual practices. “I was like wow, okay, I do have an impact on somebody other than just me....And it's like, what else am I connected to, living in a first world country, like what else am I responsible for that may be indirectly impacting other people somewhere else? How it is all connected blew my mind.”

For Ilana, intercultural development occurred through seeing the connections of her actions to the larger world. Ilana’s focus on connectedness may partially explain her Minimization orientation, as this orientation tends to look for commonalities across cultural differences. Ilana began to see how the earth is a shared space in which choices

in one area have consequences on another. Her global coursework reinforced these understandings.

Jiani, who also scored in high Minimization, discussed an Applied Linguistics and Bilingualism class in which she reflected on her experiences as a second language learner and as an immigrant. She wrote an autobiographical paper and another paper on intercultural communication that she felt were important to her intercultural development. Through her coursework that focused on bilingualism, Jiani began to see bilingualism as an intercultural asset, one which helped her to further understand her own role in the world.

Julie, who also scored in the high Minimization orientation, discussed a student-led Global Action course which she took and later co-taught. Each year, the course is organized around a different theme from current world issues, and student teachers bring in materials to focus on topics they think are most important. When she taught, she focused on migration and more specifically Central American migration through different cultural lenses, using migration stories that were similar to her parents' migration stories—the ones she knew best because they were the ones she grew up with.

It's a migration story that's filled with a lot of different intersections of war and trauma, structural violence, and violence in general. It was something that I did because I wanted to better connect to my own history and get other students' similar representation. Like my father's Mexican, and my mother's Salvadoran, and those are two very different experiences: My father left his country because he said he wanted adventure; my mom said she left because she wanted to feel

safe on the streets. Like those are two different things (*Julie, Zoom interview, April 19, 2021*).

For Julie, intercultural understanding was informed through her coursework that described the plurality of human experience. Even in a broad category such as migration, for example, Julia began to connect and identify the differences in migrants' stories. Julia's examination of shared and divergent life experiences was facilitated through specifically-themed coursework.

Mathias, who scored as having a high Minimization orientation, references his anthropology classes and especially Cultural Anthropology: "That's a lot about respecting cultures, but not placing, not biasing or placing judgments based on your own cultural point of view." He also cites legal studies as influencing his intercultural development: "How civil liberties and civil rights affect different people from different cultures and different areas." Mathias connected his interest in respecting others from different cultural groups, like he learned in anthropology class, with his general ideals about respect that he learned from home.

Miranda (who scored in the high Minimization orientation) credits education classes, especially upper division courses:

Education 166 talks about technology and education, and then we look specifically at how different historically marginalized groups have been affected by technology in the different eras, and that has been really insightful.

Additionally, there was another course in education, which was Teaching Linguistically Diverse Students. From just the title of the course maybe you can infer why that all has been pretty eye opening, but I think more than the others.

The education course Urban Education has been particularly great to just kind of see underserved communities, and the instructor of the class prompted us to really analyze differences between our upbringing and our schooling experiences with the ones that we were reading about. So I'd say those courses that have been specifically the education department have had some pretty great courses in developing my cultural identity (*Miranda, Zoom interview, May 5, 2021*).

Miranda's score on the IDI indicated a high Minimization orientation, which means she responded to prompts in ways that indicated a perception of shared commonalities among all people. In her courses, however, Miranda began to reflect on her own upbringing and privilege, a process she described as "eye opening."

Olivia, who scored in the high Minimization orientation, cites her core class in globalization, during which she studied human trafficking, a sociology class called World Society in which she studied migrant labor, a class on witches, some history of consciousness courses like the History of Capitalism, and some environmental studies classes that led her to consider colonization and conservation: "There's this idea that conservation that you set land aside, it's wild, no one lives there, but that ignores the fact that people did... people normally were in relationship with that land and it's never been wild."

Olivia reflected that her intercultural awareness was stimulated by a class in agroecology in which the first assignment was to look up what native people lived on the land that the student is living on. This led her to a summer research project that she took on herself to learn more about the people known in English as the Quinnipiac, who are

the original custodians of Connecticut. Olivia's research led to an Instagram project @nhnativehistory, which I will discuss in a later section.

Each of the students whose IDI scores indicated a Minimization orientation have indicated how coursework led them to some intercultural learning or self-reflection that they might otherwise not have done. The coursework helps them to realize difference, connected to history, marginalization, and global relations, and then to connect academic course content to personal growth in further understanding how people and their societal systems differ culturally.

We can compare that relationship to coursework to the two students who scored at the intercultural end of the Intercultural Development Continuum spectrum. Avery, a student whose IDI scores reflected an Acceptance orientation, discussed how they began studying Chinese in their sophomore year at UCSC, after they had a Chinese roommate. Their upper division Chinese language courses hold a lot of meaning for them in their discussions of mythology, folklore, and the importance of children's stories in socializing young folks to community values. Additionally, they credited their College Nine writing class 80B, International and Global Perspectives, in which they did research on migrant workers, and an upper-division geography class in which they discussed climate, geography, and refugees. Avery spoke about their Global Action class:

Maybe my freshman year here at Santa Cruz, I was in Global Leadership in Development, which was a club and then it turned into a class: a Global Action class. We did some fundraisers and I remember two specific instances that really stood out to me: we made WAPIs, water pasteurization indicators, for pregnant women in a country in the middle east, I can't remember which country, but they

would be given like a gift packet when they gave birth to their baby, so that they could have clean drinking water and stuff and I remember learning about that and being like, I don't know why I keep forgetting that not everyone has clean water, but like that was kind of a moment I remember like clicking some of those things. In the Global Action class, we did an activity where we had two kids, imaginary kids, like a daughter and a son, and we only had a certain amount of money each month, and we had to figure out how to educate both of them, or prioritize education for one child over another child, and like how to prioritize grants from other countries. Like Bill Gates gave us a grant to educate our female children and that kind of stuff. Navigating those experiences, I remember that being like...I thought about that for like two weeks afterwards (*Avery, Zoom interview, February 19, 2021*).

Avery's Global Action Class helped them to see how material circumstances can differ for people in different places around the world and in concrete terms to imagine how that limits their choices and ability to care for their families. Later their coursework led them to focus on the interconnection between language and culture, and how their development of Chinese language, as well as campus living experiences, led to new insights on Chinese cultural values and traditions. By being able to read Chinese literature, Avery had a lens through which to understand some of the upbringing messages that Chinese children encounter, and reflect on their own upbringing. What might distinguish Avery's intercultural learning through their coursework from the students who scored in Minimization is how they focused their learning on the experiences of others and sought to develop their own ability to understand someone

else's cultural contexts, using language study and their connections to people from other cultural identities, while the students in Minimization may have concentrated more on their own cultural identities and histories, seeking understanding and connection through similarities with others.

Bobbie Joe, a student for whom IDI responses reflected an Adaptation orientation, credited a Politics of Social Policy class, the very first class she took at UCSC.

That class helped really, I think, open things up, because we covered a lot of different places around the world. Yeah, we focused really heavily on, I remember, like Latin America and different parts of Europe that aren't, at least in my education, not usually focused on... like Eastern Europe. So, getting to kind of get little windows into the different ways that other countries essentially deal with their social issues and the effects of that on the people there. I think my professor did a really good job of centering not just the policy but what actually happens in these countries when these policies are enacted, certainly centering the focus on the people, on the residents of these places. And I think that was really cool. That definitely contributed further to ... I think I often thought about difference and cultural difference in the context of just where I lived. So let's even take it further like global, and then to really consider, oh yeah, like I'm just in one country, like this is just one place, there's places all over the place that have social issues, and they deal with them in these differing ways. And people are affected by them, just like I'm affected by the fact that, you know, the United States doesn't have a good healthcare system (*Bobbie Joe, Zoom interview, April 7, 2021*).

Bobbie Joe also cited all of her community studies classes as instrumental in her perceived intercultural development.

I think every class that I've taken for community studies has contributed to that idea of being culturally competent, and I think that's intentional, because in community studies, the idea is that you eventually go on a field study. I think the idea is to prepare you to be like not just somebody that shows up in some community and is, you know, like minimizing the difference, or is like just denying that there is difference. They're really trying to prepare you to be ready for that field experience and working with diverse communities. So, community studies classes that I've taken that are like public health, intro to community organizing, racial capitalism and the courses I had to take for field study, like prep for field study and stuff like that (*Bobbie Joe, Zoom interview, April 7, 2021*).

As an interesting aside, Bobbie Joe is a double major with community studies and politics. She said that her politics courses have not been the best for intercultural development or learning about cultural differences: “In these classes, it’s just politics, like we’re not talking about the human side of things and that is frustrating. It’s just systems, institutions, and I do care about those things and those are important, but those affect everyone, the people, and that’s what I care about more.” Most impactful for Bobbie Joe was her field study associated with her community studies major, which I will discuss in detail in a later section.

The IDI assigns an Adaptation orientation to participants who respond to prompts with a specific focus on differences among people. The logic behind this is that if individuals can accept differences, they are more likely to be adaptable in intercultural

communication. Bobbie Joe's responses indicated that she has a concern for others, but does not ascribe to a belief that all humans are facing the same set of circumstances. Her Politics and Social Policy class helped her to develop this orientation through a comparative international and intercultural lens.

In summary, the students in this study come from very different majors and backgrounds. The students who scored in Minimization did not have common courses beyond their core course in international and global issues, and they engaged in a range of courses. Three themes that were present, however, were that students were interested in issues of justice, language, and internationalism. Common to the students' discussion of how these courses were important to their intercultural development were the following aspects of the course: either the students were required to research and reflect on the experiences, history, literature, or systems of people different than themselves or to reflect on their own experiences and backgrounds to examine more about their identities or family histories. Through these assignments, students had the opportunity to reflect on similarities and differences across cultures and to understand more about how culture matters in constructing systemic solutions to societal problems, as well as a deeper understanding of themselves as culturally influenced.

Similarly, the students who scored in Acceptance and Adaptation ranges on the IDI associated intercultural competence with language (Avery) and justice work (Bobbie Joe). One interesting difference was that Avery associated learning Chinese with an opportunity to connect with their roommate. Bobbie Joe was not as interested in abstract issues related to policy justice, but of the injustices faced by the people she met in her program practicum.

Overall, what distinguished Avery's and Bobbie Joe's intercultural learning process and reflection from the students who scored in the Minimization stage was their opportunity and practice in *applying* coursework to their interpersonal interactions, which is what the DMIS, ICD, and IDI consider most (i.e., these theories and requisite measures each foreground experiential intercultural learning).

Both Bobbie Joe and Avery have focused on learning outside their community, learning about others, while some of the students in Minimization like Julie have focused more on learning about their own identities and helping others to understand their family histories better, how their families have been otherized and marginalized. These are two sides of intercultural development and it appears that the students in Acceptance or Adaptation are more fully able to understand the complexities of cultural differences from both points of reference: from their own cultural identities and from those of someone from another cultural identity.

The students who scored in the Minimization stage may have had experiential opportunities available to them, but didn't choose to avail themselves of the opportunity as readily, instead focusing their reflections of intercultural development on classroom-based coursework. They may also have felt the need to focus on finding commonalities in daily life so that they could minimize being othered.

University-Related Programs or Organizations

As a university staff member who plans orientation programs, events, and activities, I was curious whether students would find particular university-orchestrated programs, activities, or organizations important to their intercultural development. Breuning (2007), as quoted in Castles (2012), noted that students prefer to share their

own cultures through student-led activities such as student organizations (as opposed to faculty- or staff-structured events) and I was curious to see if these students indicated the same preference. In the following section, I will discuss how students acknowledged the importance of some programs and organizations to their intercultural development. I've included a table to make these themes easier to follow.

Table 2

Areas of Involvement Students Identified as Important to their Intercultural Development

Name of Student	Program/Activity	Mentor
Ilana	Black Student Union	Not Mentioned
Lily	Cultural Celebrations	Friends
Miranda	Cultural Groups	Not Mentioned
Olivia	Scientific Slug, Dance Group; Activism	Advisor
Avery	Residential Student Life (iFloor); Short-term Study Abroad	Res Life Staff
Bobbie Joe	Residential Student Life (ILC); Field Study; Activism	Res Life Staff; Community Leaders
Julie	Residential Student Life (ILC)	Res Life Staff
Mathias	Athletics; short-term field work abroad	Not Mentioned
Jiani	None	Not Mentioned

Identity-based organizations. Ilana mentioned her involvement in the Black Student Union, which serves as the unifying body for Black organizations on campus as well as the Black student body:

And I don't know, I guess intercultural development, how I would define it, yeah, I don't know how impactful it [the BSU] was to me. But also, I would say when

we would organize events, at least with other cultural clubs on campus, yeah, I would say that's kind of, I guess, the point of where I guess I could say that I've learned something in these, on that scale, of like cooperation and support...I know we would have like Hispanic-based fraternities come in and then teach us about you know the history of their fraternities or whatever. Trying to think, even sometimes you would have like guest speakers come in from other cultures and say what that looks like for them in their own communities and what their group, like Black Student Union but for them, would look like. And how we can kind of cooperate on that level and what we share I guess commonalities of struggles on campus, as far as like finding our communities, but also making sure we're establishing good outreach for other people, but also not closing ourselves off for other people who may not be Black or may not be of said culture of that program on campus, so they can feel like it's a safe place for them to come to. So I would say yeah, I think that's as far as it goes for me (*Ilana, Zoom interview, April 16, 2021*).

Interestingly, Ilana did not feel like her membership in BSU was an intercultural experience, per se, perhaps because BSU was a group for which she felt she had a strong cultural bond (other Black students). According to Ilana, however, intercultural learning occurred when her organization liaised with other organizations to plan events. During these cross-group meetings, Ilana reflected that intercultural learning occurred for her.

Lily's intercultural experience through university events was more ceremonial in nature, and did not necessarily show any form of reflection beyond the superficial aspects of what is often considered "culture." In essence, Lily's descriptions of cultural learning

are related to cultural aspects above the water line in Edward T. Hall's iceberg model of culture, i.e., what is easily observed (Hall, 1976). For example, she mentioned going to the Diwali celebration put on by the Indian Student Association to hear her friend sing as part of the South Asian fusion acapella group, Taza Tal. Lily and her friends painted a chalk flower on their apartment doorstep and got dressed up and went to the dining hall to eat and watch singing and dance performances. It was unclear from the interview whether Lily understood the historic and cultural reasons behind Diwali celebrations, but she appeared to appreciate the ceremonial aspects of the Hindu holiday.

Miranda said she really enjoyed attending the Chinese Student Association meetings and also KASA, which is the Korean American Students Association:

They have a short segment at the very beginning, which is really about some culture knowledge or a cultural lesson about either Chinese culture or Korean culture. I think at a CSA meeting they were talking about kind of the [myth of the] model minority, and I was just sitting there like "Oh, this is amazing!" because kind of continuing on like what I had been really interested in in high school. So I would say, those two orgs I attend the most meetings for, yeah
(Miranda, Zoom interview, May 5, 2021).

Similar to Miranda's responses to her intercultural-themed coursework, Miranda appeared to align her intercultural understanding with knowledge about the intercultural aspects of phenomena (such as the education of children or social phenomena such as 'model minority' discourses). In this way, Miranda's cognitive connection to intercultural phenomena highlighted a feature that Ang and Van Dyne (2015) call "cultural

intelligence” development. Miranda also reflected on her own intercultural development through the lessons she learned in dance groups.

In addition to attending events, Miranda was also a co-head of a group called JK Kazoku Kajok, also known as JK Family, a dance group on campus that celebrates open-style choreography. “So just anything that anyone would like to bring to the floor.” But the club started as a joint collaboration between the Japanese Student Association and the Korean American Student Association as a way for students to choreograph original choreography to Japanese and Korean songs, she says. “Attending JSA meetings and KASA meetings, I think definitely have impacted my cultural identity.”

Olivia mentioned that during her work writing for *Scientific Slug*, a student-run science and arts magazine, she met someone who was a member of Grupo Folklórico Los Mejicas de UCSC. When Olivia was a sophomore, her friend invited her to a dance recital with the Folklórico group:

I went alone, but I really enjoyed myself at that concert, because there were just like a ton of people in the audience shouting and yelling in the performance. I think that was very interesting and cool to me because, like, I'd never been to a concert or a recital where that was just part of ... as an audience member, you were kind of like expected to, I mean you didn't have to, but people were cheering on all the dancers by name. That was super fun, and the dancing was really upbeat and amazing, so I had an extra space in my schedule when I was in fall quarter junior year and I was like I'm going to do that because it seems fun, I love dancing, it seems like a challenge. So I did that, and that was really interesting. Because it was an org of, you know, it was a student-run organization of mostly

Latinx people who all ... it's like an org where their goal is to dance and have fun, but also to have retention through that. So they're a very supportive and social system, like they have a big and little system and they're very committed to being, you know, a cultural group there. And they're very accepting of non-Latinx people, but at the same time, it was very hard to be ... it was a little hard for me to be in that space all the time, because I just don't, I'm not, I just ... I'm too white and I am a little bit socially awkward. But I don't know, I tried to go to like some like of their parties and ... you know they just had like a certain way of like interacting with each other that was very culturally specific, and uh, you know, I couldn't just assimilate to that because it wasn't, I felt like it really wasn't my place and wasn't really exactly what I needed, and, like you know, I just wanted to like dance and have a good time and learn a little bit, but, you know the community wasn't really for me and I like had to be okay with that, like, that's just how it is. I was, yeah, I was pretty okay with that. (*Olivia, Zoom interview, April 16, 2021*).

Olivia's story reflects how she envisions herself and possibly why her orientation was scored as high Minimization by the IDI. In the long quote above, Olivia describes an intercultural journey that is informed by a fascination with a form of creative expression (dance) that is new to her, then a discomfort with a perceived communication style. Olivia reflected on her own (non-Latinx) Whiteness at Latinx parties and her own social awkwardness and needs. Through these experiences Olivia came to understand a bit about cultural patterns of communication and how particular patterns may be more or less comfortable for individuals. She did not try to critique the patterns of her Latinx friends

and respects their creative expression and communication styles. However, she doesn't report an understanding of the deeper cultural values connected to the communication patterns, how to be comfortable, herself, within the culture she was temporarily immersed in, or how she could alter her behavior towards the group in an authentic way.

The students who scored in high Minimization spoke about their involvement with ethnic and cultural student organizations as a location for their cultural learning, whether they learned more about their own cultures or about other cultures in these activities. In addition to student organizations, several students mentioned the ethnic resource centers as places for potential cultural learning. In spite of this potential, only Miranda had gone into the ethnic resource centers or interacted with their staff or programs. With the exception of Ilana, all of the students mentioned in this section joined groups that the IDI would consider "cultures other than their own."

The activities that drew students into the other cultural settings included dance and celebrations of holidays with expressions of culture through food, dress, songs, and (again) dance: some of the more accessible expressions of culture which are more easily observable, but don't necessitate a deeper understanding of culture. These types of programs are important to college student life and provide an easy access point to learning about other cultures, but are limited to what many in international education call the Four Fs: food, festivals, fashion, and fun (sometimes adding flags and some non-controversial facts about a country as two more possible Fs). Students typically find these programs to be non-threatening spaces to experience some aspects of another culture, but the superficial nature of the programs may encourage students either to come out with the belief that differences are superficial and people are more or less the same, or may

sometimes even reinforce stereotypes. Interestingly, neither Avery nor Bobbie Joe described these activities as important to their intercultural development. I will next discuss College Nine student life programs next, which focused a bit more deeply and intentionally on international and intercultural learning.

College Nine student life programs. A number of students credited intentional programming administered through College Student Life in College Nine for furthering their intercultural skills and understanding. These programs included themed housing and related programming within the college and organizations within the college. For example, Avery mentioned their involvement with the Triangle Club, College Nine and Ten's LGBTQ club, and particularly some discussions about what it means to be gay in their culture and the impacts of gender stereotypes and machismo. Several students mentioned the importance of residence life to their intercultural development.

University Housing: College Nine. In addition to the various club memberships that students pursued in their free time, some of the students in this study lived in housing arrangements that were intentionally designed to bring together students with diverse backgrounds. One example of such housing arrangements was the iFloor.

iFloor. The iFloor is a residence hall floor that mixes international and U.S. first-year students in an intentional intercultural community (iFloor, n.d.). Avery credited the iFloor for launching their college-based intercultural journey:

Yeah, I think iFloor would be what catapulted me into the intercultural journey of college. It was very like the first thing I started with, the first kind of interaction I had with college. We went, one of the first weekends we were here, before classes even started, we had like an orientation for the iFloor and we met everyone, and

we had pictures of different things, and you would have different prompts and you'd like choose a picture for like the happiest moment in your life or those... I don't remember what it's called but like you'd have prompts and you'd choose a picture. I think someone in the housing office has a big stack of these pictures and prompts. And we did a lot of those activities, we had like this puzzle where it had like laminated pictures, like artwork kind of pictures, and you had to communicate without speaking, or with speaking but you couldn't show people what picture you had. And you had to get in order based on what you could communicate to the people you were talking to, you would eventually figure out that all of those pictures were zooming out. So I did that activity and, like those kinds of things with the iFloor were really cool to start off the year (*Avery, Zoom interview, February 19, 2021*).

Avery also spoke more about their transition from Oakdale, California (in the San Joaquin Valley, east of Modesto, known as the Cowboy Capital of the World, they say), to living on the iFloor at UC Santa Cruz.

... I knew I wanted to come to a more liberal university, because I was tired of my hometown and I had never met a Black person when I lived in my hometown, like ever. I hardly even saw anyone that wasn't White or Hispanic. So it was really interesting coming to Santa Cruz, and suddenly there are a lot of Asian people, there's way more diversity, and so coming to Santa Cruz was like another drastic kind of difference, like a big step for me. And the first thing I did was I lived on the international floor, in College Nine, in the res halls ... I just was really fascinated. I knew I wanted to be an anthropologist, I knew I was interested in

cultures, but I felt like I had so little experience outside of my own, that being on the iFloor was a great opportunity to be like, well, I'm going to start my anthropological experience now. And it was super, super fun, we had culture nights, we would share slideshows about our families and like where families are, from what food we eat, how we celebrate certain holidays. And I learned so much that year, I think I learned a lot about like, cultural appropriation, and words that I didn't even realize would be like not the best to say...

For Avery, the residential life programs were an entry point to intercultural learning, which they continued and deepened in their work as an RA as they worked with residents on iFloor from around the world. Avery spoke about what they learned as Resident Assistant (RA) for the iFloor, later in their UCSC career:

Being an RA for the iFloor meant I was a lot more involved in kind of interpersonal conflicts of international students and I became a lot more aware of like, time zones for people, like some people would want to be calling their parents at like 3:00 am because it was the right time to call them in China, and you know those kinds of impacts on people's lives that people don't necessarily think of when they're like, oh yeah I'm studying abroad, but my parents are 16 hours away in another time zone. (*Avery, Zoom interview, February 19, 2021*).

For Avery, iFloor was a living-learning environment where they could put theory into practice as a developing anthropologist and learn specifics about cultural differences and navigating conflicts as a student leader.

The iFloor is for first-year student residents. Another opportunity for upperclass students is called the International Living Center. Many of the university's exchange

students choose to live there for their one to three quarters on campus, so there is a constant influx of students new to the U.S.

International Living Center. The International Living Center (ILC) is a small on-campus housing community with 150 students, comprising a mix of American and international students: “The ILC was founded on the belief that the best way to form an intercultural friendship and to foster international understanding is through working, living, studying, and socializing with people from different backgrounds. To that end, the ILC works to organize many special events designed to create a global community among residents and help new international students adapt to living in the United States (International Living Center, n.d.)” Bobbie Joe lived in the International Living Center during her only time living on campus (after transferring to UCSC and before the pandemic). Bobbie Joe reflected on what she learned and did not learn from the ILC living environment.

They had a lot of cultural events—you know, they weren't super deep, it was more like mingling and getting people to just meet each other and connect a little bit. But it would be events like, and I thought this was a great idea, basically having people make food from their cultures and then having that be the night where you can go and get dinner from the common area. And so it was like, you know, a group of students who were primarily, whose history was from like mostly Mexico, like they made a bunch of Mexican food and shared it with a little presentation and you know.. it's not super deep, but it provided space, and I think food is always a great way to get across when people are not necessarily the same or you know the group isn't homogenous, like food always brings people

together. So events like community building, I guess I would call them, like just kind of centering people and sharing a little piece of someone's culture with everyone else in a way that you can actually like taste and hear and feel, I think, was like really cool and that was probably the only thing that I got from UCSC that was related to culture that actually like taught me something, and I was able to actually connect with some people through those little events. They weren't very big but I really liked them and I wish that there had been more kinds of stuff like that throughout, like really centering different people's cultures and stuff. Probably just like living at the ILC [helped] because it gave me room to be in proximity with people who weren't necessarily exactly from my background, and I think that matters a lot more than maybe it is sometimes understood, just to live next to people who are just different and have different practices, and to see people doing different things at different times of the day, and you know, not fully knowing why but just knowing, just feeling the difference (*Bobbie Joe, Zoom interview, April 7, 2021*).

Bobbie Joe reflected on the opportunity for learning and reflection provided by ILC. In addition to the subtle differences in behavior or daily activities that Bobbie Joe noticed between herself and other students in the ILC, she also began to notice differences in class between herself and other students.

It (also) had the class element, even though there was that cultural difference, I definitely felt a class difference between me and some of the people that live there, that would probably be my only kind of like gripe about the ILC, is just the lack of diversity in, like different, I guess like socioeconomic status of students. It

seemed like a lot of students there, and I mean, if you're international you kind of have to have a lot of money, right? So, I could feel that, when I was there, so it's like even though the ILC has a lot of different people, it doesn't necessarily mean that it's just like, oh we're all living like in a fun, happy peace and everyone's just connected with each other and it's so great, like there's definitely factions sometimes, I feel that difference in class sometimes and it can be still weird. Even though it's the center of a lot of diversity, that's kind of how it's portrayed (*Bobbie Joe, Zoom interview, April 7, 2021*).

Bobbie Joe's interview highlighted emergent theorization related to intersectional understanding of difference that may not have been captured in the IDI—which focuses solely on intercultural communication. In this case, Bobbie Joe's intercultural development also included class consciousness, and both were facilitated by her ILC experiences.

Julie also lived in the ILC and mentioned the ILC Retreat as important to her intercultural development:

When I came here, I lived with a Chilean transfer student and she opened me up a lot to the ILC and just like other international students, other transfer students, and it was a really interesting experience, and I really appreciated it, because I'm very shy, so like I would have not stepped out of my comfort zone if I didn't have to or if I wasn't pushed... in a housing situation, being like kind of like pushed to talk to someone I wouldn't normally talk to. That got me to talk to other people because you have to build a relationship with people you live with....I think [the ILC retreat] was about, I would say, like 30% domestic students and a lot of them

were international students. And on top of that there were international students from a lot of different countries and even continents as well, and it was kind of like watching us engage with each other (laughs), not watching us, but pushing us to engage with each other and like pushing us to try to create bonds and friendships outside of the fact that, like maybe, like, if we hadn't been here at this retreat, we wouldn't necessarily talk to one another (*Julie, Zoom interview, April 19, 2021*).

Julie's reflections on living in the ILC highlight her interest in intercultural learning and her shyness in not knowing how exactly to engage across difference. She appreciated that the ILC activities pushed her to engage with others, although it can be awkward at first.

Avery also lived in the ILC and remembers their living situation there like this: ... sophomore year I lived at the ILC. I pretty much did the same thing [as in iFloor], I was like well now I'm in the apartments, we're doing the culture night still. I had a housemate from China my first quarter [of sophomore year] and that's when I started learning Chinese, so I've been in Chinese [class] ever since my first quarter of sophomore year and I think it's really just been building kind of steadily, from that point. Like all the culture nights I did with iFloor and the ILC and we did have some events for the ILC that were like meet all the people who live here and, like you know, those kinds of events and you would have different activities to do with those, and like just meeting so many new people (*Avery, Zoom interview, February 19, 2021*).

Julie, Avery, and Bobbie Joe's words highlight some of the ways that living-learning intercultural communities like the iFloor and the ILC may be effective in helping students develop intercultural competence. The students have chosen to live there and learn from each other, showing a proclivity towards and interest in intercultural learning, although interactions might be initially uncomfortable and awkward. The residence life staff facilitate these encounters by bringing people together in a structured environment where everyone may start awkwardly and then become increasingly comfortable together, removing some of the natural barriers for students to avoid culturally awkward encounters. These residential life experiences offered space and encouragement to apply everyday interpersonal and intercultural communication skill development for Avery, Bobbie Joe, and Julie. In contrast with the cultural events mentioned in the earlier discussion, the interaction between students was sustained and guided by Residence Life Staff, who modeled respectful interaction and intercultural learning. Julie is the outlier of this group, because her score was in high Minimization on the IDI, but still appeared to interculturally benefit from the ILC experience.

General Housing (beyond iFloor and ILC). Several of the participants spoke about the importance of living with or among other students who had cultural backgrounds different than their own in general student housing or off-campus (not on iFloor or the ILC). Lily spoke about her first-year roommates from more urban multicultural areas of California, who would gently call her out on things she said that were insensitive to difference. "They'd be like whoa, like, what are you saying?" This was helpful to her because she had come from a more monocultural environment and she felt gently guided into a more interculturally sensitive space by her roommates. Lily

talked about her transition from sheltered and homogeneous Catholic K-12 private schools to UCSC, where she lived with people from different cultural backgrounds to hers:

I don't remember ever talking about diversity or anything in those classes or in those schools. And I don't I don't think I really thought about anything and then when I went to college I lived with people who were from Nor Cal or LA and had like been in just more diverse areas, environments, and so living with people, I think that helped a lot, because it was like a year with them every second, almost. Like I think it was honestly like a lot of trial and error, I remember saying stuff that's probably so insensitive and I look back and I just cringe. It's just like I can't believe I said that. And then I lived with, like my second year, I lived in an apartment with a couple girls who were born in India and they were talking, one said I'm going back, and I was like, huh, it's an option, like you can move to another country, it's just kind of stuff like that. And then they were super into these cultural events, they had something in the dining hall—I forgot what it was, but they had dances and food, and it was really fun to go and experience that with them... It was super fun to get dressed up with them, just have fun with them. And their food was so good ...

I think, that's how I connected, like the minimization, like I really definitely feel like, oh look, we're all the same, that part connected with me. So there's those experiences and I think, just like interacting with people of different cultures is the main thing, and like being close with them, I think living with them is

definitely something that helps. I lived with them for two quarters ... spring quarter we were at home [COVID] and living with them was a lot different. They always have a lot of friends coming over, which I thought was really cool, and I never have people over. They lost one of their friends last year. I think he committed suicide. We had another girl who had moved into the apartment like in the middle of a quarter, and so everyone was kind of on edge because we didn't know how we're going to get along with her, like we already had our flow. So they lost one of their members of the community and so they hosted this chat party. They made all this food and like helping them make the food and they had like a ton of friends over. And then, it was like they didn't talk about what had happened, and that's part of their culture, and then the girl who had moved in, in her culture, they kind of celebrated the person more ... I don't remember exactly what happened, but I remember she wanted to get the Community Room for them, and so that they could all talk about it and share their feelings and all that. And I remember the girls not wanting to do that ... like it was kind of a difference in visions and how they wanted to do it. The one girl who had just moved in was, I think, she was doing it out of the goodness of her heart, she wanted to help, it was all good intentions It was interesting to see it clash like that because I don't know, it made me sad. I had a really hard time with it. She eventually left and I was like, I don't know ... yeah, I don't know why it was (*Lily, Zoom interview, April 23, 2021*).

Lily's story shows how she notices that her housemates have different visions of how best to honor the friend that they lost and share their grief as a community. The new

housemate has good intentions and tries to help, but that causes conflict and tension, and she eventually moves out. This saddens Lily, who earlier said, “I really definitely feel like, oh look we're all the same, that part connected with me,” reflecting her score in the orientation stage of Minimization, even as she is describing patterns of thoughts, values, and behavior that reflect deeper cultural differences. Lily expresses sadness and confusion, “I don’t know why it was....”

Lily had felt a connection of Minimization with her Indian roommates and could empathize with both her Indian friends and their new housemate, who Lily thought had good intentions, but was trying to impose her cultural practices around grief on her new housemates. Unfortunately, the housemates weren’t able to talk about their different cultural values and patterns of behavior or ask the new housemate to respect their wishes, so tension built and the new housemate moved out. Watching her housemates navigate how they should honor the death of a friend who had passed away, when they had different cultural traditions to grieve and honor someone, was difficult and illustrative. Lily was aware of differences and reflecting on the process of navigating the difference in cultural practices and values:

I was in the situation but also not completely in it, and so it was interesting to observe that... because, I don't think I would have had [insistence] like, oh, I need to do this this way, if I were in that situation. I don't know what I would have done, like in a cultural sense. I would have wanted to honor them in some way, but either one of those ways would have been fine for me, so to have a preferential “I want,” and then seeing it, two people wanting to do different things....I think taking a minute to think about stuff like that might, I don’t know,

I think kind of like a moment of reflection.... What I think I took away from that the most is like when I go through situations like that, that's probably going to be one of the more beneficial things, skills, that moment of reflection (*Lily, Zoom interview, April 23, 2021*).

Mathias said he wasn't in the ILC or in any of the special programs, but just living in College Nine was really interesting:

Because you see a bunch of different people from a bunch of different cultures from all around the world. I definitely agree with the minimization thing, where it's like I would just try to treat them as I would want to be treated. A lot of my interactions were just organically interacting with people through the dorms, in the hallways and classes, and in the dining hall (*Mathias, Zoom interview, April 26, 2021*).

Mathias reflects here on his current orientation stage of Minimization and acknowledges that it is an accurate representation of how he interacts with people: "just treat them as I would want to be treated," while also appreciating the opportunity to live with people of a wide variety of cultural backgrounds.

Olivia spoke about her surprise at other people's reactions, while reflecting on her identity as a multiracial person of Chinese and White mixed race heritage from Connecticut in College Nine:

I think the reason why I sort of perceive College Nine as being extremely Asian is because I grew up in a town where Asians are pretty rare. And then, at UCSC there's Asians, East Asians and South Asians, everywhere and it seems like a lot more to me. People are like, 'there's way too many White people here.' And I'm

like what?! There are not that many White people here. And they are like UCSC is so White, and I'm like, really? But it's just me from Connecticut, I just think that UCSC is super diverse. But I didn't really meet any international students. I wasn't the most outgoing person, I didn't get out of my element (*Olivia, Zoom interview, April 16, 2021*).

Olivia did hang out with a roommate and the roommate's friends who were Asian American and Christian, which was a novelty to her, having grown up in a predominantly White and more secular community. Encountering lots of students from East and South Asian ethnic backgrounds led her to reflect on her own cultural and ethnic identity in ways she hadn't done at home.

Ilana found the diversity of cultures among her housemates off-campus to be especially important to her intercultural development:

I had two housemates, one was my roommate, they were both Eritrean... and then my other two roommates, who were also my friends. One was, I think she may have been Pakistani, her name was Sanjivani, and then Frida, and she was an interesting character, she was South African but she was also adopted by a White family and then she had ties to both her families so interacting with her was quite interesting, actually. And then we had two, I don't want to call them randos, but we didn't really know them, but we needed to fill up rooms in our house. We met them on like an off chance and they moved in and one was Asian and the other one was Mexican, I think. So our House was like a blend of differences, the influences were definitely, definitely strong, from what she [the South African roommate] would cook in the house and, like what spices she would use too, I

always write them down so I could use them later. When not just her, but everybody in the house, when they would go home and come back for breaks, they would always come back with food their mom made them or something. Or I would meet their parents. And like just different things that I think, this is really interesting (*Ilana, Zoom interview, April 16, 2021*).

Ilana's use of the word "rando" here is surprising—it is a somewhat derogatory term for an arbitrary person with whom one has no shared social connection. Her discussion of her housemates seems somewhat insensitive. It is also surprising that she isn't sure of her housemates' national origins. Perhaps she didn't ask because she didn't want to highlight their cultural differences, which would make sense with her current score in the stage of Minimization. Her cultural interactions with them mostly seem to have centered on connecting over food. Ilana, like Avery, spoke about coming from a high school and home community environment that wasn't very diverse. However, Ilana's community was mostly Black and brown people and she was didn't know very many White people before coming to UCSC:

I think at least one of the most impactful things, this sounds very generic but it's true, but definitely is like the college experience, because I kind of grew up in just like an area that wasn't so diverse ... my high schools and my middle school, they were on military bases, so we had kids coming and going all the time. But it was still predominantly like Black and brown students and it's funny because, looking at the history of my high school and talking to the staff who have been there for a very, very long time, they would say that it used to be predominantly White, which is funny to me, so coming from like that situation and then going into

college, where I would even say, even though it is a PWI, it's more predominantly Asian, I feel like, at least being on campus and with my experiences and my first-year roommate that I had, also my second year, was Filipino and then even my second year roommate was an international student, and my other roommate, she was Jewish. I have never ever encountered a Jewish person in my life honestly, until that moment, I didn't know what it was even about and she took me to like Shabbat and she took me to meet her rabbi and sounds like, this is literally the coolest experience, like they have little dinners and I was like 'this is so sick, this is cool, because I always see stuff about like baht mitzvahs or something on TV, but I've never actually met anybody Jewish before' (*Ilana, Zoom interview, April 16, 2021*).

These residential experiences in which students lived with other students with different cultural backgrounds gave students the opportunity to see how culture influences patterns of behavior in daily life, like cooking or celebrating holidays, and to build trusting relationships with people from different cultural backgrounds than their own. For those students who were living among people from different cultural backgrounds for the first time, sustained time spent with their roommates or housemates allowed them to recognize some commonalities between people and shed some potential biases, as discussed in Allport's social contact theory (Allport, 1954). As Lily said, "...that's how I connected, like the minimization, like I really definitely feel like, oh look we're all the same, like that part connected with me (*Lily, Zoom interview, April 23, 2021*). However, the differences that students acknowledged were mainly focused on

food traditions, dress, and other surface-level designations, the cultural aspects easily observable “above the waterline,” as in Hall’s iceberg model of culture (Hall, 1976).

The time spent together, especially when students were new to their college environment, seemed to encourage interpersonal connection and cultural learning at a time in which the students were quite open to developing new friendships and sharing experiences. All of the students scoring in high Minimization discussed general housing in multicultural living environments, but none of them except Julie chose to take advantage of iFloor or the ILC. Julie seems to be an outlier among the students who scored in Minimization.

While the students noticed cultural differences in everyday behaviors, without the mentorship and guidance of structured interactions and guided reflection like on iFloor or the ILC, they were left to their own devices and seem mostly to notice commonalities and the more charming and superficial aspects of cultural difference. Lily expressed confusion and sadness at not knowing how to handle a point of cultural tension, and without any guidance from residence life staff, the situation deteriorated until one roommate moved out. The students who scored Minimization had exposure to diversity, but perhaps not the intercultural guidance to help them navigate it. Only Julie had this opportunity, among the Minimization group. Both of the students who scored in the intercultural stages, Bobbie Joe and Avery, chose to live in the ILC and/or iFloor where they had access to guided programs and residence life staff trained in intercultural teaching and learning practices.

Intercultural Community Weekend. Several students mentioned the importance of the Intercultural Community Weekend (ICW) in College Nine, a weekend retreat

during which students are guided in intercultural awareness exercises and discussions. Miranda said, “The two years that I was on campus for ICW, it was really nice to just kind of see, it really was like a celebration of different cultures.” Avery discussed some of the details of their participation as a first-year student and later a facilitator with ICW as follows:

ICW would probably be the second most impactful (after iFloor). I did that winter quarter of freshman year and I was a peer facilitator for that in winter quarter of sophomore year. We had a lot of activities, we had like a continuum and you'd be like, on one side you would be like, I like to be on time, always, and on the other side, you would be like, I'm always late and you should space yourself up to the continuum. And we had a lot of those prompts and stuff about like, where your values came from, like my school valued this, my parents value this, my community valued this, my friends value this, and we would place these dots on all of those things. ICW was a lot like the iFloor orientation, those kinds of activities.

We did an activity with an iceberg, where you would talk about where your culture had visible things on the iceberg, and then like underneath the water, like where your culture put other aspects of things....And being a peer facilitator for ICW, I had participated in a lot of the activities the year before, but kind of like seeing the motivating factors behind them and we had one activity where you were supposed to draw leaves, like one to five leaves for how impactful certain things were for you. Like, like an identity tree and two of them were race and

ethnicity and people had a really hard time, mostly the white students had a hard time differentiating between race and ethnicity. And we weren't supposed to explain it to them. And so that was kind of interesting to watch because some people were like, why are you struggling with that question? And other people were like well, it makes no sense, it's the same thing.... So the iFloor and ICW were probably the most impactful (*Avery, Zoom interview, February 19, 2021*).

Avery's details of the ICW demonstrate that ICW was useful in showing some dimensions of culture, how cultural differences play out in everyday life, and offered some practice in distinguishing between different types of cultures (family culture, peer culture, institutional culture, etc.) that may mediate interpersonal interactions. They also were introduced to the iceberg model of culture and some discussion of identity development and intersectionality, it seems.

Julie spoke about the number of ways she was involved in College Nine, including taking the Global Action class her first year, joining the Global Leadership and Development Club, which met at iFloor, and participating in ICW: "I love ICW, because it made me connect to people, but it also was not sustainable. I mean I learned a lot, but there was no ongoing continuation from there and that bothered me." Here Julie expresses a criticism of the Intercultural Weekend that it is a concentrated, intense experience that happens over two or three days and then it is over, with no structured follow-up. She expressed concern that there is no mechanism to continue learning from each other or further their community building in a structured way. Julie's experience was somewhat different from Avery's, who sought out ways to incorporate the learning in their interactions with their roommates and friends. Julie wasn't able to find ways to

sustain or incorporate her intercultural learning from the Intercultural Weekend into other aspects of residence life at UCSC. The DMIS and ICD do not discuss motivation and strategy in the way that Cultural Intelligence (CQ) does. Possibly, Julie is less motivated to implement CQ Drive and CQ Strategy than Avery, who knows they want to be an Anthropologist.

Intense Shared Experiences

Emerging from the interviews as important to the students' intercultural development were a variety of experiences that I would call 'intense shared experiences,' ranging from athletics, short-term study abroad programs, field work and internships, community organizing, and activism. These experiences created connections between the student participants and other students (and sometimes mentors), put the students in cultural settings they would otherwise not have encountered, and contributed to an intercultural environment in which students learned more about themselves and others. Following are their discussions of these experiences and how they contributed to their intercultural learning.

Athletics

One of Mathias's intensive experience was being part of the men's soccer team at UCSC:

Everyone got along, everyone hung out, but there's definitely different people from different cultures. I remember for two years Amr was on the team and he was Muslim. He was always fun, taught me a lot about Muslim culture, I guess, in a way, but like indirectly, I guess. And then, of course Haruki [an international

student from Japan] is also on a soccer team, so I learned a lot about Japanese culture and stuff through that (*Mathias, Zoom interview, April 26, 2021*).

Mathias also spoke about the importance of his high school soccer team in his cultural learning. In high school, he had a teammate whom he picked up at the U.S./Mexico border and drove to their high school in San Diego each day and back to the border again after school. He valued the time in the car connecting to and learning from his teammate. Although athletics are not necessarily designed to be intercultural learning experiences, they also meet Allport's conditions for an environment that can reduce bias or foster intercultural learning (in terms we would use today): equal status between the groups [individuals] in the situation; common goals [team success]; intergroup cooperation [teamwork]; and the support of authorities, law, or custom [coaches, rules] (Allport, 1954). Mathias speaks of intercultural competence as "treating everyone the way you would want to be treated," and he affably supports his teammates in this way, while also connecting to them with respect towards their cultural differences, but possibly without a full understanding of how their cultural patterns differ. In many ways, athletics can be seen as a metaphor for Minimization in that all participants may be different, but wear the same uniform and share a common goal of winning the game.

Short-term Study/Travel Abroad

None of the participants indicated a traditional quarter, semester, or year-long study abroad program as something that they had done which influenced their intercultural development. I interviewed them in the winter and spring of 2021, when they were seniors, so they would have been juniors, a traditional study abroad year, in 2019-2020. The pandemic picked up in earnest in the spring of their junior year, when

most study abroad participants were brought home. Nonetheless, none of them mentioned coming home from or having to cancel their plans for a study abroad program, which leads me to believe none of them participated in study abroad in their junior year. A couple of the students mentioned short-term programs abroad: Mathias on a summer archeological dig, Avery on a study trip to Israel, discussed below. Avery also spoke about their high school stay with a friend in Germany, which was a summer stay with his family after his high school exchange program in the U.S.

Avery discussed a very intense short-term study abroad trip to Israel that a student-mentor had encouraged them to join:

We spent like a day getting to know each other before we went and then we flew to Israel for eleven days....And we visited with people who kind of bridge the gap between Israel and Palestine, they got married or they had kids or you know started learning the languages, and we went to a lot of different religious spaces, which I had never been to. My parents are atheist, I was an atheist, still am, but you know, I didn't really interact with any of those things, so suddenly I was visiting mosques and great religious spaces that I had never even dreamed of and so it was a lot in eleven days. We were kind of on cultural overload to a point where they would have to find us playgrounds so that we could run and play, and I'm not even joking, with like made up tag games and swings, like 19 to 22 year olds messing around. I talked to so many people and had really deep conversations that we were like bubbling with anxiety or energy and we just needed to let it out, so we played on playgrounds. And then I came back to the

U.S. and I haven't been anywhere since (*Avery, Zoom interview, February 19, 2021*).

Avery describes intercultural development as making a commitment not to judge the differences they encounter in other people, committing to learning from people without judgment, which they demonstrate here by going on a trip to Israel as an atheist and learning about Jewish Israelis and Muslim Palestinians and what connects them. They are concerned about social justice and care about politics, but they don't express judgment for any individuals they encounter on their trip or judgment about the religious beliefs that divide them.

Another of Mathias's intensive experiences was his participating for a month and a half on an archeological dig in Portugal:

It was a group of six different students from all over the U.S...and we stayed in a dig house with our Portuguese dig masters....We had our head pitmaster, dig master, Nuno and then the second in command Joao, and then Pedro and Anna were the geologists that we worked with. Every Friday, they would have a big Portuguese barbecue and kick us like super traditional Portuguese meals and stuff. It was really fun....We were looking [with the dig] at the first occupants that were crossing over into Portugal. At the start, it was like kind of Neolithic but we're mostly getting old bones and from what they ate, like seeing what the diet was, finding little flakes from stone tools and stuff like that (*Mathias, Zoom interview, April 26, 2021*).

Here, Mathias describes a company of U.S. students and Portuguese archeologists working toward a shared goal and connecting by sharing Portuguese food and culture.

His comment about the U.S. students “from all over the U.S.” implies he finds cultural differences among the U.S. students, too, and he appreciates “the different individual aspects of each one and their uniqueness,” as he described intercultural development, while looking for connections and commonalities, in pursuit of the values that he learned from his mom: “treat everyone with respect, we’re all people.”

Avery’s short-term experience abroad was predicated on intercultural differences and interpersonal communication. Matthias’s dig was a shared goal activity in which differences needed to be smoothed out to reach the predetermined goals, similar to his soccer team experiences.

Internships/Field Study

Bobbie Joe spoke about the importance of her involvement with a community organization, Motivating Individual Leadership for Public Advancement (MILPA), with which she connected as an intern when she was studying at Hartnell College in Salinas and continued working with and studying for her field work as a Community Studies major at UC Santa Cruz. Bobbie Joe explains:

I struggled with a lot for a long time, like trying to figure out, like, I have no culture. I'm just whoever I am, that's fine...but that really shifted when I started going to community college at Hartnell in Salinas. While I was there, I ended up connecting with this community organization called MILPA which stands for Motivating Individual Leadership for Public Advancement, and they're a community org that's made up of mostly formerly incarcerated people or system-impacted people who are basically organizing to end mass incarceration and the

school-to-prison pipeline and build power in the area among the community, because it's not really been a thing before.

So they're very much an organization that's based on Indigenous philosophies and Indigenous knowledge and a lot of the members are also Indigenous people from various tribes in both North America and Latin America. So, not only was I exposed to all these ideas about community organizing and community empowerment and just change and social change and social justice, but it was all wrapped up, as well, in culture, like everything had a cultural base to it.

Everything was kind of seen through this cultural lens and especially for a lot of Latinx people, like there's a real severing... if you do have connections to your Indigenous roots, you probably don't have much. Because it's not really, like, how would I put it— people don't really look at it as something worth reconnecting to; it's definitely stigmatized to be an Indigenous Latinx person. So, having that experience of going constantly to this place where there's all of this cultural symbolism and these ceremonies going on, even before meetings, like we would all sit in circle and we'd all smudge ourselves essentially with like copal and different incense and it was just very like nothing I've ever been a part of before. And it really helped me better understand where I come from, as a Chicana, and that I have a culture, I have a base, there are good things that come from my culture. Also, learning about people that I had never known about who had done incredible things, who are from the same place as my family, so it definitely opened everything up, it felt like, for me, in terms of culture. So not only for

myself, but then it was exposing me to various other elements of other indigenous cultures, because obviously the title of Indigenous is kind of like an umbrella term, there's hundreds, hundreds and thousands of different groups, so being able to be exposed to these various groups' cultural teachings and even getting to meet different people, because they would always bring elders from different places to give teachings, if they were willing to, to those who wanted to listen. So, having all of these different new connections that I had never had and talking about cultures in a way that I had never talked about—like beyond...before, culture [to me] was just like food, the music, how we dress, like the superficial stuff. But really learning about how different cultures have like completely different worldviews and ways of interpreting reality and, like, cosmovisions and what's going on, and history as well, so it was a time of a lot of learning, a lot of radicalization, I think, but definitely I would say that was like a key point in my intercultural development.

But my field study: I felt really prepared for it by the classes that I had because we talked a lot about your positionality and where you are and, for me it was, I think a little different because I was going back to a community that's mine, like, I'm not going to a community that was different from my own, or where I stood out, but I still like absorbed all of that messaging about like you know your positionality and difference because, even if you know, I am from here, it's not like my experience represents the entire spectrum of experience of people who live here, I'm only one person and I'm definitely not, like, the representative of

this place. Like I may have gone through shit, but it's like I know that my experience is not the only type of experience that exists. And I feel like I took that really seriously, while also still being, like also, I'm from here, and I am empowered and I know what I'm talking about, and I have that confidence, so my field study was really, really tough, but just because the pandemic has been really really tough. But I got through it and I got to connect with a lot of different people even though I was just in my house most of the time. And a lot of new connections throughout, like, Monterey County that I never expected to make....

(Bobbie Joe, Zoom interview, April 7, 2021).

Bobbie Joe's particular experience shows the value of her field study, even while it was done remotely from home during the pandemic. She had previously met with MILPA community members in person, when she was a student at Hartnell, but her field study was done remotely via Zoom. She was able to learn about some aspects of "completely different worldviews" and appreciate some deeper differences in culture. "That's just very critical...basically, having that exposure to different cultures and in a space of neutrality, and like, I don't know, like support and love...like being exposed to cultural difference and having that be framed as empowering" *(Bobbie Joe, Zoom interview, April 7, 2021).*

Bobbie Joe has done a great job of describing the conditions in Allport's social contact theory without knowing the theory: equal status between the groups in the situation; common goals; intergroup cooperation; and the support of authorities, law, or custom [supervisors/mentors]. She described a structure in MILPA that allows and

encourages respect of differences and invites people to talk about differences in a way that doesn't prioritize one group over another. As she describes it:

Something like that, for that last little thing about being exposed [to difference] and having the actual space like that which is dedicated to basically connecting with people in bridging across difference, not just to become the same, but to meet each other and to see each other, and acknowledge each other. And not just as, you know, you're going to learn something today—it's like no, it's empowering to connect with other people, and yeah, I would say that exposure, because you could also apply that to like COLA [cost of living adjustment] strikes and other stuff (*Bobbie Joe, Zoom interview, April 7, 2021*).

Bobbie Joe's field work with MILPA was intensely interpersonal and intercultural. She points out the importance of seeing each other's cultural beliefs and practices and acknowledging each other, not to become the same, but to bridge toward each other to recognize and respect differences.

Activism

Two students mentioned activism as particularly impactful and also as an experience that forged strong connections to other students. Bobbie Joe spoke about her experience joining graduate students at UCSC who were on strike for several days.

I was involved and not as like a leader or anything, but just as like, I'm showing up, I'm putting in the effort I can, as just like a foot soldier almost, but I was involved a bit in the COLA [cost of living adjustment] strikes last year around the beginning of the year, and that was definitely a space, I'd probably gone there like over the course of a month, a number of times and that space at the base of

campus or at the other entrance to campus on the west side with just a big like plethora of different people. Organizing spaces tend to be like that, right? Pretty messy sometimes, too, but in a good way. And I think being a part of that not only experience with so many different people, but I was just really happy to see, because there was a lot of people of color and at UCSC, you don't always see people of color sometimes, it feels like, it's like, oh my God, we do exist! And I feel like that was a really big experience, not only because it gave me the opportunity to sit in an intimate space with other people, but also, I think, the urgency of that moment, and with police confrontations, that kind of builds a connection and solidarity that you don't get in other spaces. You know, you can host a workshop space once a week and invite the same people over and over again, that's one way to build community, but another way is to put up a wall with people, and to say we're not going to let the police arrest anybody today, right? So I think that that was huge and I'm still, even now, I'm still processing that time because it was a lot, but I think that was a really important factor in my intercultural development. I really look back on that time as very impactful for me. And really kind of, I think, shifting focus from like, I am a student here that is struggling and I have all these identities and all of this background that comes with me and I'm struggling, to *we* are students that are struggling and we're all different, like, we all have different struggles, but they're all coming together, kind of, and they are, in a way, the same struggle... like not the same, I guess that's like the wrong word, but they're all connected, I guess (*Bobbie Joe, Zoom interview, April 7, 2021*).

Bobbie Joe reflected on the impact for her of striking with all kinds of students, including a significant number of students of color, to work together to achieve a cost of living adjustment. Some students were arrested, some grad students refused to submit grades for the classes for which they were teaching assistants (T.A.s) and lost their jobs (and therefore, their funding). Ultimately, the strike led to the Chancellor offering grad students a \$2,500 annual housing supplement and promising funding for five years (Ph.D. students) or two years (master's students), while reinstating T.A. positions for most of the students who had been fired (UCSC, 2020). Working together across cultural differences, the students achieved incremental steps toward their goal of fair compensation for graduate students across disciplines. Bobbie Joe speaks to the intensity of this effort, the solidarity of protecting each other from arrest, and the power in working across differences to achieve better conditions for all grad students at UCSC.

Olivia's activism started with a self-assigned summer project to learn more about the Quinnipiac people, an interest that began with her class assignment in Agroecology to research the land she lives on. This turned into self-motivated activism to make an important change in her home community:

I was vaguely familiar with the land acknowledgment at UC Santa Cruz, but I had never actually looked into it from my hometown, so I did that. And it sort of started me on this thing. Because the people that used to live in Connecticut, or most of Connecticut, were the Quinnipiac...which isn't their actual name, but it's what they called the land and so that's what we call them now. And I started just learning, like getting into a bit of a rabbit hole, about how much we know about those people, because basically 90 percent of them died at first contact and it was

just trade, essentially in the 1600s. And then English people started settling in New Haven, and they signed treaties and they got allotted some land and then like gradually, they were sort of pressured into selling that land and a lot of them left, and a lot of them died, and a lot of them, you know, basically they're not a presence in the area anymore. And there's a really complicated story of why not and basically no one living there knows about it anymore. So I sort of decided over the summer, because it was like the pandemic and I needed a project, so I decided to try to do more research and try to communicate that research to my community. And so I started an Instagram page and that was also, Black Lives Matter was happening, so there were certain protests happening and—oh my God, my high school, this is pretty important actually—my high school's mascot is the 'Indian.' It's one of those, there's actually many all over the country. There's like seven in Connecticut, there used to be many more, but a lot of them are phased out recently. But anyways, in 2015 there was an effort to get it changed, and I was like a freshman in high school and it wasn't on my radar, I also didn't play sports so I have no relationship with the mascot, except that it's extremely embarrassing. But yeah it was unfortunately very easy to push to the side of one's mind going through high school because it was just a fact of life and, you know, there were people in the town, who are really adamant about keeping it because, I don't know, it honors them or [they say] it's not offensive. In 2015, the school board was threatened by people in the town and decided not to change it. And yeah, they held a town hall or something. Anyways, the reason I know this is because I'm currently involved in the organization, in the people organizing to push it to be

changed again. Because I started this whole like Instagram thing, and you know, I did a lot of research and I made a bunch of things about it (*Olivia, Zoom interview, April 16, 2021*).

Olivia organized using an Instagram page that she established @nhnativehistory to help to communicate information to alumni and students of her high school and community members about Quinnipiac history, the Indians as the North Haven high school mascot and the depiction of Indians in the yearbook, and the organizing work to change the school mascot. In July, 2021, the board of education, under pressure from the community, voted to change the mascot. Olivia's activism shows her intercultural orientation stage (high Minimization) in action, with some signals of Acceptance: She demonstrates respect for other people, concern for how Indians were treated historically and how people of color are currently affected by bias and racism in her community, and the continuance of her intercultural learning, which she describes as "a different way of perceiving the world or having relationships with people....broadening your idea of what, how people can live with each other" (*Olivia, Zoom interview, April 16, 2021*). It is also notable that Olivia took on this effort on her own, because "she needed a project" during the pandemic, showing motivation to do the work to understand another group of people more fully.

It is interesting to note that Bobbie Joe's activism (similar to her field work discussed before) was intensely interpersonal and connected to others in intimate ways—sometimes literally using their bodies to protect each other from arrest. Bobbie Joe, who scored in Adaptation, joined in intense interpersonal experiences with other people,

which forced her to engage in certain ways across cultures, even if/when she was uncomfortable, in order to effect change.

Olivia's activism was more academic and isolated in nature—she didn't engage with Quinnipiac people directly, but conducted research on their history and the misuse of their cultural history by her high school, which ultimately helped to change her high school mascot. Olivia, who scored in high Minimization, had a less interpersonal experience, conducting research in isolation and sharing it on Instagram to help make change. This project was an intense endeavor for her, although perhaps not as interpersonally intense as Bobbie Joe's field work, since most of Olivia's work was done through individual research and a social media campaign. Perhaps Olivia's experience was not at the same level of intensity as Bobbie Joe's, without as much interpersonal interaction or support from others.

There seems to be a correlation between the intensity of the students' interpersonal experiences and their intercultural learning. When the students are part of a shared endeavor, working together to a shared goal, like Mathias and his soccer team or his archeological dig, the intercultural learning experience may be less profound. When students feel more intensity in their interpersonal interactions, combined with the opportunity to reflect on cultural differences, as with Avery's short-term study in Israel or Bobbie Joe's field work with MILPA in Monterey County or involvement with the COLA strikes, they seem to make greater learning gains in their intercultural development. Olivia's research and activism falls somewhere in the middle. A possible connection can be made between the Intercultural Development Continuum and an intensity of interpersonal experiences continuum.

Student Leadership

Students seemed to expect that certain student organizations, housing arrangements, and programs were going to be culturally oriented, but some students reflected that they had intercultural insights in surprising places. Olivia, for example, said her intercultural development was influenced by her involvement in writing and editing for *Scientific Slug*, which she calls “sort of unexpected.” As Olivia reflected, her leadership in *Scientific Slug* exposed her to greater gender/sexual diversity than she had previously experienced, and her leadership position exposed her to new diversity training opportunities that she would otherwise not have encountered.

[Scientific Slug] is not like a cultural arts and diversity org...but since I've been there, it's been mostly women in science and, more recently, we have a lot of like queer members of the org, and that's been really cool. I've been a signer for Scientific Slug since I was a sophomore and that sort of gets you really involved in the SOMeCA (**SO**AR/**S**tudent **M**edia/**C**ultural **A**rts and Diversity) community, which is like a super giant group of students org leaders, a lot of whom are associated with CAD (cultural arts and diversity) orgs, but I was a little bit in the pocket of student media people which includes, like, some student media orgs that are culturally specific, like TWANAS (The Third World and Native American Students Press Collective) and Ally....Okay, so, when you're a leader of a student org you have to go to trainings and one of them is a diversity training...They brought a lot of events that are really important and are relevant to intercultural development. So like sophomore year, I think I went to a diversity training that I had to, and it was led by a diversity and inclusion person....I (also) went to the

SOMeCA summit, which is like this whole two day workshop thing, where you like are broken up into groups and you talk about leadership things. And it was interesting, um, you know, you just get to meet a lot of people in different orgs who are like, well I'm in Rainbow Theater or Eta, or you know, you become aware of orgs that you weren't aware of which are very focused on cultural development, also a lot events and trainings are kind of put together with, like, student activists in mind, which didn't always serve, which I didn't always feel were relevant to, you know...I'm still, like, *Scientific Slug* is not a cultural arts and diversity org...I mean we have elements of that, obviously, it's our responsibility to, like, do our part in, you know, fostering an anti-racist society, but like we're not to the extent of like the BSU, trying to make societal change happen in a very direct way. But I was often required, or strongly urged to go to trainings that were sort of aimed for people who are doing that work, and so I got exposed to a lot of that. So yeah, I've had to do a lot of those sorts of trainings where I get trained in the dialogue of racial justice and stuff like that, and meanwhile I'm like, how do I organize my science writing community? Do you have anything for that? No? Okay (*Olivia, Zoom interview, April 16, 2021*).

Olivia sees the importance of guiding her organization in allyship and acting as co-conspirators to create a more anti-racist campus in ways that are consistent with the mission of her organization, a scientific writing community. She has written in *Scientific Slug* about the history of science museums, including the exhibition of native peoples' bones, about whether genetic testing can tell you anything about race, about eco-anxiety, and Indigenous knowledge in science. Her leadership with the *Scientific Slug* publication

has led to connections with leaders in other organizations across campus and to resources like diversity training that have furthered her intercultural development.

It is interesting that Olivia's involvement with *Scientific Slug* led her to diversity training and some interpersonal interactions that were of higher intensity than one might typically expect from someone's involvement in writing for and leading production of a magazine. In general, student groups were associated with Minimization. It is difficult to say why, but perhaps it is because students often join groups to find commonalities and affinity groups. However, in Olivia's case, interpersonal work across student organizations and supplemental training encouraged Olivia to engage in a more meaningful way across cultures than she might have without her involvement in *Scientific Slug*.

Mentorship

Many of the participants mentioned someone or a variety of people who served as a mentor or guide to them in their intercultural development process. Avery mentioned an older student who invited them to a Slugs for Israel group and also later invited them on the trip to Israel. Another friend of Indian heritage became a sort of cultural informant:

I would ask her a lot of questions that I wouldn't normally ask other people, because I knew that she would understand ...I'm just genuinely curious and...I want to know, without inadvertently offending someone by asking....I think we were and are close enough that I could ask her like, hey, are Chinese people considered people of color, like even if they're, you know, paler? And conversations like that about what exactly are the nuances she thinks about certain

things. And, like those kinds of questions that might be weird to Google (Avery, *Zoom interview, February 19, 2021*).

It was important to Avery to have a trusted friend and cultural informant who was a person of color to ask questions about culture and race that might be too embarrassing to ask of others who they didn't trust as much or know as well. They also mentioned several friends with whom they discuss culture and nonbinary gender:

My friends, we talk a lot about being nonbinary and how for them, we talked about machismo for them, and how they're reluctant to live in predominantly Latinx or Hispanic communities because there's a lot more of that energy sometimes and so it's hard for them to navigate being like, I'm not going to dress a certain way, just because it would make you happy, and I would share how like my family likes to say that they're accepting but they say stuff, like, 'Well, I don't understand they/them/theirs pronouns' or 'People who identify as nonbinary just want attention.' I think we, my friend and I, talked about that and we kind of mentored each other with similar experiences, but across a different cultural divide there (Avery, *Zoom interview, February 19, 2021*).

Together, these friends serve in the role of mentors for Avery, and we might also call many of them cultural informants, with whom they can consult about culture to learn more, without feeling embarrassed about not knowing or making a mistake. This is an important role for Avery to cultivate because Avery is especially curious about others and careful to look for ways to learn without offending.

Bobbie Joe talked about the important mentorship role the members of a community organization served for her:

I think that definitely I have people at MILPA who have been real mentors to me in being open and being receptive and not trying to just like muddy up difference, by pointing out all the ways that we are the same, but really being present with difference, I guess. Definitely my mentors from MILPA, like my former, I guess, I would call them supervisors, they don't like that term, and I get it, it's not exactly what they were, but that's kind of like when they were (*Bobbie Joe, Zoom interview, April 7, 2021*).

She also spoke about one of her professors at UCSC in Community Studies:

And I think at UCSC, I've kind of gotten mentorship from one of my professors in Community Studies....And you know, like what I think is funny about that is that they are just like a White, an older, White woman, and I feel like still, in learning from them and in how they teach like they just really helped me kind of further develop that ability to I guess be intercultural. Which kind of surprised me, I think, just because you don't always expect that from, I guess, older White people. At least from my experiences. But they, yeah I would say that they really helped and what they taught and how they taught it and, like yeah, really contributed to my development (*Bobbie Joe, Zoom interview, April 7, 2021*).

Bobbie Joe's mentor supervisors at MILPA and one of her professors in Community Studies have guided her intercultural learning and the development of her intercultural competence. She expressed some surprise that one of her mentors was an older, White woman professor, whose position as a professor and as a White person reflects some academic and social capital and privilege. The other mentors are younger folks of color working in a community organization with people who have been affected

by incarceration, positioned towards the other end of the continuum of privilege. Both the professor and the mentors within MILPA have guided Bobbie Joe in self-reflection and intercultural learning, with MILPA programs centering “joy, health, values, and liberation while pursuing reparations and reconciliation” (MILPA, n.d.).

Olivia spoke about the influence her faculty advisor for *Scientific Slug* has had on her. Her advisor is part of SOMeCA, again, **SOAR/Student Media/Cultural Arts and Diversity**:

[My advisor] has been a really, I think, good influence on me. I don't know, she's very educated and works with us all, she's the print advisor, so she works with all the student print orgs. And she's also like heavily ingrained in SOMeCA culture, very centered around, you know, everything, so she's been pretty influential. Like when *Scientific Slug* decided to write a commitment to being an anti-racist organization, really pretty late in the year—a lot of other orgs did it like back in the fall. And I, we kind of slept on it until I was like, shoot, we should do it. And so we consulted her on how, you know, best to sort of approach that. And yeah, she gave us some good advice like, you know it's not like you have to do something that your org isn't designed for: you should take a look at what your org is supposed to do and see how it, how you can fit into it, and also just support orgs that are already doing the work. She reminded us of that, and that you know, doing what we were doing, which is like reflecting and reading and having conversations in our org about it was, you know, a great first step, taking like concrete action and committing to it, that was also important... it shouldn't just be about saying something, it should be about being, like what we're doing, and if we

don't do it, you can tell us that we told you that we would do it. So that was really helpful in guiding our thinking about that. I mean ultimately she's not gonna like hold your hand through it, but yeah, she helped us and yeah, she's always encouraged us to go to these events [guest speakers in cultural arts and diversity] that I feel are a little bit, um I don't know, not always for us [in Scientific Slug], but you know benefit me all the same. They are a time commitment, but they are important. (*Olivia, Zoom interview, April 16, 2021*).

All three students, Avery, Bobbie Joe, and Olivia, have had intensive interpersonal experiences with appropriate intergenerational mentorship and support, which has provided them with historical context of these issues and guided their interactions and self-reflection in intercultural spaces. An emergent argument is that this combination of intensive high-impact interpersonal experiences—like Avery's living-learning-type residential life experiences and short-term study abroad and Bobbie Joe's field work with appropriate supports—help to explain Avery's and Bobbie Joe's intercultural development process to score in the intercultural stages of the continuum. Occasionally, one of the students who scored in Minimization also had these opportunities. In this case it was Olivia. In the case of Avery, Bobbie Jo, and Olivia, navigating intercultural spaces and conflicts was supported by mentors, who could guide the students and help them to navigate their interpersonal relationships.

Being Part of a Minoritized Community

Four students spoke about how having an identity that was minoritized encouraged them to seek to understand other minoritized groups and encouraged intercultural development. This was not a university experience, per se, but a life

experience that carried into university life. Two students, Bobbie Joe and Avery, talked about the importance of connecting with other people who were making space for difference in gender identity and/or sexual orientation from the time they were in middle or high school and throughout college. This was particularly challenging and important for them because their gender and sexual orientation identities set them apart within their family and broader cultural communities. Bobbie Joe said:

Well, I think I would bring up like being queer, cause that was something you had brought up in the questions. I think that that's definitely also been a contributing factor, because that's another dimension of my community that isn't super talked about, just because being LGBTQ is pretty frowned upon, I would say among, at least in my Latinx community, regardless of where, where you are, it's just not talked about, it's not publicized, there's not resources for anybody, so I think myself, like I didn't know I was queer for a long time, but like a lot of other kids, they ended up becoming friends with a lot of queer people, even though none of us knew we were we were queer yet and I think having like that space of difference, even though we didn't fully understand what made us different from maybe other people, and that kind of banding together, really also, I think, contributed to my intercultural development because even the friends, the queer friends that I have are also, like we're all from the same town, but we're all very different with different backgrounds and different experiences, but we really had to kind of come together because it's, you know, like your safety in numbers, even though you don't really know what you're saving yourself kind of from. That, I think that was really, really important and I think those social relationships built

more when I was in middle school and have stayed with me, like I'm still friends with those same people to now, so yeah they're critical to my development then and they're critical to my development now (*Bobbie Joe, Zoom interview, April 7, 2021*).

Bobbie Joe also spoke about being a Latinx person of color in a diverse Latinx community environment as she grew up:

You feel like you're of two worlds sometimes, especially when you live in the United States, and maybe your parents are from the United States...the community, even for myself, it's very much an immigrant-based community with a lot of first-generation people, so I think that having that specific kind of experience and that feeling even ever since I was young, like I constantly didn't fit in in the spaces I was in and I felt like I had to consistently adapt myself to each different space. Even though maybe to another, maybe to somebody else they would say, oh, all these people are like the same. It's like no, they're not all the same. Like first-generation is very different from people who have been here for multiple generations and that's different from, you know, like Indigenous people who have recently come here or have been here for a long time, and that's different from this other group, and it's just like a lot of, how would I put it, like people say Latinx Community and even I use that term, but I always laugh at it, because there isn't really a Latinx Community. It's a bunch of people who fall under an umbrella and that's kind of been, I think, my life has been interacting and living under that umbrella and not fully knowing where I'm supposed to be under it. And also not fully understanding how we're all put in the same category, when

it's very clear like we're not all the same. And even in my own town, as I mentioned, it's a pretty big mix of people from other Latinx countries that aren't Mexico, and Latinx people who don't really identify as Indigenous and people who have been here multiple generations, people who have just gotten here. So I think growing up in that mixing pot has definitely contributed to my intercultural development, and I don't think that means that simply diversity will breed people who can understand it. Because there are plenty of people in my town, who, all they want is division, and they don't even see other people as being like real community members, and, you know, all of that kind of like bigoted kind of thinking. So, you know, I don't think that like living here is the only reason that I kind of have come out the way that I have, but I think it's in conjunction with like my upbringing has definitely contributed to like having a deeper understanding, I think, of cultural difference and being able to navigate spaces, without making it all about myself and my comfort (*Bobbie Joe, Zoom interview, April 7, 2021*).

This quote shows Bobbie Joe's understanding that living in a community of people from diverse cultural backgrounds may not create conditions sufficient to assure intercultural development and understanding. She is critical of the assumption that diversity automatically engenders intercultural understanding. However, she gravitated toward other kids who were finding their space in being different before they knew what being queer is or called themselves queer.

Avery spoke about how they joined the Gay Straight Alliance in their high school and became the club president:

I kind of came out-ish to a couple people and I thought I was identifying as a demi girl, which would be like on the spectrum of like nonbinary but still feeling like more like a girl than anything else, I guess, I don't identify with that now but, at the time, I think I was trying to fixate on like hyper-specific labels to kind of find a place in my identity that made sense to me....When I got to college I kind of knew I could be anything I wanted at college, I could have an entirely new identity, I could change my name like ten times, if I wanted to. And so at college freshman year, I didn't really think about it too much, I think I was really involved in all the iFloor stuff and I didn't really have any like mental space to dedicate towards figuring out my gender identity, but sophomore year it all kind of crashed down at once, and so when I identified as nonbinary I was suddenly realizing like I constantly had to remind people that like, hey you have to respect my pronouns, even if they don't make sense to you. And I think constantly kind of policing my identity for other people and constantly needing to provide that education, so that they didn't keep doing it, I definitely realized that other people have to do the same thing all the time, like you know, those cultural stereotypes and you know phrases that people throw around and you're like you shouldn't say that and then people are like why, and constantly having to do that kind of education, I did that a lot when I first came out. And so that was like a big moment for me when I was constantly exhausted having to remind people, like hey just because you're mad at me doesn't mean you can use other pronouns and you know just because you're mad at this football player who doesn't even know you exist doesn't mean you can call him a racial slur. It was an interesting

crossover that I didn't really think about before like once you have an identity, you would be tokenized, and like used for the education that you could provide for other people. I think I've actually experienced that here (*Avery, Zoom interview, February 19, 2021*).

Avery's identification as nonbinary made clear to them the importance of doing other anti-hate work, related to race and other social categories in addition to gender.

Miranda, who is Asian American, attributed her choice and the reality of moving away from the San Francisco Bay Area to Santa Cruz as creating growth for her:

Moving away from a very safe bubble, like the Bay Area, to not too far but just in Santa Cruz was already a pretty big factor in my intercultural development. In the Bay Area, I wouldn't say that Asian Americans are the minority, but I feel like in Santa Cruz there are fewer Asian Americans, and so I think, yeah, moving away from the Bay Area for a bit was a big factor in my intercultural development. And then I would also say my conversations with my older brother have been particularly influential in my intercultural development. I think those two factors have been influential. I think what's been the most influential in addition was my experience of watching a lot of Wong Fu production videos when I was growing up, because they've highlighted a lot of characteristics of Asian American identity that they've particularly distinguished from someone who might just be Asian or just be American and that intercultural kind of identity that they've chosen to highlight, which I think was particularly interesting to learn about. And kind of the struggles of being an Asian American has, they like, the struggles that they've

highlighted have particularly resonated with me (*Miranda, Zoom interview, May 5, 2021*).

For Miranda, moving away from an environment where the population was largely Asian American to a university community in which Asian Americans are a demographic minority on campus and even more so in the broader Santa Cruz community, led her to reflect on her cultural identity and how it differed from “just Asian” or “just American” identities.

Ilana, who is a Black American, discussed how being from a minoritized group might help her to understand the experiences of other people who have aspects of identity that are minoritized. She calls these intersections (in the context of intersectionality).

It was like a question that we're talking about in my class and identity development and the question was, do you think the more intersections you have, the more you can relate to other people who have more intersections than you do? And I think, as far as culture is concerned, yes, I think, like being a minority, I may be able to navigate what it's like to be another minority living in America. Even if it's not the exact same thing. Just like our experiences, microaggressions that we might experience may be similar, like it might not be the same, but it could be similar or just like certain practices that I feel like I was taught, like from a very, very young age, I was always taught like you know, when you grow older and you, you know go into the career field or just get out into the world, like you have to work twice as hard. And I feel like that's something that's common that I actually learned talking to my friends about similar things with different cultures, they find themselves having to work really hard, even, just like stereotypes within

different cultural communities. Either trying to combat that, in like distance yourself kind of in a way, from those stereotypes, and being so caught up in that that that becomes like your main priority for your identity almost... Back to the idea of just like colorism and being darker skinned, because I know other minority communities and cultures face that same type of colorism within their community. I feel like growing up my experience was made different for me because I am of darker skin. And so, at least darker skinned people of other cultures, I feel like can also relate to the same notion. People don't really consider that an intersection in culture, but you might find that it is, even if it is just only socially relative or it is a social construct, as well, it's just the experience is still there, it is a difference between how you may interact with cultures, even beauty standards in a certain culture could be based in colorism, and it often is, so growing up, as well as being a woman, that can be kind of hindering to identity, and in your culture as well. I kind of like, I feel like for a long time I have like, this kind of pent up, not aggression, but like just resistance for my own culture for that reason. But then also having other experiences with other cultures and also finding similarities in other cultures having those same experiences, I'm like oh, it really has nothing to do with me and maybe not even the culture per se, but society as a whole, I feel like that speaks to them, in its internalization inside of cultures, rather than the culture being based around that, if that makes sense. yeah, so I like that, fundamentally changed at least my intercultural development and how I viewed different things within different cultures as well, like recognizing those struggles for other people as well (*Ilana, Zoom interview, April 16, 2021*).

Avery's experiences growing up nonbinary, Bobbie Joe's experiences growing up queer, Miranda's experiences coming to a community with fewer Asian Americans, and Ilana's experiences growing up as a Black woman with darker skin in a racist and colorist society have contributed to their understanding of culture and their processes of intercultural development. They have had the need and the opportunity to reflect on how people differ from a young age and have navigated that from their own minoritized identities as young people and during college. Possibly their having been minoritized as young people has helped to draw their attention and care to navigating other differences in their college life interactions. As members of minoritized communities, they have had to constantly navigate against normative majority cultural expectations and this unceasing practice has likely made them more prepared for and better at navigating intercultural interactions at large.

Repeatedly Doing Hard Intercultural Work

Avery's interview showed their fascination with language and their interest in repeatedly engaging in challenging endeavors around culture: studying Chinese after living with a Chinese roommate, being an RA for the iFloor with residents from all over the world, having difficult conversations about topics that might be embarrassing or expose a lack of knowledge in an area they wanted to learn more about from someone else's perspective. Similarly, Bobbie Joe had an eye-opening experience interning with MILPA while at Hartnell College, chose to transfer to UCSC where she knew she would be immersed in a multicultural living environment in College Nine with few others from her own cultural and economic background, and then engaged in field work back at MILPA and with activism in her new university community, all challenging, emotionally

taxing, but fulfilling cultural experiences which engendered further intercultural learning and growth.

Avery and Bobbie Joe seem to find satisfaction or fulfillment in entering a culturally complex intercultural environment and seeking to further their own intercultural learning as well as to develop a deeper understanding of themselves as culturally created people, which may explain their scores in the intercultural orientation stages on the IDI. Because they find this difficult type of interpersonal experience rewarding, they both seem to seek these types of environments again and again, and have been open to the mentorship of others who are more practiced in bridging cultures. This distinguishes them from the students who scored in Minimization, who may either focus on similarities in their intercultural interactions (Mathias, Lily), may focus on more superficial differences like dance styles or cooking (Miranda, Ilana), may engage temporarily or at a distance and then retreat from the discomfort of these kinds of culturally complex intercultural environments (Julie, Jiani, Olivia), or may focus on universalisms and shared humanity but overlook critical identity differences (Mathias). On the other hand, this narrative may oversimplify some of these students' experiences, particularly the students who are doing this difficult psychological and emotional work while frequently being minoritized. Minimization may serve a purpose for them: some may be seeking to clarify their identities, while others may be exhausted by needing to defend their identities against majority-held prejudices or misunderstandings. Perhaps for some of the students, defending aspects of their cultural identities as important and valid is painful, so instead they look for and discuss commonalities.

Conclusion

The students found curriculum, university programs and organizations, college programs in living and learning communities, and leadership development important in their process of intercultural development, which aligns with contemporary research on intercultural development. Interestingly, as the result of pandemic limitations and personal circumstances, no one interviewed for this study had been involved in a traditional quarter-, semester-, or year-long study abroad program, and yet several of the students seem to have acquired the intercultural benefits often attributed to study abroad programs. Some unexpected themes that emerged were their involvement in intense shared experiences including high-impact educational practices such as short-term study abroad programs, field work, and internships. Students also credited mentorship and naturalistic engagement with others with different cultural backgrounds, both in childhood and within university life. These childhood experiences are important for intercultural development researchers to consider, as intercultural development may not be the result of isolated programs, but rather of a lifetime of experiences.

This finding was exemplified by students who discussed how their identity as part of a minoritized group helped them to empathize with other minoritized individuals and reflect on intercultural learning more broadly. Those who scored in Acceptance and Adaptation had intense interpersonal experiences that forced them to engage and reflect in certain ways—even if they were uncomfortable. The others had some exposure to these experiences, but perhaps not to the level of intensity or with as much support from mentors and other students as Bobbie Joe and Avery. Last, the students in Acceptance and Adaptation, Avery and Bobbie Joe, repeatedly sought out challenging intercultural

experiences of this type, seeming to find intercultural learning and growth both challenging and fulfilling.

The findings in this chapter indicate that intercultural development is a complex process for university students. The experiences relayed by students were diverse and varied, based on student interest. A common thematic difference among those who scored further along on the Intercultural Development Continuum, however, was intensive interpersonal experiences that were supported by mentors and/or with guided reflection activities. This distinction is important for both theory and practice, as this study revealed that it is not necessarily *what* students do, but *how* they go about intercultural work. The implications of these findings are described in the concluding chapter of this dissertation.

Chapter Five: Discussion and Conclusions

Introduction

The purpose of this study was to identify the influences that senior undergraduate students at the University of California, Santa Cruz, perceived to be most important to their intercultural development. The study was a mixed-methods study of the lived experiences of the intercultural development of senior undergraduate students at the University of California, Santa Cruz.

Summary of Key Findings

Student participants in this study acknowledged the importance to their intercultural development of the following university experiences and practices: curriculum, programs and organizations, living and learning communities, and leadership development programs. They highlighted the importance of intense shared experiences including high-impact educational practices such as short-term study abroad programs, field work, and internships. Students also credited mentorship and naturalistic engagement with others from different cultural backgrounds, both in childhood and within university life. Several students also discussed how their identity as part of a minoritized group within their community helped them to empathize with other minoritized individuals and reflect on intercultural learning more broadly. Those who scored in Acceptance and Adaptation had intense interpersonal experiences that forced them to engage and reflect in certain ways—even if they were uncomfortable. These experiences, however, were supported by mentors and guided reflection activities that allowed for Avery and Bobbie Joe to sit with and learn from their discomfort. The others

had exposure to similar postsecondary education experiences, but perhaps not to the level of intensity or with as much support from mentors and other students as Bobbie Joe and Avery. Although it is impossible to generalize this finding, the lived experiences of students in this study demonstrate that students who scored further along the developmental continuum were characterized by their repeated seeking out challenging intercultural experiences, and a desire to engage with intercultural learning and growth. For students further on the IDC, intercultural engagement was both challenging and fulfilling.

At the conclusion of Chapter Four, I noted that this study's findings indicate that intercultural development may be linked more to *how* students engage at their universities rather than *what* specific activities in which they engage. This was evidenced by the fact that nearly all the students discussed intercultural learning experiences that happened here on campus or in nearby internships as the experiences most salient to their intercultural development. Although study abroad has long been considered a high-impact practice for facilitating students' intercultural development, data from this study indicate that high-impact practices also occurred in students' university community and neighboring counties (a process sometimes called Internationalization at Home) (Crowther et al., 2000, Beelen & de Wit, 2012). In this case, the activities were not always internationally focused, so a more appropriate name might be 'Interculturalization at Home.' Although several students did mention international experiences in Germany, Israel, and Portugal, the majority of what the students discussed as important to their intercultural development happened in Santa Cruz or Monterey Counties (California), within 50 miles of campus. This is an important finding, because there haven't yet been

many studies situated to examine the intersections of Internationalization at Home, High-Impact Undergraduate Education Practices, and intercultural learning. The following section will outline how this study's findings inform research on high-impact undergraduate practices (see Kuh, 2006), intercultural development theory (see Bennett, 1998), and place-based education.

Implications for Research

High-Impact Practices and Intercultural Development

The term “High-Impact Practices” was coined by George Kuh in the 2006 National Survey of Student Engagement (NSSE) annual report in his discussion of a variety of particular types of student learning experiences—“activities that make a claim on student time and energy in ways that deepen learning and change the way students think and act (NSSE 2006).” Kuh explicates further in the NSSE 2007 Annual Report, *Experiences That Matter, Enhancing Student Learning and Success*:

There is growing evidence that—when done well—a handful of selected programs and activities appear to engage participants at levels that boost their performance across a variety of educational activities and desired outcomes such as persistence. The Association of American Colleges and Universities listed ten of the more promising “high impact” practices in its 2007 report, *College Learning for a New Global Century*. They include first-year seminars, common intellectual experiences, learning communities, service learning, undergraduate research, study abroad and other experiences with diversity, internships, and capstone courses and projects (NSSE 2007).”

Many of the experiences named by students as contributing to their intercultural development are largely these types of high-impact practices: first-year seminars (called core courses at UCSC), service learning, undergraduate research, study abroad, guided field work, and internships. Although high-impact practices research has primarily focused on teaching and learning of academic content in higher education settings, the conditions present in the high-impact practices that UCSC participants have noted can also influence intercultural development processes. This finding is likely explained by Kuh's research (2008), which suggested that high-impact practices are effective because they require dedication and a substantial time commitment from students; require students to communicate with classmates and professors about meaningful topics; expose students to diverse ideas and people of different backgrounds; provide students with regular assessments of their work; enable students to apply their knowledge within and beyond the classroom walls; and possess a powerful potential to change the course of students' lives (Kuh, 2008).

The high-impact practices that students highlighted in this study as most important to their intercultural development also shared the feature of being high-intensity for the students, with considerable importance to them and constructed meaning both intellectually and emotionally. A defining feature of this study was the way that students who scored in the upper ranges of the IDI described the intensity of their experiences, and their willingness to struggle within such experiences. Interestingly, many of the high-impact practices for intercultural development identified in this study were more predictably related to experiential or co-curricular parts of the university (housing, field work, activism, student leadership, etc.) that required students to confront,

sustain, and normalize the discomfort of communicating with others different from them, often with the support and guidance of a mentor, professor, college student life staff person, and/or other students.

Kuh's discussion of why high-impact practices are effective aligns with the importance that intercultural development scholars have placed on the practice of guided reflection in intercultural experiences for students (Bennett, 2008; Engle & Engle 2003; Savicki, 2010; Vande Berg et al., 2009), particularly the importance of reflection when exposure to diverse ideas and people occurs. Intercultural scholars have long advocated for experiences that are coupled with regular feedback from peers, faculty, or mentors, and application of new knowledge (Vande Berg et al., 2009). In this study, students described situations and structures in which students had formal training and guided reflection and support, like Avery's participation in the ILC and the iFloor and Bobbie Joe's field study at MILPA. In both cases, the students appeared to benefit more in terms of intercultural learning than when students were left on their own and reverted to or remained with minimizing conceptualizations and behaviors, such as Lily's experience in typical student housing (that did not have structured conversations in living communities) or Mathias's experiences with soccer and his archeological dig.

The practices and experiences reflected in this study also largely offer similar conditions to include some or all of the four positive features proposed by Allport's social contact theory (1954): equal status between the groups in the situation; common goals; intergroup cooperation; and the support of authorities, law, or custom (Allport, 1954). As Pettigrew and Tropp (2006) asserted in their meta-analytic test of intergroup contact theory, "samples with structured programs showed significantly stronger contact-

prejudice effects than the remaining samples” (p. 766), again reflecting the importance of building university programs to include guided reflection, encouraged and discussed with mentors (faculty, staff, or student leaders) and peers as particularly effective and essential to the intercultural program structure. The alignment of program features with those suggested by Allport are not surprising, given that Allport’s groundbreaking work in the mid-1950s has been drawn upon by interculturalists for decades. This study did not introduce any new dimensions or directions for Allport’s work, but instead demonstrated that contact theory still informs intercultural research decades after its original findings.

Community-Engaged Learning

University campuses have also long supplemented curricula with service learning and community-based opportunities for students. According to Kligo et al., 2014, “numerous studies have found that participation in service learning and community-based learning is positively associated with a variety of diversity outcomes, including increasing students’ awareness of diversity (Simons & Cleary, 2006), openness to diversity (Jones & Abes, 2004), multicultural competence (Einfeld & Collins, 2008), global perspective-taking (Engberg & Fox 2011), and intercultural effectiveness (Kligo et al., 2014). Students in this study had varied experiences with the community outside of the university, but a key finding again was the importance of both intensity and support. For example, a moving example of a community engagement opportunity that placed a student in an intense, at times uncomfortable environment, but supported her navigation of it, was Bobbie Joe’s experience with MILPA. The service learning organization Motivating Individual Leadership for Public Advancement (MILPA) offers an excellent example of a structured program which introduced exposure to and guided reflection with

diverse individuals and groups, while supporting equal status between the groups, common goals, intergroup cooperation, and the support and guidance of the service organization leaders. When we discussed the MILPA structure, which fostered respect of difference and encouraged people to talk about differences in a way in which the mentors supported all groups of people without prioritizing one group as the norm over another, Bobbie Joe said:

There needs to be a genuine space of allowing people to work through the feelings that they have, and I feel like that's what MILPA gave me, my family gave me that, Community Studies helped to give me that space. Because nobody gets anywhere by themselves, I don't think that I became this person just because I decided that I want to be like a culturally competent person. I became this way because of guidance and because of people structuring and setting up spaces for me to learn, and facilitating those spaces in a way, where I felt like I could be truthful with what I was feeling and also be truthful, just be open, I guess, and really feel that there's a genuine attempt at connecting with other people (*Bobbie Joe, Zoom interview, April 7, 2021*).

Bobbie Joe's experience with MILPA was in Salinas, California, and via Zoom from home in Greenfield, both in Monterey County, the neighboring county to Santa Cruz. As Bobbie Joe explained, MILPA is a "movement space designed for and led by formerly incarcerated and system-impacted individuals," centering "cultural healing, racial equity, and love," within its organizational history.

Bobbie Joe's positionality was somewhat unique in this study, but provided an important point of learning for service learning and community-engaged learning

program planners. Rather than center Bobbie Joe as a privileged student who will ‘help’ the ‘other,’ as some service-learning programs do, MILPA staff centered training, community-embedded learning, and guided reflection to move participants toward understanding their own cultural identities and those of other people, while involving participants in community-engaged learning and community empowerment. This set Bobbie Joe’s experience apart from others in emotional intensity and intercultural learning. Additionally, MILPA’s leadership provided an opportunity for immersion into a complex intercultural environment where Bobbie Joe wasn’t minoritized—a wide variety of cultural identities and practices were honored and respected in MILPA without any one identity being centered or normalized. These differences may help explain Bobbie Joe’s perspective on intercultural communication and learning, or may have reinforced dispositions that she already possessed. In either case, the core themes of intensity and reflection were present again in the MILPA program.

Intercultural Development and Experiential Constructivism

Finally, student responses highlighted the importance of experiential intercultural learning, which aligns with previous research on broader evidence related to experiential learning in higher education. The student-participants in this study each cited some of the most salient parts of their intercultural development journeys as the times they engaged in experiential learning, which is consistent with Experiential Learning Theory (Passarelli & Kolb, 2012). Experiential learning theory (Dewey, 1938) posits that knowledge is socially constructed and based on experiences, which provide a context for the information. Learners learn from their experiences when they are ready and capable of doing so. As with Internationalization at Home, “Interculturalization at Home” relies on

theories of constructivism. Dewey wrote that education must engage with and expand experience. Dewey believed that educational methods must provide for exploration, thinking, and reflection (Dewey, as reported in Smith, 1997), which aligns with the student responses in this study as they discuss gaining a greater measure of intercultural competence.

As noted above, experiential learning for intercultural purposes may be just as effective for students on a U.S. college campus as it is for students who study abroad. This finding coincides with Johnstone et al.'s finding that "U.S. based service learning opportunities that are intentionally experiential and contain cross-cultural elements may be just as effective in developing students' cultural appreciation and critical thinking skills as international experiences." (2018, p. 1).

The students' experiences align with conceptualizations of Experiential Constructivism in intercultural learning discussed by Vande Berg, Paige, and Lou, who expressed particular concern for "how knowledge is learned and taught" in the field of study abroad (2012, p.8), rather than focusing on students being abroad itself as the most important lever for learning. As Vande Berg, Paige, and Lou write, "These shifting assumptions are not limited to the field of study abroad: Changing views of teaching and learning abroad represent only one manifestation of a much broader paradigm shift in the ways that theorists, researchers, teachers, and practitioners in many parts of the world are coming to new understandings about how learners learn, and about how educators can best intervene to help them learn" (2012, p. 9). Deep learning, per Passarelli and Kolb, "whether at home or abroad" is "experiential, developmental, holistic, and dialectic" (Vande Berg et al., 2012, p. 12). A primary goal of intercultural learning is to "allow

students to shift cultural perspectives and to adapt their behavior to other cultural contexts—knowledge that will allow them to interact more effectively and appropriately with others throughout their lives” (Vande Berg et al, 2012, p. 18). The student participants in this study demonstrated that intercultural learning can be pursued and developed here at home, on campus and in neighboring communities, provided that opportunities for supportive, yet challenging engagement are offered and guided reflection is supported, with dedicated time and encouragement for the students to engage emotionally and process their experiences with a mentor.

In sum, all students in this study had the opportunity to participate in high-impact practices. Interviews revealed, however, that students’ intercultural orientation often reflected *how* they engaged in such opportunities. Some students, for example, sought out opportunities to learn about “other cultures” through opportunities like sharing food or attending festivals. Other students attached intercultural experiences to pursuits for justice—a theme often overlooked in intercultural research. Still others searched for “common ground” with others different from themselves, an orientation that often leads to a Minimization orientation score. In a few instances, however, students like Avery, Bobbie Joe, and at particular times, others, pursued intensive interactional opportunities that required navigation through, at times, uncomfortable encounters and conversations. When they did, students most often benefited from opportunities to reflect, ask questions, and learn in spaces that were safe but intense and challenging.

Implications for Practice and Policy

Prioritizing Local Intercultural Programs and Opportunities

This study focused on student intercultural learning. The study asked students what they thought contributed to their current levels of intercultural competence, as measured by the IDI. For decades, one of the most accepted methods in higher education for facilitating such intercultural competence was believed to be study abroad. However, even in the best circumstances, only about 11 percent of U.S. undergraduates were able to study abroad pre-pandemic (Open Doors, 2019). In more complicated times, such as during the current SARS-CoV-2/COVID-19 global pandemic, far fewer students have the opportunity to study abroad. The alignment of my study with the global pandemic was accidental, but the student narratives provided an opportunity to see how intercultural development took place closer to home. To offer the same opportunities to the 89 or 90 percent of U.S. undergraduates who don't have the opportunity to study abroad, local or nearby programs can be designed to offer intercultural learning spaces and to mentor students in gaining intercultural skills and competencies through exposure to cultural patterns of difference and guided reflection about one's own cultural perspectives and the perspectives of others sharing the space. Bobbie Joe's experiences with MILPA in Salinas, 44 miles from campus and 34 miles from her home, serve as a good example of intercultural learning done locally, and other experiences such as living and learning communities, structured conversations, and moments of student solidarity provided other examples. In sum, local opportunities to develop intercultural competence may be just as effective as study abroad, but, according to the findings of this study, require careful forethought in their design, including opportunities for emotional engagement, guided reflection, and processing of their intercultural learning experiences, including the clarification and claiming of aspects of their own identities.

Importance of University as Place

The curricular and co-curricular programs in college life make the university a particularly important time and place for intercultural learning and development. Students are often open and curious about learning from people who have had different life experiences, and they are brought together in a sort of intercultural laboratory in residence life, student organizations, community service, field studies, student leadership opportunities, and other kinds of co-curricular and experiential learning activities. As explicated before, the conditions in some of these situations match the circumstances that can lead to bias reduction and intercultural learning explained by Allport's social contact theory (1954).

Avery and Bobbie Joe both had transformative intercultural learning experiences in college: Avery in residential life and short-term study abroad, Bobbie Joe in community field work and activism. Although college is a busy time with multiple stressors and activities competing for attention, it can also be a time of relative freedom in choosing who and what to engage with and how to learn. Considerable examples in this study display students learning in experiential ways and finding meaning in high-intensity, high-impact learning practices that may be less available to them in other periods of adulthood.

Next Steps at UCSC

The Ed.D. project is one that is designed both to inform practice widely, and more importantly, in the particular place where research took place. In planning for a future in which intercultural learning is central to the life of students, faculty, and staff at UC Santa Cruz, developing a shared vision for the university could include focusing on

interculturalization (intercultural learning) at home, broader and more available to all than the narrower international (transnational) education. The university could invest in resources to support more internships, service work, undergraduate research, and community-embedded learning of all types in communities locally, within multicultural California. Thought leaders at UCSC could inspire a shared vision through shared governance of the International Center, in which staff, faculty, and students may be encouraged to co-construct the center to incorporate intercultural learning here on campus and nearby.

One specific opportunity with the International Center is to find ways to create repeated interpersonal interactions with appropriate mentorship to create high-intensity, brave, and vulnerable intercultural learning environments. The Global Programming team has begun to try this model out this past academic year using Darla Deardorff's *Story Circles* method, which helps participants engage deeply and meaningfully across differences while sharing personal stories that illustrate human commonalities and cultural differences (Deardorff, 2019). *Story Circles* have been used around the world with UNESCO projects.

Additionally, the International Center could be a home base for a UCSC chapter of the Interfaith Youth Corps, encouraging students to share their beliefs and associated values and faith, a topic that is rarely discussed in depth, even among friends and roommates. Last, with support and resources, the International Center could become a place from which community-embedded learning and service could be structured and planned, with guided reflection built into these programs, along with cultural exchange.

Each of the ideas presented above reflect the findings of this study. Data from this dissertation revealed that there is no magic program that facilitates intercultural development or competence, but there are *ways* in which programs are implemented that may create space for effective and respectful intercultural communication. The students in this study revealed that seemingly endless opportunities to engage interculturally exist on a college campus, if one chooses to do so, but rarer are the opportunities to engage in difficult conversations, process them emotionally, reflect on how cultural differences impact communication, and benefit from thoughtful mentorship.

Methodological Contributions of This Study

One of the strengths of the study was that it employed a psychometrically valid instrument which is found to be statistically reliable and valid, including in its use around the world in various cultural contexts and in a wide variety of empirical studies. The instrument provided a lens through which to interpret student responses. Although there were not always clearly discernible lines between students who scored on different orientations of the IDI, patterns emerged between students who scored in Minimization and those whose IDI scores indicated a more intercultural orientation of Acceptance or Adaptation. In this way, the IDI was a useful tool for providing a vocabulary for coding qualitative data. It is unclear whether a different measure (such as the Cultural Intelligence scale) would yield similar distinctions or whether study of one or more of its components such as motivational cultural intelligence might offer another important lens, so further research in this area is warranted.

Qualitative data helped to explain student positions on the continuum and informed theoretical perspectives on the Intercultural Development Continuum (formerly DMIS). At times in this study, responses followed patterns of orientations clearly, and at other times students who scored in the Minimization range described experiences or reflections that were far more ethnorelative or intercultural than their scores predicted. However, the in-depth stories of students provided rich description on the ways that students engaged with difference and structures of programs to support such engagement. In this way, qualitative data was very effective in explaining quantitative trends.

Limitations of the Study

Several limitations to this study might impact the utility of its findings. Originally, I had hoped to find a large enough sample of students in the orientation stage of Adaptation at UCSC, so that I would have a large pool of participants able to discuss their lived experiences in intercultural development as a process, all the way through to the stage of Adaptation. The vast majority of the students who responded didn't score in the stage of Adaptation. However, it was valuable to hear how participants who scored in high Minimization and Acceptance discussed what intercultural development meant to them and their journeys to these understandings of self and process. Having participants whose scores position them in these stages (at the time they used the IDI) sheds some light on how someone in that stage observes and reflects on their encounters with difference.

Second, the students with whom I explored intercultural development and their lived experiences were also living through the SARS-CoV-2/COVID-19 pandemic. The students talked with me during the winter or spring of their senior year of study. Spring quarter of their junior year had been interrupted by the pandemic and these students had interned, researched, and/or studied online for about a year prior to the time that they spoke with me. None of the students I spoke with had been studying abroad in Spring 2020 and no one mentioned any derailed plans to intern, study, or research abroad, but perhaps the students who had had their plans disrupted chose not to talk with me. It is important to note that even local high-impact practices were changed by COVID-19. Bobbie Joe did her research with MILPA remotely, for example. A study of seniors uninterrupted by a pandemic—that is, who did not have to cancel transnational and local in-person endeavors—would be important to see if outcomes are similar.

Further, my study took place at the institution where I was employed. As far as I remember, I had only met one of the students in my study before (Avery), and I had interacted with that student for about an hour at a retreat, but I imagine that knowing I was a UCSC employee in the Division of Global Engagement may have affected what some students were willing to share with me. Some may have shared more with me than they would have with an external researcher and some may have shared less. Additionally, UCSC is a unique and politically progressive university environment. It is difficult to say how conversations and conclusions might have varied at a different type of institution.

Last, the biases of the researcher are important to recognize and consider. The Developmental Model of Intercultural Sensitivity, the Intercultural Development Continuum, and the Intercultural Development Inventory all come from a constructivist paradigm. Choosing the IDI as an instrument for this study also matches this epistemological paradigm, as does using qualitative interviews as my research methods in this study, subsequent to the IDI. I acknowledge the value of measuring outcomes in international education quantitatively, and I see additional value in qualitative research, where concepts may be defined and shaped by student understanding of themselves as members of various cultural groups, with intersectional identities, and “habitual ways of perceiving and behaving that have been informed by genetic makeup, prior experience, and present needs and requirements...shaping [their] experience of what is ‘out there’” (Vande Berg et al., 2012, p. 18). I am drawn to the paradigm of constructivism because it resonates with my experiences as an intercultural learner and an international educator. It is also important to acknowledge, because my study is framed so heavily by their book,

that I worked with Mick Vande Berg at Georgetown University and studied with Michael Paige at the University of Minnesota.

Implications for Future Research

This study suggests several opportunities for future research in this area. First, further qualitative research with student participants at similar and different types of institutions would be merited—do students at small, liberal arts universities discuss their lived experiences in intercultural development differently than students at R1 research institutions? What about students at Historically Black Colleges and Universities (HBCUs) or Hispanic-Serving Institutions versus predominantly White institutions? Where do narratives differ for students at community colleges? Would a larger study that finds more students in Acceptance or Adaptation stages lead to different conclusions? All of these questions could be considered by researchers who are interested in the intercultural development that occurs at higher education institutions.

Second, more quantitative research could be conducted with a larger sample size so that there might be statistically significant inferences. For example, the IDI allows for demographic data to be collected with the instrument. With a larger sample size, correlational analyses could have been conducted in relation to student life or university experiences and IDI scores. Third, it would be beneficial to conduct further studies when students are not living through a global pandemic, which has restricted their access to travel and in-person interactions locally, nationally, and internationally.

Further areas of research suggested by my study that can be taken on by scholars include:

- A questioning of the study abroad imperative. Many students cannot study abroad for a variety of reasons including finances and immigration status; this study indicates that students instead gain intercultural skills and competencies here close to home. This line of research often occurs among Internationalization at Home (IaH), and could be expanded to include the concept of “Interculturalization at Home” described in this dissertation.
- The imperative for intercultural mentoring and support (and not just leaving students to “figure it out”) in campus-based residential life and other co-curricular programs.
- Considering the intensity of interpersonal interactions as a consideration for activities that are designed to model intercultural communication and assist with intercultural development. A study that looks at intercultural development, identity development, and emotional measures to understand the relationship between these two areas of development would be fascinating.
- Further conceptualization and operationalization of the term “Interculturalization at Home” to describe programs and interactions that go beyond internationalization.

Conclusion

The discovery of high-impact, high-intensity intercultural practices at home is important to intercultural development, as reported by students who score in transitional or intercultural positions on the Intercultural Development Continuum. Findings from this study may encourage educators to develop and encourage participation in these types of practices on and near U.S. campuses. These local high-impact, high-intensity program

opportunities may broaden the availability of intercultural learning opportunities for all students, not just those who can afford to study, research, or intern abroad. These programs, however, appear to be most effective when they are interpersonally intense and provide support and mentoring for students.

Students can develop intercultural competence through a variety of program options. Students on the UCSC campus, for example, indicated that options abounded in residence life, campus student groups, coursework, and community engagement programs. Findings from this study indicate that not every student needs to study abroad in order to develop intercultural skills. Such development, however, may be more likely if carefully structured to both challenge and support students.

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Appendix A: Timeline

August, 2020: UMN determined study exempt from IRB review

October, 2020: UCSC determined study exempt from IRB review

December, 2020: Approved to receive contact information for students

January to March, 2021: Students invited to participate in study

January to April, 2021: IDI Interpretations

January to April, 2021: Interviews

January to May, 2021: Transcripts

May to August, 2021: Coding

August, 2021 to March, 2022: Writing

March to August, 2022: Revisions

Appendix B: Interview Questions

1. Please tell me about some experiences that have been most impactful to you in terms of cultural learning.
2. What does intercultural development mean to you?
3. What university courses, if any, have been most important to your intercultural development?
4. What university-related programs or organizations, if any, have been most important to your intercultural development?
5. What College Nine programs (i.e. iFloor, ILC, CLNI 85 Global Action class, ICW), if any, have been important to your intercultural development?
6. Have you been involved in any student leadership positions that were important to your intercultural development?
7. What other experiences, if any, have been most important to your intercultural development?
8. Did anyone act as a mentor to help you develop intercultural sensitivity or competence? If so, who and in what ways?
9. Was there anything in particular about your relationships to family, friends, teachers, or others that contributed to your intercultural development?
10. Is there anything in particular in your demographic background, upbringing, or identity that has been instrumental to your intercultural development?
11. Is there anything else you would like us to know about your intercultural development journey?

12. To what do you most attribute your intercultural development?
13. What has been most influential to your intercultural journey?
14. How do you anticipate your intercultural skills and competencies will affect your future?
15. What advice would you give a new UCSC student who would like to develop better intercultural skills or competencies?
16. Do you have any questions for me?
17. What name and pronouns would you like me to use?