

**Cosmopolitan Berkeley and the Concept of Cultural Diversity
in an American University***

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

At least initially, providing access to higher education and notions of inclusion were largely focused on economic diversity and geographic representation. Even California's famed 1960 Master Plan for higher education, which modified an already productive mass higher education, made no mention of race and ethnicity in expanding access to the state's network of public community colleges and universities.² The rise of the Civil Rights movement and greater societal concern with issues of equity and race increased pressure on the University of California to more fully reflect the demography of the state's burgeoning population.

A second reason for the elevated role of cultural diversity in American higher education relates to educational policy. Advocates have argued and attempted to document the notion that undergraduates should be exposed to persons of different racial, ethnic, and economic backgrounds in the course of their academic and social experience at a university.³ This concept has been reiterated and debated in a series of legal cases defending various forms of affirmative action—essentially, providing some form of preference for underrepresented groups in admissions to highly selective public universities, like the University of California, Berkeley campus. The US Supreme Court considered this argument in their 2004 decision regarding the use of racial preferences at the University of Michigan in undergraduate and graduate admissions—the first

* A version of this article was published in *Voprosy Obrazovaniya (Russian Journal of Educational Studies)*.

² See John Aubrey Douglass, *The California Idea and American Higher Education: 1850 to the 1960 Master Plan* (Stanford University Press 2000, second edition 2007). <http://www.sup.org/book.cgi?book_id=3189>; John Aubrey Douglass, *The Conditions for Admission: Access, Equity, and the Social Contract of Public Universities* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2007) <http://www.sup.org/book.cgi?book_id=5558%205559>.

³ For an example of current research on this topic, see Mitchell J. Chang, Nida Denson, Victor Sáenz, and Kimberly Misa, "The Educational Benefits of Sustaining Cross-Racial Interaction among Undergraduates, Research and Occasional Paper Series, Center for Studies in Higher Education, UC Berkeley, February 2005, CSHE 2.05.

major review of affirmative action by the court since the 1979 *Bakke* case.⁴ The value of diversity was again debated before the Supreme Court in the recent *Schuetz vs the Coalition to Defend Affirmative Action*, where opponents of affirmative action in university admissions seek to overturn a lower court ruling that struck down a voter-approved ban of affirmative action in the state of Michigan as unconstitutional—a case that the court is currently revisiting as of this writing.

Currently, the merits of a culturally diverse student body are measured by the number of students from underrepresented groups, particularly low-income families and minorities, including the growing population of Chicano Latinos. The idea that cultural and other forms of diversity enhance the educational experience for all students and produce larger social benefits has deeper historical roots at Berkeley. The original justification for student diversity arose from the university's efforts to enroll international students and, in turn, enhance the educational experience of all students while extending California's economic and political influence.

Debates in the late 1800s and early twentieth century centered on the appropriateness of enrolling foreign students, particularly those from Asia. The result was an important intellectual discussion of the merits of diversity and the ideals of a cosmopolitan university. One important issue was the political difficulties of providing housing to international students who faced discriminatory practices by local landlords. University efforts to provide housing proved to be important for expanding the enrollment of underrepresented minorities in later decades.

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

I then attempt a brief discussion on a related issue: how has Berkeley's increased enrollment of international students at the undergraduate level impacted the enrollment of Californians in the UC system? The intent is not to provide an exhaustive analysis, but simply to link the past and present debates related to international students and pose a few macro policy challenges facing the UC system (a network of 10 campuses) as it undergoes yet another shift in the composition of its student body. One contemporary policy concern is whether the increased number of international students, particularly at the undergraduate level, is crowding out Californians at Berkeley, and throughout the UC system. A recent budget deal between the UC Office of the President and Governor Jerry Brown set arbitrary limits on Berkeley and UCLA's further enrollment of these students. An inadequate funding model for UC, with declining financial support from the state over the past decade and more, make it nearly impossible for UC to grow in enrollment capacity with the state population in the long-term. Enrolling Californians and international students then becomes a zero-sum game.

⁴ For a discussion of the politics of affirmative action and the challenges of admissions at places like UC Berkeley, see John Aubrey Douglass, “Affirmative Action, the Fisher Case, and the Supreme Court,” Research and Occasional Papers Series (ROPS), Center for Studies in Higher Education, CSHE.2.13 (February 2013) <<http://cshe.berkeley.edu/publications/publications.php?s=1>>; a version published in *University World News*, March 2, 2013, Issue 261: <<http://www.universityworldnews.com/article.php?story=20130227135122202&query=Affirmative+Action%2C+the+Fisher+Case%2C+>>>.

Recognizing that the issue of enrollment capacity and real and perceived displacement of Californians remains the primary focus of policymakers and the public, the enrollment of international students at Berkeley and at other universities needs to articulate their role in campus diversity objectives; more specifically, we need to explore more deeply how these students contribute to the academic milieu in an era of globalization and talent mobility. Many talented international students also seek pathways to stay in the state, entering graduate programs or filling jobs that contribute to regional and national economies. While this essay focuses on Berkeley, these policy issues are universal.

Seeing Value in Foreign Engagement

Having students of varied socio-economic backgrounds learning together has long been a central mission of America's public universities. The land-grant university movement and, more generally, the concerted effort by states, particularly Midwest and Western states along the Pacific, to create public institutions embraced the concept that talented students could be found in all classes of people, and that there are inherent benefits in working and studying together. This core belief explains free tuition and why admissions standards at new institutions like Berkeley barred the use of religion (the great political divide of the 19th century) as criteria.

Many public universities attempted to include students from all corners of a state—a form of inclusion based on an understanding that wide public support was a political necessity. With some glaring exceptions, public universities operated very differently from their private counterparts in their admissions practices. For most of their history, the vast majority of private colleges and universities remained bound to accepting students from the sectarian communities that sustained them, and often systematically excluded various groups, often the latest wave of immigrant groups.

As the foundation for the world's first mass higher education system, public universities were overtly created to be grand social-engineering experiments, generating talent and leaders from all (or most) sectors of society, to provide what James Rowland Angell once proclaimed as an “uncommon education for the common man.” The ideal of a socio-economically diverse student body was not an American vision alone, although no other country pursued it as vigorously. In his famous 1852 tome on the importance of community in the English college, Cardinal Newman insisted that students from different backgrounds learning and living together were important in both the classroom and the boarding house.

Students, he remarked, “are sure to learn from one another, even if there be no one to teach them; the conversation of all is a series of lectures to each, and they gain for themselves new ideas and views, fresh matter of thought, and distinct principles for judging and acting, day by day.”⁵ America's first public universities all understood their state-chartered role as a melting pot, and focused on the concept of producing talent whatever its origins, although with obvious and usually racially insensitive limitations. Yet, as noted, the ideals of diversity, and debates on its merits, had their first intensive debate around the enrollment of international students, and the prejudices they faced.

As early as the 1870s, California's state university professed an interest in educating a cohort of international students. The university's second president, Daniel Coit Gilman, was the first to

⁵ John Henry Newman, *The Idea of a University* (Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Press, 1852).

articulate why this was of interest to the university and California. Looking not toward Europe, but to the vast markets of Asia, he thought both the enrollment of international students and the promotion of scholarly research on major international powers held numerous benefits. Their presence would enlighten the academic community, argued Gilman, provide a service for other nations and cultures, and promote commerce. California was a “new civilization of the Pacific Coast,” and needed to foster and build on “the enlightenment of Asiatic nations . . . for it is obvious that California is not only granary, treasury, and mart for the American States which are growing up on this long coast, but it is the portal through which the Occident and Orient must exchange their products and their thoughts.”

China and Japan, Australia, and the “Islands of the Sea,” he noted, “are the neighbors and the customers of the Golden State. Shall they not also look here for instruction in the arts and sciences, and for an example of a well-organized and well-educated community? The endowment of a professorship, which shall be devoted to the study of Chinese and Japanese, indicates an early recognition of this intimate relationship. We can not be too quick to prepare for the possible future which may open upon us.”⁶

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

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

Taking the job of University of California president in 1899, Wheeler sought state and philanthropic contributions in part to fund international anthropological expeditions. Prior to the spectacle of the San Francisco school board rebuilding and maintaining a separate “Oriental School” to include not only Chinese, but students of Japanese and Korean background, Wheeler argued that, “A fixed prejudice is a case of arrested development. Like the petty village aversions, racial and social prejudices generally affect what is near at hand, what one sees and does not know. The man who has made up his mind that he dislikes Jews or Chinese or some other blood has introduced into his life a persistent source of narrowness, blindness, and poverty. He has raised a barrier between himself and the exceeding richness of human fellowship.”⁷

Unlike China, Japan was an emerging economic and military power, demonstrated by its decisive victory in the Russo-Japanese War of 1904–05. Forcing some 93 Japanese students, 22 of whom were U.S. citizens, into the Oriental School caused an international controversy. The Jap-

⁶ The Building of the University, an inaugural address delivered at Oakland, Nov. 7, 1872, by Daniel C. Gilman, president of the University of California, University of California Archives, Bancroft Library, UC Berkeley.

⁷ Benjamin Ide Wheeler, address delivered at Dartmouth College, June 27, 1905, in *The Abundant Life* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1926).

anese government protested directly to President Roosevelt. At some political risk, Wheeler opposed the effort to segregate Japanese students. Roosevelt called the board's action a "wicked absurdity." Concerned with the geopolitical consequences, the president convinced the school board to visit Washington and struck a deal with California lawmakers and the Japanese government—the board would end the segregation order and the Japanese government would stop issuing passports for laborers to the U.S.⁸

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

They must know each other and commune frankly with each other. The instincts of the two peoples are in many regards different, and their inheritance is very different. But they are able, working together, to help each other greatly because one can bring to service what the other lacks. We Americans, and especially we Californians, admire very greatly the ready adaptability of the Japanese man to new conditions and strange tasks. We admire very greatly his capacity for organization, such as he showed in the medical department of his army during the recent war with Russia. We admire beyond all measure his devotion to his country and his Empire and his willingness to make personal sacrifice for the greater cause. We admire the delicate taste in form and color and action that the best of his people display. There is no finer taste in color and there is no finer courtesy of act than that which appears under the name and the auspices of Japan. May the two peoples always fairly understand each other.⁹

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

Forms of Xenophobia

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

⁸ See Douglass, *The Conditions for Admissions*, 62–64.

⁹ Benjamin Ide Wheeler, message to the Japanese students of the University of California, published in the *Berkeley Lyceum*, June 1909, in *The Abundant Life* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1926).

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

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

In 1921, approximately 172 Asian students were California residents, including 66 of Chinese ancestry, 62 Japanese, 33 Filipinos, and 11 Hindus.¹⁰ Combining nonresident and resident, the Berkeley campus enrolled a minimum of 312 students from what we would call today minorities from the various regions of the state—or approximately three percent of all graduate and undergraduate enrollment. While this may seem a statistically small percentage, it was significant compared to the total minority population of the state, which in 1920 stood at approximately eight percent according to the US Census.

The president cited no figures on the number of African Americans or Native Americans, perhaps in part because the report focused on foreign students. Berkeley did have a small number of African Americans in the 1920s, with the first enrolling in the 1890s. The total number of blacks in the state, however, was extremely small, representing less than two percent of California's population between 1880 and the late 1920s.

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

In most areas of university management, Barrows was arguably inept, and his tenure was brief. The university was wracked by state budget cuts and had undergone a successful faculty drive for more power over university affairs. In many areas, Barrows was extremely conservative and not particularly politically adept, despite his teaching and research as a political scientist. He had served as the Superintendent of Schools in Manila before taking a professorship at Berkeley, and then the presidency. Barrows was convinced of America's destiny as a world power, with the markets of Asia its first major conquest. Ironically, his imperialistic tendency made him a staunch defender of foreign students at the university. California, he told the regents, "must enjoy its due weight in the councils of the nation through superior character and education of its people and through their unification in common spirit." He continued:

¹⁰ January 4, 1921, Regents Special Meeting, "Tuition on Aliens and Non-Residents." The presence "of Japanese, Chinese, and other Oriental students" at Berkeley, noted the University Recorder in 1921, "has caused a good deal of discussion and has resulted in greatly exaggerated statements concerning the number of these students in attendance."

It could be shown that the state is economically benefited due to the increase in wealth and new taxpayers by the privileges of free education that it accords to potential citizens. As for the foreign-born students: they are not very significant. They do not impose any special burdens. In some cases, notably the Chinese and the Russian students from Siberia, as well as certain students who are beginning to come from Latin American countries, I feel that the promised advantages to the commerce of California, as well as to our international relations, are considerable.¹¹

Barrows convinced the regents to continue enrolling foreign students and the rubric that Berkeley must be a cosmopolitan university in order to best meet the needs of California. Less than a decade later, Berkeley would enroll some 340 foreign students from 44 countries. In accommodating these, and all the students flowing to Berkeley and UCLA, housing was a crucial problem. Until 1929, the University of California operated not a single dormitory. Students rented from local communities or joined one of the growing numbers of fraternities and sororities whose principal attraction was a place to live near the campus.

In 1874, the regents approved the construction of eight cottages for students on university property. Each cottage accommodated 10 persons. By 1900, there were some 45 social fraternities.¹² All of them operated independently with minimal oversight by university officials. Most, if not all, excluded minority groups. The city of Berkeley also used zoning ordinances and allowed for exclusionary clauses in rentals and in property deeds—another common form of racial and ethnic discrimination pervasive until a 1947 state court ruling made it illegal. Nevertheless, many cities maintained social mores and behaviors that excluded Jews, African Americans, and other unwelcome groups. In the area around the Berkeley campus, landlords and the city would not rent to African Americans and most minorities, including the sizable population of foreign students.

As a result of the difficulties in finding, and the cost of, housing near the campus, nearly half the male students at Berkeley as late as 1926 lived in San Francisco and commuted across the bay to attend classes. One reason was the availability of jobs in San Francisco. By one university estimate, 70 percent of male students engaged in some form of part-time employment—a figure similar to that of the 1880s.¹³

The pattern for women was different. A 1923 survey showed that, of 3,217 female undergraduates attending Berkeley, 43 percent reported living at home or with friends and relatives in the East Bay. Another 16 percent lived in “approved” boarding houses, and 15 percent lived in social clubs. Only five percent resided in apartments. The number of women living across the bay in San Francisco was approximately 10 percent.¹⁴

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

¹¹ *University of California Report of the President, 1926*, University of California Archives, Bancroft Library, UC Berkeley.

¹² Verne A. Stadtman (ed.), *The Centennial Record of the University of California* (Berkeley: University of California Printing Department, 1967), 300.

¹³ *University of California Report of the President, 1926*, University of California Archives, Bancroft Library, UC Berkeley.

¹⁴ Lucy Warf Stebbins, Report of the Dean of Women, July 1, 1926, in *University of California Report of the President, 1926*.

International House

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

The first International House came into fruition under the leadership of Harry Edmonds, director of the YMCA in New York. He observed the racism and isolation experienced by foreign students attending Columbia. In a chance encounter with a student from China, Edmonds learned of the profound sense of isolation he faced and the challenges of living and learning in the city. This prompted him to approach John D. Rockefeller Jr. to fund the construction and operation of a complex to house foreign and American students together. Interaction would breed familiarity and, eventually, collegiality. The first International House opened in 1925 in New York.

That same year, a similar effort in Paris created what became known as "Cité U." Following the destruction of World War I, the Minister of Education, André Honnorat, conceived the idea of creating a "campus" in the heart of Paris to house foreign students and contribute to mutual understanding and peace in the world. Like Edmonds, Honnorat sought the ideal of a physical space where the youth of the world would learn to live together. Two French industrialists provided the initial funding for construction of various "houses" and operating costs, joined soon afterward by support from Rockefeller to build Maison Internationale, its central meeting space to this day.

Edmonds then set out to establish another International House on the West Coast, again with the support of the Rockefellers. Working with University of California President William W. Campbell and Vice President Robert Gordon Sproul, Edmonds agreed on Berkeley as the best possible location. As noted, Berkeley contained a sizable foreign student population, among the highest in the nation. Proposed initially to house international students, I-House (as it became known) also offered a way for Berkeley to provide housing to African-American and Asian-American students.

When first proposed and publicly discussed in 1927, Berkeley residents and the city loudly voiced their objections. The idea of an interracial, coeducational residence in the nearly all-white neighborhoods that surround the Berkeley campus incited some 1,000 residents to participate at a protest. But the placement of I-House on campus property meant the project was outside the jurisdiction of city zoning laws and covenants. I-House opened in 1930 and soon accommodated 530 undergraduate and graduate students. It offered the only local housing available for African-American students. It also offered dining facilities, in part because most local restaurants refused to serve minorities, foreign or otherwise.

Encouraged by university officials and Berkeley students affiliated with the YMCA, other forms of housing that accepted ethnic minorities followed. In 1933, students concerned with the availability of low-cost housing and the social conditions of a nation in the midst of a severe economic depression created the first cooperative boarding house open to all races. One boarding house grew to accommodate over five hundred students in five buildings in six years—including a dormitory exclusively for women. A similar cooperative was established on the Los Angeles campus in 1935 and, like Berkeley, required boarders to complete three hours of work a day to maintain the facility.

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

A group affiliated with the YWCA and concerned with race relations circulated a petition against discrimination in local boarding houses. Berkeley's student government followed this by establishing a list of approved boarding houses that did not discriminate and circulated a petition calling on students to boycott those that did. University officials were initially reluctant to support the initiatives, perhaps in part because housing was a limited resource and they feared it might aggravate an already antagonistic relationship with the local community.

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

Defining Diversity?

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

- First, there were benefits to the educational process for all students at the university by including not only students from all economic classes and geographical regions in the state of California (values articulated in the very earliest days of the university's existence), but also students from different racial, ethnic, and cultural backgrounds.
- Second, it was incumbent on California's state university to enroll, educate, and influence students with diverse backgrounds who might then go out into the world and promote commerce *and* extend the values of American society. The university needed to be more cosmopolitan in its nature—in the composition of its students and in the range of its curriculum—to participate as an agent of progressive change.

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

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

Yet it is also true that in decades before and after World War II a relatively small number of international students enrolled at the Berkeley campus, and in the UC system in general, particularly at the undergraduate level. In a state constantly growing in population, the primary concern of academic leaders, and politicians in the state capitol in Sacramento, was to accommodate Californians and expand the enrollment capacity of the UC system. The 1960 Master Plan for Higher Education, for instance, barely referenced international students and, in subsequent years, there was a general agreement with lawmakers that "out-of-state" student numbers, including international students, would remain relatively low.

Although there was no legal restriction against out-of-state students at UC as there were in some other states, from the 1960s until around 2000, international students represented only about four percent of all undergraduate students at Berkeley and about 19 percent of all graduate students, with most enrolled in fields such as engineering. The UC's multicampus system as a whole had similar numbers, though a bit lower on average.¹⁵

Berkeley and a Global Thirst

Fast-forward to 2016, and the globalizing world is characterized in part by the increased mobility of talent and an insatiable thirst for higher education. One recent report estimates that world demand for international higher education will increase from 1.8 million students in 2002 to over 7.2 million in 2025 as countries such as China, India, Indonesia, Brazil, Mexico, Chile, South Korea, Vietnam, and Saudi Arabia grow economically and struggle to meet domestic demand for high quality, advanced education.¹⁶ International students are already a major stimulus to the US economy, and the economic gains for regional economies should not be ignored. Today, American colleges and universities enroll over 800,000 international students.

Globally, the competition for these talented students is growing. Almost all developed and developing nations realize that their economic competitiveness relates heavily to generating and retaining highly skilled, creative people. Many nations are investing and attempting to improve the quality and attractiveness of their higher education systems for this cause—often combined with scholarship programs and new paths to citizenship for foreign-nationals.¹⁷ Because demand

¹⁵ See Table 6 and 7a for Fall 2000 enrollment numbers, *The University of California Statistical Summary of Students and Staff – Fall 2000*, Department of Information Resources and Communications, UC Office of the President, 2001, <<http://legacy-its.ucop.edu/uwnews/stat/statsum/fall2000/statsumm2000.pdf>>.

¹⁶ A. Bohm et al., *The Global Student Mobility 2025 Report: Forecasts of the Global Demand for International Education*, Canberra, Australia (2002).

¹⁷ For a discussion of national policies to attract and retain international talent, see John Aubrey Douglass and Richard Edelstein, "The Global Competition for Talent: The Rapidly Changing Market for International Students and the Need for Strategic Approach in the US," with Richard Edelstein, CSHE

continues to grow and the mobility of talent increases, the result is an ever expanding, if more nuanced, world market.

Within this context, Berkeley continues to attract increasing numbers of international applications. In fall 2013, Berkeley enrolled a record 5,645 international students, including 3,456 at the undergraduate level and 2,189 at the graduate level, nearly 15 percent of its enrollment (including 327 students on education abroad exchanges). Compared with fall 2012, Berkeley experienced a 22 percent increase in applications from international students to enter at the freshman level, perhaps bolstered by the campus's declaration to seek students outside the state's borders.¹⁸

As shown in Figure 1, students from East Asia and Pacific nations represent the biggest enrollment for Berkeley at both the undergraduate and graduate level. They represent approximately 61 percent of international students. This concentration of students from China, South Korea, and to a lesser extent, India reflects national norms, each representing the largest source of international student for American universities and colleges.

As indicated in Figure 2, Berkeley has long had a substantial population of international students at the graduate level. Graduate education, like the pool of potential faculty, is an international market. At the undergraduate level, public universities like Berkeley have had a history, and political pressure, to serve their state population. That commitment remains, although within the context of a richly diverse domestic population, many of who are recent or second- or third-generation immigrants.¹⁹ The demographic complexity of modern California, including a rapidly growing multiracial population, points to a much broader consideration of the idea of cultural diversity that goes well beyond the simple divide of five or so racial or ethnic groups.

Of all the undergraduate subpopulations, international students show the largest gains in recent enrollment, particularly since 2009. As noted previously, a major impetus is the search for new revenue as state funding has declined precipitously. The reduction in state support started before the Great Recession, but accelerated greatly during that time resulting in a 30 percent decrease in funding to UC over the last decade or so. Predictably, UC has raised tuition for California residents and sought greater numbers of out-of-state—particularly international—students to help make up for this huge loss in income.²⁰

Research and Occasional Papers Series, CSHE.8.09. (October 2009): <http://cshe.berkeley.edu/publications/publications.php?id=341>>; a shorter version published as, "Whither the Global Talent Pool?: How Can the US Remain Competitive," *Change Magazine* (July/August 2009).

¹⁸ Berkeley International Office, "International Student Enrollment Fall 2013," <http://internationaloffice.berkeley.edu/students/current/enrollment_data>.

¹⁹ According to data from the Student Experience in the Research University (SERU) Survey (known as UCUES within the UC system), some 64 percent of all undergraduates at Berkeley have at least one parent who is an immigrant. For an earlier study on immigrant students at UC and at Berkeley in specific, see "The Immigrant's University: A Study of Academic Performance and the Experiences of Recent Immigrant Groups at the University of California" by John Aubrey Douglass and Gregg Thomson, *Higher Education Policy* (December 2010): 23, 451–74, <<http://www.palgravejournals.com/hep/journal/v23/n4/pdf/hep201018a.pdf>>.

²⁰ See John Aubrey Douglass, "To Grow or Not to Grow? A Post-Great Recession Synopsis of the Political, Financial, and Social Contract Challenges Facing the University of California," Research and Occasional Papers Series (ROPS), Center for Studies in Higher Education, CSHE.15.13 (December 2013), <http://cshe.berkeley.edu/sites/default/files/shared/publications/docs/2.ROPS_.CSHE_.15.13.Douglass.UC%20ToGrowNotToGrow.2.18.2014.pdf>. See also "Here's How Janet Napolitano Rescues the University of California," *Zacalo* - Public Square, October 3, 2013, <<http://www.zocalopublicsquare.org/2013/10/03/heres-how-janet-napolitano-rescues-the-university-of-california/ideas/nexus/>>. Versions published

Figure 1. UC Berkeley International Student Enrollment Top 20 Nations of Origin

Nation	Fall 2012 Enrollment	Fall 2013 Enrollment	Fall 2013 % of Total	% of Change
1. China	1,228	1,568	27.78	27.69
2. South Korea	817	840	14.88	2.82
3. India	419	487	8.63	16.23
4. Canada	313	362	6.41	15.65
5. Taiwan	179	195	3.45	8.94
6. Hong Kong	150	180	3.19	20.00
7. United Kingdom	120	146	2.59	21.67
8. Indonesia	103	133	2.36	29.13
9. France	118	125	2.21	5.93
10. Singapore	102	114	2.02	11.76
11. Japan	114	105	1.86	-7.89
12. Germany	90	87	1.54	-3.33
13. Thailand	72	79	1.40	9.72
14. Brazil	58	69	1.22	18.97
15. Australia	62	65	1.15	4.84
16. Mexico	46	63	1.12	36.96
17. Italy	51	58	1.03	13.73
18. Chile	68	55	0.97	-19.12
19. Vietnam	46	53	0.94	15.22
20. Turkey	62	52	0.92	-16.13

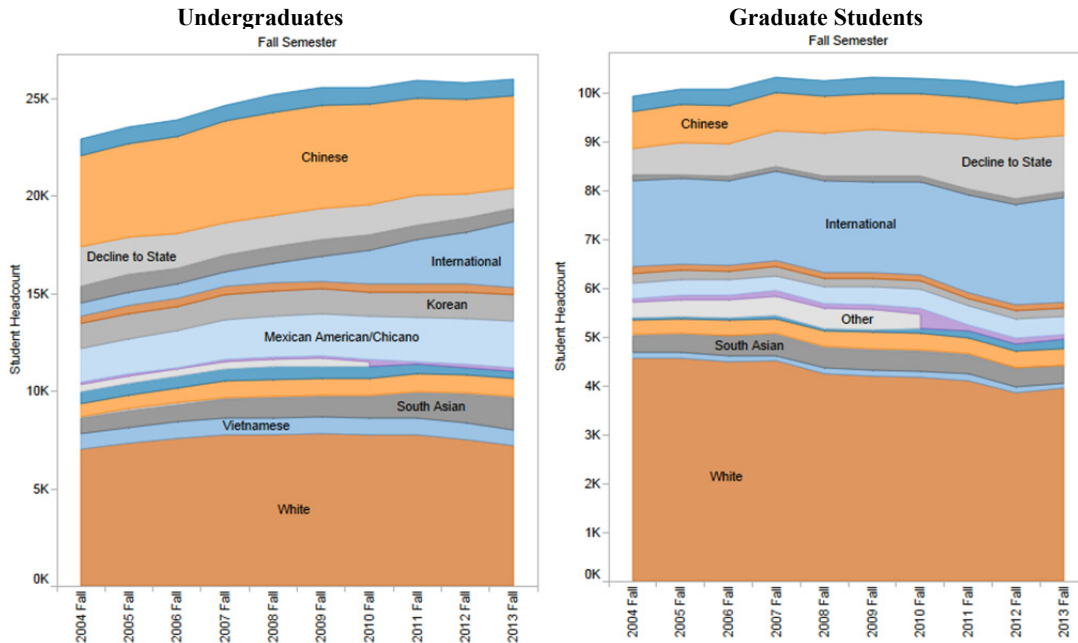
Source: Berkeley International Office, “International Student Enrollment, Fall 2013.”

In 2015–2016, international and out-of-state undergraduates are charged a supplemental fee of almost \$25,000 a year, on top of the normal \$16,300 tuition for a total of some \$41,000. And while domestic students have access to federal, state, and most importantly UC financial aid—about 33 cents of each tuition dollar goes to financial aid at UC—international students at the undergraduate level are not eligible. Some of these students have funding support from their national government, but most do not; this influences the socio-economic background of the students who apply and enroll at Berkeley and other UC campuses. The typical international student is upper income or middle class, with very high levels of parental education achievement, and high test scores; some find work to supplement their education; most international students, like domestic students with immigrant backgrounds, seek degrees in professional fields and STEM—Science, Technology, Engineering, and Math—in which the investment, made often by parents, appears to link directly to a good-paying and relatively robust international job market.

While many look to a California education as a path to employment and perhaps citizenship in the US, many plan to return to their native countries or other parts of the world—much more

in the *Sacramento Bee*, October 3, 2013, <<http://www.sacbee.com/2013/10/03/5789834/viewpoints-how-neapolis-can.html>> and in *University World News*, October 18, 2013, <<http://www.universityworldnews.com/article.php?story=20131016124939611&query=John+Aubrey+Douglass>>.

Figure 2. UC Berkeley Fall Enrollment by Domestic Ethnicity and International Status, 2004 to 2013



Source: UC Berkeley Office of Planning and Analysis

so than their domestic counterparts. Like underrepresented domestic students that can be a relatively small proportion of the student population, and depending on their cultural background and language capabilities, they may face difficulties integrating into the larger university community. Support services for international students and tactics for greater integration are not well developed at most universities.

The dramatic increase in international students at the undergraduate level is largely about money, and Berkeley is not the only large public university opening its doors wider to global talent. Between 2012 and the 2013, international student enrollment in the US grew by over six percent, with most of the growth in big, public land-grant universities, mostly in the Midwest, including Indiana, Purdue, Michigan State, Ohio State, Minnesota, and Illinois. The flagship Urbana-Champaign campus of the University of Illinois has nearly 9,000 international students, second only to the University of Southern California.²¹

Among the UC campuses, Berkeley has been one of the most aggressive campuses in setting a target of 20 percent of out-of-state undergraduates that it has already reached, as noted previously with about 15 percent of them international students. In 2000, non-Californians represented only about six percent of all undergraduates within the UC system, with only 1.8 percent international; Berkeley had a higher percentage of non-Californians, with a total of 11.7 percent, with

²¹ Justin Pope, "Surge of International Students on U.S. Campuses Pays Off in Diversity, Revenue," *Diverse Issues in Higher Education*, November 13, 2012, <<http://diverseeducation.com/article/49466/>>.

only 3.4 percent international.²² At the time, Berkeley's Academic Senate set a general target of about 10 percent of all undergraduates being non-Californians²³; hence, Berkeley was already ahead of the UC system in recruiting international students, but not so much for the tuition income as a source of talented students and perhaps influenced by enrollment practices at other top-tier universities.

As this essay has partially chronicled, increasing the number of these students, while shifting the historical notion of UC's social contract, does fit into a larger ideal of the role of the university in a globalizing world. Further, the increase in international student enrollment adds to an already complex notion that students, indeed the entire academic community, gain from an expanded idea of cultural diversity first argued at UC by President Barrows and others in the 1920s. While many public universities in the US initially viewed international students at the undergraduate level primarily as an alternative and much welcomed funding source, they are beginning to consider and embrace the larger rationale and benefits of a more globally representative student body, including the needs of students who come from often very different cultural backgrounds and traditions.

All of the arguments made in the past four decades regarding affirmative action in the US: the need for inclusion and equity; the educational and social benefits of a diverse student body, however defined; and the role of leading and highly selective universities in generating the nation's, indeed the world's, next generation of social and business leaders—should include international students. One can extend the argument that major universities need a critical mass of international students to attain or shape the global and intercultural competencies of domestic US students.²⁴ Having a substantial body of international students is not just good for international students; it is good for all students and the academic community in general.²⁵

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

Some studies conducted outside the US, including Australia's aggressive recruitment of international students, suggest significant challenges in integrating international students into academic and social activities with domestic students.²⁶ A common pattern is that international stu-

²² Fall 2000 enrollment. See Table 6, *The University of California Statistical Summary of Students and Staff—Fall 2000*, Department of Information Resources and Communications, UC Office of the President, 2001, <<http://legacy-its.ucop.edu/uwnews/stat/statsum/fall2000/statsumm2000.pdf>>.

²³ Personal correspondence with Calvin Moore, March 21, 2014.

²⁴ See John Aubrey Douglass and Chun-Mei Zhao, "The International Student Diversity Effect: A Profile of a Global Movement of Talent at a Group of Major U.S. Universities," *Higher Education Forum*, vol. 9 (March 2012): 29–44, <http://en.rihe.hiroshima-u.ac.jp/pl_default_2.php?bid=106674>.

²⁵ D. M. Peterson, P. Briggs, L. Dreasher, D. D. Horner, and T. Nelson, "Contributions of International Students and Programs to Campus Diversity." *New Directions for Student Services* (1999): 67–77, doi: 10.1002/ss.8609.

²⁶ M. Summers and S. Volet, "Students' Attitudes Towards Culturally Mixed Groups on International Campuses: Impact of Participation in Diverse and Non-Diverse Groups," *Studies in Higher Education* 33:4 (2008): 357–70; see also S. Volet, "Challenges of Internationalisation: Enhancing Intercultural Competence and Skills for Critical Reflection on the Situated and Non-Neutral Nature of Knowledge." In

dents seek camaraderie and support, academic or otherwise, from fellow nationals—a form of “balkanization.” This mirrors some of the challenges faced by American universities in their efforts not simply to recruit underrepresented groups but to integrate and support them within the larger academic community—including providing special support services to help them adjust to the rarified, foreign air, and expectations of a place like Berkeley. The national and socio-economic background of students, for example, international students with limited English skills, plays a significant role in shaping their behaviors.

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

We have a tremendous opportunity to delve more thoroughly into the questions of how well international students are being integrated into the academic social life of Berkeley and other major public universities: their sense of belonging, their learning outcomes, and their influence on the educational experience of native students—what might be called “the international student effect.” The Student Experience in the Research University (SERU) Consortium, based at the Center for Studies in Higher Education at Berkeley, includes a census, an online survey of undergraduates and graduate students at 15 research-intensive universities (all members of the Association of American Universities, or AAU) and a similar number of top-ranked universities throughout the globe.²⁷ SERU provides a wide array of survey questions and a large database on the background, experiences, expectations, and behaviors of students, and a unique ability to compare the responses of domestic versus international students.

A study I completed with colleagues analyzed survey data at 15 of the AAU and University of California campuses that indicate that undergraduate international students at UC campuses have a similar socio-economic background as students at other AAU campuses; but they also have less satisfaction with their overall academic experience and report the lowest sense of the value of their educational experience versus the costs of tuition and housing. One question we asked: does the presence of international students on a campus positively influence the behaviors and learning gains of domestic students, and visa versa? Among SERU Consortium university members, there was a positive correlation with the “density” of international students related to satisfaction among all students with their overall educational experience, engagement with studies such as academic involvement and collaborative work, gains in nonquantitative skills (such as

Language and Academic Skills in Higher Education, ed. P. Zeegers and K. Dellar-Evans, volume 6, 1–10 (Adelaide: Flinders University, 2004); R.M.O. Pritchard and B. Skinner, “Cross-Cultural Partnerships between Home and International Students,” *Journal of Studies in International Education* 6 (2002): 323–53.

²⁷ For more information on the SERU Consortium and research agenda, see: <<http://cshe.berkeley.edu/SERU>>.

gains in cultural appreciation and social awareness and computer and research skills), and use of time (in both academic efforts and employment).²⁸

This was an important preliminary finding as it adds considerably to why it is important for major universities to have a significant number of international students—a form of “critical mass” often discussed in issues related to enrolling underrepresented domestic students in the US. If universities public or private wish to be more influential global participants, the proportion of international students is an important policy variable for both domestic and international students.²⁹ There are benefits to enrolling greater numbers of international students at Berkeley, and more generally within the UC system. A maxim that my colleague, Richard Edelstein, and I have coined is that, “The most competitive economies in the world will be those that both nurture and develop native and international talent from throughout the globe,” and that, “These are not mutually exclusive goals.”³⁰

States with growing populations and growing labor needs, like California, must construct funding models for their universities that allows for expanding program and enrollment capacity—supported in part by new revenue from international students—and assures state residents access to quality academic programs and degrees. The difficulty is making this a reality. In California, a recent budget deal made between the UC President Janet Napolitano and Governor Jerry Brown set arbitrary limits on international and out-of-state undergraduate students at UC campuses, and a freeze on enrollment of these students at Berkeley and UCLA. The perception among many Californians, and lawmakers, is that any and all nonresident enrollment displaces Californians. This deal reached in late 2016 also sets arbitrary limits on tuition charged to Californians. The net effect is that UC has no clear funding model to grow with the state’s population and maintain its world-renowned quality, with or without international students. In the meantime, most major public universities in the US are becoming increasingly international in the makeup of their student bodies and, one would hope, in the perspective and their curriculum and academic adventures.

Concluding Thoughts

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

²⁸ Douglass and Zhao, “The International Student Diversity Effect: A Profile of a Global Movement of Talent at a Group of Major U.S. Universities,” *Higher Education Forum*, vol. 9 (March 2012): 29–44. <http://en.rihe.hiroshima-u.ac.jp/pl_default_2.php?bid=106674>; SERU research ongoing research recently completed a preliminary data analysis comparing the responses of international students at six SERU member campuses that indicates these findings.

²⁹ *Ibid.*

³⁰ Douglass and Edelstein, “The Global Competition for Talent.”

sources in a global market.³¹ This last objective has dominated the rationale for international students at the undergraduate in US universities, thus far.

Having, in some form, a critical mass of international students should be viewed as a component in an expanding effort of academic communities to become more globally engaged and cosmopolitan. That effort should also include modifications to the curriculum, internationally relevant research, and, perhaps most importantly, greater opportunities for interaction and collaborations with actors outside of the confines of California. But it is also true that we need to know more about the academic integration, experiences, and influences of international students, at both the undergraduate and graduate level, to more fully understand the challenges and effects on domestic students. Such analyses can provide guidance on assessing the proper place of international students at Berkeley, and similar research-intensive public universities, as well as the required funding model to maintain higher education access for Californians and attracting talent from throughout the world. These should be compatible goals.

³¹ This is adopted from a categorization provided by the anonymous reviewer of this article for *Vo-prosy Obrazovaniya*.