

“WHEN YOU COME HERE, IT IS STILL LIKE IT IS *THEIR* SPACE”: EXPLORING THE
EXPERIENCES OF STUDENTS OF MIDDLE EASTERN HERITAGES IN POST-9/11 U.S.
HIGHER EDUCATION

By
XYANTHE NICOLE NEIDER

A dissertation submitted in partial fulfillment of
the requirements for the degree of

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

WASHINGTON STATE UNIVERSITY
Department of Educational Leadership and Counseling Psychology

MAY 2010

© Copyright by XYANTHE NICOLE NEIDER, 2010
All Rights Reserved

© Copyright by XYANTHE NICOLE NEIDER, 2010
All Rights Reserved

To the Faculty of Washington State University:

The members of the Committee appointed to examine the dissertation of
XYANTHE NICOLE NEIDER find it satisfactory and recommend that it be accepted.

Pamela Bettis, Ph.D., Chair

Paul Pitre, Ph.D.

Paula Groves-Price, Ph.D.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

Any journey or project of this magnitude requires the support and guidance of many people. My participants are at the front of my mind as I finesse the final pages of this dissertation and bring this journey to a close. Not only did my participants provide rich and dynamic data for me to present here, many became my friends and colleagues, and they all opened up spaces I might never have entered if not for them. Their words, their thoughts, their experiences brought depth and meaning to my own thinking, illuminated my own core beliefs, and created room for new theorizing. I am forever indebted to them for their generosity and kindness.

I often joke with colleagues and friends about how my doctoral program was very expensive therapy for me. I came into my program asleep to the world and having forgotten who I was at the core of my being. Through my coursework, patient faculty and administrators, the colleagues I have met at conferences, and the friends I have made along the way, I have found my voice. My thinking skills are more finely tuned and I have words to articulate my thoughts. Because of this, I feel a freedom I have not felt in a very long time. This has been an amazing journey that I wish I could take again with open eyes the second time around. I would not trade this experience for anything. So, it has been a sort of therapy, one from which I awaken renewed, rejuvenated, and whole. I came in to my doctoral program as caterpillar and transformed into a butterfly as I spread my wings and poise myself for flight.

I owe a huge debt of gratitude to all of my ever changing doctoral committee members. Dr. Kelly Ward, was my master's thesis chair and my temporary advisor upon entrance into the doctoral program. Her patience with me while I attempted to articulate ideas for my dissertation study and her continued support and sponsorship is deeply appreciated. Dr. Foster, my dissertation chair, who passed away before this study was complete, was a tremendous mentor

who tirelessly supported me and pushed me on when I was too overwhelmed to move forward. I miss his guidance, his candid advice, and the way he firmly, yet kindly, challenged me to complete. My current dissertation chair, Dr. Pam Bettis, has been absolutely amazing in guiding me toward completion, helping me build my scholarly foundation, and providing key feedback that has helped me to develop the habits of mind of a Ph.D. I am forever indebted to her for her willingness to step into this role and her dedication to my program completion. She has modeled for me what it means to be a phenomenal teacher, a loving dissertation guide, and a scholarly colleague. To say she is amazing is understated. Dr. Paul Pitre, who kindly came on to my committee after my D1, has been patient in my forthcoming dissertation. I cannot quantify what his support these past few years has meant. Almost every time I would pass him in the hall he would ask me how my writing was going, which helped keep me accountable and on track. Lastly, Dr. Paula Groves-Price came on to my committee following Dr. Foster's passing. Having long admired her work, I was honored that she was willing to come on to my committee and see me through to the end.

I am also honored to have worked closely with Dr. Mike Trevisan, the course coordinator for my Teaching Assistantship. Having this assistantship not only paid the bills, it also allowed me to develop valuable teaching skills. I am grateful for the experience he offered. All of the faculty in the College of Education at Washington State University have been instrumental in my development as a scholar and in helping me develop my thinking. I have learned so much from each of them about collegiality, guidance, and patience which will serve me well as I embark on the next leg of my journey.

“WHEN YOU COME HERE, IT IS STILL LIKE IT IS *THEIR* SPACE”: EXPLORING THE
EXPERIENCES OF STUDENTS OF MIDDLE EASTERN HERITAGES IN POST-9/11 U.S.
HIGHER EDUCATION

Abstract

by Xyanthe Nicole Neider, Ph.D.
Washington State University
MAY 2010

Chair: Pamela Bettis

The aftermath of September 11, 2001 complicated how students of Middle Eastern heritages are perceived, treated, and constructed in U.S. institutions of higher education. However, research and scholarship has ignored how students of Middle Eastern heritages experience higher education in the current socio-political United States context. Borrowing from Wolcott’s (2001) ethnographic fieldwork methodology, I collected data through observations and interviews with 12 student and 2 staff participants to explore the experiences of students of Middle Eastern heritages enrolled in a research extensive university. Three themes emerged from the data to explain how members of this student group experienced higher education in this particular historical moment. First, students had to re/negotiate their misconceptions about *America* and *Americans* in order to navigate the U.S. higher education spaces, thus, rupturing mythical understandings. Second, these changing understandings influenced how they chose to re/construct their identities for themselves, each other, and dissimilar others, sometimes accepting and other times, resisting identities ascribed to them. Third, spaces were both claimed by students and claimed students in particular circumstances. Although described as if independent from one another, these three themes influenced each other. For example, as

students re/negotiated mythical understandings, they revealed different aspects of their identities, in various spaces and for varying purposes.

Findings from this study suggest that placing the onus on multicultural/international student groups to educate the dominant campus community is problematic. Through educating others, students develop valuable skills, yet are forced to justify their existence, in this space, at this time. Universities need to take a more proactive stance to collaborate with student groups who have experienced negative identity construction on a global scale. Findings from this study suggest that both domestic and international students need more focused opportunities to engage with one another in order to disrupt their mythical understandings of one another. Thus, I propose the development of a multi-layered program through which students can gain college credit for participation in multicultural and international groups and events leading to a certification in addition to and in conjunction with their academic degree.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS	iii
ABSTRACT.....	v
TABLES AND FIGURES	x
DEDICATION.....	xi
CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION.....	1
BACKGROUND	3
<i>The Setting</i>	7
Figure 1: FBI UCR Hate Crime Trends	11
EXCLUSIONARY HISTORIES.....	12
<i>Imagining Anew</i>	18
<i>Theoretical Framework and Research Design</i>	20
<i>Purpose of this Study</i>	20
CHAPTER 2: POSTCOLONIAL THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK.....	24
NAMING THE WORLD	26
ETHNOSCAPES.....	32
TECHNOLOGIES OF COLONIALISM.....	36
TROUBLING RESEARCH PRACTICES.....	40
CHAPTER 3: LITERATURE REVIEW	47
INTRODUCTION	47
<i>Entangled Identities: Defining, Describing, and Demarcating</i>	50
INFLUENCING ENVIRONMENTS.....	53
<i>Collegiate Environments</i>	54
<i>Societal Environments</i>	57
<i>Environments Created Through Media</i>	58
IDENTITY AND HIGHER EDUCATION	64
<i>Dominant Perspectives of Identity in Higher Education Literature</i>	67
<i>Critical Perspectives of Identity in Higher Education</i>	70
LEGACIES AND LETHARGIES: CONTEMPLATING HISTORY.....	73
<i>Tenuous Currents: Changing Demographics and Higher Education Needs</i>	75
<i>The Rise of the British Model and German Science in Higher Education</i>	82
<i>Historical Shortcomings</i>	91
CONCLUSIONS	92
CHAPTER 4: METHODS AND METHODOLOGY	95
DESIGN OF STUDY	96

SITE SELECTION	98
THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK	100
<i>Assumptions and Positionality</i>	102
METHODOLOGICAL FRAMEWORK	103
<i>Research Questions</i>	104
<i>Qualitative Methodology</i>	105
<i>Validity and Reliability: Toward New Realities</i>	107
<i>Methods</i>	116
THE PARTICIPANTS	120
Table 1: Student Participant Demographic Data	122
ANALYSIS TECHNIQUES	133
Table 2: Initial Codes and Categories	134
CONCLUSIONS	136
CHAPTER 5: TRAVERSING BORDERS, IDENTITIES, AND SPACES	138
<i>Changing Citizenships</i>	144
RUPTURING MYTH: BUILDING NEW REALITIES	155
<i>Unearthing Myth</i>	156
<i>Negotiating Myth</i>	162
COMPLICATING IDENTITIES	171
<i>Re/Constructing Self</i>	174
<i>Re/Constructing Each Other</i>	183
<i>Re/Constructions by Others</i>	188
<i>Technologies of Colonialism</i>	197
CLAIMING SPACES	204
<i>Claiming Global Spaces</i>	206
<i>Claiming International Spaces</i>	216
<i>Claiming National Spaces</i>	222
<i>Claiming Local Spaces</i>	230
<i>Emancipatory Acts</i>	237
CONCLUSIONS	241
CHAPTER 6: CONSEQUENCES AND IMPLICATIONS	243
THIS DISSERTATION	245
COMPLICATING CAMPUS PROGRAMMING	247

IMPLICATIONS FOR POLICY AND PRACTICE	252
FUTURE RESEARCH DIRECTIONS	258
CONCLUSION	260
CHAPTER 7: EPILOGUE: AWAKING FROM A DREAM	263
REFERENCES	269
APPENDIX A	284
INTERVIEW PROTOCOL - STUDENT	284
APPENDIX B	286
INTERVIEW PROTOCOL – ADVISOR/STAFF	286

TABLES AND FIGURES

Figure 1: FBI/UCR Hate Crime Trends.....	Pg. 11
Table 1: Student Participant Demographic Data	Pg. 122
Table 2: Initial Codes and Categories.....	Pg. 134

DEDICATION

I dedicate this dissertation to my children, Clayton and Sydney. It is for them that I have pursued these many long years of study, to better our lives, elevate our circumstances, and create possibilities where before we saw few. For my son, who has been a student with me from his birth, who has learned to study with me, attend classes with me, and been a party to the arduous struggles we have endured as a family, I dedicate this work. For my daughter, who has come into her life as I have given birth to a new phase of mine, who has learned to study as I study, and who has sacrificed some of the “fun” things because mom was too busy or did not have enough money, I dedicate this work. To both of my children who have sacrificed and been enriched by the work and experiences this journey has brought, I share the glory of reaching the end of this path and embarking on yet another exciting adventure.

I also dedicate this dissertation to my grandma, Jan Loehr who was my first cultural studies pedagogue and my best friend. She passed away mid-way through my journey toward Ph.D. yet I know many times her spirit was with me, living on inside of me, pushing me on and giving me strength. Through this work I am forever reminded of conversations we had about neoliberal politics and the present state of affairs within the world. She had conversations with me even when I was not ready to hear or willing to come out of my cave. Little did I know that I would come to see things her way sooner rather than later, still not soon enough to deeply engage her in conversation. Out of grief, a wonderful blessing emerged. I got to know her brother and his wife, my great uncle and aunt, Leon and Solange McIntyre. They supported me through much of my program, with friendship and love, sharing their experiences of travels throughout the world, challenging my thinking. This work is also dedicated to the both of them.

My parents, Les and Linda Lockrem, have helped sustain my family while we have wrested along this path. Through financial support after I have been long raised and “grown up” and the many phone conversations lending emotional support, my parent’s pride in my work has breathed life into my spirit and psyche in ways I only have the beginnings of insight to know. I also can not quantify how my mom’s many trips across the Cascade Mountain Range to come and care for my grandma and stay with my children so that I could attend conferences and develop myself professionally has helped me. Appreciation is too modest a word to describe the gratitude I feel.

My family has provided a foundation and opened the possibilities for me to pursue my Ph.D. If not for my dad paying for my first college level course, I am not sure I would be here now. I can also confidently say that if not for the cooperation, help, and high intellectual standards that they have all held me to, this would not have been possible. My “masterpiece”, as my daughter once called it, is dedicated to all of them.

CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

As I worked to massage each piece of this dissertation into a synthesis of ideas, scholarship, and research, I returned to various pieces of literature to reconstruct the past eight years, post September 11, 2001. Admittedly, much of this search unearthed my own fears, grief, and contradictions assuaged by the passing of time. I read Ellis' (2002) *Shattered lives: Making sense of September 11th and its aftermath* and uncomfortably struggled through her auto-ethnographic account of her travels on that day. For a moment, I was transported back to that Tuesday in 2001, the mental haze of being too self involved to have full awareness of what was going on beyond my own immediate circumference. Her words resonated deeply. Yet, I dug deeper, trying to recall what this day, and those following 9/11, meant on college campuses, how colleges and universities responded. I was led to a *Newsweek* article, published two months and one day after the terrorist attacks on New York City's World Trade Towers, the Pentagon, and Washington D.C., *Generation 9-11: The kids who grew up with peace and prosperity are facing their defining moment* (Kantrowitz, Naughton, Halpert, & Wingert, Nov. 12, 2001). The article investigates the climate, mood, and subsequent responses and effects by and on University of Michigan administrators, faculty, staff, and students. I, too, was on a college campus that day. Employed as a staff member in an engineering and physics research center, I remember feeling concerned for my international co-workers and their families. Everyone was worried, scared, and terrified about the implications to national security, personal safety, and our collective future. I remained glued to the news; as if soon the revelation would come that these terrible events would become known as a grave mistake instead of intentional.

While reading the *Newsweek* (Kantrowitz, Naughton, Halpert, & Wingert, Nov. 12, 2001) article eight years later, my emotions well up again. I am uncomfortable sitting with my

emotions, trying to plow through the article. I move from the cold air-conditioned room, noticing my toes feel frozen, to sit outside in the hot sunlight. I eat lunch, continue to read, return to my workstation (i.e., my couch), get up again to do some laundry and let the dog out. On that day, and still now, I have felt both ashamed and proud to be *American*. I have supported efforts and questioned tactics in the search for Osama Bin Laden, Al-Qaeda, and the ousting of Saddam Hussein. I have become better informed about histories, politics, and people, while before, I remained ignorant out of the privilege of growing up in a relatively secure society. As a bi-racial child and grandchild of women who fought for social justice and equality for women, people of color, and gay, lesbian, bi-sexual, transgendered people, I have been educated and informed about some United States' transgressions toward its citizens through laws and politics, (e.g., the Civil Rights Movement, Women's Rights Movement, The House Committee on Un-American Activity) yet remained ignorant to others (e.g., immigration laws and policies and U.S. internment camps that housed Japanese Americans and others thought to be a threat to national security). It was not until I came to college that I learned about the latter, at the age of twenty-four. From these frames, I worried on that day and the days, weeks, and months following, as I do now, for the safety and security of students of Middle Eastern heritages. So although I am not Middle Eastern nor Muslim, this project is deeply personal as the events of September 11, 2001 changed the world, and as a result, changed how I make sense of the world and my connections with others within the spaces I occupy. The moment forced me into a new reality where I can no longer exercise my privilege of ignorance to world circumstances and what that means for the people around me. The events of 9/11 brought people from the Middle East into view in particular ways, impacting college and university campuses unlike any other era.

The questions I ask are my own, they stem from my experiences and observations, pilot studies conducted during my doctoral coursework, and higher education literatures that have silenced the voices of students of Middle Eastern heritages, allowing common sense types of understandings to prevail. The purpose of this study is to explore the experiences of students of Middle Eastern heritages in one United States higher education institution in the current post 9/11 socio-political context.

BACKGROUND

United States higher education is perhaps the most inclusive and open system of education in the world (Brazzell, 1996; Lucas, 1994; Rund, 2002; Rury, 2002; Thelin, 2004). Brazzell (1996) notes, “[i]nherent assumptions about the nature of American culture define how we think about our institutions, what we write about them, how we construct the history of their formation, and who gets to participate in them” (p. 43). The most fundamental of these assumptions is that of pluralism which embraces the multiplicity of ideas, cultures, and beliefs. While I do not dispute this foundational premise, I recognize, as does Brazzell, that this is not wholly accurate. In fact, Brazzell (1996) goes on to discuss the variety of postsecondary options, such as women’s colleges, Historically Black Colleges and Universities (HBCUs), Hispanic Serving Institutions (HSIs), and Native American colleges by saying, “[t]hat these institutions can exist is a testament to the tolerance and uniqueness of American society. That they *must* exist is a reflection of the intolerance and often exclusionary reality that defines the same society” (p. 44). This idea is salient to this dissertation by way of illuminating the tensions within a system that is open and welcoming to some while not others at particular times, in particular spaces, or in particular ways. Further, this statement provides an entry into exploring the ways in which multiple groups experience higher education and implicates campus environments and the

perceptions which build and support those environments which foster welcoming and hostile spaces as well as a possible third space.

Higher education scholars have most recently been concerned about the rising tide of anti-affirmative action debate, legislation, and court cases (Baez, 2003; Hurtado, 1996; Hurtado, Milem, Clayton-Pedersen, & Allen, 1998; Pascarella, 2006). Many of these scholars have embarked upon studies to provide empirical evidence about the benefits of multicultural diversity on college campuses in support of race conscious admissions policies (Hurtado, 1996; Hurtado, Milem, Clayton-Pedersen, & Allen, 1998). Although admissions are not the focus of this dissertation, these discussions come to bear on aspects of this study through what has been studied and what has not. Several important elements have been overlooked in the study of college admissions and affirmative action, including, which groups have been included in diversity theorizing and study, as well as, how environments shape their experiences and the experiences of others. Baez (2000) made a critical assertion when he wrote:

Studies of the educational benefits of diversity cannot serve as the sole basis for a politics of resistance to the predominance of the Western tradition in the academic curriculum or the conservative practices of the current judicial and political systems in the United States. But such studies can help minimize social domination if, instead of taking differences for granted, they actually examine the processes that create differences, the mechanisms that link such processes to economic and political interests, and the ways in which these processes and their effects become entrenched in our social institutions. (¶ 38).

What he means is, normalizing difference through continued study of diversity, independently of history, has little benefit to imagining a new reality until it is understood what undergirds and

maintains those differences, who benefits, and how. In exploring the experiences of students of Middle Eastern heritages on one U.S. college campus, I work to explain how this current historical moment has influenced perceptions of actors on a college campus as well as in the larger U.S. environment and how that, in turn, affects the experiences of students. To situate the current moment, this study is built upon the foundation of three themes within the literature: the foundations of knowing and mythical understandings, conceptions and constructions of identities, and the claiming of spaces. Before exploring these themes, the context against which these themes are conceptualized must be extricated.

Throughout the history of the world, people have relocated and travelled about as a result of many forces. War, famine, economics, colonization, curiosity, and explorations have all contributed to travels and relocations (Willinsky, 1998). At this current moment in history, these movements of people are more noticed due to the real and predicted volume of people coming from non-Western contexts into Western ones (Bawer, 2009; Ben-David, 2009; Butler, 2008; Keller, 2001; McMurtrie, 2008; Rhee & Danowitz-Sagaria, 2004; Spring, 2007; Suarez-Orozco, 2004; U.S. Census, 2000). Changing minority demographics have sounded an alarm for some countries (Ben-David, 2009), giving rise to heightened security and surveillance of immigrants (Ben-David, 2009; Butler, 2009; Fine, Weis, Weseen, & Wong, 2003), revisiting and strengthening immigration, naturalization, and citizenship laws (Ben-David, 2009; Butler, 2008), and an increasing emotional, mental, and spiritual violence against non-Western others (Abu El-Haj, 2007; Amundson, 2008; Bawer, 2009; Ben-David, 2009; Butler, 2008; Fine, Weis, Weseen, & Wong, 2003; Rhee & Danowitz-Sagaria, 2004; Tehranian, 2008). Following the events of September 11, 2001, U.S. citizens struggled with these same issues, renewing conversations about immigration, enacting legislation aimed at identifying, arresting, and detaining suspected

terrorists (Uniting and Strengthening America by Providing Appropriate Tools Required to Intercept and Obstruct Terrorism (USA PATRIOT) Act of 2001 (H.R. 3162), and implementing strategies to track international students through their academic careers (Student and Exchange Visitor Information System, aka: SEVIS) (Wilkinson, 2002). College campuses were immediately impacted by international students from Middle Eastern countries returning home at the behest of their families who feared for their safety (El-Khawas, 2003; Kantrowitz, Naughton, Halpert, & Wingert, Nov. 12, 2001; Rund, 2002).

At the heart of these growing tensions on college campuses is a changing demographics and understanding of diversity. Rund (2002) stated that, “[d]emographically, economically, politically, spiritually, and philosophically, college campuses have never been more diverse” (p. 5). His observations are supported by 2000 U.S. Census data reporting that foreign born persons residing within the U.S. represented 11.1 percent (or just over 31 million people) of the total population. A small percentage of that original 11.1 percent were of European heredity (15.8 percent or just under 5 million people). The Institute of International Education (IIE) (2008) also reports increasing numbers of international students, Middle Eastern students in particular, coming to study within the United States (a 25.4 percent increase in 2006/2007 and 10.9 percent increase in 2007/2008 from previous years). The primary reason for these large increases of Middle Eastern students studying in U.S. institutions is attributed to the Saudi Arabian government providing unprecedented amounts of scholarships to its citizens for study abroad in the United States (Chow & Marcus, 2008). Although anecdotal evidence suggests that many international Middle Eastern students across the U.S. returned home following September 11, 2001 (El-Khawas, 2003; Hate Free Zone, 2002; Kantrowitz, Naughton, Halpert, & Wingert, Nov. 12, 2001; Wilkinson, 2002), it appears that the efforts of Middle Eastern governments

coupled with the timely responses of college and university administrators to provide safe environments for these students constructed the necessary conditions for many of these students to return and many others to study abroad in the U.S. (El-Khawas, 2003; Kantrowitz, Naughton, Halpert, & Wingert, Nov. 12, 2001; Rund, 2002).

On the surface, these statistics and the subsequent actions of Middle Eastern governments along with those of United States colleges and universities, provide an optimistic overview. Often overlooked, however, are the daily realities and individual stories that set a tone of hyper-surveillance which influences the experiences of students of Middle Eastern heritages, international and domestic, on U.S. university campuses. The events of 9/11 bound nationalism, patriotism, and anti-Semitism (or anti-Islamic sentiment) together, much in the same way as McCarthyism in 1940s-1950s America bound together nationalism, patriotism, and anti-Communism (El Khawas, 2003; Wilkinson, 2002). McCarthyism served a governmental warrant to accuse and prosecute persons believed to have communist ties, associations, or liaisons with little to no substantiated evidences (Beyer & Beyer, 2006). An example, in close proximity to the study site, illuminates these kinds of governmental actions and the effects on various communities.

The Setting

In the rural area of two adjoining states, reside two Comprehensive Doctoral granting Land Grant institutions (Carnegie Classification, retrieved, 9/27/2009). Both institutions are considered small for their designation with enrollments of 23,241 and 12,824. They reside within seven miles of one another in communities with populations below 30,000, which includes students. A small Muslim community exists between the two towns. Both towns have mosques that collaborate for community functions, events, and outreach. The Muslim communities serve

both student populations and are often called upon by the universities and community leaders to engage in town events and assist the transition of incoming Muslim or Middle Eastern students. In February 2003, the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) descended upon one of the small communities in a pre-dawn raid, arresting Sami Omar Al-Hussayen on charges of visa fraud and lying to officials (Egan, 2004; Russell, 2003).

Al-Hussayen's case is salient for several reasons. The first is that it was one of the first cases in the United States where the USA PATRIOT Act was employed to implicate and arrest a college student (Trial of graduate student, 2004). This posed a challenge for university officials who were trying to navigate the murky waters of multiple and often contradictory national laws. Would/could the Family Education Right to Privacy Act (FERPA) prevent the university from releasing Al-Hussayen's student records (Trial of graduate student, 2004)? How were his student and employment records to be released? Was the national government to follow public records request laws or did the USA PATRIOT Act make those procedures null and void? What privacy did Al-Hussayen have a right to and what obligation did the university have, legally or morally, to protect those rights? And what if the university were to refuse any or all of the new requirements under the PATRIOT Act? What about faculty? Could any of Al-Hussayen's faculty support him? In what ways? Was it possible that they could also become the focus of investigations by association? What implications did all of this have for the university and the other international Middle Eastern students on campus? In those early days, there were more questions than answers and many of those same questions remain places of contestation today, with no clear answers.

A second issue that arose out of Al-Hussayen's case pertains to climate. In February 2003, I began a pilot study for a doctoral course in which I was enrolled. The study explored how

Muslim students shape their identities in U.S. higher education. Few students accepted my invitation to participate and each of the three students who were interviewed mentioned being fearful and needing to always be aware of his surroundings. It was clear that the events of 9/11 and possibly the pre-dawn raid of Al-Hussayen's house which separated a husband from his wife, a father from his children, a doctoral student from his studies, left Muslims in both communities worried, fearful, and more closely scrutinized for their possible affiliations. International and domestic Middle Eastern students worried about returning home on routine vacations and not being permitted re-entry into the United States. Students spoke of friends who had experienced similar situations. Nobody that I observed or interviewed during Spring Semester 2003 spoke of Al-Hussayen, nor anyone else specifically; instead they spoke in abstractions of similar cases amid fears of being surveilled and potentially identified as a threat to national security. The climate in the area was rife with suspicion and distrust due to the larger national environment and events stemming from September 11, 2001.

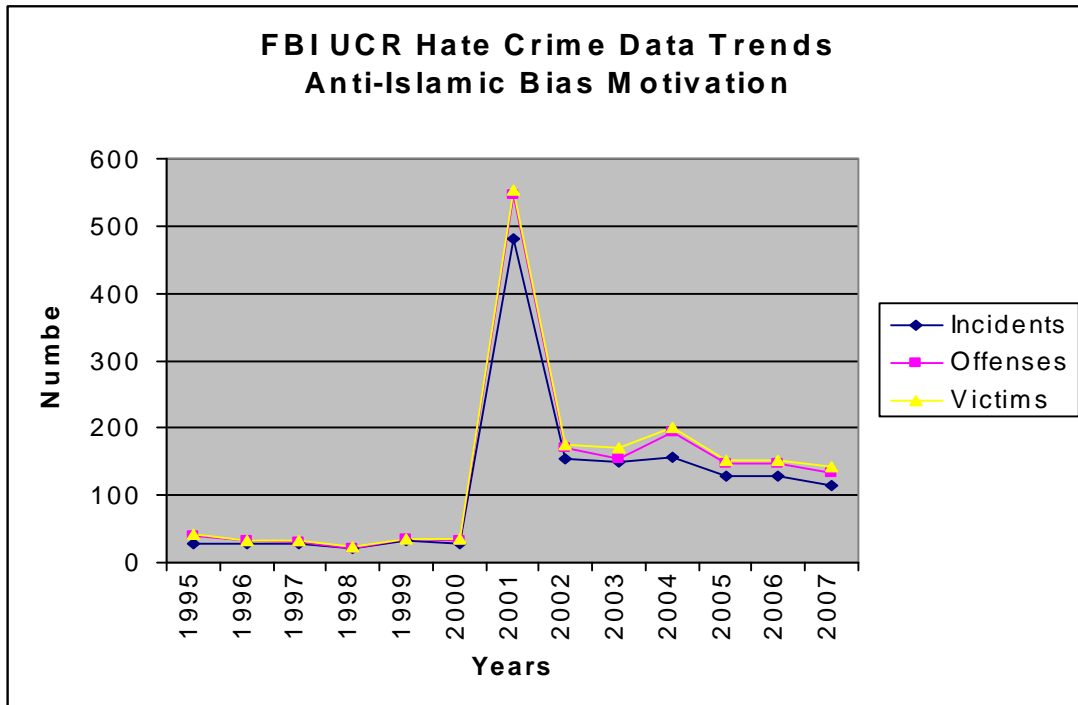
During the time that Al-Hussayen was imprisoned, the news media began reporting on investigations underway into the torture, sodomy, rape, sexual abuse, and murder of detainees at Abu Ghraib prison in Iraq (Coalition Forces Land Component Command, 2004; Morris, 2008). As these cases (Al-Hussayen and Abu Ghraib) made national and international news, more stories of international and domestic people of Middle Eastern heritages being arrested and detained for extended periods of time also began to emerge (Cageprisoners.com, retrieved 9/12/2009; Coalition Forces Land Component Command, 2004; Egan, 2004; Russell, 2003; Trial of graduate student, 2004). "National anger and the increasing rise of patriotism" (Wilkinson, 2002, p. 91) provided the impetus for violence against individuals real or perceived to be Muslim and quickly gave rise to "fundamentalist Christian denominations" (El-Khawas, 2003, p. 49) on

some college campuses. Citizens in one state were among the first to mobilize by creating Hate Free Zone (now One America). The organization was established to alleviate some of the strain from 9/11 and the growing wave of intolerances spreading across the U.S. They reported that in the three months following September 11, 2001 “the Council on American Islamic Relations registered over 1,400 hate crimes against Arabs and Muslims...the National Asian Pacific American Legal Consortium documented nearly 250 bias-motivated incidents...[and]...the Sikh Coalition...received close to 200 confirmed cases of hate, bias, or discrimination” (Hate Free Zone, 2002, p. 5). The FBI Uniform Crime Reporting data over the period ranging from 1995 to 2007, representing the earliest year that data was collected on hate related crimes through the most current reporting period at this writing, tells a different story, illuminates trends, and mirrors a spike in person to person violence in 2001 against people perceived to be Muslims by the attacker as indicated by Figure 1.

The data in Figure 1 support suggestions that people perceived to be Muslim were noticed and targeted more readily after September 11, 2001. While the data from the UCR should be looked at with suspicion, these data do illuminate important trends and confirm the heightened awareness that members of Muslim communities across the U.S. reported. Suspicion arises about the accuracy of the data because of the discrepancies between the FBI UCR data and the numbers reported by Hate Free Zone. Not all police agencies report data to the FBI for collection and not all policing officials may determine that a crime was precipitated by hate, whereas a crime victim may have a different perception. The variability in these data also suggest that victims of anti-Islamic hate crimes may feel more comfortable speaking with an agency established to meet the needs of members of their own or similar cultural or religious groups. Given the new laws, actions, and policies of the U.S. government along with the tenuous

relationship the government has with citizens and immigrants alike, this is the most likely answer.

Figure 1: FBI UCR Hate Crime Trends



Source: <http://www.fbi.gov/ucr/ucr.htm> Retrieved 9/26/2009

Al-Hussayen's case ended with his deportation in July 2004, following a series of perplexing twists and turns (Egan, 2004; Russell, 2003). After his arrest in February 2003, a court ruled he should be set free without bail in March; however, he was transferred to the custody of immigration officials, while being held over for trial. New charges were added to his case in January and March of 2004, alleging he provided material support to terrorist groups using his computer skills. The trial began in April 2004, and he was acquitted of all terrorism charges. The jury deadlocked on the visa fraud and immigration charges and a mistrial was declared. He remained in custody until he agreed not to appeal his deportation orders and was finally deported to Saudi Arabia where he was reunited with his family in July 2004. The charges

against him were unsubstantiated, yet he was detained for nearly 18 months. Stories such as Al-Hussayen's, spread across the United States via word of mouth and news media, infiltrating Muslim and Middle Eastern communities, and illuminating the divisions in U.S. society. Some people came out against Al-Hussayen and others in similar situations, believing that suspicion equaled guilt, while others recounted the dark days of McCarthyism, the actions and tactics of the House Committee on Un-American Activity in the 1950s, and the detainment and internment of Japanese Americans during World War II. Through the remembrances of history, we can better understand our present circumstances. In some ways, it is about understanding a history of the world and how particular groups have been brought into being which helps us to know who we are as individuals, a community, a society, and how we can come to claim our places within the world. When world circumstances converge with campus environments, as they did following the events of September 11, 2001, scholars need to engage a deeper excavation of knowledge to address the varied experiences of students studying on college and university campuses. How these events and circumstances influence the experiences of students of Middle Eastern heritages on U.S. college campuses has not been explored, and until it has been studied, colleges and universities cannot imagine new environments. The United States government has had a tumultuous relationship with different minority and cultural groups throughout history, which has determined who gets educated, how and where they are educated, and in what ways they can use that education.

EXCLUSIONARY HISTORIES

Spivak (1999) postulates that national constitutions grant citizenship by way of bringing people into a national discourse through which, they are brought into being. Before the construction of a constitution, the people exist in a temporal sense. The constitution lays claim to

its citizens, bringing them into view in a particular fashion, granting an identity that both claims them and allows them to claim a subject position within the world. Of the United States, Spivak said:

Derrida points out that ‘the good people of these Colonies’ in whose name the representatives sign the American Declaration of Independence do not, strictly speaking exist. As such they do not yet have the name and authority before the Declaration. At the same time, they are required to produce the authority for a Declaration which gives them being...This confusion guarantees the identity of the national agent – passport, marriage, check. But this originary ‘hypocrisy,’ entailing the involvement of the laws of nature, guarantees/produces the national agent *as such*, who is also the guarantor of the guarantee. (p. 178)

A few things can be deduced from what Spivak says. First, the guarantee for the purpose of this dissertation is the United States Declaration of Independence. The Declaration was set forth in order to claim a land mass, create a new country, and claim a particular group of people as its citizens. As U.S. history illuminates, points in time by which citizenship rights were expanded and contracted, partially occurred through The Bill of Rights and partly through legislation and court cases. For example, Native Americans, African Americans, Asian Americans, and Hispanic/Latina/o Americans were barred from any rights or claims to the same education as European Americans through the 1790 Naturalization Act which granted U.S. citizenship only upon those of European heritage and deemed *white* (Spring, 2007). Further, conferring the status of citizen for many inhabitants of the U.S. was always up for negotiation and possible revocation depending on the particular social forces of any particular era and only if a group of people could *pass* because they possessed a European American phenotype.

Citizenship was one's ticket to education and eventual equal rights under the law. The tenuous and flexible citizenship category is evidenced by various acts, laws, and court cases in U.S. history.

Secondly, whether by intent and purpose or lack of foresight by the framers of the U.S. Constitution, the laws establishing citizenship and rights have been unevenly applied to visitors and immigrants into the United States throughout history, much as they are now. If the Declaration of Independence brings citizens into being in exclusive and exclusionary ways, how then have foreign visitors and immigrants been brought into being within any specific U.S. socio-political context throughout history?

Citizenship was bestowed upon all native-born persons except Native Americans, by the 1866 Civil Rights Act (Spring, 2007). Native Americans had a plight similar but separate from the larger cultural context of other ethnic minorities in the U.S. which did not parallel that of other culturally marginalized groups. This group gained citizenship status in 1924. African Americans gained citizenship through the 1866 Civil Rights Act, the establishment of the 14th Amendment, and the 1870 Naturalization Act (Spring, 2007). However, de jure and de facto segregation ensured unequal opportunity for African Americans until the realization of full citizenship rights with the Voting Rights Act of 1965, at which time de facto segregation remained prominent through the present day regardless of laws making discrimination based upon race illegal (Spring, 2007).

The first Chinese immigrants arrived in California in the 1850s, and in 1855 the Supreme Court ruled Chinese were not "white" and were therefore excluded from the 1790 Naturalization Act (Spring, 2007). The Civil Rights Act of 1866, conferring citizenship status on native-born persons, was the standing law for Chinese and other Asian Americans until citizenship was

rescinded by case law established by the United States Supreme Court in 1922. It was not until 1943 that Chinese were granted the right to become naturalized citizens while Japanese Americans were held in internment camps during the years 1941-1945 as fears and suspicions arose due to World War II. In 1952 the McCarran-Walter Act repealed the race restrictions of the 1790 Naturalization Act, and in 1965 the Immigration Act ended legal discriminations against persons of Asian heritages. Citizenship for Hispanic/Latina/o Americans was a tenuous process with residents of ceded lands being granted citizenship in the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo in 1848. A short time later, Texas courts declared Mexican Americans non-white in 1897, thus rescinding citizenship rights. Breaking from the overly broad and aggregated categorization of Hispanics, the 1917 Jones Act granted citizenship to Puerto Ricans with the Repatriation programs of 1929-1935, simultaneously relocating native-born Mexican American U.S. citizens to Mexico. California law declared Mexican Americans foreign-born Indians in 1935 making them ineligible for citizenship. Re/aggregating the cultural diversity within the overly broad group, Hispanics were finally granted full citizenship with the 1965 Voting Rights Act. Citizenship rights were conferred by the dominant cultural group within the United States, the guarantor of such rights, upon these different cultural groups through mechanisms established by the Declaration of Independence.

Thirdly and finally, much can be understood through examining the wording within the Declaration. The framers called upon both the “Laws of Nature and Nature’s God” (Declaration of Independence, 1776) to make the case for creation of a new country separate from Britain, France, and Spain. By invoking nature and nature’s God, the framers cemented their positionality and those like them alongside that of a Christian God as an extension of nature, thus naturalizing heterosexual, affluent, white, Christian/Protestant, able-bodied, masculinity as normal. These

foundational beliefs rendered domestic and international minority groups, primarily non-Europeans, as lesser people under the laws, justifying unequal application of laws and rights in a seemingly natural hegemonically hierarchical structure created by those with the power – thus making them guarantor and guarantee of citizenship and rights. It is through citizenship that persons residing within the borders and boundaries of the U.S. can exercise the rights bestowed upon them by law, such as attending school and acquiring an education or voting. The U.S. government has no legal obligation to act on behalf of those not granted citizenship. From this vantage point it may be assumed that prior to 1965 with the Voting Rights Act granting full citizenship upon several marginalized groups, the U.S. government acted on behalf of European American's interests and needs. Further, systems, institutions, organizations, and laws built before this time were vested in securing, supporting, and protecting whiteness as dominant subject position and world view (Spring, 2007).

Education has long been the luxury of the social and cultural elite in the United States until 1954 with *Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka, Kansas* ending legalized racial segregation in educational institutions. How people were barred from education and segregated from the “white only” education differed by group. For Native Americans, children were removed from their families and communities, forbidden to speak their native language or practice customs and traditions, and were taught a trade. African Americans have a long history of learning to read and write even when it was a crime and they ran the risk of corporal, and in some cases, capital punishment. This history manifested itself in a rich and long fought tradition of African American built and operated schools and eventually colleges which remained legally separate in many areas throughout the U.S. until the *Brown* decision and forced integration. Asian Americans also had a “separate but equal” model of education, similar to Native

Americans in boarding schools or state operated schools for African Americans, their formal public education focused on learning a trade. The history of educating Hispanic/Latino/a American students is dotted with moments of English only and bilingual educational policies and court cases, and of course, separate education from the white only education. Assimilating members of these groups and recent immigrants to the dominant culture remained the focus at the primary and secondary levels of education. Spring (2007) calls this *deculturalization* as members of these groups were educated out of their cultural languages, traditions, and norms into a European American world view which deemed them less than the dominant model against which they were measured. Since education for these groups remained a process of deculturalization, assimilation, and vocationalism, few were prepared for post-secondary study.

Most of this scholarship explores the laws, policies, and court cases relevant to primarily domestic minority or marginalized African Americans, Native Americans, Hispanic/Latina/o Americans, and Asian Americans. Little is said in educational history books about persons outside of these groups (Rury, 2002; Spring, 2006, 2007, 2008; Thelin, 2004). Further, understanding the history is an important beginning to learning about the experiences of different groups of students within the United States educational systems, but this history does not acknowledge the lived or daily experiences of students in these particular eras. Therefore, this dissertation explores a group previously ignored in the scholarship at a moment in history in which world and national circumstances work to silence and position them outside of naturalized norms. How students of Middle Eastern heritages experience United States higher education in the current post 9/11 socio-political context is the guiding question of this dissertation. In order to unearth the depth of these experiences, I follow the advice of several scholars, including Baez

(2000), Osei-Kofi (2003), Tanaka (2002), and Pascarella (2006) to frame the excavation of the data and understand my own place within this study.

Imagining Anew

In “Exploring how college affects students: Ten directions for future research”, Pascarella (2006) articulates three directions germane to this dissertation that can be used to challenge scholars of higher education. He states that we need to “expand our notion of diversity”, “acknowledge the increasing diversity of the American postsecondary student population”, and “extend and expand inquiry on previously ignored students” (Pascarella, 2006, p. 511-513). Although these suggestions hold particular assumptions, such as the need for and purpose of research to be generalizable to a larger population as if this accurately describes the experiences of all students or all students in any specific group, when analyzed and utilized through a critical lens one begins to develop research agendas that do not “merely...describe the world...but change it” (Tierney, 1992, p. 603). These suggestions provide “an opportunity for deep engagement [which] offers a powerful means toward envisioning the possibility of a different reality” (Osei-Kofi, 2003, p. 494).

Before research can be used to envision a new reality, researchers and scholars need to explore the taken for granted assumptions in their work. Often the questions asked are those of the dominant group, as observed by Tierney (1992) who argued, “we are asking the wrong questions” (p. 615). The questions leave little room for the voice of the participants as they come from a dominant orientation with assumptions of normalcy and neutrality (Osei-Kofi, 2003; Tanaka, 2002; Tierney, 1992). Neutrality in the United States “reflects the culture of the dominant society. In America, that dominant culture is white” (Tierney, 1992, p. 608). Going one step further, that dominant culture is white, Christian, middle to upper class, heterosexual, able-

bodied, and male (Ladson-Billings, 2003; Osei-Kofi, 2003; Tanaka, 2002; Tierney, 1992) and this is the *norm* against which all are measured and most are found wanting (DuBois, 1903/1996; Ladson-Billings, 2003; Neider, 2009; Osei-Kofi, 2003). There is value in understanding how the world works from this perspective but only so far as it “does not presume a merger or assimilation of one culture into another, and reasserts the importance of a personal and social analytical framework in lieu of one based on institutionalized impacts or essentialized categories like race” (Tanaka, 2002, p. 284). To expand, extend, and acknowledge the various forms of diversity on college campuses means that scholars need to “place all cultures and social positions under the same microscope, including the complex, shifting social locations of each European American male...rather than assign to European American culture the status of a neutral standard” (p. 285).

In order to decenter European American culture, as Tanaka (2002) has so named, scholars need to explore the role of power, acknowledge the legitimacy of participants’ lived experiences, and engage in self-reflexivity in their research (Ladson-Billings, 2003; Osei-Kofi, 2003; Tanaka, 2002; Tierney, 1992). Scholars need to explore “how power and privilege shape interactions among members of social groups” and organizations (Osei-Kofi, 2003, p. 491) “that give voice to some and silence others” (Tierney, 1992, p. 616). Two ways in which the effects of power can be investigated is by allowing participants to “author their own cultural histories” (Tanaka, 2002, p. 266) or to allow them voice, and to locate them within their own time and history, rather than reading them through the history of the dominant culture (Ladson-Billings, 2003; Osei-Kofi, 2003; Tanaka, 2002). Finally, self-reflexive research practice allows the researcher to locate her/him self, culture, and social location within the research and analysis. This last aspect makes space for the research to be dialogic and to inform what is known or

understood about all cultures, recognizing that findings are “fluid, . . . relational, and . . . resultant of social processes” (Osei-Kofi, 2003, p. 494).

Theoretical Framework and Research Design

Higher educational research that centers upon student experience has been developed largely around survey instruments and has generated quantitative data. These studies, discussed in Chapter 3, focus either on marginalized domestic students as operationalized earlier (Native American, African American, Asian American, and Hispanic/Latino/a American) or focus on international students with the dominant assimilationist perspectives. When these types of studies looked at international students and their experiences on college campuses, the experiences were both quantified and were not situated in the larger socio-political or socio-historical contexts in which they live. This study uses postcolonial theory as the theoretical framework to unearth histories of knowledge construction by asking, whose knowledge and for what purpose. Using postcolonial theory helps me to situate the students, the institution, and the events within the current historical moment by exploring how particular circumstances have been made possible and the mechanisms that continue to support them. Due to the questions asked and the importance of illuminating a deeper understanding of what the experiences of students of Middle Eastern heritages are and what those experiences mean, qualitative methods were used to collect and analyze the data. Using semi-structured interviews and observation data allowed for knowledge construction to go beyond that of reporting numbers, opening spaces for new theorizing and implications for practice.

Purpose of this Study

At this present moment in history there are many forces working globally to position persons from the Middle East as problem. These forces are many and range from the expanse of

media to the depth of curriculum which take a great toll on persons from these regions of the world. At the same time that environments are being influenced and shaped, U.S. higher education is seeing an increase of persons from this part of the world studying in colleges and universities. How students of Middle Eastern heritages experience post-secondary education in the current socio-political U.S. context has not been investigated and is not understood. This qualitative study explores the experiences of this student population using the following guiding questions:

- 1) How do students of Middle Eastern heritages experience post-secondary education in the current socio-political U.S. context?
- 2) How do students of Middle Eastern heritage navigate U.S. higher education?
- 3) How does institutional context shape the experiences of students of Middle Eastern heritages?
- 4) How does the larger post 9/11 United States socio-political context shape their experiences in U.S. higher education?
- 5) How can U.S. higher education better support/accommodate these students?

Through exploration of these research questions, three themes emerged: rupturing mythical understandings, re/constructing identities, and re/claiming spaces. The first theme explores sources of foundational knowledge each student held before coming into the United States and the mythical knowledge constructions of groups or challenges to those mythical assumptions. This theme explores how students come to understand themselves within the world, how they understand themselves in relation to others, and how myth is constructed for individuals from these foundations. For example, many student participants believed in the mythical *American* as being tolerant of multicultural others and the U.S. as a melting pot, where

race, ethnicity, and religion blend together in harmony. The assumptions held by students was a result of their relationship with the governments of their countries of origin – in some cases, the country was the United States. These myths were also challenged as students came face to face with instances of intolerance and ignorance which was, in part, due to mythical constructions of the Middle East and those of Middle Eastern heritages.

The second theme centers on identities and complications in re/constructing self and each other as well as re/constructions by others. As students worked to navigate particular spaces and situations, they re/constructed their identities and the identities of each other in ways that preserved their sense of self and community, and sometimes challenged how their group was constructing them. Students were also actively being re/constructed by others to fit particular subject positions for different and sometimes divergent purposes. These re/constructions were context bound, which lead into the third theme.

How, when, and under what circumstances a student could claim any particular space or be claimed by that space was influenced by a variety of forces. The depth of students experiences were impacted by a variety of occurrences happening outside of physical spaces, as well as at the international, national, and local levels. These occurrences had a direct influence upon students and indirect influences through knowledge by association rather than direct experience. For example, many students learned of their new local spaces through the counsel of friends, colleagues, and mentors. The person informing them of the space often based their information on their own experience or stories of others they peripherally knew, but because they were viewed as the older, wiser, or more knowledgeable mentor, their cautions were taken seriously, even if flawed. Together, these three themes – breaking with myth, complicating identities, and

claiming spaces – are all highly interconnected, each reliant upon the other, similar to a three pronged spirograph with no clear beginning or end.

In order to frame these questions, this dissertation first explores the tenets of postcolonial theory, in Chapter 2, as the organizing theoretical framework, through which the literature and data are explored and understood. The third chapter presents literature salient to exploring and understanding the research questions, student participants, and university environments. A discussion of methods and methodology follows in Chapter 4, by setting up the study and addressing my own assumptions and positionality as well as how issues of validity and reliability come to bear on the study and data. Interview and observation data are discussed in Chapter 5, centering around three prominent themes: rupturing and re/negotiating myth, complicating identities, and claiming spaces. Finally, this dissertation concludes with a discussion of data findings, implications for practice, and future research directions.

CHAPTER 2: POSTCOLONIAL THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

Consequences of the events of September 11, 2001 include a renewed justification – real or imagined – in anti-Muslim sentiment and have also re/ignited the romanticization, mysticization, and demonization of Middle Eastern countries and people whose origins are from these geographic areas. In the days, weeks, and months following 9/11, Middle Eastern international post-secondary students returned to their home countries at the behest of their families. The numbers of these students studying in the United States declined in the immediate years following 9/11, but have recently been on the rise, and according to some statistics have exceeded pre-9/11 numbers (Institute for International Education, 2008). Although the persons whom the government has identified as responsible for the attacks have also been identified as members of radical Islamic sects, there remains public sentiment that holds persons from Middle Eastern countries to blame for the infamous attacks.

Violence committed against persons perceived to be Muslim or from the Middle East has been documented throughout U.S. society. Abu El-Haj (2007) documented public discrimination against Palestinian youth by secondary teachers and administrators. Bigelow (2007) identified similar public displays of hostility in a Minnesota community in which she studied Muslim women. Abu El-Haj's (2007) study suggested that emotional and mental violence aimed toward Islam and the Middle East could be found in the comments of school personnel and the curriculum, suggesting that Palestinians are terrorists and violent. Because of the past romanticizations and current demonization of people of Middle Eastern heritages, Islam, and culture within the West, I utilize postcolonial theory as my theoretical framework to situate this study and analyze the qualitative data. Postcolonial theory serves as a critical theoretical tool

which illuminates knowledge constructions, histories, and allows for deeper excavation of contributing factors that influence environments.

Postcolonial theory provides the tools necessary to unearth taken for granted knowledge claims about marginalized groups, calling into question outdated and outmoded knowledge warrants about domination and inferiority. As people relocate and settle in new contexts around the globe, it is becoming more evident in this post-9/11 world that researchers can employ methods and theoretical perspectives that disrupt traditional Western perceptions about persons of Middle Eastern heritages. Although one can never see the world as another, theoretical frameworks, such as postcolonial theory, exist to re-orient and unseat traditional perspectives and encourage researchers to take a more holistic perspective of world views held by those unlike themselves. Similar to scholars who use Critical Race Theory to illuminate how race and racism have shaped and continue to shape U.S. society, higher education scholars can use postcolonial theory to illuminate ideologies and epistemologies that have in the past and continue today to colonize the knowledge and understandings of the world (Willinsky, 1998).

Postcolonial theory is a complex set of theoretical writings spanning the expanse of race and racism, citizenship and nationalism, universality and difference, representation and resistance, and indigeneity (Ashcroft, Griffiths, & Tiffin, 1995). There are four major understandings from postcolonial theory which bear on this dissertation. In order to understand and unearth taken for granted knowledge claims I first discuss how the world has been named and explore the consequences of this naming. This discussion is essential in understanding how the historical legacy of colonialism has shaped identities and spaces in the Western world in which citizens, residents, immigrants, and visitors learn, live, study, and work. After examination of these processes, the second understanding highlights the movements of people around the

world, or ethnoscaples. As the momentum of globalization shifts the demographics within the United States, it is becoming more important to study and analyze how long held Western beliefs are challenged and how people living, learning, studying, and working within various U.S. spaces perceive these challenges to themselves and others. Next, postcolonial theory acknowledges the confounding complexities related to the co-existence of peoples previously separated by time and space, which engender conflicts with dominant systems of knowledge and knowing. One allure of the higher education experience in the United States has centered upon students gaining multicultural perspectives upon which to build careers and fulfilling lifestyles (Jayakumar, 2008). Through interactions with people unlike themselves, students can learn to navigate an increasingly globalized world and come to tolerate and respect world views dissimilar from themselves, supposedly (Jayakumar, 2008; Hurtado, 1996). Finally, I examine ways in which postcolonial understandings shape research practices generally and specifically in this study, thus opening spaces for new theorizing and future research. This study works to illuminate the voices that have been silenced through little scholarly inquiry, provide spaces in which to hear the voices, and explore new ways to think about similar groups of students.

NAMING THE WORLD

Public perceptions of particular groups have been shaped by how media frame and name them; Muslims and those from the Middle East are named as trouble (Ben-David, 2009; Bawer, 2009). While some media sources acknowledge and explore the way members of these groups have been characterized (Amundson, 2008; Hate Free Zone Campaign of Washington, 2002; “Israel ‘shelled civilian shelter’, 2009; Tehranian, 2008) others interrogate the consequences for these groups (Amundson, 2008; Goldstein, 2009; Hate Free Zone Campaign of Washington, 2002; McMurtrie, 2008; “MLA contemplates taking a stand”, 2009). Meanwhile, the growth of

hate groups by more than 48% in the United States (Southern Poverty Law Center, 2008) and the resurgence of right-wing conservative groups, including the Nazi political party in Western Europe, have been tacitly linked to the September 11, 2001 terrorist attacks and subsequent attacks in England, Spain, and Indonesia (Ben-David, 2009; Bawer, 2009). The rising intolerance has even resulted in the designation of U.S. President Barack Obama as a “closet Muslim” (Goldstein, 2009). At the same time that intolerance and hatred toward Muslims and people of Middle Eastern heritages are on the rise, a growing number of people from non-Western parts of the world are migrating and coming to study in U.S. higher education institutions (IIE, 2008; McMurtrie, 2008; U.S. Census, 2000). It is important to understand how knowledge of the Middle East has been socially constructed.

In the colonial world, the process of dividing, categorizing, and naming the world became the *right* or obligation of Western colonizers (Willinsky, 1998). He who named the world can be understood as more than just an individual but rather as an extension of his society’s mores. The action of naming the world was a way of generating knowledge of the previously unknown while also organizing and categorizing it. Through this action, the namer assumed the right of naming and was legally supported by his government. Naming the world was more than a duty; it was a right as opposed to a wrong and encouraged the histories, memories, and understandings of the world held by the subordinated peoples to be erased and re-written through the eyes of the colonizer. In claiming this right to name and organize knowledge about these colonies, the indigenous histories and understandings could be denied and labeled as wrong, somehow deviant or inferior, heathen, and savage. The right also signifies a religious right as well since state or dominant religions were intimately tied to national governments; all that was named, claimed, and conquered in the name of the governments controlled by the church(es). This *right* to name

was not granted from the peoples being named or the indigenous groups who had already named their corners of the world. Naming cast the namer into a dominant role while subordinating the named, thus naturalizing oppression and domination.

By naming the world, the onus of defining that which is named is placed upon those who do the naming, allowing for social realities to be described and defined by the few cultural and social elite. As much as this naming was intended for understanding the world, it also developed out of a perceived need to situate particular countries and continents, i.e. Europe, at the center of historical knowledge while searching for ways to exploit the resources of other countries (Hardt & Negri, 2000; Said, 1979). Through this process supposedly both the needs of the colonizer and the colonized could be met with both parties supporting, gaining, and losing in this agreement of survival. Today, subordinated countries are no longer overtly dominated by *superior* nation-states but rather both exist in a *free* market society in which the needs of capitalism and colonialism become intertwined and united in domination and oppression, giving birth to the modern world order.

The namers had to secure their social and cultural position and did so through what scholars have defined as the great chain of being (Bauman, 2005; Leonardo, 2004; Lesko, 2001). The great chain of being acted as a measuring rod against which civilization was measured with the white, heterosexual, able-bodied, Christian, adult, male model situated at the top and all others located along the continuum, always in a process of becoming, yet never reaching the same status of being. The only group who could attain the same status consisted of the white male children who grew into heterosexual, able-bodied, Christian adults. All others along the measuring rod were positioned at lower levels, never able to quite evolve enough, and always considered inferior and less civilized. Dehumanization of subordinated groups was practiced

through capture, captivity, and display at World's Fairs or exhibitions. Lesko (2001) reminds us that "[t]he world exhibition can be read as a representation of the established hierarchy of peoples within a long-playing scientific drama" (p.19). It was at the 1893 "World's Columbian Exhibition in Chicago" that White City was established to highlight the achievements of civilization through displaying "thousands of enormous engines, warships, trains, machines, and armaments, as well as examples of commerce" (p. 19). From there "visitors experienced the descent from civilization as they moved from White City to advanced German and Irish villages, to more barbarous Turkish and Chinese settlements, and finally to savage American Indians" (p. 19). On display were other uncivilized peoples from around the world including Egyptians, Turks, and Hottentots. This display defined and reaffirmed the superiority of those of particular European heritage. Displays of armaments alongside the supposedly descending civilizations affirmed Western power and authority. The World's Fairs were a complex spectacle of progress and authority further legitimating Western superiority, domination, and oppression.

Positioning European Americans as superior would only conceptually work if there was a group over which to claim superiority. Thus, the West sprung out of artificial dichotomous arrangements, *us* and *them*, *first world* and *third world*. Said (1979) and Mohanty (1984) recognized this dichotomy with Mohanty stating that "[w]ithout the over determined discourse that creates the *third* [italics original] world, there would be no (singular and privileged) first world" (p. 353). This social positioning wore the façade of functionality for both parties, oppressor/oppressed. Once particular groups had been named and defined as inferior or positioned as children along the great chain of being, domination became supposedly necessary to support and sustain the people. Dominated groups also contributed to their domination in ways

that furthered the colonial project and they also resisted (Hardt & Negri, 2000; Mohanty, 1984; Said, 1979). Said (1979) maintained:

men make their own history, that what they can know is what they have made, and extend it to geography: as both geographical and cultural entities—to say nothing of historical entities—such as locales, regions, geographical sectors as “Orient” and “Occident” are man-made. Therefore as much as the West itself, the Orient is an idea that has a history and a tradition of thought, imagery, and vocabulary that have given it reality and presence in and for the West. The two geographical entities thus support and to an extent reflect each other (p. 5).

Finally, those doing the naming were able to choose what people, groups, or aspects of the life of the other were worthy of display for the dominant culture to consume (Said, 1979; Willinsky, 1998). Research conducted on those defined as other was often initiated out of a desire to further differentiate between *us* and *them* rather than to learn about humanity or the human condition. A vivid example of this world view is the eugenics movement as practiced during the Nazi regime. According to Willinsky, this *righteous* scientific inquiry was made possible by dehumanizing those being researched through comparison to primates rather than humans.

The long arm of colonization was the reach of imperialism. Members of Empire could reside at a distance allowing trusted members of their society to go out into the world and name and thus lay claim to other parts of the world. These namings constructed Western knowledge of the world, allowing those from the West to understand the world in specific ways which were driven by political and social purposes. This Western project divided the world as Willinsky (1998) states and set up the false dichotomy of *us* and *them*. Through the eyes of the colonizer,

members of Empire came to learn about the *other*, “the Orient has helped to define Europe (or the West) as its contrasting image, idea, personality, experience” (Said, 1979, p 1-2). Other cultures are always measured against and in comparison to similar counterparts in Empire and usually found to be at a deficit, particularly if comparing people from another land to those in Empire. The other rarely measures up to the arbitrary expectations of colonizer knowledge and through this knowledge, the colonized are minimized and relegated to inferior status.

Before moving forward, it is necessary to define and describe the term Empire as it is conceptualized throughout this dissertation. According to Hardt and Negri (2000), Empire is “a concept, which calls primarily for a theoretical approach” (p. xiv). This theoretical conceptualization has four components to help define and describe Empire. First, Empire has no boundaries, and therefore, no limits. Second, Empire is separate or independent from history, meaning, it has “no temporal boundaries and in this sense [is] outside of history or at the end of history” (p. xv). Third, “Empire not only manages a territory and a population but also creates the very world it inhabits” (p. xv). “Finally, although the practice of Empire is continually bathed in blood, the concept of Empire is always dedicated to peace—a perpetual and universal peace outside of history” (p. xv).

At this present moment in history, the ongoing struggle of how to name, classify, and categorize Muslims and those whose heritages lie within the imagined borders of the Middle East is a source of much debate and consternation (Black, 2009; Ben-David, 2009; Amundson, 2009; Goldstein, 2009; Bawer, 2009; “Israel ‘shelled civilian shelter’”, 2009; Levy, 2009; “MLA contemplates taking a stand”, 2009; Tehranian, 2008). Who is considered an authority? Which knowledge is considered authoritative? Who is worth knowing and in what ways? Postcolonial theory suggests these types of questions. Western knowledge of the world becomes more

problematic as people move about the globe for various purposes and needs. Ever changing demographics within the United States challenges biblical, political, and social ideologies held at the center of knowledge claims within the Western world as well as the ways in which people from non-Western contexts are consumed, assimilated, perceived, and acted upon. To better understand the effects of such movements of people in reference to students of Middle Eastern heritages, it is necessary to understand the contexts and implications of said movements.

ETHNOSCAPES

Another conceptual tool and set of understandings from postcolonial theory is Appadurai's (1999) framing of globalization as five scapes. Appadurai defined different scapes to describe the ways in which globalization is changing various world systems. He fleshed out five different scapes to describe the interconnectedness of globalization: ethnoscaples, technoscapes, finanscapes, mediascapes, and ideoscapes. Ethnoscapes are defined as "the landscape of persons who constitute the shifting world in which we live: tourists, immigrants, refugees, exiles, guestworkers and other moving groups and persons constitute an essential feature of the world, and appear to affect the politics of and between nations to a hitherto unprecedented degree" (p. 222). Technoscapes describe the global positioning of technologies, however fluid. Finanscapes refers to global financial capital, while mediascapes consist of media and presses, both public and private. Ideoscapes are rooted within political ideologies and as such are usually aligned with state ideologies or counter ideologies. These scapes that Appadurai articulated are all interrelated and they can work together or separately; however, the effectiveness of one is greatly enhanced by the other(s). The scapes of most import to this study are ethnoscapes, ideoscapes, and mediascapes as these describe the changing demographic diversity, the historical situated knowledge that non-Europeans bring with them into U.S.

institutions of higher education, and the knowledge constructed in Western contexts about these groups. Further, ideoscapes closely connect to campus environment literature's perceptual approaches in that both are formations of perceptions and ideologies that guide behaviors and interactions with environments and people (Dungy, Rissmeyer, & Roberts, 2005; Hamrick, Evans, & Schuh, 2002; Hurtado, 1996; Hurtado, Milem, Clayton-Pedersen, & Allen, 1998; Kuh, 2000; Kuh, Gonyea, & Williams, 2005; Moneta & Kuh, 2005; Richardson & Fisk-Skinner, 1990).

The concepts, transnational and diaspora, play important roles in Appadurai's (1999) discussion of ethnoscapes. According to Appadurai (1993), using the term transnational in relation to people means the "global spread of originally local national identities" (p. 21). Groups have relocated or been relocated due to how borders have been re/distributed to at least one other country or they may be part of a perpetual diaspora relocating frequently. According to the *Oxford American Dictionary*, the word Diaspora describes the relocation of the Jews from Babylon or Palestine (Ehrlich, Flexner, Carruth, & Hawkins, 1980). Postcolonial scholars have redefined and expanded upon this traditional definition, using a lower-case "d" to signify this newly expanded meaning. As originally used, there is an implication of religious persecution. Correspondingly, as the term is used now it connotes a persecution, not necessarily of religion only. As Appadurai's (1993, 1999) writings indicate, diaspora can be either a forced or willing relocation of a people who have been the recipients of some form of persecution – religious, political, ethnic, economic, or otherwise.

Those who have relocated do not necessarily abandon their native culture but take various facets of it and synthesize it with the host culture for a new cultural understanding (Clifford, 1995). Appadurai (1993) further states that "diasporic diversity actually puts loyalty to

a nonterritorial transnation first, while realizing that there is a special American way to connect with these global diasporas” (p. 21). Diasporic diversity is best described by the nationalisms and patriotisms of particular groups or the ideoscapes. Patriotism is tied to local places, spaces, and land and does not change as nation-state borders are reconfigured or eroded. Patriotisms often emerge out of a nostalgic understanding of what previously was or what could one day be. Finally, patriotisms may relocate with the people to new spaces, places, and lands. These groups of people with national identities are relocated into new national spaces challenging what was once assumed about the world and that particular location within the world.

Because James Clifford (1995) describes diaspora in ways that provide meaning to this study, he is worth quoting at some length to more clearly define the ways in which diasporic diversity has the power to change how histories are interpreted and spaces defined.

Diasporic populations do not come from elsewhere in the same way that ‘immigrants’ do. In assimilationist national ideologies such as those of the United States, immigrants may experience loss and nostalgia, but only en route to a whole new home in a new place. Such ideologies are designed to integrate immigrants, not people in diasporas...the national narrative...cannot assimilate groups that maintain important allegiances and practical connections to a homeland or a dispersed community located elsewhere. People whose sense of identity is centrally defined by collective histories of displacement and violent loss cannot be ‘cured’ by merging into a new national community. This is especially true when they are the victims of ongoing structural prejudice. (p. 451)

Clifford further states that diasporas “are deployed in transnational networks built from multiple attachments, and they encode practices of accommodation with, as well as resistance to, host countries and their norms” (p. 452). Lastly, Clifford posits:

Transnational connections break the binary relation of ‘minority’ communities with ‘majority’ societies –a dependency that structures projects of both assimilation and resistance. And it gives a strengthened spatial/historical content to older mediating concepts such as W. E. B. DuBois’s notion of ‘double consciousness.’ Moreover, diasporas are not exactly immigrant communities...Diasporist discourses reflect the sense of being a part of an ongoing transnational network that includes the homeland not as something simply left behind but as a place of attachment in a contrapuntal modernity...The process may not be as much about being African or Chinese as about being American or British or wherever one has settled, differently. It is also about feeling global. Islam, like Judaism in a predominantly Christian culture, can offer a sense of attachment elsewhere, to a different temporality and vision, a discrepant modernity. (p. 453-454)

A traditional practice that institutions such as universities have employed with minority groups was to assimilate members outside of the dominant group. As evidenced in the coming review of research literature, this was an overarching theme in the research questions asked and explored: that international students should adjust to U.S. colleges and that universities assume that these groups will assimilate (Tierney, 1992). These assumptions reflect the ideoscapes that dominate the culture of the U.S. and are deeply engrained in the ways in which people live, work, and play. They also require a sense of double consciousness from these students. How students of

Middle Eastern heritages, whether international students or domestic, experience the assimilationist climate of U.S. higher education may in fact be influenced by these ideologies. Willinsky (1998) states that “the postimperial migration of people around the world today poses profound challenges to what we once knew and assumed of the world” (p. 8). This “postimperial migration” tweaks understandings of student development theory, illuminates environmental influences within educational institutions, and questions the purpose and philosophical orientations of systems and mechanisms used to research. Students of Middle Eastern heritages are living, working, and studying within the United States context. As more students from Middle Eastern heritages come to study in universities in the U.S., it is important to understand how their experiences have been subsumed and consequently marginalized, what forces have been at work allowing this to happen, and the consequences of such actions.

TECHNOLOGIES OF COLONIALISM

Dehumanization of non-Western peoples and cultures occurred through two mechanisms of colonialism: the previously stated naming and defining as trouble and the dominant group attempting to erase or re/write the histories of the subordinated. Ignoring the histories of the people and the lands they inhabited enabled the West to re/inscribe its history as the history of the colonized land and people as if this were the one true and only way to view the world (Hardt & Negri, 2000; Willinsky, 1998). How the world is viewed simultaneously writes the world into being and illuminates aspects of the world in the eyes of the scribe. Treating members of marginalized groups as though they were not historical beings, ignoring their histories and replacing them with a European centered history, mentally and emotionally displaced entire groups of people and effectively aligned their existence along the great chain of being. Willinsky (1998) states, “[i]n the ruse of the West, the achievement of superiority has been accomplished

not only by the sword and cross, but also by a philosophy of history that has used time and place as conceptual tools for dividing the world according to the interests of imperialism” (p. 134), highlighting the link between colonization and capitalism. The interests of imperialism imply the/a consumption of the colonized – colonization as consumption of the other. Said (1979) illuminates this linkage by stating, “the vastly expanded American political and economic role in the Near East (the Middle East) makes great claims on our understanding...” (p. 2).

This project was easy to accomplish as societies remained relatively homogeneous. In the United States this domination remained manageable although the U.S. appeared to be a multicultural society. As was shown in the previous chapter, immigration and citizenship regulations limited who had say in the social and political life of the country. Further, through formal education, citizens and residents alike are educated to believe that domination and oppression are for the good of the oppressed/dominated. Education is the primary system used by Empire to maintain particular subjectivities and ensure people believe the warrant called upon to secure their social location. As immigration and citizenship laws and regulations became more equitable, those who had previously been excluded from decision making found new positions through which to re/name and lay claim to their own systems of knowledge and power. Postcolonial theory emerged out of imperial decolonization of the non-Western world. Bhabha (1999) contends that postcolonial theory is sensitive to these “unequal and uneven forces of cultural representation involved in the contest for political and social authority within the modern world order” and thus allows individuals to claim their own subject positions, effecting change upon how their identities are inscribed upon their bodies, defined, and operationalized (p. 190).

Subjectivities can be understood within a framework of a particular world view (Barker, 2005). Individual subject positions or subjectivities may exist for myriad purposes, some for

political positionings, others out of necessity, and yet others may exist for reasons outside of those mentioned here. The purpose for conjuring a subjectivity may be real, imagined, a combination of both, or something else entirely. In the case of those whose heritages lie within Middle Eastern countries, their subject positions may have developed out of an imagined need of the West to fabricate fear and an enemy in order to elevate the status of countries who reside in the Western hemisphere or can claim adherence to Western norms and values. Constructing those of Middle Eastern heritage as trouble, as terrorist, as evil, opens the doors for Western domination to be justified and legitimated. Further, through constructing those from Middle Eastern countries as romantic remembrances of the distant past, the West can ignore the histories of the present and remind students that people from these groups are not worth knowing outside of museums, circuses, or violent domination. Finally, the particular subjectivities of those of Middle Eastern heritage as romantic relic from the past, justifies cultural consumption and cannibalism.

Although physical colonization of lands has ended, the effect was/is still a part of the way people make sense of their world. Postcolonial theory and theorists open the space allowing persons from previously colonized groups to be both the subject and creators of knowledge, thus decentering Europe as the only source and form of legitimate knowledge (Appadurai, 1999; 1999; Churchill, 2000; Dayal, 1996; Spivak, 1999). As Willinsky (1998) notes, “[g]iven the enormity of imperialism’s educational project and its relatively recent demise, it seems only reasonable to expect that this project would live on, for many of us, as an unconscious aspect of our education” (p. 3).

As persons from Middle Eastern countries relocate and study in, for example, the U.S., the knowledge about this part of the world is challenged. Evidence of this challenging of

Western understandings of the Middle East or countries in the Middle East is highlighted in Abu El-Haj's (2007) study of female Palestinian secondary students and Bigelow's (2007) study of Muslim women in one community. Members of the largely defined Middle Eastern groups confront misconceptions, often egregious misconceptions, about themselves and their homelands daily in U.S. institutions of learning. These misconceptions permeate the educational system, K-20+, as these ideas are embedded within Western understandings of how the world works. In the West, capitalism is the lens that writes the knowledge of the world (Hardt & Negri, 2000). The allied countries tend to define and describe the world similarly because similar economic and religious principles undergird the societies and systems that operate within any given Western society. Bourdieu's (1986) explanation of the way these Western societies work is salient to this discussion. His theory of social capital has remained a dominant theoretical lens to understand motivations and desires. The West has a tendency to view other parts of the world for what the multiple parts can do for the Western world in terms of advancing the society, sustaining the peoples, and securing and maintaining dominance over the rest of the world. Similar to educational policies that maintained Native Americans, African Americans, Asian Americans, and Hispanic/Latina/o Americans in positions of labor that built, supported, and maintained white supremacy, current systems of capitalism and colonization are at work around the globe today. The West's knowledge of the rest of the world operates and exists on a particular time/space continuum making subjugation of developing nation-states possible. Because these countries do not exist in the same modernity as developed nations in the West, the West can enlist the help of these countries and their citizens to participate in their own oppressions. It is in this vein that I wish to use postcolonial theory to examine dominant research practices and craft

methods with an awareness of the power of knowledge construction and positionality of both participant(s) and researcher.

TROUBLING RESEARCH PRACTICES

It is through education that Empire has been able to colonize the minds of its citizens, to bring the *other* into being in unequal and inequitable ways, and in effect to expand the nation (Giddens, 2003, Hardt & Negri, 2000; Willinsky, 1998). Education at all levels has historically been a means to re/train the way people have viewed their own histories and come to understand themselves in relation to others and the world. The reach of Empire has allowed the world to be categorized and classified through the eyes of the colonizer (Willinsky, 1998). Typically, in primary and secondary education, students learn how the world has been divided, categorized, and classified. In the Western world, these students come to understand the privilege of their positionality in the world through what they can claim ownership over and understand that they have the *right* to name what they see as an extension of the imperial project (Willinsky, 1998). Much of higher education trains future leaders of the world skills to name what they see, bestowing a sense of erudition and contributing to the unexamined spread of Western ideals and practices (Appadurai, 1993/1995). Neoliberal and neocolonial discourses work to define and legitimate particular research as scientific and particular theoretical orientations as undefined norms, privileging a specific way of viewing the world. This becomes most problematic when institutions that are charged with developing the minds of the next generation of thinkers, scientists and politicians engage in capitalistic colonialism sanctioning research methods which appropriate individual stories to support an essentialized grand narrative and privilege research questions that support and maintain colonialist practices.

Postcolonial theory as an epistemological stance illuminates the consequences of researching the other while simultaneously creating possibilities for scholars like myself who are not members of the social groups we work with/in. As a citizen of the United States, I have been educated by, through, and within colonial knowledge. As a bi-racial person in a system dominated by white supremacy, I was simultaneously formally educated to claim my privilege to name the world *and* formally educated that my claim to the world was inferior to the white, heterosexual, Christian, able-bodied males who came before me. My place was not secure in the hierarchy of knowledge. Through my doctoral course work and readings, I came to understand how I was brought into being often through mechanisms outside of my immediate control. Where critical race theory unearths racisms and white supremacy throughout society, postcolonial theory excavates how knowledge of the world has been created. That knowledge can be about race, gender, ethnicity, nationality, systems, and much more (Ashcroft, Griffiths, Tiffin, 1995). Postcolonial theory is a theory about the history of knowledge and as such critiques knowledge by asking: Whose knowledge? What and whose purpose does this knowledge serve?

By keeping knowledge at the center of the inquiry – both in terms of questioning what assumptions undergird the work and what knowledge is being created, a researcher like myself can remain cognizant of and attuned to the consequences of their own scholarship. Tierney (1992) maintained that the questions we ask as researchers have a tendency to focus on what is wrong with the student rather than what is wrong with the institution. Much research and scholarship has centered upon exploring the deficits of students which brings different student groups into being as deviant from an imagined norm. A good example of this is much of the student development theory literature. The foundational theories of student development were

built upon an understanding based on the realities of affluent, white, Christian, heterosexual, able-bodied, males (Belenky, Clinchy, Goldberger, & Tarule, 1986; Chickering, 1969; Erikson, 1980; Evans, Forney, Guido-DiBrito, 1998; Kohlberg, 1971; McEwen et.al., 1990; Taub & McEwen, 1991; Perry, 1969/1999; Sanford, 1962; Schlossberg, 1984). Many understandings and institutional practices have evolved from the perspectives created by these seminal works. Higher education scholars such as Tierney (1992), Osei-Kofi (2003), and Tanaka (2002) remind me of the possibilities within higher education research while postcolonial theory makes those possibilities a reality.

From the questions asked to the methods employed, postcolonial theory can act as a conduit for reflection and practice. Holding knowledge at the axis allows the researcher a level of engagement with the research process that might otherwise be missing. Further, by maintaining knowledge at the center, the researcher can actively engage with the process by questioning the consequences, effects, and purposes of knowledge creation. As bell hooks (2004) so aptly stated:

Within complex and ever shifting realms of power relations, do we position ourselves on the side of colonizing mentality? Or do we continue to stand in political resistance with the oppressed, ready to offer our ways of seeing and theorizing, of making culture, toward that revolutionary effort which seeks to create space where there is unlimited access to the pleasure and power of knowing, where transformation is possible?...It shapes and determines our response to existing cultural practice and our capacity to envision new, alternative, oppositional aesthetic acts. It informs the way we speak about these issues, the language we choose (p. 153).

Said (1979) had a similar insight. He maintained:

the terrible reductive conflicts that herd people under falsely unifying rubrics like “America,” “the West,” or “Islam” and invent collective identities for large numbers of individuals who are actually quite diverse, cannot remain as potent as they are, and must be opposed, their murderous effectiveness vastly reduced in influence and mobilizing power [...] Rather than the manufactured clash of civilizations, we need to concentrate on the slow working together of cultures that overlap, borrow from each other, and live together in far more interesting ways than any abridged or inauthentic mode of understanding can allow (p. xxvii-xxix).

Both of these scholars remind me that I must remain vigilant in my methods, keen in my analysis, and attuned to that which I create. Awareness of the power of my words helps me to select words carefully to highlight and illuminate that which remains in the shadows. For example, in the next chapter I explain why I chose to use the word “heritages” instead of “descent” to describe students with ethnic roots in Middle Eastern countries. Mohanty (1984) and other feminists recognize that there are times when it is politically and socially important to quantify a group, to speak about the group as if a simplistic essential category like woman is enough to describe all. However, she also recognized, as is evident in both hooks’ and Said’s quotes, that to aggregate the diverse stories of a group who may share one identity trait may sometimes violate other aspects of identity. To aggregate the stories into one narrative furthers the colonial project through implicit support of the essentialized categories that divide our world (Willinsky, 1998). Further, the grand narratives work to quell the narratives of the many as is evidenced in both the review of research and history literatures.

Postcolonial theory, as Bhabha (1999) and Appadurai (1993/1999) posited, is an emancipatory theory. For purposes of this study, postcolonial theory is the epistemological stance I assume and the space I occupy to ask and frame the questions, interact within the student groups, and interpret the data. From within this space, as an outsider-researcher, I consistently interrogate myself and my processes for trustworthiness. It is within this space that I come to understand my role as researcher within a community in which I am not a member as one of ally who *owns* knowledge of the systems of domination and can use knowledge gained through this study to critique, analyze, and better understand these systems of domination. Finally, it is through the privileged space of postcolonial theory that I come to understand the multiple factors that are bringing particular Middle Eastern identities into view and constructing them as trouble or threat (Abu El-Haj, 2007; Bauman, 2005).

Like Said (1979), I claim in small part that my interest in exploring the experiences of students of Middle Eastern heritages is humanist in nature. I wonder if more scholars employed a cultural lens, like that of postcolonial theory, how might our knowledge of the world be changed? Hardt and Negri (2000) state that “the imperial order is formed not only on the basis of its powers of accumulation and global extension, but also on the basis of its capacity to develop itself more deeply, to be reborn, and to extend itself throughout the biopolitical latticework of world society” (p. 41). Through the process of developing this dissertation I have come to recognize that writing helps one to learn how they are thinking about their topic and making that transparent to others. Further, summarizing literature is a window into some aspect of the self as the review gives voice to some of my own, for example, fundamental beliefs that have developed through my coursework and life experiences. The ways in which I consume research has much to do with the assumptions and orientations of the theoretical perspectives made visible through the

writing. For me, one aspect of the usefulness of postcolonial theory is about a re/framing of research issues and topics as well as a re/orientation of how one views the world, particularly domination and oppression, to better inform both theory and practice. Recognizing that scholars use postcolonial theory to illuminate disruptions in commonly held beliefs provides for subtle shifts in awarenesses of how one views the world, thus turning an assumption on its ear.

Placing postcolonial theory at the axis of research as an epistemological stance illuminates how the world was named, by whom, and for what purpose. This knowledge gives voice to how particular ways of perceiving the world and those in it have become privileged, suppressed, oppressed, dominated, dominator. Appadurai (1993) coined the term *ethnoscapes* to describe how people move about the globe which is confounding and challenging Western knowledge of the world as those who have been subordinated within the world come to co-exist with Western others in new socio-political contexts. These three tenets of postcolonial theory build an argument for troubling modernist research practices and work to re/imagine a new way for Western researchers to make sense of the world. Through the use of postcolonial theory I am better able to situate myself in the research, question my role in this particular knowledge construction, and question the knowledge I am creating.

There is a growing need to contextualize the history of the present and to document the stories about the experiences of students of Middle Eastern heritages; however, traditional Western theoretical lenses can only impose dominant views and interpretations upon members of various groups. The use of a Western theoretical lens upon students of Middle Eastern heritages easily runs the risk of continuing to oppress, demonize, villainize, and dominate members of this group through long held beliefs and systems of oppression taken for granted. Instead, using postcolonial theory as a lens through which to analyze and interpret a history of the present and

experiences of students of Middle Eastern heritages, creates a space where multiple narratives can co-exist at one time in one space. Once illuminated and analyzed these theoretical understandings can be used for further exploration and interpretation.

CHAPTER 3: LITERATURE REVIEW

INTRODUCTION

Scholars such as Boote and Beile (2005), Maxwell (2006), Kilbourn (2006) and Galvan (2006) have discussed how to gather and analyze literature for a dissertation as well as how to structure the write up of said material. All of these scholars agree that the research questions should emerge from the literature. Boote and Beile (2005) believe that “research...advances our collective understanding” which can only be learned through systemic review of literature in one’s field (p. 3). To meet this need, Galvan (2006) suggests conducting rigorous systematic research of current literature on a topic in order to situate the proposed study, a theme through all of these scholars’ work. Not only should the literature review represent a systematic inquiry into the literature to situate the study but reviewing the literature should be a recursive process where the researcher develops ideas and returns to the literature to investigate potential answers and how the ideas have been developed by previous scholars. The literature review alone is a research process of gathering relevant research and scholarship on a proposed topic, asking questions of the literature, and synthesizing what is known about that topic (Boote & Beile, 2005; Maxwell, 2006).

I begin this literature review by operationalizing and extrapolating campus environments. Campus environment literatures provide a useful framework to explore and understand the influences of environmental factors upon students and how students operate within the various environments. As the literature points to larger societal influences, I open spaces for new theorizing about the impacts of the larger U.S. society upon students of Middle Eastern heritages who have been simplified and characterized as trouble through media and governmental laws and policies. Multiple aspects of campus environments are shaped by those who work, live,

learn, and study on campus and all of these actors bring with them world views that influence how they interact with particular groups of students. These behaviors shape the environment as significantly as do laws, policies, and formal university actions, creating welcoming and/or hostile spaces (Jayakumar, 2008; Hurtado, 1996; Hurtado, Milem, Clayton-Pedersen, & Allen, 1998). To investigate or explore student experience divorced from environmental influences only provides a partial picture of the dynamic life on college campuses. Further, divorcing environment from experience silences divergent voices, oft suppressed, and minimizes larger culpability beyond the individual student, thus placing the onus for *getting along* upon students.

No research was located that describes or analyzes Middle Eastern students' experiences and understandings or those of Middle Eastern heritages in U.S. higher education. Instead, most recent literature focusing on students at the post-secondary level centers largely on marginalized domestic students (Ainsworth-Darnell & Downey, 1998; Einarson & Matier, 2005; Martinez-Aleman & Salkever, 2003; Pope, 2000; Torres, 2003) or on faith, spirituality, and identities therein (Love & Talbot, 1999; Parks, 2005; Stewart, 2002). Research that explored international students specifically explored friendships and relationships (Kalsner & Pistole, 2003; Smedley, Myers, & Harrell, 1993; Trice, 2004) and student stress, supports and success (Pritchard & Wilson, 2003; Ramsay, Jones, & Barker, 2007; Zajacova, Lynch, & Espenshade, 2005). Rarely were international students specifically culled from the total number of participants (Einarson & Matier, 2005; Kalsner & Pistole, 2003; Pope, 2000; Torres, 2003). The most pertinent literature found was that related to international students as well as multicultural and multiethnic students, both umbrella terms, in which students of Middle Eastern heritages might fit. Of the seventeen articles surveyed only nine were found that peripherally attended to international students or multiethnic and/or multicultural students and their experiences. Much like the media following

dominant ideological assumptions, so too has the academy in its lack of research on students of Middle Eastern heritages which allows *common sense* kinds of understandings about these students to prevail. Silencing the stories of students of Middle Eastern heritages amalgamates their experiences into either the dominant cultural group's perspectives or those of marginalized groups sharing similar, yet different, experiences. The lack of research in this area also demonstrates assumptions regarding whose knowledge is valued and privileged, who is worth knowing, and in what ways different groups can be known. In order to develop a more holistic and vivid picture of how these broadly defined groups of students experience higher education in the United States and understand how particular research practices have continued to privilege methods of inquiry, it was also necessary to explore history of education and higher education literatures.

Historical literature comprises the final section of the review and serves two purposes. The first purpose of exploring the history of education and higher education literature was to illuminate how these institutions grew to meet the needs of a multiculturally diverse society, how different groups became citizens and gained rights to education, and how those rights were extended, claimed, and in some cases, rescinded. The second purpose of turning to this body of literature explores how history is remembered and memorialized, the legacies of the British model, and the legacies and lethargies of the German scientific model. For the first purpose, literature was culled and synthesized from six history of education and history of higher education textbooks. All of the books except for one were published between 2002 and 2008, and represent the latest interpretations of the history of higher education; one was published in 1994. These texts, barring the 2007 book on international students in U.S. higher education, are also some of the most commonly used books in educational foundations and history of higher

education courses. Themes pertaining to international students, multicultural or multiethnic students, and cultural diversity trends and policies – both formal/legal and informal/implicit were noted so as to establish historical context to situate the current research project in understanding the experiences of students of Middle Eastern heritages. In surveying these histories, postcolonial theory was used to bring the dominant taken for granted understandings to the fore in an effort provide a more holistic interpretation of student experiences.

To better think about the second purpose, I drew from literature in cultural anthropology to better understand how science became institutionalized within the academy and the consequences surrounding this history. This exploration illuminates how, and in some ways, why particular groups are studied and the way in which research questions are asked. Further, since all of the research literature framing this dissertation study is quantitative and grounded only within higher education literature, the final section of the literature review begins to trouble dominant research and methodology paradigms.

Entangled Identities: Defining, Describing, and Demarcating

Before delving into the body of the literature review it is necessary to define and describe some terms that are consistently used throughout the remainder of this dissertation. Because I operate under the postcolonial assumption that racial identity can be leveraged as a form of capital and therefore is property and something that people can claim ownership to, I have chosen to refer to students from Middle Eastern countries as students of Middle Eastern heritages. According to *The Random House Dictionary* (Flexner, 1980) the word descent is defined as lineage or ancestry, while the word heritage is defined as “something that comes or belongs to a person by reason of birth” (p. 410). I choose to use the term heritage to illuminate the property value of race and racial identity that a student can leverage to navigate higher

education institutions in the United States. The use of this term is deliberate in that it reminds both the researcher and the reader about the centrality and importance of a student being of Middle Eastern heritage. It keeps Middle Eastern identity front and center rather than moving it back into the shadows as this identity is at the front of public consciousness in the media and public discourse. In discussing, describing, defining, and putting parameters around particular groupings of students, I use the terms domestic and international to identify students who are U.S. citizens and legal residents and those who may not yet be legalized citizens or residents.

Although students may have different definitions themselves, I have chosen to demarcate Middle Eastern countries building upon the guidelines of *The new dictionary on cultural literacy: What every American needs to know* (Hirsch, Kett, & Trefil, 2002) as the “[r]egion in Western Asia and northeast Africa that includes the nations on the Arabian Peninsula, Egypt, Iran, Iraq, Israel, Jordan, Lebanon, Syria, and Turkey...the site of such ancient civilizations as Phoenicia, Babylon, and Egypt, and the birthplace of Judaism, Christianity, and Islam, the Middle East is known as the cradle of Western civilization” (p. 387). Although this definition assumes a Western lens as it does not recognize Palestine and it lays claim to, a sense of ownership of, the Middle East as the birthplace of *Western* civilization, this basic definition will fit my purposes. After considering this definition with how citizens in the U.S. come to understand this region of the world, the area of the Middle East will be further defined to include such countries as Palestine, Saudi Arabia, Pakistan, Afghanistan, Yemen, Oman, and the United Arab Emirates. This is not intended to be a static definition nor is it intended to include or exclude persons who may be from these parts of the world who do not wish to claim this subject position. These countries represent a particular area of the world that the United States and member countries of the United Nations have defined as trouble.

I also do not wish to further confound or confuse the issue/s that Muslims and persons from Middle Eastern countries face by presenting these two groups as one essential group. Muslims who reside in or whose origins are from a Middle Eastern country may have a double burden and persons from a Middle Eastern country may be erroneously identified and labeled as Muslim by those from the West. With this understanding, I pause to provide explanation and clarification. Although not every Muslim is from the Middle East nor every person from the Middle East Muslim, political and media forces tend to essentialize the Middle East as synonymous with Islam. Religious persecution and stereotyping have become common place across the globe and have further contributed to misrepresentations of religious and cultural groups. For example, countries such as Norway and Switzerland are engaged in immigration debates, similar to those between the U.S. and Mexico (Ben-David, 2009; Amundson, 2008; Goldstein, 2009; Bawer, 2009; McMurtrie, 2008). The population they wish to deter and control are persons from the Middle East and known Muslims. Further, acts of violence and aggression have been carried out on people with perceived affiliation with Islam, identified by clothing, name, or some other outward appearance, in the United Kingdom, Norway, Sweden, and the United States, coupled with terrorist attacks in the United Kingdom, Spain, and other locations around the globe.

A second term I have chosen to highlight is *America* or *American*. These terms have been used to essentialize and centralize the United States as the locality of the Americas and those who reside within these borders. I did not create these words, yet I choose to italicize throughout this dissertation when the words and descriptions I use are my own to illustrate the problematic nature of using such a word to describe the United States or citizens of the U.S. Since America encompasses two continents and three regions of the world – that of North and South America,

or, more precisely, North, South, and Central America – the terminology is problematic. When *America* or *Americans* are spoken about in popular discourse, the speaker uses the words to signify the United States and the citizens rather than Canadians, Mexicans, Venezuelans, or other South Americans. The words are exclusionary and work to secure a position of power for the U.S. while ignoring the multiple other nationalities and ethnicities that constitute *America*. I have tried to be more descriptive and precise in how I choose to articulate my thoughts, yet there are times that United States or United States citizen are cumbersome and not quite descriptive enough. Language is imprecise, at times the words *America* or *American*, although problematic, are the clearest language to describe or articulate an idea, and therefore, I use italics to indicate the problematics of using such terms. Finally, these terms are both inclusionary and exclusionary and assist in creating a particular environment within a particular bounded space.

INFLUENCING ENVIRONMENTS

Campus environments and the influences on those environments both shape and constrain particular behaviors, perceptions, and experiences. Environments that are welcoming toward various and multiple aspects of individual identities are more conducive toward generating positive outcomes for participants in those environments. Richardson and Fisk-Skinner (1990) conducted ten case studies of institutions with above average success in “graduating black, Hispanic, or American Indian students in their states” (p. 487). The categories of institution, student perceptions and experiences, state policy environment, and community were explored in order to develop a more complete and holistic view of the interaction of campus environment with minority students and the resulting student success. The primary finding of this study was a clear articulation of how state policy acts upon and influences the organizational culture which in turn affects institutional outcomes (students attending and graduating.) In other words, if

participation in college or university by members of marginalized groups is important to the state, it will play out at the institutional level by administration creating welcoming environments which are more conducive to student success.

Collegiate Environments

The structure of campus environments can promote academic and personal learning. As such, scholars have sought ways to understand the various components of campus environments so that the environments may be purposely created to facilitate positive outcomes, such as retention (Ramsay, Jones, & Barker, 2007; Zajacova, Lynch & Espenshade, 2005). Moneta and Kuh (2005) discuss the “campus ecosystem” as a self supporting system made up of various subsystems (p. 67). Drawing from the work of Banning (cited in Moneta & Kuh, 2005) and that of Strange and Banning (cited in Hamrick, Evans, & Schuh, 2002), four common components or subsystems are said to operate in the larger campus environment: physical models, human aggregates, structural organizational models, and perceptual approaches (Hamrick, Evans, & Schuh, 2002; Kuh, 2000; Moneta & Kuh, 2005). Physical models include the natural and person-made physical spaces of the campus. People who live, work, study, and generally operate within the auspices of the institution make up the human aggregates. Structural organizational models include official and unofficial policies, practices, values, and traditions that guide the day to day operations and behavior of the actors within the institution as well as the actions of the institution itself upon its community, state, and constituency. Finally, the perceptual approaches are the individual and/or group interpretations or perceptions of and responses to the aforementioned environmental subsystems. All of these components contribute to a students’ sense of belonging (Barr, 2000; Hamrick, Evans, & Schuh, 2002; Hurtado, 1996) which affects her/his ability to persist (Ramsay, Jones, & Barker, 2007; Zajacova, Lynch, & Espenshade, 2005), self-efficacy,

perceptions of stress and ability to cope with adversity (Pritchard & Wilson, 2003; Zajacova, Lynch, & Espenshade, 2005). Scholars have also explored how elements of campus environments that are hostile toward some aspect of identity can be detrimental to individual students and thus compromise the value of education for all students (Abu El-Haj, 2007; Hartley, 2004; Hurtado, 1996; Locks, Hurtado, Nichols, Bowman, & Oseguera, 2008; Neider, 2009).

As chapters in Miller, Bender, Schuh, and Associates (2005) collectively posit, there is often a gap in what students expect of the college experience and what institutions actually provide. Realizing that the history and traditions of U.S. higher education institutions are historically exclusionary of minority groups, contemporary practice in higher education strives to be more global and inclusionary (Hurtado, 1996). As is demonstrated shortly, the media has a strong influence on public opinion; thus the opinions of Western students, faculty, and staff may have been shaped by inaccurate and exaggerated depictions of Middle Eastern persons in the popular press, as well as other educational materials, and propaganda.

Hurtado (1996) has documented how academic colonialism is deeply embedded within higher education systems, “the source of [racial] conflict is not between diversity and achievement but originates from differences in institutional priorities that work to preserve inequalities” (p. 488). Abu El-Haj (2007) has taken up a similar project for secondary Muslim students by writing, “through everyday discourse and practices inside their schools and communities, Palestinian youth experience their positioning as outside the ‘imagined community’ of the U.S. nation, framing them as ‘enemies within’” (p.287). For Middle Eastern students who “are often navigating their sense of identity and belonging in relation to multiple national communities,” (p. 288) environmental influences contribute to how students perceive their environments, the focus of this dissertation.

This study interrogates how each component of campus environment shapes the experiences of students of Middle Eastern heritages, paying special attention to the human aggregates and perceptual approaches. The campus environment is greatly impacted by the people acting with/in and on the university as “each type of environment reflects the characteristics of the people in it” (Hamrick, Evans, & Schuh, 2002, p. 91). I explore perceptual approaches as a way to unearth various narratives operating above, with/in, and between the various components of campus environment.

Countless interactions between individuals, between individuals and various environmental elements, as well as the multiple environmental elements influencing individuals contribute to how environments feel to the people living, working, and learning within any given space. Thus, perceptual approaches both influence and are influenced by human aggregates and both feel the weight of forces at “external and internal (institutional)” levels (Hurtado, Milem, Clayton-Pedersen, & Allen, 1998, p. 282). Hurtado, Milem, Clayton-Pedersen, and Allen operationalize external forces thusly:

a) the impact of governmental policy, programs, and initiatives and b) the impact of sociohistorical forces on campus racial climate...Sociohistoric forces influencing the climate for diversity on campus and events or issues in the larger society...that influence how people view racial diversity in society (p. 282).

For students of Middle Eastern heritages the current sociohistorical moment is riddled with misconceptions, misrepresentations, misunderstandings, and perhaps more egregiously, miseducation, both formally and informally. Therefore it is necessary to deeply excavate the impacts these misconceptions have on students whose identities have been defined as outsiders and outsiders within. To begin the excavation, I next explore the current historic moment within

the larger society and how the media has shaped perceptions impacting perceptual approaches and human aggregates on a college campus.

Societal Environments

The framing of identity is at once both a cultural process as well as a political endeavor. Identity is constantly in flux due to the power of others to re/inscribe meaning onto our being. Those who define groups of people or particular individuals occupy privileged subject positions within United States or Western society (Barker, 2005; Bauman, 2005; Leonardo, 2004). Historically, persons occupying the privileged space were considered the bourgeoisie and were responsible for defining, identifying, and gate keeping culture; in fact, high culture was identified with a predominantly white, heterosexual, able-bodied, middle to upper class, Christian, male (Barker, 2005; Leonardo, 2004; Lesko, 2001). It is against this backdrop of ideal *American* identity that specific identities have been forged in order to fill specific cultural roles in contemporary society, often times meeting multiple political purposes (Bauman, 2005; Leonardo, 2004). For example, Leonardo (2004) highlights how the Irish, once considered and named black, became white through social processes meant to increase and maintain “the white nation state” (p. 42). Subjects can be written into being by scholars (Sameshima, 2007) just as they most certainly can be created by, through, and for political purpose (Bauman, 2005; Leonardo, 2004; Said, 1979).

In order for identities to be shaped through comparison to a norm-referenced group, they first need to be named. Naming occurs through many avenues. Several scholars have outlined the educative effects of popular media on shaping public opinion (Abu El-Haj, 2007; Buck-Morss, 2003; Chomsky, 2001; Moses, 2007; Nixon, 2005; Rajagopalan, 2008; Shapiro, 2005; Steinberg, 2004). Evidence of this naming of Muslims, for example, is viewed on the front page of national

newspapers such as the *New York Times* and *USA Today*, local newspapers, and televised world news with stories of *Islamic terrorists* or *Muslim fundamentalists*. These stories are one way in which a grand narrative of what it means to be Muslim is created and how Islam and the Middle East are collapsed as one measured against the great chain of being (Leonardo, 2001; Lesko, 2001). Willinsky (1998) recognizes that “[n]aming a place is about staking and extending a verbal claim to it, which returns us to the theme “Where is here?” Here is what is named. The unnamed is nowhere. To name is the sovereign act” (p. 35). In the context of this dissertation one must consider the framing or naming of persons from the Middle East. Those who commit acts of violence are always identified by religion if that religion is Islam and always labeled as *terrorist*. Westerners or Western governments who commit similar acts of violence or aggression are never primarily identified by religion and rarely labeled as terrorist unless they have real or perceived ties to Islamic groups. It is assumed that the unnamed is neutral. Ted Kaczinski (a.k.a. the Una-Bomber) terrorized U.S. citizens through the United States Postal Service for the better part of two decades. Also Timothy McVeigh, the Oklahoma City Federal Building bomber, was never identified by religion or labeled a terrorist in spite of acts of terrorism (Abukhattala, 2004). Again, none of these people have been labeled terrorist in any persistent and seemingly permanent way (Abukhattala, 2004). The reason these popular media discourses are brought to light here is to illuminate the context students of Middle Eastern heritage must navigate in United States higher education institutions.

Environments Created Through Media

How beliefs are formed through the use of media has been the focus of considerable scholarship. Although not the focus of this dissertation, it is important to briefly explore this work in relation to how opinion is shaped through images and messages in mainstream media.

Moses (2007) notes how media shape public opinion about politics while Anderson (2008) explores how educational policy and practice is influenced by the media. Scholars such as Glassner (1999), Berliner and Biddle (1995), Edelman (1995), as well as Anderson (2008) all operationalize how the media reports particular stories in ways that create a hyper-awareness or hysteria about particular issues. A book entitled *The miseducation of the West: How schools and the media distort our understanding of the Islamic world* edited by Kincheloe and Steinberg (2004) highlights how providing misinformation through the media works to romanticize, villainize, Westernize, and historicize Muslims in this modern era. These perceptions are played out in the day to day interactions and lives of Muslims in the U.S. Abu El-Haj (2007) demonstrates how misinformed teachers allow fallacious information to shape their interactions with Muslim students thus creating hostile secondary school environments for these students and doing little to challenge destructive dominant discourses. Zaal, Salah, and Fine (2007) explore how female Muslim college students navigate their often multiple hyphenated identities in a post 9/11 hyper-vigilant, surveillance dominated U.S. context. This is the larger contextual reality for Muslims as well as those of Middle Eastern heritages who reside in the U.S. whether they practice Islam, Catholicism, Judaism, Sikhism, or otherwise (Zaal, Salah, & Fine, 2007). As racial and ethnic diversity changes on college campuses nationwide (Bevis & Lucas, 2007; IIE, 2008; Rury, 2002; Spring, 2008; Suarez-Orozco, 2004; U.S. Census, 2000) it is important for college personnel to understand how students of Middle Eastern heritages experience higher education in the current socio-political U.S. context.

The media, as educational apparatus, help shape public opinion. According to Moses (2007), “print media tend to be most used by people who are trying to find information to form an opinion on a given topic...” (p. 160). As such, negative media framings of persons from the

Middle East who are also Muslim (Abu El-Haj, 2007; Buck-Morss, 2003, Rajagopalan, 2008) have influenced public opinion in ways that shape, change, and run current social and public policy. Contributing to the grand narrative of Middle Easterner as terrorist, this process seems to work in a way that goes largely unnoticed and seemingly naturalized; few call into question the *othering* of persons with Middle Eastern heritages across the globe or in local communities. This taken for granted normalization of *othering* Middle Easterners in society can best occur through one of the socializing systems/mechanisms in Western society: education.

Through history text books and courses that position and frame, for example, Palestinians as militant and terrorist and Israelis in occupied Palestine as the keepers of peace, martyrs of their holy land, and positioned in the “right,” a grand narrative is constructed. The grand narrative is confirmed and reified when those from the West in positions of immense power speak out against Islam and the Middle East publicly. The public attacks from Pope Benedict XVI in a September, 2006 speech in which he quoted the Byzantine Emperor, Manuel II Paleologus’ 1391 speech, “[s]how me just what Muhammad brought that was new and there you will find things only evil and inhuman, such as his command to spread by the sword the faith he preached” is a technology of naming for political purpose (Seemungal, 2006). These actions bring Muslims into being, illuminate, and “force themselves [these actions of framing] into our vision, attention, and thought” in very specific ways (Bauman, 2005, p. 444). Said (1979) wrote of how the Orient came into being through a Western framing and eventually the persons residing in what was/is the Orient framed themselves through the vision of the colonizers as Oriental. This process works to privilege and rank order first world – third world semantics. Within these revelations lies the contentious space of identity and identity development. Contemporary Muslim identities are brought into being in relation to Christian identities against

the present historical backdrop of media influence of public opinion and discourse as well as current political struggles and framings alongside their transnational communities and identities (Abu El-Haj, 2007). These tensions within U.S. society are the bedrock of the environments that Middle Eastern students must operate within.

Although no research exists specifically about Middle Eastern college students, extrapolations can be gleaned from two relevant studies. Richardson and Fisk-Skinner (1990) explored “ten historically majority universities that have found ways of adapting their practices to improve participation and achievement rates for blacks, Hispanics, or American Indians” (p. 486). By exploring the interrelationship of state level policy and community setting on organizational culture, they acknowledge the influence of outside forces on shaping campus environments and the experiences of marginalized students. Their findings demonstrate several things. First, the research of Richardson and Fisk-Skinner shows that universities can achieve both increased multicultural diversity and rigorous academic coursework. Secondly, an environment where the state has high expectations for the promotion of opportunities for members of marginalized groups translates to the university also having high expectations of graduating members of marginalized groups. Further, they found that too often, “It is through student affairs work groups that institutions seek to change minority students before they enter the institution, to buffer them from hostile elements of the institutional environment and to retain them in ‘special’ programs that do not threaten the status quo in the rest of the institution” (p. 503). Finally, Richardson and Fisk-Skinner state that “institutions should accommodate sufficient diversity to ensure that their students gain the necessary experience with other racial/ethnic groups to replace stereotypes about quality and diversity with views more compatible with the multicultural society in which they live” (p. 509). Like Tierney (1992), these

scholars look to the institution and the multiple influences upon the institution rather than the student as needing to change.

The second relevant study is the work of Abu El-Haj (2007), which illustrates how peers, teachers, and administrators influenced by outside forces impact the day to day academic lives of their students. Abu El-Haj stated, “Although some students acknowledged a genuine effort on the part of the principal and a few other administrators to reach out to their community, myriad experiences with peers, teachers, and the school’s disciplinary team had fostered a difficult and often hostile school climate” (p. 290). Students in the study reported disproportionate disciplinary violations; teachers, as well as students calling them terrorists; teachers ignoring racist comments aimed at Palestinian students when racist comments aimed at other groups were grounds for suspension; and history teachers who “were very hostile to Palestinian national aspirations” (p. 302). Her participants also navigated the line between myth and the realities of being of Middle Eastern heritage within the United States. One of her participants recognized “that there was a working legal system in the United States that they could use to protect their rights, yet he did not completely trust this system” (p. 300). This same student had come “home one afternoon to find Secret Service agents searching his house” (p. 300) after the school had called them to report that his brother “had threatened to kill the President” (p. 301). What had happened was investigated and determined to be a miscommunication in an ESL class. The participants’ brother and other Arab students had been the focus of harassment from other students after details “about the Abu Ghraib prison torture and several kidnappings and assassinations of foreigners in Iraq” had come out in the press (p. 301). The student, not proficient in English, had asked the offending students “how they would feel if one of their important leaders (their “big ones” in Arabic) were killed” (p. 301). The teacher did not report

the harassment of her Arab students and her accounting of the incident differed greatly from the other students. Further, she did not report the incident for several days. After the charges were dropped, the student still could not return to the school because “he publicly stated he would “get” the person who had snitched on him” (p. 301). In fact, this was only one of several incidents her participants reported. One of Abu El-Haj’s participants said, “The majority of people that work in our schools, they’re not going to stick to your side. When somebody makes a racial comment about Arabs, the teachers, they don’t do anything. But then when somebody makes a racial comment about Whites or Blacks, you’re suspended or kicked out of school” (p. 302). Those in power observe and recognize the mistreatment and discrimination of particular groups and ignore or fail to recognize the same for other groups, yielding disproportionate disciplines for similar infractions. In the secondary school environment where the study was conducted, students of Middle Eastern heritages were frequently told to go back to their countries by students and teachers, asked if they were planning the next 9/11 by teachers, and denied the freedom to exercise their citizenship rights as any other student.

Although the Richardson and Fisk-Skinner (1990) and Abu El-Haj (2007) articles did not center on college students of Middle Eastern heritage, they are pertinent. First, since the Richardson and Fisk-Skinner (1990) article was pre-September 11, 2001, the focus is primarily on domestic minority group members’ experiences. This article ties together the larger context of state priorities and policies with that of university mission and shows how campus environment is influenced, and in turn, influences student experience. Second, since the Abu El-Haj (2007) study was conducted post-September 11, 2001, it becomes clear that the larger context of the United States climate also influences the local climate. She also demonstrated a range of hostilities that her secondary student participants had to navigate in their public education. If the

type of environment she describes can happen within the educational level that is considered both a right and compulsory, what then of educational environments that are considered a privilege, such as higher education?

As part of the human aggregate of campus environment (Hamrick, Evans, & Schuh, 2002; Kuh, 2000; Moneta & Kuh, 2005), teachers, professors, administrators, and peers all contribute to creating the culture of the institution. In some cases “[t]he values and norms of faculty and administrators presuppose minimal participation by minority students who have not been socialized into the beliefs and behaviors of the majority” (Richardson & Fisk-Skinner, 1990, p. 500). Just as institutional mission shapes the practice, day to day operations, and values and traditions of an institution (Barr, 2000) the values and beliefs of individuals shape their actions and behaviors. It is these actions and behaviors that contribute to shaping welcoming or hostile environments on campus and creating or limiting opportunities for students through official and unofficial campus policies, values, traditions, and practices. Further, these actions and behaviors guide actors at the state and national policy levels both formally and informally, which in turn affects and impacts the environments and community in which an institution must operate. All these factors contribute to how students perceive themselves and others, interact with one another and the institution, and continue along their individual developmental trajectories.

IDENTITY AND HIGHER EDUCATION

This section of the literature review attempts to summarize, synthesize, and analyze the relevant research published in top tier higher education journals on international student identity in higher education. Since this dissertation is framed within the field of higher education, focusing on journals within the field is at once both necessary and limiting. It is necessary to

situate this study within the field in an effort to expand upon current understandings and knowledge of students of Middle Eastern heritages. Focusing on top tier journals in the field of higher education also ignores the role that the larger societal discourse plays in framing these students. However, much of the scholarship builds upon and utilizes the same dominant theoretical frameworks that have been used to marginalize particular groups in presentation and analysis of data, which results in more deeply embedding issues of power, domination, oppression, and subordination. For example, discussions of college student adjustment typically operationalize adjustment through an assimilationist lens with use of

[t]erms like “integration,” “student effort,” “persistence,” “impact,” on the student, and “retention rates” [which] can too easily be misused to confuse academic success with conformance to a dominant culture at an institution or overlook the power of the student to determine his or her own cultural trajectory and exert an impact on the institution (Tanaka, 2002, p. 279)

With the above caveats in mind, this section explores research relevant to the research question: how do students of Middle Eastern heritage experience post-secondary education in the current socio-political U.S. context?

Most literature about college student adjustment focuses on marginalized groups residing within the United States and builds upon student development theories (Ainsworth-Darnell & Downey, 1998; Cross, 1995; Einarson & Matier, 2005; McEwen, Roper, Bryant, & Langa, 1990; Martinez-Aleman & Salkever, 2003; Pope, 2000; Taub & McEwen, 1991; Torres, 2003). More specifically stated, research about how students adjust to college has predominantly centered on U.S. citizens who are African American (Ainsworth-Darnell & Downey, 1998; Cross, 1995; Einarson & Matier, 2005; Kalsner & Pistole, 2003; Pritchard & Wilson, 2003; Smedley, Myers,

& Harrell, 1993), Asian American (Einarson & Matier, 2005; Kalsner & Pistole, 2003; Pritchard & Wilson, 2003; Smedley, Myers, & Harrell, 1993), Native American (Richardson & Fisk-Skinner, 1990; Smedley, Myers, & Harrell, 1993), or Hispanic/Latino/a American (Einarson & Matier, 2005; Kalsner & Pistole, 2003; Pritchard & Wilson, 2003; Richardson & Fisk-Skinner, 1990; Smedley, Myers, & Harrell, 1993; Torres, 2003) with little attention paid to groups outside of these domestic racial configurations. There is a growing body of scholarship that seeks to broaden our understanding about adjustment to college by exploring bi-racial or multi-racial students, international students, and students with multiple subjectivities (Kalsner & Pistole, 2003; McRee & Roper, 1998; Martinez-Aleman & Salkever, 2003; Tanaka, 2002). In the ten articles reviewed on the topic of international student adjustment and campus environments, eight used survey instruments (Al-Sharideh & Goe, 1998; Einarson & Matier, 2005; Kalsner & Pistole, 2003; McRee & Cooper, 1998; Pritchard & Wilson, 2003; Ramsay, Jones, & Barker, 2007; Smedley, Myers, & Harrell, 1993; Zajacova, Lynch, & Espenshade, 2005) and one was a case study using interview and census data (Richardson & Fisk-Skinner, 1990). Further, three of the articles addressed international student adjustment specifically (Al-Sharideh & Goe, 1998; Trice, 2004; Zajacova, Lynch, & Espenshade, 2005), while seven addressed multicultural or multiracial students (Al-Sharideh & Goe, 1998; Einarson & Matier, 2005; Kalsner & Pistole, 2003; Pritchard & Wilson, 2003; Ramsay, Jones, & Barker, 2003; Richardson & Fisk-Skinner, 1990; Smedley, Myers, & Harrell, 1993). One article centered on campus environments for gay, lesbian, and bisexual students (McRee & Cooper, 1998), which was reviewed only because of how it linked student adjustment to campus environments, and two studies disaggregated Arab or Middle Eastern students (Pritchard & Wilson, 2003; Trice, 2004). Although two of these studies make use of an Arab or Middle Eastern identity, they do not describe the experiences of students

with these heritages specifically. Also, with four of the studies being conducted ten years or more ago, the majority of the studies relying on survey or questionnaire data, all of the studies quantifying the data, and many investigating domestic students rather than international students there is a growing need for current qualitative studies to more clearly understand the present circumstances of students of Middle Eastern heritages on U.S. college campuses.

Dominant Perspectives of Identity in Higher Education Literature

There are two main concepts in international or multiethnic/multicultural student adjustment literature: social capital and campus environment. Trice (2004) utilized the theoretical framework of social capital theory, borrowing from the tradition of Bourdieu (1986). She found that “[t]hose who looked like and were culturally similar to Americans” experienced less emotional stress and were better able to adapt to as well as be accepted by their native English speaking peers (p. 682), which was also supported by Al-Sharideh & Goe (1998). Although Trice (2004) recognized that the English language is an organizer that allows some international students to better assimilate to U.S. culture on college campuses, she ignored the power of Western European whiteness as social capital and it remains unnamed in her analysis. Several of the articles on college student adjustment advance a similar social capital argument as Trice. Adjustment to college in the United States has been measured by self-efficacy, stress, and academic success (Al-Sharideh & Goe, 1998; Zajacova, Lynch, & Espenshade, 2005), resiliency and coping (Al-Sharideh & Goe, 1998; Ramsay, Jones, & Barker, 2007; Zajacova, Lynch, & Espenshade, 2005); and GPA and graduation (Pritchard & Wilson, 2003; Trice, 2004; Zajacova, Lynch, & Espenshade, 2005). Further, all of these studies focus on the individuals’ ability to cope within a given university structure.

Many of the aforementioned scholars also investigated the supports that ease the effects of those stresses (Kalsner & Pistole, 2003; Pritchard & Wilson, 2003; Ramsay, Jones, & Barker, 2007; Smedley, Myers, & Harrell, 1993; Zajacova, Lynch, & Espenshade, 2005) yet few reviewed campus environment in relation to stress and support (Kalsner & Pistole, 2003; McRee & Cooper, 1998; Smedley, Myers, & Harrell, 1993). One study only peripherally made mention of the possibility of environmental factors contributing to stress; “environmental demands are labeled stressors, and they can take the form of an acute event or an ongoing strain” (Zajacova, Lynch, & Espenshade, 2005, p. 679). These studies did not acknowledge or explore how environmental factors impact, support, constrain, and influence the college students themselves or contribute to creating environments through interactions with various actors on a college campus. Many of these studies also focus on the student individually as if a student’s success operates independently of the functioning of a university, community, or friendships (Ramsay, Jones, & Barker, 2007; Smedley, Myers, & Harrell, 1993; Trice, 2004; Zajacova, Lynch, & Espenshade, 2005). Some of the studies also utilized variables thought to predict success, such as family background and socio-economic status (Einarson & Matier, 2005; Pritchard & Wilson, 2003; Smedley, Myers, & Harrell, 1993). Further, these studies continue to position the student as deficient in some way due to the focus on individual student integration and adjustment to the university or campus environment and they assume an assimilationist perspective.

However, some scholars (Al-Sharideh & Goe, 1998; Ramsay, Jones, & Barker, 2007; Trice, 2004; Zajacova, Lynch, & Espenshade, 2005) found social relationships to be one predictor of international student success. In particular, what these studies found was that relationships with coculturals (students from the same or similar national and/or cultural background) were important; however these relationships were most beneficial when friendships

with domestic students were also a part of a student's social life. Friendships with domestic students are thought to more quickly and efficiently orient international students into the U.S. campus context. Further, one study suggested that there was a point of saturation where an international student could have too many friendships with coculturals thus negatively impacting their adjustment to the campus culture (Al-Sharideh & Goe, 1998). Too many friendships with coculturals are thought to shield international students from full adaptation or assimilation with the specific U.S. campus context. Instead, balanced friendships with domestic students and coculturals both helps international students adapt to their new campus environments while also providing them with a buffer to some of the difficulties of being international shared by their cocultural peers.

A second aspect of Trice's (2004) social capital argument examines stress and emotional factors that contribute to student success and adjustment. Most students experience some level of stress as they adjust to the new college environment. For domestic students this transition has to do with independence and moving from parental supervision to being on their own (Ramsay, Jones, & Barker, 2007). International students have a similar transition; however, they are faced with more profound stresses, particularly if they hail from non-Western parts of the world (Trice, 2004). Upon coming to study in the U.S., international students may face challenges due to language barriers, religious views, the difference between communal or autonomous emotional connections, as well as being racialized for perhaps the first time in their lives (Kalsner & Pistole, 2003; Suarez-Orozco, 2004; Trice, 2004). Pritchard and Wilson (2003) found emotional health to be a stronger predictor of student success as indicated by GPA and retention rather than social health. Emotional health may be a stronger predictor of persistence; however, several scholars indicated that emotional health was greatly bolstered by social relationships with peers

both domestic and cocultural, allowing the student to develop resilience to stress (Al-Sharideh & Goe, 1998), further advancing Trice's (2004) social capital theoretical explanation. Ramsay, Jones, and Barker (2007) also found friendships to act as both a buffer to stresses and as an orientation to the campus environment.

Stress and emotional factors contributing to student success are influenced by the type of environment in which students live, work, study, and learn. Safe environments and extra-curricular opportunities have been shown to increase student satisfaction with their educational experiences according to Berger (2000), McRee and Cooper (1998), and Nuss (1998). Conversely, when institutions provide little opportunity for involvement in the day to day life of the institution, student success is adversely affected (Hurtado, 1996; Hurtado, Milem, Clayton-Pederson, & Allen, 1998; Locks, Hurtado, Bowman, & Oseguera, 2008; Smedley, Myers, & Harrell, 1993). Although some scholars recognized differences by race to adjustment to college, Smedley, Myers, and Harrell (1993) argue that, "these generic role strains should be distinguished from the more unique stresses experienced by minority students that heighten feelings of not belonging and interfere with minority student's effective integration into the university community" (p. 435). No research has been conducted on the experiences of students of Middle Eastern heritages specifically. The adjustment and fitting into the pre-existing campus culture was the dominant view of the research literature presented. A critical analysis of the literature reviewed thus far is warranted in order to illuminate taken for granted assumptions which call into question the usefulness of the findings from this prior research.

Critical Perspectives of Identity in Higher Education

Perhaps the first critique that can be levied against much of the research presented here involves Bourdieu's (1986) notion of social capital. Trice (2004) was the only researcher to

explicitly utilize this framework; however, through her use and definition of the theoretical lens it became apparent that friendships were the conduit through which non dominant students could more quickly acquire the capital they needed to succeed in the new campus environment, a position taken by many of the scholars (Ramsay, Jones, & Barker, 2007; Smedley, Myers, & Harrell, 1993; Zajacova, Lynch, & Espenshade, 2005). The assumption embedded in the research was that these students operate at a deficit and if they only possessed the proper amount of social capital they could succeed. Further, how learning through friendships educate individuals about accepted behaviors and claims upon the various spaces in which they may live, work, learn, and study has not been adequately fleshed out. These assumptions ignore the cultural history of higher education and the particular institution as well as “suggesting that we no longer need to pay attention to how history has shaped the formation of social groups and the societal purposes these formations have served and, in many instances, continue to serve” (Osei-Kofi, 2003, p. 491).

The second critique of this use of social capital as a theoretical lens comes from Bourdieu’s (1986) own definition. He states,

[s]ocial capital is the aggregate of the actual or potential resources which are linked to possession of a durable network of more or less institutionalized relationships of mutual acquaintance and recognition—or in other words, to membership in a group—which provides each of its members with the backing of the collectively-owned capital, a “credential” which entitles them to credit, in the various senses of the word (Bourdieu, 1986, pp. 248-249).

None of the scholars identify a “credential” or “backing” that gives domestic students the mythical ability to successfully operate within higher education institutions, their whiteness.

Hurtado (1996) recognized that, “priorities that guide an institution and its members may have underlying ideological assumptions that are linked with racial issues” (p. 488). In fact,

the defense of dominant group privilege is less often characterized by such acts of “traditional” racism on campus and more often takes on a sophisticated guise as an expressed concern for the individual that is consistent with prevailing democratic values—so long as one chooses to ignore *both* the historical and continuous disadvantages under which subordinate groups operate (p. 488).

Tierney (1992) maintained that the history of U.S. higher education is rooted in white, middle to upper class, masculinity and this “help[s] determine...[the]...ideology and culture” (p. 608).

Even Trice (2004) compared international students to the mythical and imaginary *American* by acknowledging those students who could pass as white by way of skin color and English speaking ability would more easily adapt – really she meant assimilate (p. 682).

Understanding how to leverage the credentials of whiteness allows students to more quickly and easily gain the social capital necessary to successfully navigate the institutions built upon the foundations, ideologies, and premises of whiteness to protect white subjectivities. Some students are forced into DuBois’ (1903/1996) “double-consciousness...a world which yields him no true self-consciousness, but only lets him see himself through the revelation of the other world” (p. 5). Higher education is a place where learning to act *American* (read as white, Christian, middle to upper class, heterosexual, able-bodied, and male) helps one to get by in the systems and institutions they must navigate (Ladson-Billings, 2003; Osei-Kofi, 2003; Tierney, 1992). The social capital lens explicitly and implicitly used does not articulate whiteness or being *American* as a form of “collectively-owned capital” which privileges some while

marginalizing others (Bourdieu, 1986, p. 249). Whiteness is not named. As Tierney (1992) stated,

rather than defining...[particular students] as the ones who have the “problem” we might think of the institution as having the “problem”. Indeed, the “problem” might be defined not as a group’s lack of “acculturation” but as an institution’s inability to operate in a multicultural world (p. 615).

It is in this vein that the remainder of this literature review and the subsequent methods section unfolds. The next section of the literature review summarizes and explores the history and context of higher education in relation to diversity, multiculturalism, and international students. This next section also explores the history of higher education curriculum as a conduit by which students come to learn of their position within the auspices of nation and by which scholars become educated into particular systems of knowledge production.

LEGACIES AND LETHARGIES: CONTEMPLATING HISTORY

It is through the remembrances of history that societies are formed (Briggs, 1996; Crapanzano, 1991; DeJorio, 2006; Friedman, 1992; Hardt & Negri, 2000; Spivak, 1999; Willinsky, 1998), that citizens are brought into being (Spivak, 1999), and that subjects are taught how to think about themselves and others (Crapanzano, 1991; Gupta & Ferguson, 1992; Hoeveler, 2002). Individuals come to learn of their position in the world through these remembrances and memorializations (Crapanzano, 1991; DeJorio, 2006; Friedman, 1992; Gupta & Ferguson, 1992); as such, these histories justify actions, inactions, and a politics of behaviors, and define domination and oppression (Hardt & Negri, 2000; Hoeveler, 2002; Willinsky, 1998). For scholars, history is an introduction to their field in terms of acceptable scholarship and research, as well as how one goes about the work of a scholar (Friedman, 1992; Latour, 1987).

Remembrances and memorializations situate scholars within, in between, or outside of conversations happening in their respective areas (Latour, 1987). How one engages with the work of scholarship and research is heavily dependent upon how those who have come before them conceive of scholarship, research, and as consequence, science (Friedman, 1992; Latour, 1987). As I considered the history of education and higher education, I attempted to uncover the many layers of meanings bound up in the literature. One layer addresses the rights and privileges of citizenship as that relates to education in terms of who gets educated, in what ways, and whether they can stake legitimate claims to that work. A second layer is the history of how education and higher education developed, expanded, and contracted in the United States through exploration of the British model and German scientific legacies in higher education. The third layer is the social construction of the history of higher education. Although the dates, people, and events in the history of higher education presented by Lucas (1994), Rury (2002), Thelin (2004), and others (Bok, 1982, 1986; Bowen, 1999; Geiger, 2000; Graham & Diamond, 1997; Levine, 1993, 1999; Rosovsky, 1990; Trow, 1999) are technically accurate, they all convey particular re/presentations of this history and demonstrate lethargies in who is studied and how studies are operationalized.

The cultural anthropology literature reminds me that history is a project of problematics. Freidman (1992) notes that:

Objective history, just as any other history, is produced in a definitive context and is a particular kind of project. The discourse of history as well as of myth is simultaneously a discourse of identity; it consists of attributing a meaningful past to a structured present. An objectivist history is produced in the context of a

certain kind of selfhood, one that is based on a radical separation from any particular identity, and which objectifies and textualizes history (p. 194).

He further reminds that “[t]ruth-value is a mode of academic being harboring its specific strategies, and these strategies are, thus, historically and geographically situated in the world system” (p. 194). In the previous chapter, I explored history of the world and colonization as a project that produced a certain kind of knowledge about the West and those positioned and located outside this mythical space. What I wish to explore now, is how the history of higher education, and in some cases, education K-20+ helps those in academe to understand themselves within a field or discipline and the systems in which they operate. For it is through history that one comes to understand themselves, their roles in the world, and their relationships to other people, places, systems, and environments, harkening back to the campus environment literature. Through excavation of higher education history, I can better understand the legacies and lethargies inherent in that system, thus turning the gaze inward. Before I can understand how students of Middle Eastern heritages experience higher education in the United States, I first need to explore the history of higher education in the U.S. More specifically, learning about the trends of culturally diverse students in U.S. higher education and the laws and policies shaping these trends will bring the enduring inheritances of these power differentials to the fore, facilitating a deeper engagement with the guiding research question: how do students of Middle Eastern heritages experience post-secondary education in the current socio-political U.S. context.

Tenuous Currents: Changing Demographics and Higher Education Needs

Historically, higher education in the United States was developed, built, and maintained by and for the cultural and social elites (Bevis & Lucas, 2007; Ladson-Billings, 2003; Lucas, 1994; Spring, 2007; Spring 2008; Tierney, 1992; Thelin, 2004). Few scholars have thoroughly or

adequately fleshed out how various educational policies or social movements have affected different cultural groups beyond Native Americans or African Americans (Bevis & Lucas, 2007; Spring, 2007; Spring, 2008). In fact, many of these analyses continue to “ignore the reality of color [placing] Whiteness above racialization and, at the same time, [neutralizing] the racialization of other groups” because the authors do not problematize or even cull out whiteness as a socially constructed racial positionality afforded only to the cultural and social elite (Osei-Kofi, 2003, 492). Ignoring whiteness arbitrarily normalizes it, maintaining the status quo (Ladson-Billings, 2003; Osei-Kofi, 2003; Tanaka, 2002; Tierney, 1992). Recently, scholars have begun systematic excavations of educational history to better understand what different historical periods, policies, laws, and acts have meant to a wider section of culturally diverse students and the legacy of these sociohistoric practices (Bevis & Lucas, 2007; Spring, 2007; Spring, 2008). Out of religious and scientific projects was born a process to silence some and privilege others in ways that legitimated particular ways of knowing and coming to know those within the world. Thus, the legacies of religion in higher education prevailed, influencing the structure and purpose of Harvard College and colleges emulating those traditions throughout the United States. It is through review of the past that we can come to more deeply understand conditions of the present and to realize the possibilities of the future. This section of the literature review summarizes and analyzes how immigration and naturalization policies and laws have changed ethnic diversity on college and university campuses.

At the turn of the 19th Century many colleges and universities sprung up in the image of Harvard and provided an education in the classics. Others provided vocational training. Land Grant colleges and universities were established by the first Morrill Land Grant Act of 1862 with Historically Black Colleges and Universities (HBCUs) and religious colleges and universities

growing out of the second Morrill Land Grant Act of 1890 (Lucas, 1994; Thelin, 2004). These institutions (Land Grants and HBCUs) differed in type of education offered and eventually both adopted the German model of scientific training and education (Lucas, 1994; Spring, 2008; Thelin, 2004). People of color and cultural and ethnic minorities played a nominal or token role in most of the higher education systems that were recognized and eventually accredited as providing college level course work. African Americans and religious minorities had more educational opportunities open to them than members from some of the other marginalized groups; however, for African Americans, many HBCUs were not accredited and offered remedial education similar to secondary curricula. Further, upon successfully completing post secondary schooling, most members of racial and ethnic minorities were blocked from entering mainstream economic and cultural enterprises (Spring, 2008; Thelin, 2004). Colleges and universities of the time had little vested in educating the largest religious minorities, Jews and Catholics, as the general U.S. citizenry was deeply suspicious of members of these groups, who were recent immigrants from Ireland and Eastern or Southern European countries (Lucas, 1994; Rury, 2002; Thelin, 2004). As Thelin (2004) notes,

Eliot at Harvard and Nicholas Murray Butler at Columbia were influential among university presidents, and they often stated their concerns that an influx of the children of immigrants from Ireland and Eastern Europe would infringe on the cultural stature and demographic composition of their historic institutions...[as such]...presidents and college boards became increasingly preoccupied with the xenophobia associated with retaining or regaining “racial purity” (p. 173).

Immigration at this time was surging from Ireland, Southern and Eastern Europe, and China whose immigrants all filled needed niches in the burgeoning labor market (Bevis & Lucas, 2007; Lucas, 1994; Spring, 2008; Thelin, 2004).

Three acts, roughly 40 years apart, worked to limit immigration from different parts of the world: the Chinese Exclusion Act of 1882, the Schott Act of 1888, and the 1924 Immigration Act. The “Chinese Exclusion Act of 1882...prohibited certain laborers from entering the United States...[while]...the Schott Act of 1888 prohibited immigration of virtually all Chinese, including those who had gone back to China to visit and had planned to return” (Bevis & Lucas, 2007, p. 57). The effect of the Chinese Exclusion Act in conjunction with the Naturalization Act of 1790 and other exclusionary acts were used to bar immigrants from China and other Eastern, Near Eastern, and Middle Eastern countries from gaining citizenship status and thus land ownership rights (Spring, 2007). Although, people from these countries could study in the U.S. they were often barred from staying in the U.S. through lack of employment opportunities equal to their education and legal measures which maintained their non-white status (Spring 2007; Spring 2008). Further, there are no ways to determine how many students came to study in the U.S. or from what countries they originated prior to the Bureau of Education involvement in 1904 which tracks and maintains the numbers of non-citizen students studying in the U.S. (Bevis & Lucas, 2007). U.S. higher education was still considered inferior to that found in Germany, France, and other developed Western nations where many European American U.S. citizens studied and brought back ideas on how to improve U.S. higher education.

In the years following the Civil War, hundreds of colleges and universities were established and “millions of European immigrants came to the United States” for work (Rury, 2002, p. 61). Rury (2002) and Thelin (2004) provide markedly different yet similar

interpretations of these historical moments. While Rury (2002) focuses on industrialization and the changing labor needs in United States society as the rationale for the dramatic increase in European immigration, Thelin (2004) turns to the passage of the 1862 Morrill Land Grant Act during the Civil War as the reason for rebuilding and in some ways repurposing higher education institutions damaged during the war. Due to the shifting labor market and industrialization, the Morrill Act opened the doors to re/educate the social elite into the expanding and changing economic future of the country. Further, through these two confluences of the explosion of higher education for the cultural elite and European immigration ensuring a steady supply of unskilled labor, new opportunities could be realized for employment as well as exploitation. These opportunities widened gaps between the social and racial classes (Rury, 2002) and promised increased multicultural diversity within the country that would impact higher education in the future (Thelin, 2004).

The 1924 Immigration Act limited the number of immigrants from Ireland as well as Southern and Eastern Europe. Persons from these parts of the world were viewed as a threat to the establishment of a racially pure country (Bevis & Lucas, 2007; Spring, 2008). Italians, Poles, Russians, and Irish eventually became “white” through various mechanisms and purposes related to labor and maintenance of white supremacy (Bevis & Lucas, 2007; Leonardo, 2004; Rury, 2002; Spring, 2008). However, people from these groups were rarely as limited in legal rights and remedies as people who had less dominant white phenotypes. Immigrants from Ireland and Southern and Western Europe were more easily assimilated into U.S. culture due to a shared history, appearance, and in some cases language. Similar to what Trice (2004) and Al-Sharideh & Goe (1998) noticed about international student adjustment in U.S. colleges and universities, these new immigrants also experienced limited economic and educational opportunities. The

changing requirements of citizenship for various non-dominant groups also was evidenced by how citizenship rights endured or were rescinded as in the case of Japanese Americans' internment during World War II (WWII). Regardless, these exclusionary acts were aimed at citizenship and residency and also affected who funneled into or out of higher education and for what purposes.

During the first 30 years of the 20th Century, the United States Bureau of Education documented a doubling of foreign student enrollments in U.S. colleges and universities each decade (Bevis & Lucas, 2007). Canadians made up the majority of foreigners studying in the U.S. during the first decade of the century while Chinese students represented one of the lowest foreign enrollments. By the third decade, Chinese student enrollment surpassed Canadian student enrollment. Rury (2002) states that immigration into the United States peaked in the early 20th Century, "at more than a million per year," an explanation for the doubling of foreign student enrollments in U.S. colleges and universities (p. 137). Due to this influx, the cultural and ethnic diversity on college campuses was modestly changing to include Asian Americans. With the 1919 advent of the Institute of International Education (IIE) in New York City, study abroad and student exchange programs began to emerge, with colleges and university personnel paying closer attention to issues connected to foreign students such as "admission, language, learning, and social acclimation" (Bevis & Lucas, 2007, p. 66). Because U.S. education at all levels was built upon the idea of nation building and creating a homogenous society, student acclimation was and remains to some degree today centered upon assimilation to Western norms and values.

The Department of the Interior, as the unit with oversight granted by the U.S. Bureau of Education, capped foreign student enrollment in U.S. colleges and universities at 8,357 in the 1920-1921 academic year (Bevis & Lucas, 2007). At this same time "immigration began to

subside, [with] about a quarter of the nation's population...or their children" being immigrants (Rury, 2002, p. 137). Further, enrollment in U.S. colleges and universities "climbed from about a quarter-million in 1900 to more than a million in 1930, representing more than 10% of the age 18-21 population at the time" (Rury, 2002, p. 170). Immigration remained relatively constant until the 1924 Immigration Act quota was lifted through the 1965 Immigration Act (Spring, 2007; Spring 2008). This new immigration act occurred simultaneously with the 1965 Civil Rights Act and the 1965 Voting Rights Act and was responsible for a drastically changed demographic in U.S. higher education because of expanding benefits granted to women, African Americans, Native Americans, Hispanic/Latina/o Americans, and Asian Americans. The effects of these acts were increased citizenship rights and privileges to cultural and ethnic groups previously ignored by the national and state governments and gave rise to campus programming, expansion of student services, and increased racial tensions on college campuses. This was the beginning of the end of the socially, politically, and legally ethno/Euro-centric curriculum and student programming on college and university campuses. Because of this era and the resulting changes in institutional policies and practices, it is now common place for colleges and universities to address the needs of a multicultural and multiethnic student population both foreign and domestic, albeit in limited ways. To aid in situating the history of multicultural admissions and education within United States higher education, it is also necessary to explore the legacies of the history of higher education within the United States. This exploration also builds the foundation for the following chapter by operationalizing how the development of science and research in academe brings particular ways of knowing to the center and educates scholars into their fields.

The Rise of the British Model and German Science in Higher Education

The birth of Harvard College in 1636 marks the beginning of higher education in the United States; a full 140 years before the framing of the United States Constitution and Declaration of Independence asserted the status of the nation and claimed its citizens, the work of higher education had already begun (Lucas, 1994; Spring, 2008; Thelin, 2004). Born out of the British tradition of a classical education that was grounded in Christianity (Lucas, 1994; Spring, 2008; Thelin, 2004), the purpose of Harvard College at its inception “was to ensure an educated ministry” (Spring, 2008, p. 19). To illuminate the legacies of classical education, a brief tour through Western education is presented. Classical education grew out of the era commonly referred to as the Renaissance, and signified a rebirth and return to study of the classics (Lucas, 1994). Through fits and starts during the Renaissance, education became more distanced from religion, which had dominated education in the Western world, and moved to a more secular understanding (Lucas, 1994). Although the distance between religion and secularism widened during this time, higher education was still deeply entrenched in Christianity for the production of a moral, virtuous, and pious elite (Lucas, 1994; Spring, 2008; Thelin, 2004). During Medieval times, or what has come to be known as the Middle or Dark Ages in Europe, the Christian church governed the state and thereby education, outlawing all material and inquiry that might threaten the system of knowledge production and domination set forth by and through the church operated state (Lucas, 1994; Willinsky, 1998). As the Renaissance fluxuated through the Middle Ages, the church relaxed its position against higher education, allowing scholars and elite citizens to pursue study in the classics, returning once again to Latin and the study of Aristotle and Plato which were, at one time, considered heresy (Lucas, 1994). Regardless, church leaders

saw little threat to the world order through study of the classics but the church continued to maintain its dominance over higher education in Europe and most notably, Britain.

At the same time that the mood of the Renaissance was effecting change in the curriculum of higher education in Britain, another political social movement was underway which would further the distance between religion and secularism in higher education; the Age of the Enlightenment was dawning. Hardt and Negri (2000) posit, “[t]he development of Renaissance thought coincided both with the European discovery of the Americas and with the beginnings of European dominance over the rest of the world” (p. 76). Throughout Europe, a new economy, whispers of Westward expansion, and a growing curiosity of the world were taking hold. An emergent Middle Eastern focus on science and mathematics, previously influenced by Greece and Rome, was melding with European ideals (Hourani, 1991). In earlier times, science was viewed with great suspicion and considered a blasphemy against the church for fear that science would usurp the power of the church. Many of these scientific innovations began through medicine, astronomy, and technologies to cultivate crops and livestock (Hourani, 1991). As scientism spread northward through Greece, Italy, and on to Germany and eventually Great Britain, universities took hold of scientific training which centered largely on the physical sciences, and encouraged scholars in physical science fields to define, interpret, and employ what has come to be known as the scientific method (Hourani, 1991; Lucas, 1994). With colonization by the Western world into non-Western contexts expanding through the 18th and 19th centuries, and the focus on scientism increasing, social science began to emerge and held to the same practices set forth by those in the physical science fields (Lather, 1992; Willinsky, 1998). Those practices centered on a “supposedly transhistorical, culture-free, disinterested, replicable,

testable, empirical substantiation of theory” (Lather, 1992, p. 24), a sentiment also echoed by Graham and Diamond (1997) in their book, *The Rise of American Research Universities*.

Many U.S. students of the elite classes chose to travel to Europe in the 1880s through the early 1900s for higher education (Lucas, 1994; Rury, 2002; Thelin, 2004). In the latter half of the 19th Century, men of power “such as G. Stanley Hall, William Watts Folwell,...and Charles W. Eliot,..., all of whom had first hand experience with German universities” extolled the virtues of scientific research training in higher education (Lucas, 1994, p. 171). These endorsements eventually gave rise to graduate and professional education while also influencing the work of the university, the search for knowledge, and adherence to the scientific method. Although Eliot, Hall, and others had endorsed scientific training in U.S. higher education, these ideas would not fully take hold outside of the elite institutions, such as Harvard, Yale, and Johns Hopkins until after World War II (Graham & Diamond, 1997). These elite institutions were able to leverage the monies received by private donors to fund research, much as they are now.

Higher education historians and scholars (Geiger, 2000; Levine, 1993, 1999; Rury, 2002; Thelin, 2004) ignore or minimize some relevant points within the history of the expansion of science and scientific training within higher education, as well as the depth of the political religious underpinnings of the key guiding institutions. Vestiges of political religiosity in U.S. higher education are painstakingly accounted in Norwood’s (2009) book, *The Third Reich in the Ivory Tower: Complicity and Conflict on American Campuses*, and his 2004 article, Legitimizing Nazism: Harvard University and the Hitler Regime, 1933-1937. The book chronicles the political involvement and support of Nazi Germany by many universities in the United States, including: Harvard, Columbia University, Vassar, Smith, Mount Holyoke, Wellesley, Bryn Mawr, Radcliffe, Barnard, University of Delaware, University of Virginia, and Catholic universities

(Norwood, 2004). Institutions supported Nazi Germany by sending U.S. students to study abroad in Nazi controlled universities, hosted Nazi visitors on campus, sent university presidents – namely James Conant of Harvard – to Germany aboard Nazi ocean liners, welcomed the Nazi warship the *Karlsruhe* into the Boston harbor, and engaged in various and assorted anti-Semitic activities of the time (Norwood, 2004, 2009). These activities were often enacted amid protests by scholars, students, ambassadors to Germany, university leaders at Boston and Pennsylvania, and Einstein and LaGuardia themselves (Norwood, 2004, 2009). The history of higher education has assumed a kind of common sense type of role within the collective American historical memory being memorialized in scholarly texts (Geiger, 2000; Graham & Diamond, 1997; Lucas, 1994; Reese & Rury, 2008; Rury, 2002; Thelin, 2004) which often ignores the exclusionary knowledge production and political activism by universities. Tensions within the development of U.S. higher education are most often extricated around various expansions of higher education. The Morrill Land Grant Acts, the Serviceman's Readjustment Act (the G.I. Bill), desegregation, women's education, and open door admissions policies were all contested on the basis that expanding higher education in these ways opened the doors to less elite groups of students who were thought to be less prepared and thus lacked the ability to succeed and adequately realize the benefits of post-secondary study.

Higher education historians and scholars often recognize the power of university leaders in effecting change in national social policy (Bok, 1982, 1986; Lucas, 1994; Rosovsky, 1990; Rury, 2002; Thelin, 2004). The ways in which this history is remembered and memorialized largely celebrates the great achievements of U.S. higher education and minimizes or ignores many of the aforementioned shortcomings. Through this, the contributions of university leaders are viewed from a particular historical frame that Friedman (1992) terms mythologization, which

“occur[s] in specific circumstances where an emergent social identity manifests itself via the display of mythical models” (p. 196). Mythologization allows those in the field to represent key actors seemingly freed of their human contradictions. For example, in the dominant books on the history of higher education (Lucas, 1994; Rury, 2002; Thelin, 2004), Harvard University President, James B. Conant is lauded as a hero, with contributions to financial aid, science curriculum, and public funding of university research. Many of these scholars may recognize that Conant was unsympathetic to desegregation but none mention his involvement with the Nazis and Nazi Germany; rather, they allow common sense notions of history to situate Conant within a mythical anti-Semitic discourse (Norwood, 2004, 2009).

Each expansion of higher education in the United States, both in terms of potential students and curriculum, has been precipitated by war – sometimes by warfare, technological wars (i.e., the space race), and other times as culture wars (Briggs, 1996; Graham & Diamond, 1997; Gupta & Ferguson, 1992; Lucas, 1994; Rury, 2002, Thelin, 2004). Modern conceptions of science grew out of the Enlightenment which is otherwise termed, the Age of Reason (Hoeveler, 2002). The Enlightenment brought the tools of modernity into view. “Thus, the first central element in modernity is the notion of science based on validity (truth, normative rightness, authenticity), and the basic notion of knowledge, justice, morality, and taste that articulate the basic rationality of domination” (Morrow & Torres, 1995, p. 409). These *basic* understandings were thought to be the hallmarks of high society, meant to delineate the civilized from the uncivilized, and brought domination, oppression, and subjugation into a contemporary hierarchy that remains through present day (Willinsky, 1998). The emergence of the Enlightenment also formed the basis by which education began to separate curriculum from religious dominated to secularism (Lucas, 1994; Morrow & Torres, 1995; Rury, 2002; Thelin, 2004). Within the frame

of this history, science was constructed as separate from the body, dislocating the mind from the heart and in the context of history, these locations of the body became gendered, the mind as masculine, the heart as feminine (Sameshima, 2007). This dichotomy and way of understanding the world became gendered through the history of science and defined the methods and methodologies by which research is carried out, as is demonstrated shortly.

In the years prior to the First World War, science was viewed as impractical and removed from the daily lives of the nation, individuals, and outside of the role of the university (Graham & Diamond, 1997; Lucas, 1994; Rury, 2002; Thelin, 2004). After World War I, university leaders, such as James Conant, who was a chemist and president of Harvard University, lobbied for increasing the role of science within the curriculum (Thelin, 2004). Following the onset of World War II, the national government intervened by creating the Office of Scientific Research and Development “[t]o lead the mobilization of scientific manpower”, appointing academic leaders from MIT (Vannever Bush and Karl T. Compton), Harvard (James Conant), and Frank B. Jewett from “Bell Telephone Laboratories and President of the National Academies of Sciences (Graham & Diamond, 1997, p. 28). The passage of the National Defense Education Act followed *Sputnik* in 1957 “which began regular federal support for graduate students and for foreign language and area studies” as a measure to strengthen national defense and gain a particular kind of knowledge of the world (Graham & Diamond 1997, p. 33).

Out of the re/orientation of science for sciences sake, or rather, a science operationalized as disinterested and disconnected from the everyday realities of life, nation, and progress (Geiger, 2000; Graham & Diamond, 1997; Lather, 1992; Rury, 2002; Thelin, 2004) grew an idea of science as practical and useful in the project of modernity (Geiger, 2000; Graham & Diamond, 1997; Morrow & Torres, 1995; Thelin, 2004). The national government emerged as the primary

funding source for scientific inquiry within U.S. universities (Graham & Diamond, 1997). Also at this time, science became more closely connected to military advancements, the space race, and medicine (Berliner & Biddle, 1995; Graham & Diamond, 1997; Thelin, 2004). National funding of scientific research disproportionately flowed to the elite colleges until the Kennedy/Johnson administrations in the 1960s re/distributed and re/organized funding programs and strategies (Graham & Diamond, 1997). The *natural* sciences had also enjoyed a level of privilege above the social sciences, which had only been granted maintenance funding until the 1960s (Graham & Diamond, 1997). One constant through the development of science in the academy and national support, was James Conant, who in 1950 became the first chairman of the National Science Board (Graham & Diamond, 1997). As science and scientific inquiry became more enmeshed within an American imagination, leaders of this movement and era sought ways to privilege particular forms of knowledge, methods of inquiry, and as a result, disciplines within the academic hierarchy.

Although the social sciences had been in existence for some time, it was during this time of academic disciplines jockeying for position within the university structure and governmental funding priorities that “[s]ocial scientists had...erected fixed barricades around their own disciplines” (Lucas, 1994, p. 287). Fenton (2008) recognized the struggle for disciplinary boundaries as “a realignment of subject-matter fields and methodologies in order to concentrate them on the total civilization of a region” (p. 265) and was similar to the erecting of barricades Lucas (1994) mentioned. In order for a discipline to be perceived as such, it “must have a methodology and a body of knowledge” (Fenton, 2008, p. 265). This was the work social science scholars undertook to draw the borders and boundaries which would come to define them in the modern era.

Demarcating the social science disciplines had two huge effects. The first effect was a siloed curriculum separate from one another and delineating particular modes and methods of inquiry. The second result was a kind of science envy, where social scientists worked to align their research to mirror what existed in the physical sciences, further disconnecting the researcher from the research in an imagined kind of objectivity (Lucas, 1994). These legacies within the social sciences were perpetuated through elitist practices which invited affluent, white, Christian, males to define and construct a hierarchy of science in the academy. Through those conceptions, only certain people engaged in the sciences and thereby, scientific inquiry which led to a privileging of particular ways of viewing the world (Graham & Diamond, 1997; Rury, 2002). Further, these understandings formed the foundation of educational research which centered upon exploring and normalizing affluent, white, Christian, males as in Perry's (1968/1999) theory of cognitive development and Erikson's (1950, 1968) earlier theories about childhood and youth identity development.

Although this history emerged in a particular set of social and cultural contexts, it speaks to the legacies of how educational research was carried out, the discourses in which it thrived and became legitimated, and how it continues to silence particular understandings, both within the history of the field, as well as whose knowledge is valued. Kuhn (1962/2008) stated that “[n]ormal science...is predicated on the assumption that the scientific community knows what the world is like” (p. 242). That science and scientists claim some sort of objective reality and knowledge of the world, overlooks the scientist's own individual assumptions. Researchers from this modernist perspective “endeavor to neutralize the other's history and to incorporate it into our history of the other, [and by doing so] have made their stories myth” (Friedman, 1992, p. 199). Friedman recognized that “[t]he history of historians is the identity of historians as well. It

is the definition of a practice that typifies its practitioners” (p. 202). A similar sentiment could be echoed of scientists, or rather social scientists and is evidenced in the long and sordid history of researching people and how researchers privileged their social positionalities as dominant and superior to those whom they researched (Briggs, 1996; Friedman, 1992; Meyer, 2004; Smith, 1999; Willinsky, 1998).

As was articulated in Chapter Two of this dissertation, the uses and outcomes of science through history has worked to secure domination and oppression in pursuit of a mythologized objective truth about how the world works. These understandings have led to false dichotomies, a distancing of the researcher from those whom s/he researches, and a privileging of particular systems of knowledge. Academic knowledge of people has often usurped the research participants’ knowledge of themselves in the fight for legitimacy. Fenton (2008) observed, “training in a discipline enabled the academic to outstrip the untrained native of the area” (p. 265). This history of science in the academy also illuminates who was left out of decision making about what science was or could be, who was researched and how, and what types of research continue to remain underfunded. The lethargies are situated within particular contexts – such as Conant’s own research which ignored race in his investigations of poverty in 1960s urban Chicago schools (Rury, 2002) or his comments about how there were no substitutes to first-class *men* in the advancement and practicality of science (Graham & Diamond, 1997). However, these omissions of race and gender both in inquiry and the advancement of science speak to the persistent privileging of particular ways of coming to know the world and continue to be evidenced in national funding and policy, e.g., No Child Left Behind legislation and the re/focusing of federal funding in the STEM (sciences, technology, engineering, and mathematics) fields (Berliner & Biddle, 1995; Graham & Diamond, 1997). Further, the

lethargies also give meaning to how one becomes prepared to conduct research as an extension of the history in their field or discipline, all of which need to be explored, problematized, and redefined.

Historical Shortcomings

In the books reviewed that address the history of education and the history of higher education, particular theoretical lenses were employed to analyze the history presented. While all of these authors present a vast amount of historical information about U.S. education and higher education trends, practices, and policies, there are a few things missing from the literature. First, in exploring international, multicultural, or multiethnic students, this body of literature has been focused on how students fit within the higher education systems. Much of this scholarship has centered on the experiences of domestic students who were culturally, racially, and ethnically diverse. Secondly, contemporary scholarship has not yet explored how students with potentially hybrid or intercultural identities experience higher education in the United States (Tanaka, 2002). Historically, there is little representation of students from Middle Eastern countries in the literature. Thirdly, Bevis and Lucas (2007) as well as Spring (2008) show how immigration trends are changing with immigration from European countries declining and immigration from Eastern, Middle Eastern and African countries increasing. This trend signifies a need for richer theoretical perspectives to be used in exploring and understanding these students and their experiences in U.S. higher education. Fourth, how the history of scientific inquiry in higher education has developed in particular ways is germane to this study and has been largely overlooked in higher education literature. How scholars are trained to carry out scholarship and research impacts the type of questions asked and the methodologies used to create knowledge, thus contributing to hegemonic systems of research.

As the Middle Eastern student population is on the rise in recent years it is important to begin to learn about and document the experiences of these students, particularly as these experiences relate to how environments on college campuses are shaped for learning for all members of a university community. In constructing this history of the present, student voice needs to be re/presented. There have been several recent national and international events and policies that also need to be used to situate particular students and experiences within the reading of current higher education history. Theoretical perspectives that allow for more holistic re/presentation of student voice need to be used to more fully interpret and contextualize student experience. All of these observations call for the need of more narrative and descriptive work to both accurately illuminate and honor the stories of student experience.

CONCLUSIONS

Campus environmental literature provides an avenue through which to understand student experience. Perceptual approaches include the perceptions of actors on a college campus and how they interact with each other, thus influencing campus racial climate. The foundations of these perceptions and how they are created is important to understanding the impact perceptual approaches have on various student groups and has largely been overlooked. This study explores how perceptions are shaped and as a result, affect students from the global to the local spaces in which students of Middle Eastern heritages participate.

Although there is no research literature found on students of Middle Eastern heritages, research literature was found centering on international students adapting to the culture, climate, and environment of their U.S. college campuses (Al-Sharideh & Goe, 1998; Berger, 2000; Kalsner & Pistole, 2003; McRee and Cooper, 1998; Nuss, 1998; Pritchard and Wilson, 2003; Ramsay, Jones, & Barker, 2007; Richardson and Fisk-Skinner, 1990; Smedley, Myers, &

Harrell, 1993; Suarez-Orozco, 2004; Trice, 2004; Zajacova, Lynch, & Espenshade, 2005).

Increasing amounts of contact with domestic students helps international students adapt more quickly but this must also be balanced with/against time spent with coculturals. Studies have also shown that students coming from English speaking and European countries have much shorter time to acculturation and adaptation (Trice, 2004). Much of this literature is held together by Bourdieu's (1986) cultural capital theory which I have critiqued as assuming that international students, for example, operate at a deficit and if they only had the "credential" or "backing" of whiteness they could/would be more successful in U.S. higher education (p. 248-249). The assumptions within these studies is that *American* whiteness is the norm and all else is measured against this norm rather than creating possibilities for a multicultural campus environment and student experience.

Next, history of education and higher education literature was surveyed to explore how international, multicultural, and Middle Eastern students were treated within the literature. There was little mention of Middle Eastern students; instead much of the literature focused on Native American, African American, Asian American, and Hispanic/Latino/a American students. The literature dealing with international students spoke briefly about student experience but most often relayed numbers. As students move and come to study in the United States from non-Western contexts, it is becoming more important to re/imagine and re/envision these new possibilities by using new, creative, and different theoretical lenses to construct knowledge about these groups. Finally, through exploring the British model of education and the German scientific models adoption into U.S. higher education, both the legacies and lethargies of higher education – who was allowed to gain and utilize post-secondary education, when and how different cultural groups were granted rights to education, how students come to learn about their

positionality within the world, and how scholars choose to conduct research and generate knowledge – were illuminated.

The review of both the research literature and the history of education and higher education literatures demonstrate a need to more holistically describe the experiences of different student groups on U.S. college campuses. Understanding students' experiences through surveys and questionnaires provides only a narrow understanding of what students perceive and experience while at university. Further, as illustrated through this historical literature and through multicultural perspective, it is important to document and understand the present historical moments' consequences and impacts on various student groups, culling out race, ethnicity, and culture as worthy of knowing so that their needs may be better understood. These elucidations can only come to fruition through intentional and sustained engagement with/in a fieldwork site and from exchange and interaction with the students themselves. All of these observations call for the need of more narrative and descriptive work to both better illuminate and honor the stories of student experience. It is along this vein that the next chapter unfolds in conceptualizing the best methods and methodologies to explore the experiences of students of Middle Eastern heritages on U.S. college campuses in a post 9/11 context.

CHAPTER 4: METHODS AND METHODOLOGY

The methods and methodology of this qualitative study emerge out of a postcolonial theoretical framework. A postcolonial framework is concerned with who creates the knowledge, whose knowledge is privileged, the consequences of said knowledge, and for what purposes the knowledge has been created and will be used. Since I am not a member of the group whom I have chosen to research, these questions have been re/located to a more central place/space of prominence within this research study. As indigenous groups from the U.S. to New Zealand moved from an era of assimilation towards one of self-determination, and as education became more equitably distributed, scholars created a theoretical tool to help them critique and analyze the systems of knowledge that had been created and used as a mechanism of subordination. Third world and indigenous research paradigms emerged on the heels of the Civil Rights Movement about three decades ago. This era within the United States was mirrored, to some extent, across the globe, particularly in countries with similar histories of colonialism (Smith, 1999). Some scholars, such as Said (1979), began to excavate how systems of domination and subordination were developed and maintained, and what that meant in the construction of dichotomous social arrangements. At the center of his theorizing was knowledge, history, science, and the processes of research.

Scientific inquiry, and thereby research, has historically been employed as a method to secure a subjects' social location within the Western world (Smith, 1999; Willinsky, 1998). As the reach of Empire extended beyond Western borders and boundaries into the lands of indigenous peoples, the purpose of research became about control and power while science sought an *objective* reality by which to classify, categorize, and measure exoticized others in relation to Western knowledge (Briggs, 1996; Crapanzano, 1991; Friedman, 1992; Gupta &

Ferguson, 1992; Leonardo, 2004; Lesko, 2001; Smith, 1999; Willinsky, 1998). Supplanting third world and indigenous histories with the history of the colonizer, these formations of knowledge and knowledge construction became the tools by which people indigenous to their own lands became othered within those same borders and boundaries (Smith, 1999). The use of science, research, and re/historicizing knowledge of the other allowed for various systems of control and domination to proliferate. With a new wave of humanism sweeping the globe in the 1960s and 1970s, positivistic methods and methodologies were scrutinized and critiqued by critical scholars, as well as a growing cadre of third world and indigenous scholars (Appadurai, 1993, 1995, 1999; Bhabha, 1999; Briggs, 1996; Crapanzano, 1991; Friedman, 1992; Gupta & Ferguson, 1992; Leonardo, 2004; Lesko, 2001; Meyer, 2004; Mohanty, 1984; Said, 1979; Smith, 1999; Spivak, 1999; Willinsky, 1998). Questions about authenticity, ethnicity, truth, objectivity, and bias emerged as points of departure and contestation and remain focal points of research theorizing today (Angrosino, 2005; Denzin & Lincoln, 2003, 2005; Fontana & Frey, 2005; Lather, 1992; 1993; Saukko, 2005; Scheurich, 2001; Wolcott, 2001).

To capture and address the tensions inherent to my research project, I have chosen to situate this study within a qualitative methodology. Within a qualitative space, I am better positioned to identify and grapple with the contradictions of my own knowledge construction, tunnel through the multiple oppressions and meanings attributed to those locations, and account for and address my own divergent and shifting positionalities as well as those of my participants.

DESIGN OF STUDY

Due to the sensitive nature and complexities of this topic, I proposed a multi-layered study to more fully understand the experiences of students of Middle Eastern heritages on one college campus. This qualitative study borrows from an ethnographic study design, using

interview, observation, and critical self-reflection methods of data collection. First, in order to find potential participants I drew from Wolcott's (2001) understandings of fieldwork, meaning that I was in the field "full-time—or at least [had] on site presence" and commitment to the field site by volunteering at the International Student Center and spending time in The Middle Eastern Student Association (p. 68). Wolcott's observation methodology, although grounded in his ideas of ethnography, were adapted for this shorter study. I was an engaged researcher-participant for one cycle of activity – or one semester. I was always cognitively and actively present in my role, and committed to the site and students – whether my participants or not – that the fieldwork sites served. Fieldwork sites included public spaces and events. The Middle Eastern Student Association (MESA) public meetings and the International Student Center both served as sites for data collection. The International Student Center's Conversation Tables was a primary space and ongoing event where data was collected and served as one entry to meeting potential participants. These were important avenues to meet and establish rapport with potential participants, observe the interactions of students in support environments, and learn of support services in depth. Lastly, by being an active and engaged researcher-participant, I was able to contribute to creating a reciprocal relationship where the twelve participants, the two groups, and myself as researcher benefited.

The original goal was to interview 15 students, the adviser of the MESA, and the staff member of the International Student Center. As the study progressed, potential student participants declined to participate, and in the end there were a total of 12 student participants along with the staff member of the international student center and the adviser for the Middle Eastern Student Association for a total of 14 interviews. Each interview followed a semi-structured interview protocol which lasted approximately 30-90 minutes (see Appendices A and

B). The interviews lasted longer when students were more fluent in the English language than when they were emerging English speakers. I transcribed each interview, with the process averaging between three to four times as long as the interview. Notations were made about voice inflection and moments of emotion within the transcripts. Transcripts ranged from five to twenty pages, with only three interviews yielding less than ten transcribed pages and four interviews more than fifteen typed pages, totaling close to 200 pages of interview transcripts. Most participants were identified through interactions in the field, and snowball sampling (Bogdan & Biklen, 2003) was used, with student participants introducing me to other potential participants.

SITE SELECTION

This qualitative study began as a study of convenience. As a doctoral candidate who had full-time family responsibilities, limited financial resources, and a teaching assistantship. I was unable to travel. Because of these limitations on my time and resources, it was necessary for me to choose a near-by site to collect my data, so I chose an institution in close proximity to my home institution. As the study progressed, it became evident that there were some very good reasons to gather data on that particular campus. For example, the Land Grant institution where this study was conducted is one of a select few universities that has an Intensive American Language Center (IALC) where international students can learn English while gaining academic skills for study in U.S. institutions in a very short amount of time. Many of the students interviewed for this dissertation came to study at that institution because of the reputation of the IALC and most remained to pursue Bachelor's, Master's degrees, or Ph.D.s. As a testament to the quality of the IALC program, one participant had never spoken or written English prior to attending this program, and was writing his dissertation in English within five years of completing his IALC studies. Further, many international participants came to the IALC at the

recommendation of a university in their country and/or family, friends, colleagues, and mentors because they, themselves, had once attended the program and the university. Many of these students were from Saudi Arabia.

A second equally compelling reason to embark upon such a study on this particular college campus was because there were some climate issues for particular groups of students during the time that I was conducting this study. There were three violent attacks against members who were in fact or perceived to be members of the gay, lesbian, bisexual, transgendered, and queer (GLBTQ) community. Following the attacks, many people became concerned about climate for other groups on campus. Furthermore, it was useful to watch the delayed community response and juxtapose reactions to the GLBTQ community with the stories I was hearing from my participants who were also members of an oppressed group. Judith Butler's (2008) recent work comparing Muslims and members of the GLBTQ community in the Netherlands helped me to make sense of and think about how one is more or less *American*, claimed at times by governments and rejected at other times, and the ways in which both are facilitated. Particular students on this campus feel that the environment is hostile to them – not only members of the GLBTQ community, but members from other groups whose voices and experiences have been minimized within the university.

The study took place on a Northwest college campus at a predominantly white institution in a rural setting, far removed from a metropolitan hub. As an insider to the college campus in the study, I have a unique understanding of campus politics, social structures, and power dynamics that both advantage and disadvantage. The tension is that I am acutely aware of some oppressions and not others. I am keen to large university goals, having been involved with a recent strategic planning and re-branding campaign, and yet ignorant of how different units on

campus implement the strategic plan and mission statements. I am an outsider to the Middle Eastern and Muslim student groups as I am not of Middle Eastern descent, nor am I Muslim. Again, this afforded me some privilege and some liability. It was more difficult to come to know who the Middle Eastern or Muslim students were because I am not one of them. On the other hand, I was more attuned to undercurrents of anti-Muslim sentiment, racist or oppressive suggestions, conversations/remarks, actions, or possibly intentions.

A term of one academic semester was spent with the Middle Eastern student population. I was open about my research intentions and focus at the outset. As I got to know some of the students, I asked them to be participants in my study. Understanding the sensitivity of working with students of Middle Eastern heritages and not wanting to place any of my participants under undue attention, I decided to conduct my observations only at meetings and events open to the public. A brief review of postcolonial theory as guiding theoretical framework provides clarity for the coming discussion of methodology and methods chosen to carry out this study.

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

Bhabha (1999) contends that “[t]he postcolonial perspective resists the attempt at holistic forms of social explanation. It forces a recognition of the more complex cultural and political boundaries that exist on the cusp of these often opposed political spheres” (p. 191). Because research and science have historically been heavily hegemonic in practice, purpose, and outcomes (Angrosino, 2005; Denzin & Lincoln, 2003/2005; Fontana & Frey, 2005; Saukko, 2005; Smith, 1999; Willinsky, 1998) it was important to me to set high standards in ethical practices for myself in this study. Understanding that “research...[is]...undeniably also about power and domination...[and the]...instruments or technologies of research were also instruments of knowledge and instruments for legitimating various colonial practices” (Smith,

1999, p. 60) meant that I had to be conscientious and purposeful about choosing my theoretical framework as well as my methods and methodology. As mentioned in Chapter 2, postcolonial theory creates spaces for multiple narratives rather than essentializing the experiences of participants. Saukko (2005) posited, “[t]he days are gone when social research could speak from the top-down or ivory tower position of autonomy and objectivism” (p. 344). In fact, Smith (1999) stated, “[t]he ways in which scientific research is implicated in the worst excesses of colonialism remains a powerful remembered history for many of the world’s colonized peoples” (p. 1). Postcolonial theories are critical of and bring to light systems of power and oppression that remain taken for granted and as such, go unnoticed because they have been normalized within a dominant paradigm. Bhabha (1999) attests that,

Postcolonial criticism bears witness to the unequal and uneven forces of cultural representation involved in the contest for political and social authority within the modern world order. Postcolonial perspectives emerge from the colonial testimony of Third World countries and the discourses of ‘minorities’ within the geopolitical divisions of East and West, North and South. They intervene in those ideological discourses of modernity that attempt to give a hegemonic ‘normality’ to the uneven development and the differential, often disadvantaged, histories of nations, races, communities, and peoples. (p. 190)

Postcolonial theory breaks from the imperialist project by re/orienting the purpose of scientific research through calling for research designs rooted in social justice.

Using postcolonial theory as my theoretical framework allows me to ground myself and my research in “a methodology of the heart, a prophetic, feminist postpragmatism that embraces an ethics of truth grounded in love, care, hope and forgiveness” (Denzin, Lincoln, & Giardina,

2006, p. 770). Because postcolonial theory focuses on knowledge – who generates knowledge, purposes and consequences of knowledge, and uses of knowledge, as a researcher, I am encouraged to connect myself and my learning with that of my participants. I am allowed to construct mutually beneficial relationships with my participants and research sites. Further, I am permitted and encouraged to question and consider the well being of my participants and contemplate how I am (or am not) immediately and in the future serving their well being or needs (Hostetler, 2005). Through these ideas I am able to situate this study in methodologies that value a human connection between researcher and those being researched in ways that both enhance and complicate the research process while also honoring all constituents of/in the process. Furthermore, through this undergirding premise, I am able to co-construct knowledge with my participants, as an actor within and on the campus environment (Hamrick, Evans, & Schuh, 2002). This aligns with a primary tenet of postcolonial theory, “knowledge, particularly in social research, must be seen as actively constructed and, accordingly, as not *neutral* but culturally and historically contingent, laden with moral and political values, and serving certain interests and purposes” (Howe, 1998, p. 14). By honoring my role as researcher and knowledge producer while not privileging my knowledge above that of my participants, I seek to maintain rigor while also connecting myself to my participants and my study data in deep and meaningful ways. This epistemological stance influenced my primary research question and helped determine my methods.

Assumptions and Positionality

In keeping with the tradition of critical theory and postcolonial theory (Friere, 2004; Giroux, Shumway, Smith, & Sosnoski, 1984), I need to acknowledge my positionality. I am not Middle Eastern or Muslim. I am in the privileged position of being the academic researcher

(Scheurich, 2001). This works for and against me. The questions I pose are mine and developed out of previous mini/pilot studies as well as my observations that this topic was worth further inquiry. As a student of Higher Education Administration as an academic field, I have an interest in student development and campus environments as well as an awareness of discussions that are presently occurring about these intersecting areas. Also, as a doctoral student, my end goal is a completed dissertation that makes a contribution to knowledge in the field and opens space for the beginnings of my own future research agenda. Lastly, as a woman of color, I have a personal understanding of how institutional climate positively and negatively impacts student experience, albeit from a different perspective. I do not wish to create a false dichotomy and I recognize that there is also a third space somewhere between or outside of positive and negative impact and my positionality working for and against. The third space may be a neutral space or as Scheurich (2001) suggests “chaos/freedom” which is that which “escapes or exceeds this binary...an openness” (p. 72). Recognition of what lies beyond the binary is where I wish to position myself and this research in exploring the experiences of students of Middle Eastern heritages. I recognize that I have a responsibility to consider the words I choose and the language I use to re/present my participants’ stories and lives as these words have the ability to distort the realities and be misappropriated to create and deepen hegemonies in systems of domination and subjugation (Fine, Weis, Weseen, & Wong, 2003). Further, I have to acknowledge the political implications of such a study and remain cognizant that this work may be used in ways that could further oppress and colonize those whom I write about (Fine, Weis, Weseen, & Wong, 2003).

METHODOLOGICAL FRAMEWORK

A word on methodology versus methods is apropos before framing the study design. Methodology, according to Bogdan and Biklen (2003), “is a more generic term that refers to the

general logic and theoretical perspective for a research project” (p. 31). The research questions drive a study in particular ways and often times will identify a particular methodology. Questions that ask how much, frequencies, or some other quantification of data will most often be grounded in a quantitative methodology. My research questions are of a qualitative nature because they ask about the circumstances of participant experiences.

Research Questions

The research questions guiding this study are:

- 1) How do students of Middle Eastern heritages experience post-secondary education in the current socio-political U.S. context?
- 2) How do students of Middle Eastern heritage navigate U.S. higher education?
- 3) How does institutional context shape the experiences of students of Middle Eastern heritages?
- 4) How does the larger post 9/11 United States socio-political context shape their experiences in U.S. higher education?
- 5) How can U.S. higher education better support/accommodate these students?

In order to understand the depths of participant experiences, this dissertation borrows from an ethnographic study design, grounding itself in a qualitative methodology.

Methods, on the other hand, are the strategies and techniques of data collection, “the more technical aspects of research” (Bogdan & Biklen, 2003, p. 31). This study utilizes interview, observation, and critical self reflection methods to interrogate knowledge construction and ensure validity and reliability (Angrosino, 2005; Fontana & Frey, 2005; Saukko, 2005). This section expands upon how issues of validity and reliability are addressed through the rigors of qualitative methodology by using interview and observation methods.

Qualitative Methodology

Qualitative research methodology has a long and sordid history rooted in colonialism, positivism, and postpositivism (Denzin & Lincoln, 2003; Smith, 1999; Willinsky, 1998).

Qualitative methodology, which emerged from and out of the disciplines of sociology and anthropology, arose out of the West's desire to understand the *other* and is rooted in racism, sexism, classism, homophobia, and other systems of domination (Denzin & Lincoln, 2003/2005; Fontana & Frey, 2005; Smith, 1999; Vidich & Lyman, 2003; Willinsky, 1998).

Historically, qualitative research was employed in non Western environments and attempted to describe the cultural understandings and practices of people in their naturalistic settings; no special equipment was needed (Angrosino, 2005; Wolcott, 2001). Researchers could carry out a study with a pen, paper, and their own mind through presence in the field.

Denzin and Lincoln (2003) describe qualitative inquiry in this way: “[q]ualitative research is a situated activity that locates the observer in the world. It consists of a set of interpretive, material practices that make the world visible” (p. 4). With the growth, expansion, and re/envisioning of qualitative research out of the historical hegemony of positivistic and postpositivistic thought, spaces have been created for researchers to re/develop methods and methodologies that can more easily be grounded in an ethic of care rather than a top-down, researcher-researched relationship. Most scholars agree that qualitative methods are “inextricably and unavoidably historically, politically, and contextually bound” (Fontana & Frey, 2005, p. 695) and “each practice makes the world visible in a different way” (Denzin & Lincoln, 2003, p. 5). The ability of those conducting qualitative research to recognize and emphasize “the socially constructed nature of reality, the intimate relationship between researcher and what [or whom] is studied, and the situated constraints that shape inquiry...[as well as to]...emphasize the value-

laden nature of inquiry” make this overarching methodology the appropriate choice for this particular study (Denzin & Lincoln, 2005, p. 10).

Qualitative research and researchers are concerned with rich and thick description rather than the quantification of data and statistical inferences (Denzin & Lincoln, 2003/2005; Bogdan & Biklen, 2003). Often the researchers’ detailed accounts of events, lives, circumstances, and people’s understandings can highlight and illuminate finely nuanced details that might otherwise be easily overlooked if using quantitative methods. Attending to the disjunctures between and within stories and realities is one of the many strengths in qualitative research. Few people, if any, occupy cohesive spaces, lead lives free of contradiction, or behave unequivocally. Where quantitative and positivistic research paradigms are concerned in finding the mean, medium, or mode, qualitative researchers more often concern themselves with contextualizing their findings within the present historical moment, understanding that nothing and no one is static. Qualitative research, as a practice, is less about frequencies or comparative work and more about the various meanings applied to particular events, situations, or people. Therefore, a qualitative methodology is the only way to contextualize and understand the experiences of students of Middle Eastern heritages in U.S. institutions in a post 9/11 context, as this particular moment is rife with tension and contradiction. Through use of a qualitative methodology, I am able to acknowledge and address my insider/outsider participant researcher status while valuing the knowledge and insights of my participants.

One of the tensions in qualitative research remains between the etic (outsider) and the emic (insider) view points (Guba & Lincoln, 1994). Positivistic and some postpositivistic qualitative research rely on etic data and data analysis, and neglect to consider how emic viewpoints might privilege differing ways of understanding the world. Thus, Western ideologies

and systems of knowledge have been privileged in much research and the consequences continue to impact policies and practices.

Vidich and Lyman (2003) state that “[s]ociology and anthropology are disciplines that, born out of concern to understand the “other,” are nevertheless also committed to an understanding of the self” (p. 56), in other words, taking on an emic view. Since I do not have the authority to give my participants voice, I can only employ the theoretical framework along with the methodology to ‘talk back’ to contemporary practices in research and practice, speaking to the multiple layered realities of the higher education institution while illuminating the stories of my participants (Smith, 1999). The parameters of this study are subject to choices I have made along the way, guided by my theoretical framework, positionality, and chosen methodology. Due to these selections, I have negotiated the concepts of rigor, trustworthiness of the data, and issues of validity and reliability in particular ways.

Validity and Reliability: Toward New Realities

The matter of validity and reliability has been front and center in many discussions about qualitative research methods and methodologies. Questions of rigor and objectivity have surrounded qualitative research approaches for many years and have resulted in a variety of qualitative approaches that include those that mirror and work to replicate the desire and procedures for objectivity and those who reject the concepts of validity and reliability. I take a similar position to that of Lincoln and Guba (2003) in believing that objectivity is a myth, and have searched for equally valuable ways to legitimate my research. Rather than talk only about validity and reliability I open the space for discussion of authenticity of the data as well.

Authenticity

Authenticity “is highly contested when applied to, or by, indigenous peoples” (Smith, 1999, p. 72). At the heart of this contestation lie questions of authority found in postcolonial studies. Who has the authority “to verify, comment upon, and give judgments about the validity” (p. 72)? Whose knowledge is considered legitimate and what purpose does that knowledge serve? In postcolonial theory, as within other critical theories, the question becomes – who gets to speak, for whom, and why? These are questions that I have struggled with and reflected upon as this study developed, as data collection and analysis got underway, and as I have written and revised this dissertation. Am I an authority? Of what? Are my conceptualizations more valid or legitimate than those of my participants or others who might theorize about similar data? I do not believe I am authority or possess any grand knowledge that is more legitimate or valid than anyone else. I do believe that I occupy a unique subject position from which to view and theorize that which I observe.

Yet, it was not only my own authority I concerned myself with. When participants told similar stories, it was easy to delineate authenticity of the data, but what of the divergent voices? Could one story be more or less authentic than the next? To evaluate my participants words as such would do violence to them and effectively inauthenticate that data. These questions bring me back to Smith (1999) who wrote about authenticity and how it is closely tied to essentialism. When something is perceived to be authentic, it is only deemed so through relation to something else thought to be less authentic. I am reminded of the great chain of being which sought to compare marginalized individuals and groups to Western norms within Empire (Leonardo, 2004; Lesko, 2001). I am also particularly drawn to the quantum blood rules and laws which worked as a mechanism by which one could be more or less African, Indian, or the like (Smith, 1999). The

great chain of being and the quantum blood rule were systems of authenticities, granting and rescinding authority.

I seek authenticity of the data through both the agreements of my participants and the ruptures. I work towards authenticity of the data in that this study and its findings make sense to both students of Middle Eastern heritages and higher education scholars. I hope that many constituencies can see themselves, their campus units, and the communities in which they operate and better understand circumstances, campus environments, and the impacts upon students of Middle Eastern heritages. I strive for authenticity through acknowledgement and presentation of present circumstances grounded in historical knowledge. For me, authenticity means honest, truthfulness, trustworthiness, and transparency as fostered by new theorizing and practice around issues of validity and reliability.

Traditionally, validity has meant one's ability to measure what s/he claims to have measured (Creswell, 2003; Stiggins, 2008; Vincent, 2004). In regards to quantitative or more positivistic research paradigms, scholars such as Creswell (2003) and Vincent (2004), identify various forms of validity: internal, external, statistical conclusion, and construct validity. Internal validity centers upon the design of the study. The researchers concerned with internal validity would be interested in experimental procedures or treatments and would want to account for participant's experiences or backgrounds which might influence variation in the data. External validity is about inferences from the data. Researchers using an experimental design and concerned with generalization of the data want to draw conclusions about particular groups while needing to remain cognizant not to draw too broad a conclusion. In other words, if an experiment is conducted on first generation college students, generally, researchers should not make inferences about first generation college students of color unless this is something they had set

up in the study design. Statistical conclusion or inference is the goal of most quantitative research. This form of validity is based on the design of the study as well as the statistical output. For most statistical studies the n needs to be relatively large, the p value greater than .05, and the survey response rate at a minimum of 70%. Further, the strongest inferences are made when the sample has been randomly drawn from a larger population, which has ethical implications for true experimental design in the social sciences. Finally, construct validity has to do with defining variables and measures of those variables. Although early qualitative researchers attempted to replicate these operationalizations of validity, the current has meandered away from these definitions and has eddied closer to acknowledging subjectivities and focusing on issues of rigor and trustworthiness.

Reliability

Reliability has traditionally been operationalized as consistency in results (Creswell, 2003; Stiggins, 2008; Vincent, 2004). Issues of reliability in research findings, generally refer to multiple trials of an experiment or consistent results between pilot studies and the full study. In quantitative methodologies, reliability means consistent results time after time (Creswell, 2003; Stiggins, 2008; Vincent, 2005). For qualitative methodologies, reliability is defined as the point of saturation of the data – where the researcher is hearing little to no new information on the topic (Bogdan & Biklen, 2003). In fact, reliability is implied through many of the methods in achieving validity. For this study, ideas of reliability are couched in Lincoln and Guba's (2003) idea of trustworthiness of the data. Saturation might also depict trustworthiness of the data as several participants are telling similar stories. However, there is another layer of reliability that has to do with researcher interpretation and analysis; some may call this bias. The perspective of being able to eliminate researcher bias assumes that research can be objective and disconnected

from the researcher, a history or multiple histories, politics, culture, and context. In fact, these very things are what guide researchers to study what they choose to study and influence the ways in which they go about a study and knowledge construction. Because postcolonial theory is the theoretical framework and foundation upon which this study rests, to divorce the historical, political, cultural, and contextual elements of this work would do epistemological violence to the participants and their stories. Therefore, reliability is inferred to reside within the specific methods chosen through which to collect data and measures taken for validity. Through these traditional conceptualizations of validity and reliability, it is thought that a researcher can achieve objectivity. As Lincoln and Guba (2003) argue, “objectivity is a chimera: a mythological creature that never existed, save in the imaginations of those who believe that knowing can be separated from the knower” (p. 279).

Objectivity

To believe that research can be objective is to ignore or minimize the influence and consequences of researcher background, beliefs, and biases as if a human being can be an inanimate object. Objectivity, in this sense, is a myth, as a person cannot divorce themselves from their backgrounds or biases, because how one understands the world is framed by these very things. Positivistic research views researcher background and beliefs as a liability, a potential source of internal or external validity corruption, and attempts to control for researcher bias. Through a qualitative methodology, these aspects may still be a liability or even an asset; regardless, they are accounted for, acknowledged openly, and at times may intersect with the research project and data.

By ignoring the researcher, or positioning the researcher as objective agent, certain conceptions of knowledge and knowledge construction have become normalized in a very

similar way to how Tierney (1992), Osei-Kofi (2003), Tanaka (2002), and others have discussed whiteness. Smith (1999) posited that Western research “brings to bear, on any study of indigenous peoples, a cultural orientation, a set of values, a different conceptualization of such things as time, space, and subjectivity, different and competing theories of knowledge, highly specialized forms of language, and structures of power” (p. 42). Through these processes, she argues, “these ideas determine the wider rules of practice which ensure that Western interests remain dominant” (p. 47). Research has never been neutral, and therefore never wholly objective. As was discussed in Chapters 2 and 3, much research was undertaken to secure social location and exploit lands and people for economic and social gain. That a positionality was not claimed or named in doing so, only worked to neutralize, and thus, naturalize domination, oppression, and subordination in a way similar to the development of the Declaration of Independence. The guarantors had to stake their claim to ensure their guarantee. Those who conducted the research and advanced theories of how the world worked did so at the expense of others to secure their own domination. Therefore, more equitable ways of evaluating validity and reliability in qualitative research is warranted and necessary.

Envisioning Anew

Since I have chosen to situate this study within the broad field of cultural studies, the ways in which issues of authenticity are involved come to the fore. One way in which authenticity may be addressed is through attending to layers of validity. Saukko (2005) discusses three aspects of validity: contextual validity, dialogic validity, and self-reflexive validity. A researcher can provide contextual validity for that which they study while “reflect[ing] critically on the political nature of the categories [they] create to excavate the “truth” out of these data” (p. 347). I read this to mean that a researcher must be critically aware of the choices they make, the

language they choose, and the ways in which s/he compares contexts to one another. I stand with Fine, Weis, Weseen, and Wong (2003) as I work with an oft misappropriated, misrepresented, and oppressed group, “Our obligation is to come clean “at the hyphen,” meaning that we interrogate in our writing who we are as we coproduce the narratives we presume to “collect” and we anticipate how the public and policy makers will receive, distort, and misread our data” (p. 195).

According to Saukko (2005), “[d]ialogical research sees itself seeking to give voice to experiences that have been neglected by mainstream society. If the methodological framework does not leave space for the experiences to address the discourses and social contexts that shape them, the experiences cannot speak about or back to the social structures that neglected them in the first place” (p. 350). His observation is akin to Fine, Weis, Wesson, and Wong’s (2003) assertion that there are times that:

we refrain from the naïve belief that these [participant] voices should stand on their own or that voices should (or do) survive without theorizing...we also find ourselves differentially theorizing and contextualizing voices...those voices that historically have been smothered we typically present on their own terms, perhaps reluctant to surround them with much of “our” theory. And yet when we present the voices of white men [or the dominant voices] who seem eminently expert at fingering...[oppressed groups for all that is wrong in the world]..., we theorize boldly, contextualize wildly, rudely interrupting “them” to reframe “them” (p. 189).

In this vein, several lengthy quotes are presented throughout this dissertation. Since participants contextualized their own stories and experiences, I felt it was necessary to present the totality of

their thoughts rather than taking excerpts out of context and lying my own theorizing over the top.

Positioning myself in this way requires a nuanced negotiation between myself, my participants, and my data. To traverse the data in these ways has been a difficult process that has required a heightened sense of awareness where I have remained immersed in both the content of my data as well as current conceptualizations of historical knowledge that continues to frame those of Middle Eastern heritages. Through the process of crafting this dissertation, I have sought to illuminate both contemporary practices in U.S. higher education and voices of the students who have been silenced through various mechanisms that are historically and politically bound.

Finally, self-reflexive validity as “[c]ritical reflection on how social discourses and processes shape or mediate how we experience our selves and our environment is, perhaps, the most prominent feature of cultural studies” (Saukko, 2005, p. 350). This self reflexive process is an “outward-directed exploration of what kinds of concrete realities our research helps us to create” and speaks directly to how postcolonial theory questions knowledge construction and uses (p. 352). Since I agree with Guba and Lincoln’s (2003) assertion, “[t]he way in which we know is most assuredly tied up with both *what* we know and our *relationships with our research participants*” (p. 281), I have worked to meet several of “the seven new standards” set forth by Guba and Lincoln: positionality; “specific discourse communities and research sites as arbiters of quality”; voice and polyvocality; intense self-reflexivity; reciprocity rather than hierarchical relationships with participants and community; “profound regard for how science can (and does) contribute to human flourishing”; and sharing the benefits of my academic privilege (p. 281). Through intense self-reflexivity and maintaining a journal through this process, I have worked for polyvocality where that is needed and appropriate.

Implementing New Strategies of Validity and Reliability

As a participant-researcher, I have offered to help out where I can, from event planning and participation, participating in conversation tables so that English Language Learners can practice their English speaking and listening skills, to providing mentoring in academic writing and conference presentation. I have interpreted this reciprocity to include giving participants their interview transcriptions or MP3s for their review and approval and have worked to include them in theorizing on this study in various ways. In addressing Guba and Lincoln's (2003) final two suggestions, how science contributes to "human flourishing" and sharing my academic knowledge (p. 281), I have worked to negotiate spaces where this will do the most good and inform practice on this particular campus. Upon completion of this dissertation, I will also provide a bound copy of the study to the Middle Eastern Student Association or the International Student Center with a policy brief or executive summary. This practice will provide those who are directly working with students represented within this study with the information to continue and expand upon practices, perhaps illuminating successes and areas to strengthen. This layering of validity is grounded in my need to pursue ethical ways of knowing and draws from Guba and Lincoln's "validity as ethical relationship" (p. 281).

An important ingredient to much of this discussion on validity and reliability centers on ethics, which I worked to keep at the fore of my data collection and interactions with students and staff in the spaces where I collected data. As I conducted my fieldwork, I introduced myself and my study to those whom I observed, the various groups I participated in, and those whom I interviewed. On occasion, it was necessary for me to remind students and staff about my purpose and goals while participating in the functioning of the groups. I shared my positionality with many of the people I interacted with and often reminded them about the purpose of my presence

in the field by referring to my study, my dissertation, and/or asking for help when needed. I “came clean at the hyphen”, working to develop relationships with those whom I observed or interviewed in honesty and trust (Fine, Weis, Wesson, & Wong, 2008, p. 195).

Methods

Since this study is grounded within the cultural studies theoretical perspective of postcolonial theory and ideas of social justice, two methodologies were chosen to highlight the experiences of students of Middle Eastern heritages in the current socio-political context of United States higher education. Both interview and observation qualitative methods emerged out of ethnography and the disciplines of anthropology and sociology (Angrosino, 2005; Denzin & Lincoln, 2003/2005; Fontana & Frey, 2005; Seidman, 2006; Strauss, 1987). The colonial hegemonies of researching, defining, classifying, categorizing, and laying claim to the world can in many ways be traced back to ethnography (Denzin & Lincoln, 2003/2005; Fontana & Frey, 2005; Smith, 1999; Willinsky, 1998; Wolcott, 2001). These methods have been re/claimed by some scholars and re/theorized as methodologies in and of themselves (Angrosino, 2005; Fontana & Frey, 2005; Seidman, 2006; Scheurich, 2001; Wolcott, 2001). This qualitative study borrows from the re/claimed and re/defined tradition of ethnography to utilize observation and interview data.

Observation

Observation is perhaps the single oldest research method in both the physical and the social sciences (Angrosino, 2005; Vidich & Lyman, 2003; Wolcott, 2001). As a component of fieldwork and ethnographic method, observation is a systematic and sustained interaction with that being researched. Wolcott (2001) defines fieldwork as “a form of inquiry in which one immerses oneself personally in the ongoing activities of some individual or group for the

purposes of research” (p. 12). Ethnography and by association, fieldwork, requires a prolonged amount of time in the field, typically one or two years at minimum. Cognizant of the time restrictions to complete this dissertation, I could only borrow from this tradition. Wolcott is firm about few necessary components to fieldwork: long-term commitment and focused intent while being in the field. Where it is not possible to be in the field for at least 12 months, Wolcott recommends “go[ing] to some length to explain...circumstances and shore up doubts raised by a shorter tenure. One way to do this is to pay close attention to identifying and observing through whatever constitutes a “cycle” of activity” (p. 77). Since this study is about a university campus a cycle of activity can be construed to mean one semester, which is the length of time that I conducted fieldwork.

Both Wolcott (2001) and Angrosino (2005) theorize about the varying levels of researcher involvement with the individuals or in the group’s natural settings, such as establishing rapport, identifying participants for interviewing, and being both participant and researcher. As Saukko (2005) implied, it is no longer considered moral, ethical, or even sound research practice to consider the researcher as removed from the study, theorizing from the academic pulpit about the lives of others without input or guidance from those whom the study attempts to describe.

Interview

Since postcolonial theory is used to unearth essentialized taken for granted grand narratives of various groups, it was determined that one of the best methods to disrupt this was to ask participants to tell their own stories. Seidman (2006) said, “[i]nterviewing provides access to the context of people’s behavior and thereby provides a way for researchers to understand the meaning of that behavior” (p. 10). By asking participants to tell their stories, they became

theorists of their own experiences and began negotiating the spaces between the grand narratives and their own perceptions. Further, the dialogical relationship between myself as researcher and my participants created a third space. Through discourse surrounding an event or experience, the two of us created new understandings and meanings about the contexts of those circumstances, thus speaking back to the taken for granted grand narratives that construct their experiences, allowing participants to re/claim, re/negotiate, or reject aspects of their experiences and the meanings ascribed to them. This process bore similarities to Fontana and Frey's (2005) assertion that an interview is a social exchange between two or more people where each person participating in the interaction leaves somehow changed because of the exchange. This belief implies a more democratic and social justice oriented interview process.

Seidman (2006) also recognized the interview process as “both a research methodology and a social relationship” (p. 95). This type of thinking is the backbone to his three stage/tiered interviewing that unfolds over three days spaced over a week apart. He feels that this process creates a flatter – not hierarchical – relationship between interviewer and participant where they can both engage in an exchange. He does warn against fostering a therapeutic relationship and interpreting reciprocity to mean material or economic things because these can alter and disorient the research process. Instead, Seidman contends that researchers need to be aware that their positions will never be equal with the participants and that true reciprocity comes by representing participant's words contextually, similar to operationalizations by Fine, Weis, Wessen, and Wong (2008).

Scheurich's (2001) work also supports the idea that interviews are exchanges between two or more people that change each individual in some way. Arguing against a standardized *scientific* understanding for interviewing and interviewing practices, he recognizes that

“[m]eaning and understanding shift, in large and small ways, across people, across time, and across situations. What occurs in a specific interview is contingent on the specifics of individuals, place, and time” (p. 62). Because of this, the interviewer and participant co-create a unique text all their own that would be changed with another grouping of people even if one or both of them remained a part. Essentially, individuals, have their own personal narrative which gets interrupted with the narratives of others as different social arrangements place people together in new ways. Fontana and Frey (2005) describe interviews as “lead[ing] to a contextually bound and mutually created story” (p. 696). At the heart of all of this theorizing about interviewing as research method lie some basic assumptions about access and rapport.

Through interviewing as method, the narratives of the researcher and participant are woven together into a new narrative, a new reality, a new understanding for both/ all parties involved in the process. This belief affirms that researchers “need to interact as persons with the interviewees and acknowledge that they are doing so” (Fontana & Frey, 2005p. 696) and that researchers “can show their human side and can answer questions and express feelings” (p. 711). For Fontana and Frey, their interview methodology, empathetic interviewing, addresses many of the issues and methods of reliability and validity previously mentioned as “it is a method of morality because it attempts to restore the sacredness of humans before addressing any theoretical or methodological concerns” (p. 697). The common semi-structured one time interview protocol was utilized as described by Strauss (1987) which “establish[ed] the context of the participants’ experience” (Seidman, 2006, p. 17) and fleshed out participants’ understandings of what it is like to be of Middle Eastern heritage in a U.S. Research I institution.

THE PARTICIPANTS

Because I abandoned positivistic research paradigms, I did not attempt to collect a random sample, nor did I work to identify a cross-section of students. Instead, my methods of data collection occurred organically within the study site, allowing me to meet students who were potentially more active in campus activities and university services. Students who are more active on a college campus will have a wider purview of what is available to them and perhaps a deeper understanding of what it means to be of Middle Eastern heritage on a U.S. college campus as they have had many interactions and experiences from which to speak. Although students who are less involved may also have a wide purview and a depth of experience from which to speak, their voices remain silenced, and as such, I cannot theorize about their experiences. As Table 1 indicates, students identified themselves in various ways across a range of different discreet demographic data. That I have prepared this table as a way to, in some way, describe my participants, is, in part, problematic to the purpose and theoretical underpinnings of this study and is exemplified by the table itself. Table 1 represents an attempt of classification and categorization that has historically worked to subordinate those whom a researcher attempts to know in some objective way (Smith, 1999; Willinsky, 1998). In this study, Table 1 was a beginning to visualize the messiness of the data. Rather than rely on data represented in the table alone, I present my participants to the reader through mini-profiles to introduce them and illuminate the difficulties inherent in categorization and classification. Before introducing each participant, however, I need to explain my struggle about how to identify each participant.

At an American Educational Research Association Division G (Social Contexts of Education) graduate student pre-conference in March 2008, workshop leaders and participants discussed ways of presenting participants in writing up the data. One of the leaders suggested

that to assign pseudonyms that stayed true to cultural, ethnic, racial, or national identities continued to racialize the participants. As I have continued to think about this beyond the workshop and in relation to this study, I came to believe that to assign pseudonyms that are not culturally, ethnically, racially, or nationally bound privileges, neutralizes, and naturalizes one particular world view. For example, if I have a participant named Ahmed and I later assign him a pseudonym of John, I am privileging European American Christian whiteness and thus, am not being true or honest to his culture, ethnicity, or nationality. If I work to maintain cultural, ethnic, and national re/presentations, how should I go about selecting an appropriate pseudonym? Shall I choose a name whose meaning reminds me of my participant? If so, am I re/inscribing meaning upon him/her? Parents give their children names that bear a meaning for them and their families. I felt that if I selected a pseudonym that I might be betraying this and ascribing my own meaning upon the participant.

In struggling to reconcile how to name my participants, how to identify them within the written work, I had to begin writing up my data and in so doing, I settled upon using numbers. To maintain confidentiality, I used a numbering schema to indicate the sequence of the interview; thus, the first participant became participant number one. In transcription, I assigned other indicators (as represented in Table 1) such as gender, country of origin, U.S. citizen, age, academic year and major to delineate between each interview participant. I have considered going back into the data write-up to change the numbers with pseudonyms but have chosen not to do so, because I continue to ponder the possibilities and the liabilities. Because all names have meaning, for me to re/name my participants claims some ownership over them, re/inscribing meaning upon them. Yet, continuing to number them, removes their humanity, separating words from the body. If I had this to do over, I would ask each participant to assign themselves a

Table 1: Student Participant Demographic Data

Interview #	Gender (m/f)	Age	U.S. Citizen (y/n)	Country of Origin	Ethnicity	Nationality	IALC (y/n)	Academic Level in or applying to	Academic Program	Length of Time in U.S.	Length of time at WSU	Prior Travel Outside of Country (y/n)
Observation	M	19?	N	Palestine	Palestinian-Emirati	United Arab Emirates	N	Bachelor's	Architecture	less than 1 yr.	less than 1 yr.	Y
1	M	25	N	Saudi Arabia	Saudi Arabian	Saudi Arabian	Y	Master's	Agricultural Economics	7 mo.	7 mo.	N
2	M	23	N	Saudi Arabia	Saudi Arabian	Saudi Arabian	Y	Bachelor's	Architecture	1 yr. 2 mo.	2 mo.	N
3	F	29	N	Jordan	Jordanian	Jordanian	N	Ph.D.	American Studies	4 yr.	4 yr.	Y
4	F	40	N	Armenia	Armenian-Jordanian	Jordanian	N	Ph.D.	Special Education	1 yr.	1 yr.	Y
5	M	26	N	Saudi Arabia	Saudi Arabian	Saudi Arabian	Y	Ph.D.	Economics and Natural Resource Sciences	5 yr. 3 mo.	5 yr. 3 mo.	N
6	M	24	Y	Qatar	Palestinian-American	American	N	Bachelor's	Business	life	life	Y
7	F	20	Y	Libya	Libyan-European-American	American	N	Bachelor's	Political Science	2 yr.	2 yr.	Y
8	M	21	N	Qatar	Jewish-Qatari	Qatari	N	Bachelor's	Architecture	2+ yr.	3 weeks	Y
9	M	25	N	Saudi Arabia	Saudi Arabian	Saudi Arabian	Y	Bachelor's	Architecture	1 yr. 5 mo.	1 yr. 5 mo.	N
10	F	26	N	Libya	Libyan	Libyan	Y	n/a	n/a	5 mo.	5 mo.	N
11	F	21	N	Libya	Libyan	Libyan	Y	n/a	n/a	4 mo.	4 mo.	N
12	M	24	N	Jordan	Palestinian	Jordanian	N	Master's	Civil Engineering	2 yr. 7 mo.	2 yr. 7 mo.	Y

pseudonym, as I feel this is the only way to achieve a level of honesty, transparency, and maintain ethics. Also, the continuing use of the number scheme reminds both author and reader of this uneasy tension about naming and claiming aspects of another's identity, because reading the narrative accounts disrupted by numbers is a little unsettling and uncomfortable. In describing each participant in the mini-profiles, I work from the demographic data in Table 1 to introduce each participant and discuss how I came to know their story.

Student Observation

The first participant was not an interview participant but a student I observed, first met in MESA meetings, and later in event preparation. At the time of fieldwork, he was a first year bachelor's student in Architecture. During MESA meetings, I came to learn he was from the United Arab Emirates, had lived in Dubai, Abu Dhabi, Singapore, and now, the United States, and was Muslim. He spoke English as well as the U.S. students in the group. I asked him if I could interview him at the time that I was still committed to using Seidman's (2006) phenomenological three stage interview protocol. He was one of the first students I approached. Due to demands on his time from the architecture program, his fraternity, and MESA, he expressed concern over finding a time to participate in being interviewed, although he said my study sounded interesting and important. After two attempts of finding a time to set up an interview failed, I decided not to pursue interviewing this student again. I felt a little bit like a salesperson and wanted students to not feel pressured to participate. About six to eight weeks later, I had the opportunity to work with him selling tickets to an event co-sponsored by MESA and the Muslim Student Association (MSA), at which time I learned of his Palestinian heritage. I chose to include my reflections about our conversation in the data as these proved to be a common thread throughout a few of the other interviews. For example, he was one of three

participants who were of Palestinian heritage and none of these three immediately identified or acknowledged their Palestinian heredity. Secondly, the conversation with this young man unfolded only after he learned a little bit about me, my thoughts on Palestine/Israel, and I assumed, evaluated my competence and sensitivity to history and present circumstances facing Arabs across the globe. I often refer to him in the data as the Palestinian-Emirati, as he is the only one with this ethnicity/nationality and since he was not an interview participant, has not been assigned a number.

Participant Number One

The first interview participant is a Saudi Arabian, male, Intensive American Language (IALC) student who was making plans to apply to the Master's program in Agricultural Economics. I met him at the International Student Center Conversation Tables. He had been in the United States for under one year and prior to coming into the country, had never travelled outside of Saudi Arabia. This student was very happy to participate and help me with my study. He was little bit hesitant with his English language abilities, often apologetic for not understanding my questions or not being able to phrase something the way he wanted. Our interview lasted a little bit over 30 minutes. I ran into this student about town after the interview, waiting for the bus or buying new cell phones. He was very helpful and introduced me to my second participant, whom I had also met during Conversation Tables, as well as other potential participants whose paths I never crossed again.

Participant Number Two

Participant number two was also a Saudi Arabian male who came to the university for the IALC. He had previously spent about one year in Seattle, Washington at the University of Washington's language center and had not progressed with his English language acquisition as

quickly as he wanted. Upon the recommendations from family, friends, and his embassy, he transferred to university's IALC where his academic language skills developed much more quickly. At the time of fieldwork and his interview, he was at a transitional stage where he was a part-time student in both the IALC and a bachelor's degree seeking student. He was transferring into the university with the equivalent of an associate's degree from a college in Saudi Arabia and pursuing studies in Architecture. I met with this student several times during my data collection and afterwards to help him in developing ideas for a paper he was writing for one of his IALC classes on globalization and changing demographics. I suggested resources for him, read his paper, and provided some feedback. He was also helpful and introduced me to participants 9, 10, and 11. Our interview lasted approximately 45 minutes.

Participant Number Three

My third participant was actually the fourth person I asked to interview and our pre-interview conversations occurred before I interviewed my first and second participants. She was a doctoral candidate in American Studies whom I met at a talk given by Susan Nathan about being a Jewish woman and social activist for Palestine, living in Palestine. This participant and I are studying in similar areas and were reading much of the same literature. When I first spoke with her, I was still planning on using Seidman's (2006) interview protocol. I had already asked a new female student in Engineering and a female graduate student in another humanities area to participate. They both declined, citing the time commitment of my proposed three stage interview, which facilitated my abbreviating my interview protocol to the semi-structured 60-90 scenario after this third participant expressed concern over the time commitment. At first, we communicated via e-mail. She wanted to meet with me prior to consenting to the interview and wanted to see the questions I would ask. Before I sent the questions, I revised my protocol. The

first meeting with this student was over tea in a public campus space. During our time together, she asked about my study, what literature I was using to frame it, and questions about myself. I explained my positionality, how I came to this study, my progress through my doctoral program in relation to my topic, connections I've made through professional networks, and how I came to cultural studies. I also inquired about her doctoral study and how she came to be at this university. After our hour long conversation, she said, "Yes, I'd like to participate in your study." We then, scheduled a time and place to meet the following week, where we spent 90 minutes talking. Through this study, this participant and I have become very good friends and colleagues. She introduced me to another colleague in Anthropology working in a similar area and the three of us have prepared conference proposals and presentations. She and I continue to discuss ways in which our work intersects and how we may work together in the future. She has since graduated and returned to Jordan. We continue to share resources, ideas, and information and she introduced me to my 12th participant.

Participant Number Four

Although my fourth participant was not of Middle Eastern heritage, her nationality is Jordanian. She was a fellow doctoral student in the College of Education at the time of my fieldwork. I met her briefly in her first semester on campus and told her about my study when she asked, at which point she divulged that she was Middle Eastern. This was, however, one year before my preliminary exams and proposal defense. A mutual friend of ours reintroduced us during my time in the field at which point I asked her to be a participant in my study and she agreed. We set up a time to meet over e-mail, and I went to her apartment on a Saturday. Her husband prepared snacks for us and her children played in our proximity while we spoke. Since she is not of Middle Eastern heritage, I reflected on how and if her story fit within the questions I

was asking of the data. Her story, illustrates the complexities within the Country of Origin, Ethnicity, and Nationality categories of Table 1 and the tensions between what a person can claim legally by way of their government and even when, how, and in what ways a government claims its citizens. The crux of her story works to trouble some of the other participants' perspectives as well as those of a larger dominant U.S. perspective. She is the only self-identified Christian. We spent 90 minutes conversing.

Participant Number Five

I met my fifth participant at the beginning of my fieldwork. While I was working to establish entry into fieldwork sites and meet potential participants, I was directed to this Saudi Arabian Ph.D. student who was studying Economics and Natural Resource Sciences. He originally came to this university to attend the IALC and eventually work on his master's degree. Before coming to this university, he had neither travelled outside of his country, nor spoke nor read English. Five years after arriving in the community, he had completed a master's degree and was completing his Ph.D. dissertation in his academic area in English. He was active in both MESA and MSA, taught the Arabic language course, and participated in several other campus activities. Our interview lasted 90 minutes. As with several of my other participants, I observed this student in meetings, at events, and worked with him to sell tickets to the co-sponsored MESA and MSA event.

Participant Number Six

My sixth participant was my first U.S. citizen that I interviewed. He was born and raised in the U.S., residing in the community near the university most of or all of his life, and was a legacy student to this university. During observations, I learned that a close family friend of his started MESA when she was an undergraduate at the institution. He had previously been

involved with MESA prior to taking a break from his studies due to illness, and since returning, became involved once again. He was close friends with two of the MESA student officers, one of which was also of Middle Eastern heritage. This student identified himself and his family as being from Qatar in MESA meetings and initially to me during the interview. Towards the end of the interview, he revealed that both of his parents are Palestinian, but both were born in Lebanon. His mom's mom was Lebanese and they have a house in Lebanon to which his dad will never return. His dad grew up in refugee camps and when the participant's grandparents passed away, his dad vowed to never return. Again, this student's story illustrated the tensions between Country of Origin, Ethnicity, and Nationality, blurring the boundaries and demarcations between them. Another commonality with the Palestinian Emirati student, participant number three, and this student was that they all wanted to spend a little bit of time getting to know me and understand my positionality before consenting to be interviewed or divulging their heritage. It was during my interview with this student that I began feeling uncomfortable with my questions, as they were geared more toward international students, non-U.S. citizens, and began to illuminate my own unconscious assumptions. My questions were framed in such a way that they worked to position this student somehow as outside of contemporary U.S. culture, and as I asked questions, he continued to reject that positioning. I tried to create inclusive questions prior to beginning this study, but at this point was feeling like I should have created a second set of questions for U.S. citizens.

Participant Number Seven

My seventh participant was the second and last U.S. citizen of Middle Eastern heritage interviewed for this study. We spent approximately 45 minutes in conversation. She is bi-racial; her mom is European American and her dad is Libyan, actually Berber Libyan. Until she came to

this university, she had never resided within the boundaries of the United States. Living abroad in Northern African countries all of her life as a U.S. citizen also blurred boundaries of Country of Origin and Ethnicity. So, although a U.S. citizen, she was American in a new way, similar to Clifford's (1995) discussion of diaspora. That her parents chose U.S. citizenship for her and maintained that status, speaks to the power such a subject position leverages within a global space and inscribes a particular identity upon the being of individuals. During my time in the field, and beyond, I spent the most amount of time around the student I observed, and these first seven participants.

Struggles to Find More Participants

At this point during the interview process, I was out of the field and interview participants were getting more difficult to locate. Some people had put me in contact with students at other universities and my own contacts were yielding dead ends. I enlisted the help of previous participants to introduce me and help me identify potential participants. I had previously joined the MESA Facebook group and took a look at the members of that group, which were few, contacting two potential participants. One person agreed to be interviewed, asking to see the questions before our meeting. The other person was no longer on campus.

Participant Number Eight

My eighth participant was my Facebook contact, a new student to the university, and Jewish Qatari. He had been in the U.S. for a little over two years at a college in California and had only recently arrived at this university. Having spent time at a boarding school, as a secondary student, outside of his country, he had many experiences from which to juxtapose his present circumstances. His mother was Jewish, his father Muslim, from which I assumed he too was Muslim, as religion is passed down on the father's side in Islam. Because he did not

explicitly state his religion, I can not be certain. Our interview lasted about 90 minutes, during which time he expressed how important he felt this study was, to make known the experiences of Middle Eastern students and that hopefully it could break down some racisms and make spaces on campus safer. Because he had been assaulted at boarding school, he had some of the strongest concerns about safety.

Participant Number Nine

My interview with the ninth participant lasted about 30 minutes due to his limited English speaking ability. He is Saudi Arabian and was a university IALC student seeking a bachelor's degree in Architecture. This student had been in the community area for one year, five months and was in the process of looking for another university to attend. My second participant had introduced us and we had met at the Taste of Islam event where he participated in a traditional Saudi dance. From his interview, as well as that of my first participant, I learned of the difficulties in travelling to this community and not speaking or understanding English.

Participants Number Ten and Eleven

I met my tenth and eleventh participants at the IALC while waiting to meet with my second participant, who introduced us. I interviewed these two women together that same day. They were both IALC students who came to this community with their husbands who were pursuing academic degrees. One woman was a mother and both were Libyan. They were not taking English classes to pursue academic study, rather, they wanted to be able to communicate and negotiate their new U.S. space. This interview also lasted about 30 minutes and the two women helped each other translate English to Arabic and Arabic to English as their English fluency was limited.

Participant Number Twelve

My third participant introduced me to my twelfth and final participant. He is Palestinian Jordanian and at the time of the interview was completing his master's degree in Civil Engineering. Our interview lasted approximately 90 minutes. As with the two other students of Palestinian heritage, he did not tell me right away that he was Palestinian. Our conversation began with him asking me questions about myself – my heritage, where I was from, what I was studying and why. Once I had satisfied his questions, he felt comfortable enough answering my questions. The pre-interview was reminiscent of the meeting I had had with my third participant prior to our interview and bore a similarity to the discussion with the Palestinian Emirati student during my observations. These students were curious about me and wanted to be sure I was thinking about the circumstances of Arabs in the U.S. from a place that was not working to cast them within the grand narratives that were working to demonize them further. His interview also had a similarity to both the Palestinian Emirati and the 6th participant's discussion of being Palestinian, in that these students all identified with a nationality rather than an ethnicity and their Palestinian heritage was not revealed until the end of a conversation. I can only hypothesize that this has something to do with the reality of being Palestinian, not having a country that the world recognizes as a country, and having lived in multiple places – or having parents who lived in multiple places – but never in Palestine. These students were *from* a particular country or countries through residence or citizenship but not through heritage. They identified with particular countries because of familial experiences and they were careful about when, where, and to whom they claimed their Palestinian heritage.

Struggles and Resolutions

Given that I ran into problems with participants coming forward, returning e-mails, or showing up at agreed upon meeting times, I can only hypothesize that the pre-interviewing participants conducted with me was both a process to get to know me and a way for them to vet my intentions. Two of the participants wanted to be sure I was not going to co-opt or misappropriate their stories to blend within dominant narratives of Arabs and Palestinians. I had five potential participants confirm that they felt this study was important but still decline to participate. For some, it was about a time commitment – I know of three that were lost when I was using Seidman's three interview protocol (2006). Two more students were lost due to location and having to communicate via e-mail. There are possible other reasons behind people deciding not to participate; fear and apprehension remain at the front of my mind, especially as I revisit each of my participants in this space. That students felt more comfortable after meeting and questioning me, spending time with me in fieldwork sites, or through introductions by a mutual friend, was a quiet, yet audible, reminder of my responsibility to be a prudent and conscientious researcher, to consider my theorizing, and appropriately contextualize my data and the words of my student participants.

Advisor and Staff Member

I had two final participants, the International Student Center staff member and the Middle Eastern Student Association adviser. The MESA adviser is a mother and was a new doctoral student in Counseling Psychology at the time of data collection. She had been immersed in the Latina/o community and travelled to Mexico due to her adopting a Latino boy. The ISC staff member has worked at another institution with international students, a passion he acquired from his own travels around the world. Both of these participants were great resources throughout this

study, have become friends and colleagues, and we remain in contact. The MESA adviser had never worked with Middle Eastern or Muslim students before but was able to draw from her experiences working in Latina/o communities as a European American woman. Her experiences taught her how to take different perspectives and more quickly learn about other cultures. The staff member had some experience working with Middle Eastern and Muslim students at his previous institution. Both work to be sensitive to the needs of Middle Eastern and Muslim students and recognize that their needs may be different than other multicultural or international students, given the current historical moment. They are also both committed to creating and maintaining safe spaces for these student populations within their respective organizations. The interviews with the staff member and the adviser lasted 90 minutes each.

ANALYSIS TECHNIQUES

Several methods were used to collect and analyze the data of this study. Because I was employing Wolcott's (2001) method of fieldwork and adapting it for a shorter time in the field, I felt it was necessary to remain cognitively immersed with my data. I chose to modify and use a constant comparative method (Bogdan & Biklen, 2003). By using a constant comparative method for data analysis, the researcher is able to begin data analysis early in the research process by comparing each emergent piece of data to the next in order to locate points of rupture and fissure. Although I did not fully begin formal data analysis early on, I did begin analyzing the multiple data sources, expanding my collection of data as new instances and questions emerged. Through this process, I identified commonalities between observation and interview data. For example, there was something occurring in the various interactions students had with other students, faculty, and staff on campus, there were connections within the group as well as outside of the group that were worthy of deeper exploration, and there was something beyond the

immediate campus environment that students had to navigate. At the end of my time in the field and interviewing, I began formal data analysis of interview transcripts, observation notes, and my reflective journal.

To facilitate formal data analysis, I began with manual “unrestricted coding of the data,” or open coding (Strauss, 1987, p. 28). This process was both “grounded in the data on the page...[and] include[ed] the knowledge of technical literature which the analyst...[brought]...into the inquiry” (p. 29). At this point in the process, 19 initial codes were identified (See Table 2).

Table 2: Initial Codes and Categories

Initial Codes – Stage 1	Initial Categories – Stage 2
Commitment to Experience	Self
Compromise Values	Self
Adapt/Acculturate	Self
Awareness	Self
Cocultural Interactions	Students
Domestic Interactions	Students
Multicultural Interactions	Students
Advisors & Chairs	Staff & Faculty
Other University Staff	Staff & Faculty
Other Faculty	Staff & Faculty
Middle Eastern	Campus Events & Incidents
International	Campus Events & Incidents
Multicultural	Campus Events & Incidents
U.S.	Campus Events & Incidents
Local Community	Contexts Beyond Campus
State	Contexts Beyond Campus
National	Contexts Beyond Campus
International	Contexts Beyond Campus
Interconnections	Contexts Beyond Campus

As I considered the 19 codes against one another, I began to notice potential categories. This second stage of coding was facilitated through returning to the questions my postcolonial theoretical framework prompted me to ask: what knowledge is this, whose knowledge, and what

purpose does this knowledge serve. In this second stage of analysis, I used axial coding (Strauss, 1987). Through careful re-reading of the data in each code and self reflection, 5 broad categories emerged, thus continuing analysis of the data revolved around these 5 axis points (See Table 2).

Coding continued by following a recursive funneling process as outlined by Miles and Huberman (1984). As categories were identified, reflexive practice was used to determine how they fit with the previous categories and the guiding purpose of exploring the experiences of students of Middle Eastern heritages in one U.S. institution of higher education within the current socio-political context of the United States. This process continued until such a time as categories could not be collapsed further, at which point it was determined that all necessary categories had been identified and coded and themes began to emerge.

I continued to think about my data and categories in relation to the literature review and met with my dissertation chair/advisor to talk through the categories. I returned again to the data, bearing my theoretical framework in mind and working to generate questions that would speak to the undergirdings of postcolonial literature as my chair had advised. I asked three questions of the data: what knowledge is grounded within these words? Whose knowledge is this? What purpose does this knowledge serve? Where codes are concrete or discreet identifiers grounded only in the data, themes allow for the researcher to pull from the various sources of knowledge on her topic – the literature, theoretical framework, and her data. Themes, however, are conceptual abstractions that open spaces for new theorizing about participant experiences (Bogdan & Biklen, 2003). In order to better work with the data, I printed out my spreadsheet with the initial codes and categories, reading through the data once again, cutting them apart and asking myself what they spoke to and how they fit together. As I worked with each piece of data, I ordered and re/ordered the data, asking the three questions of each discreet piece of data.

Through this process, I began to define themes and sub themes. When each piece of data fit within a theme and reflected how each sub-theme worked to describe the overarching theme, I felt I had reached a point of saturation and began writing up the data. Three themes emerged through this process: re/negotiating mythical assumptions, re/constructing identities, and claiming spaces.

CONCLUSIONS

Data collected for this study include interview and observation data following guidelines set forth by Angrosino (2005), Fontana & Frey (2005), Saukko (2005), Scheurich (2001), Seidman (2006), Strauss (1987), and Wolcott (2001). Interviews were transcribed and analyzed using the constant comparative method (Strauss, 1987). Observation notes were recorded while in the field or immediately following immersion in the field. These data notes were added to the interview data and coded using axial coding (Strauss, 1987) and a funneling process (Miles & Huberman, 1984) until the data could be condensed no further and the three themes of rupturing mythical understandings, re/constructing identities, and re/claiming spaces emerged.

In closing, I do not position this study as an emancipatory study because I did not work with the community to develop the study or the questions that were asked. Rather, I wish to bear witness to the present history and provide a deeper historical, political, social context to the reading of students of Middle Eastern heritages experiences in one U.S. higher educational institution. Further, I believe this study better informs local policy both on campus and perhaps within the state or region where the institution is situated by illuminating the potential counter stories of higher education context in relation to these students and their experiences. This study begins to fill the rift between context or environment and student experience with a more finely

nuanced understanding and articulation of various aspects of context and how that contributes to college campuses.

CHAPTER 5: TRAVERSING BORDERS, IDENTITIES, AND SPACES

The analysis of this qualitative data has revealed three broad interwoven themes that speak back to the research and campus environment literature, address the research questions of how students of Middle Eastern heritages experience higher education in the current socio-political United States environment, and create spaces for new inquiry and theorizing. I explore the interconnections between rupturing mythical understandings, re/constructing identities, and re/claiming spaces that contribute to understanding how students of Middle Eastern heritages choose to navigate higher education in the United States. Finally, these three themes illuminate how institutional and U.S. contextual factors shape experiences of the student participants.

Students of Middle Eastern heritages often came into the United States with mythical understandings of *America* and *Americans* that were often challenged. Their assumptions were predicated upon the master narrative of the United States being a multicultural and welcoming society. Many of the student participants mentioned the image of *America* and *Americans* as being tolerant, open to difference, and accepting of others. As students relocated to this mythical space, they also came face to face with intolerances and hostilities that were covert and overt, forcing them to reconcile their perceptions with their experiences. This rupture between what they thought they knew and what their new realities bore challenged student participants. Mythical understandings also guided how *American* others conceived of these students and, in some ways, contributed to how they chose to interact with students of Middle Eastern heritages. These mythical understandings formed a foundation that influenced how students constructed their identities for themselves and others, how others constructed their identities for them, and was a factor in how they were permitted or chose to claim particular spaces. Rupturing mythical

understandings of others contributed to re/constructions of identities for self, similar others, and by others.

Scholars (Belenky, Clinchy, Goldberger, & Tarule, 1997; Evans, Forney, Guido-DiBrito, 1998; Perry, 1968/1999; Schlossberg, 1984) have long understood identity to be flexible, fluid, and changing with age, intellectual and experiential growth, as well as situation. I have not reviewed the psychology, psycho-social, sociological, biological, or other pertinent literatures on identity as this is not the focus of this dissertation. I merely wish to point to these other fields and vast amount of scholarship to demonstrate the complexities of identities. Instead, in this dissertation, I make sense of identity through the socio-cultural lens of postcolonial theory to better describe and understand the complexities of identities that students of Middle Eastern heritages choose to negotiate. As students of Middle Eastern heritages traversed the chasm between mythical understandings and new realities, they also had to negotiate the identities they had of themselves, others like them, and those inscribed upon them by others. Students accepted, rejected, and considered a third space in performing various aspects of their own identities. Different aspects of their identities came forward at different times, for different purposes, and in different spaces. They challenged the identities inscribed upon them by culturally, ethnically, and religiously similar others, as well as those who were dissimilar. As various forces worked to position them outside of some particular norm, they worked to re/position themselves within or re/create another. This theme was a source of power, domination, and resistance and very much dependent upon the spaces both in terms of how participants constructed knowledge of self and others as well as experiences with/in those spaces teaching them what, when, where, how, and for what purposes they could claim particular spaces.

The ways in which they navigated particular re/constructions of identities was greatly influenced by the spaces they occupied, the spaces they could claim, and the spaces that claimed them. These students participated in spaces ranging from the global to the local. Each experience served as an orientation to that space and future spaces the participants were to occupy and claim. In this theme, the word space is used to indicate sometimes imagined borders or boundaries. When the space is physical, such as a classroom, it is easy to determine where the physical space of that classroom begins and ends. Other spaces transcend physical boundaries. For example, in the small college town where this study was conducted, the space of the campus bleeds into the culture of the local community, extending beyond university owned and occupied land. Yet spaces may be virtual and traverse multiple borders and boundaries. Media and internet blogs are two examples of this. Further, space may be imagined or a sense or feeling one has at a particular time or in a particular location. Historical knowledge of self and others' identities contribute to how students operate within any of these spaces. Whether by intent or purpose, political or economical, experiences in spaces had consequences for the individual students and contributed to their sense of being comfortable and moving about within the world. Spaces are constructed by who can claim any particular space, at any particular time, and in any particular circumstances. At times, spaces claim particular people for particular circumstances and at other times, those same people may be rejected by that same space. Various forces impact what spaces can be claimed by different groups and when they can claim those spaces. Prior experiences, as well as, social and political contexts affected how students perceived the myriad spaces they occupied, how they could claim them, and what would warrant those claims. Finally, experiences within these spaces sometimes determined how the students chose to contribute to campus or community life.

Much like a spirograph, these themes stand alone and support one another, interconnecting and cycling through and between themselves and the other, creating clarity and distortion. As Patti Lather (2007) has stated, qualitative research is messy and these data exemplify that idea. Recognizing the difficulties in describing this fluidity between themes for both author and reader, I instead present each theme as if it were a discreetly separate entity while working to weave a common thread between and within each theme. Knowledge and knowledge construction is a common thread which ties these themes together by asking three key questions: whose knowledge, who does the knowledge serve, and for what purpose? These questions guided excavation of the data. In considering how each of the aforementioned themes fit together, I present one story from a participant to frame analysis of the data and illuminate the interconnections inherent within this study. This student traverses the borders between the mythical knowledge constructions of his personhood imposed upon him by those outside of his cultural, ethnic, and religious identities and how he chooses to navigate the situation. Within his narrative account, he works to re/construct the identities of those of Middle Eastern heritage for both myself as the researcher as well as the mythical other. Further, his quote epitomizes the fluidity of the spaces he occupies, who has claim over that particular space, how he is invited into that space, and for what purpose. The following quote serves as an entrée into presentation and discussion of the data:

I was invited in one of the conferences here on the campus, it was during the month of Ramadan and you know the month of Ramadan for Muslims is is is...big thing you know. You have to be fasting the whole day, during the day time, sorry. From the sun goes up until it goes down. At that time you're not allowed to eat, or drink even water, you're not allowed to...you know, try to do

many interactions. Like for example, talking too much you know about like gossiping or for example attractive a lot with girls or something like that. So you know you have to be because it's the special month that Muslims try to worship God in a nice way and try to do their best. So I was invited for the...to this conference and when I went there its about Middle Eastern education study abroad or something so when I went there they were eating, they were drinking alcohol, you know the whole time, and that was fine but back home when it's during the month of Ramadan, you don't see anyone eating in front of you. And I would not like it, you know, to be in front of someone who is eating and talking to me because that's you know will...ahhh, affect me when I'm fasting. So they were eating, drinking alcohol, drinking other stuff and they were talking then the main thing...the thing that they brought, is like what took my attention and made me feel a little bad, which is they brought a girl and she was doing belly dance. The thing that I want to tell you is belly dance is not the culture from the Middle Eastern countries, it's not at all. Belly dance started in Turkey long time ago. Turkey's not from Middle East is one thing you have to understand and others. And then it started in Egypt. But in Egypt they use the belly dance it's like when you go to Egypt or Middle East and you ask about belly dances and you say hey I'm going to go to strip club, it's exactly the same. So here in the United States or Americans when they go and do Middle Eastern programs or something the first thing they think of like belly dance which is offend all Middle Eastern people so that's why when you go to Middle Eastern event and you see the belly dance or something you don't see a lot of Middle Eastern people. But Americans enjoy it

because it's funny instead of paying twenty bucks in this club where they see some girls. So she was dancing there and I had to be there because I had to give speech, so I start. I had to freeze limitations in order to you know look nice, seem nice in front of people in order to be friendly with them. I did my presentation and left. If I left from the beginning then some people they may feel bad because I was on the program and they may miss their program (Participant 5)

Through this vignette we can see how the mythical understandings of the Middle Eastern other troubles Western knowledge of the world through the re/historicization of the belly dance as exotic and romantic. Western understandings of a mythical Middle Eastern woman's role, position her as sexual object for the pleasure of the Western male and supports media representations of Middle Eastern women as subservient and subordinate to men (Abukhattala, 2004; Skalli, 2004; Steinberg, 2004). This fascination of the West with the Middle Eastern female body is reminiscent of Skalli's (2004) observation that "[a] vast corpus of literary, artistic, philosophical, and scientific works contributed to producing and reinforcing an impressive capital of stereotypes, most of which expressed the European white man's fantasies about the Orient more than the realities of the peoples observed" (p. 46). Further, Friedman (1992) stated that "[f]antasies take on a durable reality when they are successfully communicated. And that communication is a constitutive act of cultural identity" (196).

The belly dance also illuminates how a Western understanding of a Middle Eastern identity has been forced upon members of this group, showing how "their religion and cultural heritage are continuously devalorized and their history distorted" (Skalli, 2004, p. 46). Friedman (1992) tied history to identity by positing, "[t]he discourse of history as well as of myth is simultaneously a discourse of identity; it consists of attributing a meaningful past to a structured

present” (p. 194). How history is created determines how different groups are conceived because “a representation of the past [is] linked to the establishment of an identity in the present” (195).

Finally, the participant describes being uncomfortable in this space due to the belly dancer and the context of Ramadan. Mechanisms of power and control, including re/historicization and education, work to make people of Middle Eastern heritages residing in Western societies “feel ashamed of their ancestors and their former homeland” (Suleiman cited in Abukhattala, 2004, p. 155) and send a message that they have no claim over the space they occupy in that moment. Through the narrative quote and the theoretical tools of postcolonialism, we can come to question the re/construction of knowledge – by whom, for whom, and for what purposes? With analysis, this quote demonstrates each of the three themes: rupturing mythical understandings, complicating identities, and claiming spaces – in a way which allows for a deeper excavation of the sources and consequences of knowledge and knowledge construction.

A few participants shared experiences that easily serve as a point of departure through which to enter the themes. At the beginning of each theme section a vignette is shared that best exemplifies the representative theme and sub-themes, the complexities and points of rupture. These experiences are then juxtaposed with other data and relevant scholarship to illuminate that which needs to be brought forth into the light.

Changing Citizenships

Before delving into the three themes, I first need to illuminate complexities in citizenships and national identities. Individuals come to learn of their positionality within the world through their governments (Spivak, 1999). Further, this relationship creates a precedent for how they view the world, interact with others within the world, accept or reject how others define them, and how they access spaces. Although not a theme, understanding how individuals

enter into different exchanges within a campus environment begins by understanding how they have been educated and oriented to engage with the variety of environments in which they may find themselves. The foundation for this understanding stems from how individuals perceive their citizenship. The following excerpt is taken from my field notes:

After selling tickets to A Taste of Islam, it is time for myself and the young man from Dubai to put things away. As we pack up, the young man from Dubai (Freshman, Architecture) and I talk. I know him from MESA meetings and he intrigues me as he has lived in many places - Dubai, Singapore, Abu Dhabi, now the U.S. He has travelled the world and is so young - under 21 I believe. I start asking him questions and we talk about many things. He lived in Abu Dhabi the first 6-7 years of his life, then moved to Singapore for 6 years, then to Dubai for 6 years. I find out that his family is actually Palestinian but left Palestine because of the violence in the 1970's before the United Arab Emirates became a country. Once it became a country, his family were included as citizens. They don't talk about being Palestinian in the U.A.E. because citizenship status, nationality, and ethnicity are complicated within Middle Eastern countries and citizenship is not a birth right as it is in the United States. He says if a person is not a citizen of the U.A.E. they cannot gain citizenship even through birth. (Observation, 10/28/2008)

The stories of students who chose to participate in this study support statements made elsewhere in this dissertation about the changing ethnic and cultural diversity in the United States as well as in the institutions of higher education in the U.S. (Census, 2000; IIE, 2008; Spring, 2006, 2007, 2008). Although all but two of the participants were international students, their paths to the U.S. can be understood through the use of Appadurai's (1999) ethnoscapas and

Clifford's (1995) diasporas. Interview participants' cultural, national, and ethnic identities were convoluted by borders, boundaries, and demarcations conjoining the past with the present. The story above illuminates complex and interconnected aspects of ethnoscaping and illustrates a disjuncture between Western knowledge of the world with the knowledge of those relocating within U.S. spaces, a common finding in this data analysis.

Individuals come to learn their roles within the world through their relationships with their own national governments (Appadurai, 1993, 1999; Clifford, 1995; Hardt & Negri, 2000; Spivak, 1999). Through this initial education, individuals are then better positioned to learn about themselves in relation to others. They may learn to see themselves and their compatriots as outside, within, or on the periphery of particular narratives while learning about and constructing narratives of spaces outside their own. In many ways, these narratives become foundations by which individuals learn to traverse the borders and boundaries of the world and interact with others like or unlike them. The narratives are myth and serve as a beginning point from which individuals gain new knowledge of themselves, others, and the world around them.

As some student participants relocated with their families several times within their lives, other students experienced border crossings in different ways; some experienced the border crossing them. Moving with family often occurred for economic purposes and at times for survival. Students told stories of their families leaving their countries of origin sometimes one or two generations before their birth. The Armenian-Jordanian student's family was forced to leave Armenia as the Turkish borders were redrawn in the early 20th Century. She referred to this time as the Armenian Genocide. Her family was fortunate to gain entry and eventual citizenship into what is now Jordan. Although almost a century ago, her narration of how her grandmother fled what was once her country to create a new home and find security for her family, feels as if she

is telling of a recent migration. The fear of being found out by Turkish military while travelling with children evoked palpable emotions during our interview. The fear, stress, and desire to survive and continue on were the choices her grandmother had to endure. So although almost a century before her time, the Turkish border crossed this Armenian and forced a diasporic relocation, violently forcing her family into a history for which they had little understanding (Clifford, 1995).

I can only imagine similar circumstances for the three Palestinians I mention in this study – two of whom were interviewed and one only observed. The Palestinian-American briefly talks about his own family history when he says:

Like, my parents are originally from Palestine but they were both born in Lebanon. And then my mom's mom is from Lebanon and then I...like I don't know how long they lived there but my dad's parents left Palestine because of the war in '47 or '49 or whatever year it was. And then he was raised in a refugee camp...It was rough on him...So he, so when he was able to take the opportunity to get an education, he got out of there as quick as he can...Like we have a house in Lebanon but my dad's like he'll never go there again. It's just like if you know I don't mind going there but he like hates it and you know for the most part he likes everyone but does not like Lebanese because they kind of tortured him growing up...and my dad's dad passed away and he's like I have no reason to go there anymore...Yeah, he's had some crazy stories and I'm just like ooof, I guess I can't complain very much... (Participant number 6).

This family experienced border crossings in a couple of ways; it appears that the Palestinian-Israeli border crossed his dad as a child forcing him and his family to live in a refugee camp in

Lebanon. As he grew up and gained his own agency, he chose to cross borders for what this student implies as a better life for himself and immediate family; believing in mythical *American* multiculturalism, they ended up in the United States. Participant number twelve was also Palestinian. His mom returned to her family in Jerusalem to give birth to him while his father remained in Saudi Arabia working. After his birth and a brief stay in Jerusalem, he and his mother returned to Saudi Arabia and his father. Although he did not talk about why his family left Palestine, he did talk about how being on the land felt good but did not feel like home. He'd never lived in Palestine and returns on occasion to visit family still residing in Jerusalem. Living in Jordan was as close to his Palestinian heritage as he could come to returning to the lands of his heritage.

The changing citizenships for these three student participants and for the Emirati student I observed in the opening vignette for this section, forced new histories upon them and their families. Friedman (1992) observed, "objectivist history is produced in the context of a certain kind of selfhood, one that is based on a radical separation of the subject from any particular identity" (p. 194). Supplanting their own familial histories with the histories of new lands, re/framed these students' lives and their "histories of the self," re/shaping their identities through the spaces they could claim and in the ways through which they could lay claim (p. 194). In fact, this is a concept that Gupta and Ferguson (1992) contemplate, "[i]n the pulverized space of postmodernity, space has not become irrelevant; it has been *reterritorialized* in a way that does not conform to the experience of space that characterized the era of high modernity. It is this that forces us to reconceptualize fundamentally the politics of community, solidarity, identity, and cultural difference" (p. 9). For these students, it was about "feeling global" and claiming a larger, yet undefined, segment of the world (Clifford, 1995, p. 454). While the world thrusts these

students into new spaces and places, compels them to face new realities and realize new histories, they are forced to re/imagine their own identities within “a world that seems increasingly to deny such firm territorialized anchors in their actuality” (Gupta & Ferguson, 1992, p. 11). Changing citizenships through re/shaping borders of homelands and eliminating or ignoring countries, are the catalysts to a re/imagined sense of being. Because the histories of their lands have been effectively diluted and demonized through mechanisms of Empire, as demonstrated in Chapters 2 and 3, these students must claim more of the world in order to feel at home within it.

In the opening vignette for this theme, the student commented on how he and his family do not talk about nor make known their Palestinian heritage. To do so would call their citizenship into question, with a possibility of revocation of all or part of their citizenship rights, reminiscent of Spivak’s (1999) discussion of how individuals are brought into being through their relationship to government documents, laws, and policies. All three of the Jordanians talked about “real” or “pure” Jordanians to delineate an inequitable distribution of citizenship rights. Similar to countries across the globe, the higher status and government jobs are held by domestic workers who are fluent in the language of the land. The Armenian-Jordanian participant had much to say on this topic as she was 3rd generation in her family born in Jordan and speaks “Armenian, Arabic, English, French, and Turkish because I’m Armenian...It’s obvious that in the house we’d speak Armenian...Arabic I studied because I was born in Jordan...and English we study, it’s second language in Jordan schools. And Turkish...my grandparents...speak Turkish language and we have to speak to them in Turkish, they don’t understand Arabic language and it was not acceptable in Turkey to speak Armenian language so they only speak Turkish.” During her interview, I learned that she was the first Armenian to hold a faculty

position at the University of Jordan which afforded her certain privileges which were later rescinded when the President of the university was changed by royal decree.

Participant number three is also Jordanian. She did not indicate any other ethnicity other than Arab. Coming to study in the United States was a privilege granted to her by her government. While studying at the University of Jordan in Amman, she was granted a scholarship to pursue her Ph.D. in Europe or the United States. The scholarship covered four years of study for her Ph.D. As condition of the scholarship, she returned to the University of Jordan to teach for a pre-determined number of years or she will have to pay back the cost of her education abroad. This same opportunity had been awarded to the Armenian-Jordanian participant under the first university president and rescinded when the new president took office. By her own analysis, the offer was rescinded because she was not “pure Jordanian.” Similarly, the Palestinian-Jordanian also felt a slight difference in citizenship rights because he was not a “pure Jordanian.” When asked to reconcile his Palestinian heritage with his Jordanian citizenship, he had this to say, “In Jordan, which is the place I spent half of my life or more than that umm...think about that, yeah you’re a citizen there but still being of Palestinian origin makes you different. It’s not original people, pure Jordanians can see that you’re the same, you’re not being treated the same,” this speaks to the often tenuous relationship these students have with their own national governments.

Considering citizenship as a commodity further complicates and confounds that to which a person can lay claim. Participant number seven is a U.S. citizen but had never resided in the United States until coming to university. She was the participant who had lived in the most places but never in the U.S. Although she only has citizenship status in the United States, it was not a context with which she was familiar. In fact, she began at the university similar to many

international students, in that she was paired with a mentor. Because she had come into the U.S. by way of Morocco, assumptions were made about her ethnicity and she was given an African-American mentor. I observed:

After I interview my 7th participant, she tells me that somehow [the university] has her listed as African because she came from Morocco most recently and was educated in African schools. So they paired her with an African-American mentor. When she questioned this, she wasn't really given an explanation and was a little put off about being stereotyped as a black African. Although she doesn't say it, I wonder or think perhaps that I notice or analyze white privilege to some degree - not something that is a conscious decision - she probably hasn't thought about it in this way but to me it speaks to the unnoticed and unspoken strength and value of the currency of whiteness. Also, I think about how a white African occupies a very different subject position than a black African... (Observation 2/2/2009)

Her parent's decision to maintain her U.S. citizenship, while offered other options, acknowledges the currency which a U.S. citizenship status brings, returning to my early discussion about the research literature and my theorizing that U.S. citizenship as cultural capital bestows privilege upon particular individuals (Bourdieu, 1986).

Other students came to understand their place in the world through experiences with their own government. Both participant's number four and twelve as well as the Palestinian Emirati learned that they had to claim more of the world in order to feel more comfortable within it. Participant number four noticed that she was treated differently as an Armenian Jordanian. Even though she was 3rd generation, she did not enjoy the same privilege as pure Jordanians. She said,

“This is very difficult you know when they ask you ‘what’s your identity?’ I can’t. I’m Armenian, I’m Jordanian ya, you know. Sometimes I say Jordanian from Armenian heritage ya, but I’m Armenian. I feel for some reason my grandparents came to this place till now people are not completely adopted there, they came to Jordan, third generation until now look my case, I didn’t realize this till this happened to me in the university and this is...I thought that I’m Jordanian.” Although participant number twelve did not elaborate on specifically how he noticed the difference in how he was treated as being of Palestinian heritage in Jordan, he too mentioned there was a difference. Participant number three also referenced pure Jordanians. The Palestinian Emirati felt comfortable travelling about the world; during the course of this study he travelled to at least two and possibly three different places with an air of excitement and little visible apprehension. Perhaps being removed from their native homelands forced these students into what Clifford (1995) called a kind of contrapuntal modernity, forcing them to claim more of the world as their home and yet not feeling completely at home in any one international space. Not having a specific land to call home left these students to move more freely or openly across the globe, perhaps in search of a space to call home or making home the place they were at that moment. This perpetual and persistent sense of diaspora educated these students about what they could claim as home and how much of that claim would be warranted. In other words, these participants, for example participant number four, could claim Jordanian space as home to an extent. The actions of the government, tacit governmental policy, taught her that her claim to Jordan as home was only partially warranted and the government would only allow partial claims to her citizenship rights. These governmental actions continued to make her part of a persistent and perpetual diaspora forcing her conceptual understandings of her space, her home, as one

beyond physical boundaries and outside of both her Armenian homeland which no longer physically exists and Jordan which does not completely claim her.

Each of the students of Palestinian heritage, did not mention being Palestinian until later in the conversation or interviews. The one born and raised United States citizen, participant number six, travelled annually to visit family in Qatar and his family owns property in Lebanon, a place to which his father will not return. This student said his family was from Qatar, the Palestinian Jordanian said only that he was from Jordan, and the Palestinian Emirati only revealed his Palestinian heritage in casual conversation when he felt I was knowledgeable enough about the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. Students laid claim to aspects of their complex national identities only in particular circumstances and spaces, foregrounding the two remaining themes of identities and spaces. Relocations and border crossings also influenced a broader knowledge of the world having different implications for students of Middle Eastern heritages as well as other international and domestic students.

For all of these students, the Libyan American, Armenian Jordanian, Palestinian American, Palestinian Emirati, and the Palestinian Jordanian, there are several issues at play. The first issue, most salient to the students of Palestinian and Armenian heritage, is whether the country to which their heritage has been attributed still exists in the eyes of the world. As Hardt and Negri (2000) stated, the legitimacy of a nation wrests upon its militaristic strength to protect its borders and boundaries. Spivak (1999) also discusses how governments claim citizens through documents which define citizenship and nation. Since Armenia and Palestine were eliminated as nations by either the United Nations and/or war and no longer exist in the authoritative eye of the world, these locations are unable to claim citizens in the same way that the United States or other countries can claim its citizens (Hardt & Negri, 2000; Spivak, 1999).

Due to the diasporic movements of Armenians and Palestinians around the globe, the potential citizenry is widely spread out, rendering any potential claim these unrecognized countries could wager, potentially moot. With few citizens to claim, a country can not be established or recognized as a country within the world order, thus, the subjects, who would otherwise be citizens, are left to claim alternate national identities.

A second issue most salient to the students of Palestinian heritage, centers upon constructions of Palestinian identity in a post September 11, 2001 context (Abu El-Haj, 2007). Abu El-Haj states, “Palestinian American students’ complex and often fractured sense of national belonging is negotiated in school and community contexts in which they continually encounter “Americans” who, drawing on racialized nationalist discourses of belonging, position Arabs as dangerous outsiders and enemies” (p. 303). As evidence, she points to “the speed with which Muslim, Arab, and South Asian communities across the United States were attacked and harassed after September 11, 2001...[which]...reveals the consequences of such positioning and the vulnerable place these communities occupy in the public’s imagination of the nation” (p. 289). The events and aftermath of September 11 left members of Middle Eastern communities across the United States more frequently the target of hate (see Figure 1 in Chapter 1, FBI UCR Hate Crime Data). Having previously been considered *white*, persons of Middle Eastern heritage were faced with the reality that to immediately divulge their heritage might make them the focus of hate motivated attacks or labeled as enemies within. Palestinian students weighed their options and measured the possible impact as way to protect themselves against the potential of heightened scrutiny.

A third issue addresses the national identity of the Libyan American student and refers to the cultural capital U.S. citizenship brings. Abu El-Haj’s (2007) participants spoke of carrying

U.S. citizenship “as a possession that...[they]...carried rather than an identity...[they]...inhabited” (p. 299). Although the Libyan American student was a U.S. citizen, she had been living in the United States for a shorter time than some of the international students interviewed for this study. She was one of the most well travelled participants and continued to surround herself with international experiences and friends. Having moved out of her international dorm one year, she returned the following year because she preferred the diversity of the dorm over living outside of the dorm. While hers was a story of resistance to others naming her, she was able to use her citizenship status to claim a very different and complex subjectivity than many of the other participants – one within yet outside of U.S. culture – in a very deliberate way. Some of what students described and were working through on their own, had much to do with unearthing and negotiating myths: the mythical *American* and myths surrounding their own identities.

RUPTURING MYTH: BUILDING NEW REALITIES

I was afraid of other places because it was the first time I go outside of country and go to different country. I thought maybe it's difficult to get along with new people and new culture maybe they have another aspect or we have conflicts so...this kind of first thing I worried about in the beginning and with time I feel here in America it's ahh, people have more open mind about new things so...it...it's a good that they expect...accept new things or new people, yeah, it's helped me. But some people are not expecting...accepting....some experience like little experience people were afraid or nervous...

This student was at once taking the mythical *American* stereotype for granted while also recognizing that the accepting attitude or behavior was not an absolute. One interaction struck

him as unusual, “Yeah, I went once to the gym and an American guy was telling me to have a membership. And he asked me where I am from and I say Middle East and he said, “Oh we have...we pray for same God” or something like that and I say, “okay” and I just left I didn’t want to stay anymore.” He did not know what this was about or how to contextualize it, he did, however, equate it with a misunderstanding but still chose not to revisit that gym because he felt uncomfortable. Both background knowledge, albeit, shrouded in myth, and his experience at the gym, demonstrated for him when, how, where, and in what ways he could claim spaces within the United States. Being made to feel uncomfortable, taught him that maybe the space of that particular gym was not the one he wanted to claim. Just as actors on university campuses contribute to the overall environment of the campus (Abu El-Haj, 2007; Berger, 2000; Hamrick, Evans, & Schuh, 2002; Hurtado, 1996; Hurtado, Milem, Clayton-Pedersen, & Allen, 1998; Kuh, 2000; Kuh, Gonyea, & Williams, 2005; Locks, Hurtado, Bowman, & Oseguera, 2008; McRee & Cooper, 1998; Miller, Bender, Schuh, & Assoc., 2005; Moneta & Kuh, 2005; Nuss, 1998; Richardson & Fisk-Skinner, 1990; Smedley, Myers, & Harrell, 1993), so to do actors in other public spaces (Butler, 2008; Zaal, Sala, & Fine, 2007), and these environments influence the attitudes and behaviors of the students of Middle Eastern heritages on which this study focuses.

Unearthing Myth

International students of Middle Eastern heritages studying in United States institutions of higher education come with a knowledge and expectation of multicultural diversity. Perceiving their own countries as culturally homogeneous, student participants constructed the mythical *American* as being culturally aware and the environment in the U.S. as culturally welcoming, which enabled them to explore and negotiate the multicultural diversity within their U.S. higher education institution. Participant number three, talked about her travels to Lebanon

and Syria by saying that all the gulf cultures are pretty similar. Even the Palestinian-American student was attuned to cultural homogeneity which was captured by this statement as he spoke of his travels to Qatar, “cuz it’s not diverse. You might have people from different parts of the Middle East and for the most part they’re pretty similar but over here you have all sorts of people. So they look at it from one view point because everyone around them has that same view on things.” He later said how he felt “as though...[the university]...is somewhat diverse.”

As a result of the limited racial diversity in their countries, the international participants were very excited to learn about other cultures, nationalities, religions, and ethnicities. They wanted to get the most out of their experience in the United States. Students who enrolled in the Intensive American Language Center (IALC) before pursuing academic study, sought out opportunities to practice English and confirmed Trice’s (2004) observations that those students who were more “culturally similar to Americans” were in a better position to adapt into the dominant university culture and were more easily accepted by their peers (p. 682). This most often occurred in their dormitories and in structured activities organized by the IALC or through the International Student Center. Interactions with domestic students were of a more positive nature in these circumstances.

Most of the students constructed the mythical *American* as kind, generous, and inherently multicultural. One student commented on this seemingly innate ability of *Americans* to communicate with each other across cultural differences by saying, “I think they’re even better than the people back...home...I mean they deal with each other with respect, they are calm most of the time” (Participant 12). This student compared the U.S. to Jordan and the homogeneity of the people and experiences in Jordan. Another participant noticed:

It's just the culture, the type um...it's just there's not a lot of diversity in...not as much diversity in other countries as in the United States I think that's the main reason. Here a lot of people are from different backgrounds and that kind of makes them understand each other. They've been in the same country for so long and they've finally been trying to...as much as they can, to understand each other.

(Participant 8)

Residing in this new multicultural environment left some students thirsty for knowledge as participant number two stated, "I like to have international friends and know more about culture, know more about languages. I like to learn more than English, I like to know more about other languages too." Anticipation of these new experiences also contributed to choices students made about campus involvement.

I'm always, you know, willing to do stuff with any other people like African Americans. They did something I was with them, I tried to organize some stuff with them, they asked me for help and I was there. Indigenous people, there was this thing going on with the Women's Studies like Indigenous woman, and um...unfortunately I didn't have the time to continue with them but I was in the beginnings I was involved. I did go to the meetings and I did give my opinions and insights, so I try to be involved...(Participant number three).

Scholars such as Suarez-Orozco (2004) and Spring (2006, 2007, 2008) maintain that willing immigrants are more eager to adapt to the dominant U.S. culture. Although these participants were students and not immigrants, they had willingly relocated into this context, although temporarily, and therefore were eager to immerse themselves into this

new context in ways that both sought and resisted assimilation as evidenced by the above quotes.

Some students were surprised by the types of diversity they experienced on campus and in the United States. Gupta and Ferguson (1992) observe that “associations of people and place [have been taken for granted] as solid, commonsensical, and agreed-upon, when they are in fact contested, uncertain, and in flux” (p.12). As student participants navigated the U.S. institutional space, they began to recognize the uncertainty of their own mythical understandings. Participant number five commented:

I meet some Muslims...you know I'll be honest with you, when I came to [this community], which is the first place for me in the United States, before that I didn't know there were Muslims in China. But when I came here and I met some people in the mosque, because if you go to the mosque, you will see at least there are 50 people you will see them from at least 35 or 40 countries. I meet Chinese guy I say, “What are you doing here? Are you Muslim?” He says, “Yeah.” I said, “When did you convert to Islam?” He said, “I was born Muslim.” I said, “How many Muslims there?” He said, “50 million Muslims in China.” So I was shocked, I thought like Muslims in Middle East or like...now when I heard about Muslims here in United States, Muslims in United States more than Muslims in Saudi Arabia.

While the above quote demonstrates one student's surprise to realize that Muslims reside in a variety of countries around the world, another student was surprised when her mythical understandings of the U.S. military and military personnel were challenged in unexpected ways. Participant number three commented on how her perceptions changed:

In class, out of class, from these people, the people I meet, the friends, the colleagues, the students, everybody has something to say, everybody has a story and seriously you come to actually feel it, and smell it, and taste it that they are just like us. If we have to go through these binaries us and them... Like now when I go back I don't always keep that in mind I think, when I think of the people in Iraq, yes I am mad that the Iraqis, that the Arabs are being killed, but when I think that it's his wife over there. My colleague, who shares the office with me, his wife is over there and I go in every single morning and he's such a nice person, such a nice gentleman, and I'm like I don't care. I cannot but care now. So when I go back definitely I will definitely be keeping the two worlds. I don't want anybody to be killed. Because basically they are people like I care for as much as I care for the Iraqis or the Jordanians or the Muslims and the Arabs. So it is different experience it's as valuable.

These two examples speak to constructions of space and historical mythologizations, “history or rather stories of the past are constructed according to categorical schemes that are transferred from other domains” (Friedman, 1992, p. 196). The first student participant travelled to the U.S. space believing that Muslims lived only within the borders of the Middle East, underscoring Gupta and Ferguson's (1992) observation that “it is so taken for granted that each country embodies its own distinctive culture and society” (p. 6). He was transferring his ideas of who Muslims were and where Muslims lived into this new space, which challenged both these foundational mythical understandings as well as his mythical understanding of *American* multiculturalism. Of this, Gupta and Ferguson state that “we need to ask how to deal with cultural difference while abandoning received ideas of (localized) culture...[because]...space

becomes a kind of neutral grid on which cultural difference, historical memory, and societal organization are inscribed” (p. 7). The second quote, from student participant number three, also represents this transference of knowledge from one space to another, challenging her previously held mythical understandings of *America*, the U.S. military, and military personnel. Her mythical understandings were embedded within her own historical knowledge of United States military action, in general, and current United States foreign policy, specifically.

Within the U.S., the neutral grid that Gupta and Ferguson (1992) operationalize acts as a sieve sifting out cultural differences and alternative, yet equally valid, historical memories and leaves behind a dominant mainstream world perspective. Of this, Hardt and Negri (2000) state:

The imperial machine lives by producing a context of equilibria and/or reducing complexities, pretending to put forward a project of universal citizenship and toward this end intensifying the effectiveness of its intervention over every element of the communicative relationship, all the while dissolving identity and history in a completely postmodernist fashion. Contrary to the way many postmodernist accounts would have it, however, the imperial machine, far from eliminating master narratives, actually produces and reproduces them (ideological master narratives in particular) in order to validate and celebrate its own power. In this coincidence of production through language, the linguistic production of reality, and the language of self-validation resides a fundamental key to understanding the effectiveness, validity, and legitimation of imperial right (p. 34).

Through the two participant quotes, the students illuminate some taken for granted conceptions in United States society. Citizens in the U.S. understand the spatial context to be one

of cultural, religious, and racial diversity, representing much of the world within the borders and boundaries', demarcating what is U.S., a concept that resurfaces throughout this dissertation. When Hardt and Negri (2000) state, "where the legitimacy of the new power is in part based directly on its use of force," they speak to the United States as being established and supported through military might and power (p. 34). The United States military has often held a social position central in U.S. society – sometimes revered, sometimes feared, and other times reviled by citizens and countries abroad. These two students highlighted and marveled at their own perceptions and met with some commonsensical notions of U.S. culture that have become so taken for granted, they often remain unnamed, unspoken, and unproblematized.

Negotiating Myth

While some students puzzled over their new understandings, some sought knowledge of other cultures to help dispel stereotypes and feel more comfortable or more prepared to travel within the world. One student said, "like the prejudices and stereotypes about the American people...they were totally deconstructed when I came here...I'm very grateful when I came here because now I know, I really know, and it's very important that they became real to me, the Americans." Another student commented, "what we hear back in our countries in the Middle East is not the truth, it doesn't reflect the people who I have met here 'cause they look like they're really peaceful people. Whenever you ask for help anybody will help you. Whenever you want to talk, they talk, they're really friendly." These students spoke of humanizing and putting a face to the mythical *Americans*. Through coming to know individual people they were better able to situate knowledge of an overly broad group that had been constructed for them by media, education, politics, and popular discourse in their own countries. A multitude of interactions

helped these student participants to rupture their own mythical understandings of *America* and *Americans* in ways that fostered deeper knowledge of their new space.

Students recognized the utility and value of gaining knowledge of other cultures while on the college campus. As mentioned earlier, the one student realized Muslims are multinational and multiethnic, not only Arab, and that Islam is practiced around the globe. One of the IALC students said, “I want to have friends from this country and from other countries” because the certificate itself means little (Participant 1). As some students neared the end of their studies, they reflectively anticipated their professional future. One student looked forward to the next time she would be able to visit the U.S. and another student felt he would be more prepared and comfortable to travel to yet another country because of opportunities he has had here. He had this to say:

I met today American, I have classmate Indian, I have classmate from Mexico, I have classmate from Africa. So this guy invites me the other day invites me [to Mexico] I know how they dress, how their family dress, what’s their culture, what’s good to do in their culture, what’s bad to avoid in their culture you know, many things. So when I go back to my country one day and I’m asked to go and attend conference in Mexico I said I’m going to go because I know how they eat, I know how they dress, I know how to communicate so I’ll be confident to go and visit any places. (Participant 5)

The Palestinian-American student also realized that his first hand knowledge of the world contributes to his success in working with different student groups on campus. Participant number four also finds that her fluency in five languages helps her in her role as apartment manager as the larger university housing system calls upon her on occasion to translate, further

implying a tacit commitment by the university to create multiculturally inclusive spaces (Hurtado, 1996). Students recognized immediate and anticipated future value of gaining first hand knowledge and a more complete understanding of the world in their personal and professional lives.

Student participants also negotiated the rupture in their beliefs that the U.S. was a multiculturally welcoming place and the possibility that it was not. Students sometimes expected or anticipated problems or conflicts with the *American* people due to what they had experienced in other parts of the world or what they had learned or heard through other mechanisms, as evidenced by the vignette introducing this theme. Participant number eight captures this tension best:

Yeah, especially in the dorm. Everyone, most of the guys there are really nice.

But umm...I still have to be careful, that's I believe that people of that age

umm...they're not they don't understand a lot about people. (Participant 3)

Constructing *Americans* as multiculturally aware while also noticing that one still has to remain cautious against different forms of racism was a concern for this student participant. His quote speaks back to much of the literature (Al-Sharideh & Goe, 1998; Ramsay, Jones, & Barker, 2007; Trice, 2004; Zajacova, Lynch, & Espenshade, 2005) by addressing underlying or covert hostilities that Hurtado (1996) alluded to when she spoke of racism on campus taking on “a sophisticated guise” (p. 488). Sometimes it came back to educating people as participant number eight states, “and you know sometimes people say some bad things and they don't even realize that how bad it is and this is what I tell them, I tell them ‘whatever you say, he's a Muslim, just replace the word Muslim with Christian or Jew and look at how that sounds and this is how I feel.’” He was troubling the power of neutrality as he worked to re/position his own subject

position in a way that would speak back to and challenge those who would over essentialize Muslims (Ladson-Billings, 2003; Osei-Kofi, 2003; Tanaka, 2002; Tierney, 1992).

Through formal and informal education, student participants experienced a perception change due to their immersion in this new cultural context:

When I came here, it was totally deconstructed. I don't classify people seriously anymore because I thought it very important to me that I actually came here and touched them physically. It's very important that you're actually building bonds and it's not just over the internet or like the TV or stuff or like maybe like a course that you might see it on the screen. No you're actually with the people; it's very...I think this is one of the things that you experience culture and is so valid culturally. Yeah...(Participant 3)

Much of this shift is due to first hand experiences, humanizing the individuals, and gaining a broader knowledge of the world beyond their own contexts. These dismissals, however, are further complicated by what participant number five experienced:

One of my friends is from Kuwait, we were on campus one day for some event I forget what it is. We met one of the professors, we know him. So he was asking the guy where is he from he said, "from Kuwait." Imagine what the answer of the...the question of the professor, he said, "is Kuwait, is it a city in Washington or Idaho?"...Like one of the stories when I came here I was asked where I'm from and I said, "I'm from Saudi Arabia." So they start asking me like if I have oil well in my house, I said, "I don't have oil well but the government controls the oil." "People say that you guys don't have cars there in Saudi Arabia?" I said,

“Yeah, we do have oil. We send it to you and we ride camels [sarcasm]. We don’t use car.”

Although he makes light of his recollections and uses sarcasm to educate those questioning him, these experiences are predicated on racial biases as well as ignorance of the world beyond the local vicinity or United States. Taking the moment to educate those who make inappropriate comments bears similarities to what Au (2008) was commenting on when he said he was tired of having to justify multicultural education to somehow legitimate his own existence, knowledge of the world, and experiences. In their discussion on imagined communities and places, Gupta and Ferguson (1992) stated, “[d]iscussions of nationalism make it clear that states play a crucial role in the popular politics of place making and in the creation of naturalized links between places and people. But it is important to note that state ideologies are far from being the only point at which the imagination of place is politicized” (p. 12). As I stated in Chapter Three, individuals act as agents of Empire; in this way, both individual and country work together to construct myth of nation, self, and other. These quotes emphasize mythical conceptions of the Middle East and the people. Mythical constructions of Middle Easterners function as a way to relocate the United States or U.S. perspectives at the center (Gupta & Ferguson, 1992) – as evidenced by the first quote of the professor thinking Kuwait was a city in Washington or Idaho – and function to position Middle Easterners as desert minstrels or sidekicks to *American* needs (Steinberg, 2004) – as evidenced by the second quote about Saudis riding camels instead of driving cars.

Few would argue against gaining first hand knowledge of the world for any student; however, statistics gathered by the Institute for International Education (2008) cited in Chapter One of this dissertation show fairly low numbers of students studying abroad and smaller numbers of students studying in Middle Eastern countries or countries perceived to be culturally

distant from the U.S. Instead, domestic students commonly opt to study in culturally similar countries in greater numbers. The International Student Center staff member who was interviewed for this study said:

I think that [this university] is really kind of leading in this sense...not every university has a center, you know. It's an amazing asset to an international program at a university because there's a huge push for example in all universities across the U.S. to get more U.S. students to study abroad during their college career. But the reality of it is that it's...we're far fetched from when every student is going to be able to study abroad for whatever reason and some students just don't have the interest, you know or leaving home or leaving the state is a huge thing but alone leaving the country, that the international center on that respect provides the opportunity for [domestic] students to gain an international experience albeit a bit different, without leaving the campus.

The above quote indicates that domestic students seeking study abroad experiences opt for convenience and take little risk when selecting a country in which to study. As Jayakumar (2008) summarizes, “[h]igher education is under pressure from its various constituents...to prepare students for success in an increasingly diverse society and global marketplace” (p. 642). One tool for universities to facilitate the experiences which allow domestic students to gain cross-cultural workforce competency is study abroad opportunities. According to Jayakumar (2008) and supported by the work of Hurtado (1996) and Hurtado, Milem, Clayton-Pedersen, and Allen (1998), “when students perceive a hostile campus climate, interaction with diverse peers is less likely to facilitate the development of pluralistic orientation or other, related developmental outcomes” (Jayakumar, 2008, p. 620). A particular campus environment can also contribute to

how students select study abroad opportunities through what they are made aware of in terms of safe/unsafe, welcoming/unwelcoming, or United States allied/enemy countries, thus influencing their choices (Abu El-Haj, 2007; Abukhattala, 2004; Moses, 2007; Stonebanks, 2004). Domestic students who choose to study abroad in culturally similar countries to the U.S. are prepared in a Western world view which continues to situate the U.S. in a central position of dominance and furthers the damaging narratives constructed about those of Middle Eastern heritages (Abu El-Haj, 2007; Abukhattala, 2004; Gupta & Ferguson, 1992; Steinberg, 2004; Stonebanks, 2004). The mythical *American* is permitted to survive as a multicultural and global citizen with only a limited purview of the world (Friedman, 1992).

Humanizing an event or experience increases awarenesses of world circumstances and situations while allowing students to make connections to contexts with which they are familiar. The Middle Eastern Student Association (MESA) adviser talked about the humanizing aspect of the Palestinian-Israeli conflict and how it became relevant to her as an undergraduate:

you know I guess another thing I should mention, I mean it's not...it doesn't seem that relevant to me but um...you know um...well, I have a lot of concern for the Palest...the Israeli/Palestinian conflict too. Just um...in some ways kind of secondary because of my love of and knowledge of Latin cultures and what the wall is doing down there. And then of course there was [a college] student who was murdered down there like 5 years ago or whatever. You know the bulldozer or whatever and so that, I lived in [a town] at the time and I didn't know this young woman but that really that really impacted me because um...well...you know it brought it home, it was something important enough to somebody to go across the world and do something about it and they got killed for it. So it wasn't

like they just went and everyone was like “wow thanks for coming” and so it brought it home in a new way I think.

The International Student Center staff member tries to bring the human face to his staff, helping them to make connections to circumstances within the world for which they may have little knowledge. He facilitates cross-cultural workforce competencies by having interns stay abreast of current events within the world beyond Western nations:

And that’s why I make the interns when they do their current events update, I say, “you know what? Maybe what’s happening in Pakistan doesn’t affect you but we have students from Pakistan you know and imagine how that’s affecting them and their families and then they’re here but their families are there, imagine how it’s affecting them when everything else that they’re doing here”... We have this student from wherever uhhh...so to make those kind of connections and then to realize that when we’re working and talking to them that there’s this whole other side of it that we don’t see.

Although many domestic students are reluctant to gain experiences outside of their cultural points of reference, international student participants acquired broader knowledge through events and coursework. They valued that they acquired more complete understandings of the world. For example participant number three had this to say:

When I came, just as much as I like to hear about it bring it, to the table sometimes I think it’s really important that you actually hear what they have to say, their wounds, their hurts, what’s going on in their world, their dreams, what do they want. It’s really nice because it give you the you’re not living in the world alone, it’s not about what’s going on in Palestine only, it’s about what’s going on

in Mexico, it's about what's going on on reservations, it's about...you know, it's not...I have a wider wider um...maybe thinking of the world. When I think of people now and I think of the world and even when I think of Arabs I don't just think of Arabs in the Arab world I think of Arabs everywhere.

Coming to study in the U.S. for the international student participants ended up giving them greater knowledge of the world. A few students mentioned how by being in the U.S. "you have seen the world" (Participant 5) without having to travel all over, further supporting and more deeply entrenching the mythical multicultural *American*. In fact, the Palestinian Emirati student I observed was identified by the Middle Eastern Student Association adviser as seeming the most "American" in the group of all domestic students – some European American, some of various Middle Eastern heritages, and others from various cultural and ethnic backgrounds. The observation seemed surprising for a student who'd never travelled to the United States before attending university. However, he had lived in two of the world's largest metropolises, Singapore and Dubai. His appearance of *Americaness* complicates ideas of what it means to be *American* but also speaks to DuBois' (1903/1996) "double-consciousness" and Trice's (2004) work which implies that those international students who could more easily pass as European American were more quickly adapted, accepted, and thereby assimilated into the dominant culture of the university.

As more people relocate and cross borders, this movement of people complicates situated understandings of the world for those moving about as well as for those residing within the physical locations to which people relocate. Friedman (1992) and Gupta and Ferguson (1992), both cited earlier in this section, discuss how the mechanisms of objectivist history becomes a sieve through which cultural histories are set aside in favor of a majority history as a machination

of nation building (Hardt & Negri, 2000). Due to the amalgamated histories of the majority, these relocations further complicate how people from other regions of the world are perceived by local citizens, affecting their own interactions with international students (Hurtado, 1996; Hurtado, Milem, Clayton-Pederson, & Allen, 1998; Jayakumar, 2008). Notions of *Americanism* are troubled by how those coming to study in the U.S. perceive the culture and feel accepted within the borders and boundaries of a U.S. context as well as what constitutes an *American* and under what circumstances a person might be thought to demonstrate *Americaness* (Abu El-Haj, 2007). Multiculturalism is touted by both those residing with/in the U.S. as well as those coming to the U.S. as a benefit of living within this context, however, student participants' experiences also troubled how domestic students, and at times professors, negotiated the multicultural spaces, which is further discussed in the spaces theme. As mentioned in the Chapter Two and earlier in this chapter our historical understandings of the world affects how individuals construct the self and are constructed by others (Friedman, 1992; Gupta & Ferguson, 1992), as well as how one behaves within it and the experiences in which one chooses to participate (Gupta & Ferguson, 1992; Hurtado, 1996; Hurtado, Milem, Clayton-Pedersen, & Allen, 1998; Jayakumar, 2008).

COMPLICATING IDENTITIES

I like politics, it's part of who I am and I've grown up in that but it's sometimes hard to actually participate. Like the way you put the question, participate in the U.S. politics because of who I am. Like sometimes I can't discuss stuff with my...just like before I came [to the interview], I was discussing this stuff with a colleague. He's a Native American, he was a Marine, and he happened to be in Jordan as a soldier as a Marine. So I was like if I only knew...I was like I was looking at the guy...with friends and everything but I was like oh my goodness,

oh my god we can talk about politics. But sometimes when it's like really being active and participate I'm cautious. I'm cautious because I'm already raising suspicions for these people. Like I am an Arab, I'm a Muslim, and I go around and I'm like okay I don't know if they're recording me. I don't know if they're watching me. But it's possible, it's highly possible, like *seriously*. So I really need to be careful. I try to avoid highly political American issues obviously because I need the degree, I don't want to be deported. (Participant 3)

As was evidenced in the previous section and in the opening vignette, students cautiously and sometimes strategically utilized, leveraged, and displayed aspects of their identities at various times and in various circumstances. The vignette introducing the theme of complicating identities, exemplifies the tensions and complexities these student participants navigated and experienced within the United States context in which they studied. Participant number three saw herself as a politically active person with a firmly grounded Muslim Arab identity, while also remaining cognizant of when, where, and to whom she could perform, display, and divulge these identities. She, like the participants of Palestinian heritage, recognized that particular aspects of her identity might sometimes render her vulnerable to actions emanating from an imagined above and leave her open to heightened scrutiny. Her quote serves as a foray into the theme of complicating identities and the subthemes of: constructing self, constructing others, and constructions by others. Students' constructions of self ran the current of support, resistance, and neutrality.

Constructions of the self often were employed by the student participants as a method to re/situate or re/position their own identities in ways that they could re/claim ownership over the constructions. The act of constructing their own identities was most active when they were faced

with constructions they found inadequate or unacceptable. At times the constructions of identity came from members of the Muslim or Middle Eastern community and at times from members outside of it. Regardless, student participants sought agency in constructions of the self which both resisted and supported constructions placed upon them. There was also a third space, a neutral space, or space of chaos and freedom, where the student participants' identities were a construction of the self, by the self, and for the self.

While student participants worked to re/claim ownership of constructing their own identities, they often did so in relation to how other members of the Muslim and/or Middle Eastern communities were defining them. Through my fieldwork, I noticed that members of these communities were defining each other's identities in ways that, again, were resisted and supported by individuals and my student participants. This became the second subtheme, constructions of each other. Gupta and Ferguson (1992) discuss how an "encounter with 'them,' 'there,' [should be used] to construct a critique of 'our own society,'" (p. 14). Gupta and Ferguson were speaking of the work of anthropologists in constructing and maintaining difference between different groups and cultures; this is, however, also a tool that student participants in this study utilized to critique cultural, religious, and political traditions and identities to re/construct their own identities and the identities of similar group members. Residing in the current socio-historical moment of the Western context in the United States made student participants more aware of one another, allowing them to critique the behavior and actions of those who share cultural, ethnic, religious, or national similarities with them. Through critique and re/construction of others' behaviors and actions, student participants were able to distance themselves from behaviors and actions that they saw as supporting grand narratives of Muslims and persons of Middle Eastern heritages allowing them to re/construct themselves.

Finally, student participants were also actively being constructed by others. Since this dissertation focuses, in part, on perceptual approaches (Hamrick, Evans, & Schuh, 2002; Kuh, 2000; Moneta & Kuh, 2005) that operate in the larger campus environment, exploring the ways in which students of Middle Eastern heritages are constructed by dissimilar others on the college campus is a salient subtheme. The subtheme of constructions by others provides a necessary backdrop against which to understand how and why the subthemes of re/constructions of self and each other function the way they do. Further, this subtheme helps to explain the coming discussion of the spaces theme because people who inhabit particular spaces construct the environment of those spaces. Also, how others construct the identities of students of Middle Eastern heritages determine accepted interactions and behaviors by those in the dominant group towards those of Middle Eastern heritages. Once again, these sub-themes do not work independently within this theme or between the larger themes of myths and spaces; instead they are intertwined like a thread through fabric.

Re/Constructing Self

The international student participants most often socialize with other international students. Participant number two recognized that outside of classes, it was difficult to talk with others because there was no context to support the interaction or a commonality from which to identify. Participant number three also realized the difficulty in developing relationships with others; she said, “I wasn’t able to actually befriend many white Americans as I could start friendships with Koreans, some others, you know.” Having recently transferred from a community college in California, participant number eight had a similar sentiment:

Um...growing up I lived in lots of different countries because of my dad’s job. He used to move on a lot and we used to move with him and I just feel like there is a

closer connection with people of um...Asian background and like international basically than they just um...like some countries they um...they don't see you as different and as harmful as other countries do.

Students chose to position themselves as *other* in some ways by embracing their international identities through participating in groups or events that were international in scope.

Participant number seven, although a U.S. citizen, had never lived in the United States prior to attending university. She positioned and defined herself internationally by activities and groups that she joined. In her freshman year she chose to reside in the international dorm, moving off campus her sophomore year, only to return because she preferred living in an international environment. Wanting to remain connected to her Middle Eastern heritage, she joined MESA. "Like when I came, I was really kind of shy and I was kind of nervous about it and I was really homesick. I don't have any family in [this part of the state] all of them are in [the other part of the state], so I thought by joining MESA, I'd make more friends. The first time it didn't really work out so well...This year I'm really glad to be in MESA." Other participants noticed those students who shared similarities in histories of colonialism and subjugation. For example, participant number three was the most attuned to this and spoke of how and with whom she chose to associate:

Like friendships...I was more able to connect with others if you want to call it. American Studies is a mixture, like the people we have in the department are a mixture. We have natives, we have African Americans. And as an Arab, as a Muslim, I kind of relate to these people. And you know we have the Latino people and I kind of relate to that. Like sometimes when I talk about Islam there's always something in the African American students that they can say to me when

I'm out of the class and when I talk about Imperialism there is something that Native Americans come to me and say "you know we know that." There's always this thing.

She recognized a similar struggle in the experiences of members from other oppressed groups, reminiscent of Mohanty's (1984) observations that aggregation of individuals and groups who share a similar history is sometimes useful. West (1993) also recognized, "[a] consequence of the civil rights movement and the black power ideology of the sixties was a growing identification of black Americans with other oppressed groups around the world" (p. 80). There is a commonality of experience in colonization and oppression (Mohanty, 1984; Said, 1979), and as participant number three indicated, a similarity between these experiences around the globe has the power to unify members from marginalized groups.

Resisting how their identities were being defined by others, some participants re/inscribed their own definitions and meanings about their cultural and ethnic heritages. As mentioned in the previous section, participant number seven resisted being defined as a black African by questioning the decision to pair her with an African American mentor and yet remained invested in maintaining her international and Middle Eastern identities. Her dissatisfaction with being labeled as a black African supports Said's (1979) and Mohanty's (1984) critique of aggregating individuals into one essentialized group which creates a master narrative that describes little about the people for whom the narrative was created. While she worked to dissociate herself from one subject position and align herself with another, the value of whiteness and U.S. citizenship came into play.

Participant number six worked to reconcile his national and citizenship identities with his heredity. "Like I was born here...it's been good. I mean as a kid you didn't feel different just

‘cause I was from the Middle East and everyone else wasn’t. I didn’t feel different in like grade school or middle school. High school, no. I mean I was always...I had a lot of friends and played sports and I’d meet a lot of people from [neighboring towns and larger cities] so I knew a bunch of people. I think a lot of it has to do with playing sports and being alright at it...” He was comfortable with and identified more closely with the prevailing culture of the U.S. During the interview and in a couple of observations, this student verbalized frustration with Muslim traditions found in some Middle Eastern countries and cultures. Although he had travelled frequently to Qatar and sometimes Lebanon, he dismissed the possibilities of pursuing his university studies in the Middle East. “I thought about going and studying ‘cause they have a bunch of universities like U.S. universities there. One I was going to go and for at least a semester maybe a year to Georgetown, they have a branch there. And I was kind of like, uhhh, no probably it’d be a little weird just ‘cause everyone once again, though yeah, I’m from the Middle East it’s just different still...Like I fit in better than going over there.” I am not sure whether he was being American in a new way as Clifford (1995) operationalized or that he was embracing his Middle Eastern heritage in a new way as he also resisted the meaning others put on him. What is evident through this student’s discussions of his own identities and those of others was a space of chaos or freedom. A space where there is neither a clear beginning nor end, where he could work to define himself. Friedman (1992) contends that there exists a “textual bias that somehow there is a...[cultural]...essence that can be located before Westernization made a mess of things” (p. 203). Gupta and Ferguson (1992) elucidate, “In this culture-play of diaspora, familiar lines between ‘here’ and ‘there,’ center and periphery, colony and metropole become blurred. Where ‘here’ and ‘there’ become blurred in this way, the cultural certainties and fixities of the metropole are upset as surely, if not in the same way, as those of the colonized periphery”

(p. 10). Trying to tease out a *pure* or *real* essence of an identity is as much about a history of heredity, a history of the local, as it is a history of heredity read through the local. Having grown up in the United States and attended public schools, this student had been educated, and thereby oriented, into U.S. culture through historical renderings which place the West at the center. Through familial storytelling and travel, he remained connected to his Middle Eastern heritage in particular ways.

This student was an avid sports player which began in his K-12 education. He found that this was a way for him to connect with others. In college, he chose to remain active with sports, particularly soccer, through the intramural sports program. During his Freshman year, he was the target of racist remarks by a member of the opposing team. The situation, which is more thoroughly presented later, escalated to a heated exchange of words where his teammates had to physically hold him back. He resisted being defined as trouble after he responded to what he defined as a racist remark, “they wanted to talk to me at intramural sports – whatever, and um...and they tried to put the blame on me and I’m like no, because I’m going to stand up for what I said.” Following this situation, intramural sports and the student involvement office wanted him to write a paper about his response to this incident and he chose not to, citing the fact that the instigating student was not being held to the same standard. He proudly acknowledged and embraced his Middle Eastern heritage in his resistance to being defined in certain ways. To acquiesce to the punishment would have affirmed the definition of the identity being placed upon him.

There were other ways that student participants in this study resisted identity definitions placed on them by others and re/configured their own Middle Eastern identities for themselves. During my field work, I participated in the Middle Eastern Student Association (MESA) and

helped with event planning and organization. One evening several members and I had just had a conversation about the dining centers having a Middle Eastern food night. One of the students, participant number seven, mentioned how the food did not resemble or taste like anything she had ever eaten in the Middle East. We talked about how Mexican and Chinese foods have been re/developed in the United States to better suit an *American* palate. I wondered out loud how non-Middle Eastern students perceived the food, how problematic it was that the food was not authentic, what non-Middle Eastern students might learn about the Middle East during such an event, and how the dining centers might ask students for family recipes to prepare foods that are more authentic.

The conversation turned to planning a movie night open to the whole campus. Students suggested different movies such as *Paradise Now*, *Caramel*, *Kingdom of Heaven*, *Syriana*, and others, when one of the youngest members of the group who was of Middle Eastern heritage and a U.S. citizen himself, chimed in, “*Aladdin*.” Everyone laughed, and I joked, “now we’re back with the food thing.” The adviser mentioned how all the girls would love it. During my field work at another time, it was revealed that this usually jovial student really did like *Aladdin*. This was a moment where my own assumptions were challenged, and I realized that even though these students, who were all domestic students, clearly identified with their Middle Eastern heritages, they also enjoyed some of the popular culture even when it misrepresented their heritages. They too can romanticize and mysticize the Middle East, its histories, and its peoples in the same way that European Americans and those in the West can. Said (1979) said that the Orient has been constructed as much by itself and peoples residing within as it has been by the West. In fact, the West has so effectively constructed the Orient and its peoples that it becomes

difficult to tease out which aspects were constructed by the West and which were constructed by the Orient because the histories have become so intertwined (Friedman, 1992).

At moments, there were resistances within this broadly defined group of students of Middle Eastern heritages. As members of the Muslim Student Association planned the evening for “A Taste of Islam,” this became apparent. One of the MESA group members, participant number seven, created the poster advertising the event. On the day I met participant number three for our interview, we walked by the poster and she critiqued the images. The poster was approximately 3’x4’ and had the pertinent event information on it with the title in an uncommon font resembling a sort of calligraphy. The background of the poster had faded images of a camel, a mosque, and a building carved out of/into a mountain that participant number three recognized as a building in Jordan. Participant number three was put off by the images as stereotyping the Middle East and its people and vocalized this concern to both myself and the student at the ticket table.

At a MESA meeting following the event, students discussed the design of a new MESA shirt. The students brainstormed images when the topic of the poster came up. Someone mentioned using the image of a camel doing something funny which he or she juxtaposed against Camel Cigarettes’ © Joe Camel. Everyone laughed and joked about the critique(s) of the poster that had been made saying, “there *are* camels in the Middle East.” In both this and the *Aladdin* example, the students appeared to understand the implications of the critiques made about educating the rest of the campus about the Middle East but summarily dismissed the ideas in order to re/claim ownership of defining their own identities. At that point, participant number seven stated that the images were her personal photographs from her travels. As this conversation developed, students played with the idea of making light of their own Middle

Eastern identities in a way that might pique the interests of more domestic students. These actions were reminiscent of Said's (1979) thesis that the Orient constructed itself through the image of the West out of a need for survival in a world constructed to meet Western consumption needs. Students were both constructing their identities for themselves and for display and performance to others to attract more student interest in the group and for group survival.

Constructing one's identity was difficult and worrisome for students of Middle Eastern heritages. Perhaps because she was a Ph.D. candidate in the social sciences, participant number three revealed insights into how she shaped her own identities for others. Coming into this new context of the United States made her cautious. She stated, "when I first got here, it was a little bit hard. First of all, it's not a cultural shock as much as it's different world and um I was good with English and as I said before, I pass...I passed [as European American] seriously and they wouldn't, they couldn't tell that I'm an Arab or a Muslim so I didn't really face problems." She began to move toward full disclosure of her Muslim identity in certain spaces as she gained confidence and became more comfortable within her environment. Again, finding connections and commonalities in the struggle with other marginalized groups, she also said, "you really don't know who are your allies, sometimes like now I just told you, I'm thinking about the Mexican border as an ally to the Gaza [word?]. You really can't know who are your allies. Another thing, I'm trying to build bridges culturally with everybody. I'm being very open minded and I just go try to show that they're supporting them, maybe I need them someday." Building bridges and a coalition gave her purpose and helped her to define her identities for others in creative ways.

Another facet for constructing one's Middle Eastern identities for others had to do with educating and capacity building as participant number three mentioned. At the "Taste of Islam" event, a comedian performed two 10-15 minute routines. His first set was hilarious and poignantly made fun of being Muslim and Middle Eastern in the United States. He joked about being born brown and having a funny name, his airport experiences, and other spaces that are problematic for those of Middle Eastern heritages. The audience really connected with his first set. When he took the stage the second time, he told many jokes around the issue of being labeled terrorist. For example, when no one was laughing, he said something about that he was really bombing so he was winning twice. (Most people in the audience were of Middle Eastern heritages and/or Muslims. Muslim women were easily identified because they were wearing hijabs and/or jilbabs (head scarves and/or the longer body covering) so I assumed that the men accompanying them were their husbands, brothers, fathers, or other familial relatives. I also recognized many Saudi students from the conversation tables I was participating in at the International Student Center and since Saudi Arabia is considered the birth place of Islam, it is estimated that 100% of Saudi citizens are Muslim.) This second set of jokes was not as well received as the first. As the comedian worked to make light of popular culture constructions of Muslims and those of Middle Eastern heritages, the audience demonstrated reluctance to engage with his methods of re/defining their collective socio-historic situation.

Participant number three observed similar reluctance of members from her community to be involved in campus events, "Most of the things that I attend...I don't know, maybe because I love politics but they're political. And I don't know why, but I don't find many Arabs or Muslims in these stuff. And I even send them emails to the people that I know to the friends that I know but they're not interested in politics. I don't know is it like fear, they don't want to be

involved because they feel that maybe there is surveillance system or someone is watching them or maybe its just that they're not political, they're not into this." Through both of these examples participants were constructing themselves while also constructing each other.

Re/Constructing Each Other

September 11, 2001 complicated how persons of Middle Eastern heritage are constructed and perceived by others as well as how they construct and perceive each other. A few of the student participants commented on how people of Middle Eastern heritages were viewed before and after 9/11. Those who spoke of this mentioned that perhaps people of Middle Eastern heritages were treated with some suspicion before this horrific day. The events of that day only heightened the suspicion and made others take greater notice of people's whose heritages lie within the arbitrary borders and boundaries of the Middle East. Participant number six perhaps said it best:

You know it's funny because not too long ago I was asking, I was talking to some of my friends and I was like how are the Middle Eastern not just students but the Middle Eastern people looked at before 9/11 and to me it seemed like you know like nothing was wrong with them but yeah they were still looked at bad. But after September 11 it just kind of amplified that. But I didn't notice anything or you know people saying stuff until after September 11, anything bad. It messed up a lot of things.

If September 11th made non-Middle Easterners more aware of people from Middle Eastern countries, it also served as a catalyst for members of the overly broad group to critique aspects of the essentialized culture, traditions, and practices within the group. The events made members of this group perhaps more aware of one another. As a result of this, the students

participating in this study understood their own participations in the group through a post-9/11 lens. As previously mentioned, participant number three thought about her own activity and participation in campus events in relation to other members of the Middle Eastern and Muslim communities, by considering why other Muslims did not get involved in political issues on campus. Another participant recognized that Jordanian students usually find other Jordanian students to socialize with, “I don’t know about other international students but for Jordanians, it’s like you come here and start looking for Jordanians and then stick with them and you don’t look for any more new people” (Participant 12). Both observations by these participants suggest that perhaps students of Middle Eastern heritages understand each other as not wanting to be overly political and remain at least partially insular as a way to buffer themselves against outward hostilities. This may also be a function of their relationships to their governments and how they have been educated to discuss these issues and interact with others in various spaces. Participant number twelve revealed how in Saudi Arabia it is against the law to participate in political events in public spaces. Instead people can only talk about political issues within their homes and mosques.

As students worked to make sense of their peers, they critiqued their culture and traditions. Some participants compared the actions or inactions of other students of Middle Eastern heritages to practices or preferences in the U.S. The student who commented on Jordanians befriending other Jordanians analyzed people from Middle Eastern cultures in this way:

They’re so scattered, and they’re not working together, not even working at all, it’s like laziness. I think that’s the basic problem maybe because I’m not going to give them an excuse and give me an excuse. But part of the problem is the culture

they come from it's uhh...it's we do what we're told to do maybe it's uhh...it's not an excuse but still maybe if the university could give them a push or something like that it shows them that, this is what's usually going on in universities in the U.S., people make groups and these groups work together.

Participant number three also mentioned something similar when she spoke about her higher education experiences in the United States compared to those in Jordan. She talked about how U.S. students participate in so many activities while students in Jordan do not. As a result, she hypothesized, people from her culture were not able to multitask or think about more than one thing at a time. Both of these participants constructed the identities of other students of Middle Eastern heritages as incapable or disinterested. The oppressed or colonized sometimes play into their own colonization by constructing each other as subordinate or childlike which makes a case for paternalism and righteous domination (Willinsky, 1998). Further, comments such as these are a testament to the enduring legacy of the great chain of being and how effectively this idea has been implemented within the world (Leonardo, 2004; Lesko, 2001). Those whose subject positions are not white, male, heterosexual, able-bodied, and Christian measure themselves against this chain, positioning U.S. culture at the top of the chain and find themselves at some sort of a deficit. Further, these analyses speak to Hardt and Negri's (2000) conception of how nation-states gain legitimacy within the modern world order. It is through military actions and the protection of borders that nation-states lay claim to their space thereby gaining recognition by other nation-states and world powers who grant legitimacy within the modern world order. When the technologies of colonization are so easily adopted and employed by marginalized groups, it reaffirms the fictional hierarchical status of the oppressor/oppressed relationship and continues to feed dichotomous understandings of the world.

Another way in which participants constructed the identities of their co-cultural peers was in analyzing and critiquing traditional behaviors. The Palestinian-American, participant number six, talked about his trips to Qatar:

Participant: It's just like the way they interact with people especially, like you know here you can interact with like guys my age and girl...you know from when I went there at 16 you couldn't interact with girls and whatever and over there it's just awkward with them and it's getting... Like just interaction with um...'cause usually you see a group of guys and a group of girls...but it's just I feel like people there are like socially awkward.

Interviewer: So is it like maybe more traditional than...

Participant: Um, maybe, I think it's dumb first of all and it's just like 'cause you'll see the students who lived overseas their whole life and then they come here and then they're like I think because they're deprived from being themselves [sic] and doing what they want, and when they come here they just kind of wild out.

As this student interpreted the actions and behaviors as somehow deficient, he was also working to position himself outside of those particular cultural traditions. By interpreting the actions of peers as "socially awkward," this student was engaging in constructions of identities which support the oppressions and subordination of people of Middle Eastern heritages. Secondly, he was measuring these behaviors against some mythically perceived norm within U.S. culture (Leonardo, 2004; Lesko, 2001). Thirdly, by defining the behavior of culturally similar international peers as going "wild out," he was measuring those behaviors against some

perceived cultural norm as deviant (Leonardo, 2004; Lesko, 2001). And finally, he was positioning his own identity as outside that of his culturally similar peers abroad.

Students may display behaviors that are met with disapproval from other students of Middle Eastern heritages for being too conservative, even when those students do not “wild out.” During my field work this cropped up:

After the MESA meeting, some of the students were talking with the advisor about a student who came down when some of them had been in the office. The student was male [found out later he is Iraqi and in the Iraqi Army] and it was implied that he was Muslim, as he wouldn't shake the white female co-president's hand as a greeting. He apparently wanted to help by doing some office hours. The group talked about how it wasn't okay for this man to behave that way and the students (one white woman, 2 Middle Eastern males) implied he needed to adjust to being in the U.S. (at least that is how I read it.) One of the men [Participant 6] said, "it was a little uncomfortable." (Observation Notes, 10/22/2008).

This example further highlights how the actions of the Iraqi male were interpreted as deviant against United States cultural norms and how the two students of Middle Eastern heritages worked to position themselves inside of U.S. norms and outside of conservative Middle Eastern norms. The question arises, were these two students working to protect the female student from this gendered interaction? Were they protecting her *whiteness*? Or were they protecting both? Protection of their *white* female peer was about both gender and nationalism, as these two young men rebuked the conservative tradition of Middle Eastern heritage to better align themselves within the U.S. nation. Their ability to rebuke the behavior of the male Iraqi student toward the female co-president demonstrates their willingness to sacrifice some aspects of their cultural

heritages for greater cohesion with United States cultural norms, thus, both re/constructing the male Iraqi student through a U.S. lens while re/claiming and re/defining their own identities. At the same time students were re/inscribing meaning upon their own bodies and the bodies of each other, they were being constructed by others as an extension of the aforementioned technologies, including myself.

Re/Constructions by Others

I would be remiss if I did not name my own assumptions about Middle Eastern and Muslim identities. I have been a student or employee on a college campus for more than a decade. I still very vividly remember September 11th and its surreal aura. At the time, I was working in an engineering research center and many of the students, post-docs, and employees were international. As the day progressed and people made their way to campus, one of my co-workers came into the office. Realizing that the environment in the U.S. was volatile at that particular moment, I asked her how she and her family were doing. My friend was Indian, not Middle Eastern, but in those hours, days, and weeks immediately following the attacks on the World Trade Towers and Pentagon, many undiscerning *Americans* were not interested in that distinction and attacked anyone they perceived to be from that part of the world. When I asked about her wellbeing and that of her family, she replied that her husband had asked her to stay home because he felt it was not safe for them in the U.S. on that day. To write this now still brings tears to my eyes because I cannot imagine anyone wanting to harm such gentle people and I cannot imagine fearing violence based upon an aspect of identity that one cannot change, hide, or otherwise ignore.

As I approached this study, I often times thought about my friend who was not Middle Eastern but still remained aware of the tenuous welcome and hospitality of the United States of

America. I never thought that students of Middle Eastern heritages should always be thinking about or critiquing how the socio-political climate of the U.S. was impacting them. In fact, I was surprised during fieldwork that I held some of these unconscious assumptions which I recognized during the Taste of Islam event. I was also a little unprepared for the revelation that *I* was constructing my participants in particular ways. This became evident as I conducted my first interview with a U.S. citizen of Middle Eastern heritage by my questions, which were geared toward international students. My constant use of "U.S. higher education" or "experiences in the U.S." continued to position these students as being outside of U.S. culture rather than within. I asked myself: How do I account for this? Do I just leave U.S. off as I interview domestic students of Middle Eastern heritage? I do not want to position them outside of or in comparison to "American" or "international" students (Observation Notes, 11/26/2008). Although I was trying to be respectful and ask questions that were inclusive, I found that as my questions worked to position this student participant as outside of U.S. culture, he continued to re/construct himself as *American* in some ways and sometimes in opposition to being international or Middle Eastern. In both of these reflections, I critiqued my naïve assumptions that these students would not enjoy the same movies and images or display a stereotypical young adult *laissez faire* attitude about politics and social happenings as many other young *American* adults may be expected to?

Participants told many stories of how others were re/constructing them in classrooms, on campus, nationally, and globally through the media. Sometimes other students were randomly disrespectful, "Um...most people are friendly, everyone nice and everyone is cool. But um...sometimes some people are not so nice, but uh ...last week I had um...geology lab and um...I was sitting at the end of the table and this girl was sitting next to me and just preferred to work with other people [gesturing like she was looking over him]. Yeah, she just kind of turned

[turning his chair away from where he said he was sitting],” (Participant Eight). Other times what happened in the classroom could be construed as being racially motivated and came from faculty. Participant number five spoke of this kind of situation with a professor, “because of the professor, I came to him and said, ‘well I’m fasting today, I cannot do the exam, do you think I can do it tomorrow?’ He said I don’t, he start talking about religion issues and leaving the religion back home, don’t bring it here, so stuff like that.” While Participant number eight did not make the connection that he was being constructed in any particular way, it was clear that the student he described had constructed him as a person she did not want to work with. The quote from Participant number five is reminiscent of Gupta and Ferguson’s (1992) discussion about the reterritorializing of space forcing individuals to delineate who belongs in what spaces and under what circumstances. The professor’s conceptualization of his role, his classroom, and the university left little room for Muslims to practice their religious traditions within the U.S. space. As these two students worked to find a place of belonging, the ways in which others constructed their identities prevented them from fully participating in particular spaces, in this case, the classroom.

At other times, what happened in class was politically motivated and part of a larger discourse. A couple of years before this study, the university College Republican group hosted Islamofascism Awareness Week events. These events were part of a national movement, taking place on campuses across the nation, with the goal of raising awarenesses about terrorism (<http://www.terrorismawareness.org>). The group fronting these events, Terrorism Awareness Project, liberally uses words like “religion of hate” and “anti-American left” to construct master narratives about Muslims and allies. At the events, which typically last about one week, the organizers distribute informational brochures, facilitate sit-ins, show films, and host panel

discussions, bringing people who share similar neo-conservative views on the Middle East and those of Middle Eastern heritages to campus. Participant number seven commented on the construction of Middle Eastern identities during the week of events:

It [Islamofascism Awareness Week] was just kind of a tense atmosphere. I remember 'cause I was...I TAed for [a class] and one of the students in that class was...I remember we were having some discussion and he referred to the Middle East as the enemy. And I was like...I didn't say anything, I held my tongue, I mean I know better than that. But like then that wasn't the only thing I heard. I heard in [the Arabic] class people were making comments to like, "why are you learning Arabic?" And well, "because I want to go to the Middle East and fight in the war." I mean like really...

And participant number three spoke about the larger discourse:

Like sometimes when I'm in...I know that I can be biased because I am an Arab I am a Muslim, I'd like to bring my issue to the table. I'm aware of that but when you go in and they're talking about imperialism, if I don't raise the thing of Palestine, nobody will. I'm not saying this because like I'm Jordanian, I'm close to Palestinians but this is the thing now. Everything that's going on is because of this. The war in Iraq is because of the protection of Israel, because of the Israeli Palestinian conflict. So basically you talk about imperialism, you talk about colonialism you don't really bring the Israeli/Palestinian conflict to the table, and I'm like, if I'm not here they wouldn't even mention it...Sometimes when I talk about you know, when I talk about what's going on over there they're like, "this is really not the issue."

These quotes demonstrate how participants' identities were being constructed by others in the classroom. They also illuminate what is considered worth knowing about the Middle East. Participant number three recognized if she was not there to bring up the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, none of her classmates would. This expands on Tierney's (1992) observations that higher education institutions are inadequately prepared to meet the needs of an increasingly multicultural world. Many domestic students in the cases above seem woefully unprepared to participate in an increasingly globalized world. Further, the comment from one student wanting to learn Arabic to fight in the Iraq war is particularly telling about what he felt was worth knowing about the Middle East and for what purpose. Peers and professors dismissing students of Middle Eastern heritage sends a message that their identities are not worth understanding in any meaningful way beyond how misconceptions and master narratives have already constructed them.

There were also ways in which people operating at the central campus level constructed the identities of my study participants. When asked to tell about experiences with students, staff, or faculty on campus, many students told stories of being mistreated and being constructed in a negative way. Participant number six said, "honestly, like freshman year I think was the only year that people...like you would, I could...like people would say racial remarks but in class...those [the remarks] were outside of class but in class it's just fine like any other student." Another participant said, "in more than one incident...they didn't know that I was an Arab and a Muslim but they did say something in my presence and it was really racist and it hurt" (Participant 3). During my fieldwork, I sold tickets to A Taste of Islam at the student union, outside of one of the businesses in the building. People kept walking by, glancing, and continuing on. Some seemed to give a kind of look – I wasn't entirely sure how to read it –

disapproval maybe...(Observation Notes, 10/28/2008). These incidents are troublesome in describing how others were actively constructing a Middle Eastern identity, indicating that there is much essentializing occurring in this process.

Students experienced covert re/constructions of identity by other students, faculty, and staff. Participant number five was asked by the business school to give a talk to faculty and students about the differences of Sunni and Shia Muslims and “the economic and business activities in each sect” (Participant number 5). Before he consented to give the talk, the department scheduled a time and location. He decided to decline the offer because he did not want “to make other Muslims like mad.” Although he felt he could do a good job, he did not want to participate in constructing the identities of Sunni and Shia Muslims and risk disappointing members of his cultural and religious communities. When he declined the offer, the organizers in the department contacted other Muslim faculty at the university and the student’s advisor to pressure him into giving the talk.

In the United States this *right* to demand services from and the attention of the Middle Eastern *other* is so indelibly inscribed upon our society that people operate as if this part of the world and those in it are here to meet their own needs and desires. An example of this occurred during a MESA meeting one evening in September:

A young man comes in to the MESA meeting at the end of our introductions. The advisor finishes up the activity before asking the young man to introduce himself. He is a tall thin white male, dark hair, wearing glasses and carrying a back pack. He does the activity and after his introduction, before anyone else has an opportunity to speak, he announces that he is an undergraduate in Business and is researching Bahrain. He needs to make contact with someone with business

experiences or knowledge of Bahrain. His intro takes 2-3 minutes and it seemed weird, out of place, and an aggression of white male privilege as the meeting was already going on. The meeting moves on with a little bit of acknowledgement about his request/demand. As we collaboratively construct the agenda he chimes in again about his research needs asking that this be put on the agenda...again weird that he would assume that his individual need would outweigh the group/communal need...his item is written on the agenda. (Observation Notes, 9/24/2008)

The student brought up his need three times during the meeting. Finally, after the third time, a Saudi student, participant number five, said, "I know somebody. I'll put you in touch with him." At that point, the meeting continued with normal business. That this student did not apologize, was demanding (although not overtly disrespectful), and did not attend another MESA meeting indicated that he felt he had the *right* to come to a multicultural student center, assert his need, and divert attention from the business of the group until his need was met. His actions further support statements made throughout this dissertation about which aspects of a Middle Eastern heritage are determined worth knowing, for what purpose, and by whom. These two incidents describe consumption preferences and practices. As with the student commenting on why he wanted to learn Arabic, these two stories illustrate that the relationship between European American university actors and students of Middle Eastern heritages is often one sided. When European Americans approach members of the group, it is frequently for a particular first hand knowledge that can easily be appropriated and used in unintended ways. Learning the language to wage war, taking the knowledge about Sunni and Shia economic and business patterns to gain an economic foothold, coming to a group to find a Bahraini so one can write a

term paper, all demonstrate what various actors on the university campus determine is worth knowing about the Middle East and those of Middle Eastern heritage.

The dominator will seek a certain kind of first hand knowledge from the members of the group in hopes to turn it around and exploit that knowledge for his/her own gain supporting Lesko's (2001) depiction of the World's Fairs and White City and Willinsky's (1998) excavation of the emergence of museums. For example, Willinsky chronicles the story of one particular Hottentot woman on display in fairs, naked and painted, until she contracted small pox and died. She was autopsied with her genitalia dissected and put on display for Western consumption. The display of this Hottentot woman "demonstrates the spectacle's iconic quality, which brutally reduces aspects of the world to disengaged objects of anxious desire and knowledge for the powerful" (p. 60). Although not physically violent in the ways of Willinsky's example, the reach of capitalism continues to bestow privilege upon those in the West in the form of a seemingly inherent *right* that is taken for granted, often unchallenged, and unacknowledged.

An essentialized Middle Eastern identity is not created in a vacuum. There are many forces that work to create the identities for political purpose or intent. The events of Islamofascism Awareness Week were brought up by a couple of the participants. One student recounts:

Okay, I got into an argument with a college republican once and it ended up with him calling me an anti-Zionist or Zionist hater or something like that. It was just kind of ridiculous. He blew it way out of proportion...anyways, that was probably my worst experience with a student. That was during that whole Islamo-fascism Awareness week. That was a bad week, I mean that was a bad week. I brushed shoulders with some pretty nasty people that week...I was horrified, the whole

thing. I mean that was just ridiculous, I mean this is just the wrong way to go about doing things. Yeah, it wasn't just [this university], it was statewide, I mean, and it wasn't just [this state], it was national. Yeah, it was ridiculous. It was really frightening...And it was [inciting a hate crime], I remember I kept thinking to myself, "what if something happened this week?" And thankfully nothing did. Then you have the stuff that happened this year or last year with the gay community and those hate crimes and it's like...you know when you have activities like that you're...I don't know you're encouraging that sort of behavior and it's really sad. (Participant 7)

The events of that week worked to position students of Middle Eastern heritages as "enemies within" and outside of the dominant U.S. culture (Abu El-Haj, 2007, p. 287). These events and the information emanating from them, worked to create the Middle East and Islam as one essential group, space, and people, ignoring the diverse cultures within the mythical borders. When students spoke out against the propaganda being promoted through the event, they become labeled *anti-American* or racist, pushing them further from the mythical center of U.S. culture, as this same student commented:

It wasn't displays, there were information booths, and then they were showing films. They were showing films and the thing is they were picking films that had been put, there was one in particular that was a piece of propaganda. Like, it literally was a piece of propaganda. There's no denying it here. It even says, like if you look up on line there are articles about it. And it doesn't try to be anything else, I mean it doesn't try to make it fair and balanced. And I remember looking it up and there was the guy, the narrator and the main spokesperson for this film was

a man from New York who is known to be a Zionist scholar like, and it was, he was speaking on the Palestinian/Israeli conflict and he's like this is going to be completely biased and you know that is a fact, that is not me being racist that is a bald fact. So...you know they were showing that and the thing is they showed that show and they didn't allow for discussion, so it felt like a hit and run. So you go to this movie and then at the end, usually if it's a political film student groups will open it up and for people to have like a forum. They didn't, I heard they even had security guards there, like in case anyone got out hand. I mean I heard some guy stood up and screamed "Free Palestine" and ran out. I would have given him a high five. Yeah, no it was just ridiculous. I don't understand what they were trying to prove.

While the events of the Islamofascism Awareness Week constructed one essential Middle Eastern and Muslim identity as terrorist, some students worked to re/construct their own identities through the hostilities being leveled against them. Resisting essentialized discourses and finding commonality in the struggles of other marginalized groups on campus, illuminates how there is benefit in recognizing similarities in the struggles within different marginalized groups (Mohanty, 1984; Said, 1979; West, 2001).

Technologies of Colonialism

Of technology, Lesko (2001) says, "A technology refers to a complex of mechanisms through which authorities have sought to shape, normalize, and make productive use of human beings. Technology is an assemblage of heterogeneous elements: knowledge, types of authority, vocabularies, practices of calculation, architectural forms, and human capacities" (p. 17).

Willinsky (1998), as presented earlier in this dissertation, discussed how various technologies

were utilized to create the West as superior and dominant within the world and construct particular groups as subordinate and inferior. These technologies were utilized to colonize the lives, bodies, histories, and knowledge of people, thus remnants of postmodernism reside within postcolonialist discourse and comes to bear on analysis of the data.

The events of Islamofascism Awareness Week worked to define us/them, good/evil, and Jew/Muslim. By positioning and defining Palestinians, as in the example of the film, or other Arabs, Muslims, or persons of Middle Eastern heritages as trouble and terrorist, as anti-Semitic, or an anti-Zionist as the one student participant was called, Israel, Jews, and/or the West was positioned in the *right*, thus making room for righteous domination. Further, that an event such as Islamofascism Awareness Week, occurred on this university campus and few conversations were facilitated within that educational space is problematic and indicative of technologies of colonialism. Constructing this narrative makes possible the colonization of minds, allows the media to tell incomplete histories or ignore history all together when reporting on particular stories, and manufactures uninformed citizens of Empire. Remaining uninformed, citizens can support the clash of civilizations discourse and believe Arabs, Muslims, and those from the Middle East wish to eradicate the Jews (Said, 1979). Supporting these ideas opens the door for essentialized constructions such as *the Muslim world* to mean the Middle East when in fact one third of the world's population is Muslim with Indonesia having the largest per capita population of Muslims. These essentializations allow for only one image, one identity construction of a Muslim, one understanding of life in the Middle East, and negate the cultural, racial, political, and religious diversities that exist within the arbitrarily drawn borders and boundaries of the Middle East. These essentializations epitomize Said (1979) and Mohanty's (1984) arguments

against aggregating broadly defined groups into one group which usually furthers domination and minimizes and justifies the effects of that domination.

Another example of how Middle Eastern identities are defined at the national level and impact U.S. college campuses came up in the interview with the MESA adviser.

Do you see the Chronicle of Higher Education ever? Well, I don't receive it normally but I was at work and I saw this CD sitting with the Chronicle of Higher Education that talked about how radical Islam is taking over the world and how they're training people to, you know, to you know, be killers and all of this stuff and you know it was a promotional movie that they had handed out with the Chronicle of Higher Education that day that went out with every single Chronicle of Higher Education throughout the U.S. I think...Like in some ways maybe that would be really relevant for us to do as a group to...you know some of the hate messages that are being spread about Muslims you know...

Even higher education news media support and disseminate propaganda that constructs Middle Eastern identities in negative ways, essentializing persons of Middle Eastern heritages. Again, this is reminiscent of Willinsky's (1998) discussion of the birth of museums as holding knowledge of the world. Museums were, and still are, observed as being neutrally authoritative about that which is chosen to display, yet they have also been indispensable in the technology of colonization by the way knowledge has been excavated, named, claimed, owned, displayed, and perceived. Those who consume the knowledge displayed in museums walk away holding assumptions of truth and reality as being honestly and neutrally depicted within those spaces. Placing artifacts and people on display replicates the violences of positivistic scientific inquiry as if what happens in a lab or occurs during a social observation is replicable and indicative of truth

in natural settings (Denzin & Lincoln, 2003, 2005). How individuals or groups are defined and described within the media, educates others about who members of that group are, forms public opinion, thus, furthering the colonial project (Kincheloe & Steinberg, 2004; Moses, 2007).

Most of the student participants as well as the International Student Center staff member and the MESA adviser recognized the import and power of the news media and acknowledged bias in news reports about the Middle East, Muslims, or people occupying either or both subject positions. Because participant number twelve had some particularly poignant observations, he is quoted at length:

The media and news over here, it's biased. Basically when it comes to foreign policy and how, well for me what matters, basically the Middle East crisis and the problem with basically Israel and the Arabs so...Recently, you know, there was a war in Gaza at the end of the last year [2008] and beginning January [2009] this year ummm...I watch you know Al Jazeera T.V. It's famous maybe because of 9/11 these stuff. So I watched that and I watched CNN and I watched Fox News and you keep looking at the coverage. Well first thing you notice is that umm...at the beginning of the war they didn't even want to cover the story; it was really cover up. They wanted just to ignore that things happening and just keep it local and talk about stuff working over here and as if nothing is going on there...Then when the problem started to get bigger and more people know about it then they started to cover and send Anderson Cooper over there and started to talk more about that. But whenever you look at them I know it's what, it was because of the Israeli military then they banned ummm...journalists from getting inside. But still the way they covered the stories it was totally biased...I know that both people

had some civilians being killed. But one thing important and I think it's very important is the ratio; if you're talking about 1 to 400 that's that has to tell you a message. It has to tell you that something is not balanced here, it's not the same okay... They're launching rockets at these people but these people are retaliating with much bigger rockets and much more intense and they don't talk about that. They always like try like, even the BBC, if you think about it, you look at the journalists whenever like the siren goes on, he starts to panic and jumps under the car and it's a really clean street and sunny day and then, "it hit, it hit" and he looks there and he turns the camera and you don't see anything. It's so peaceful nothing is going on. I'm not saying that it didn't hit, it did hit. But as a ratio compared to what happened there in Gaza, and it's not one city, it's many cities over there, they were destroyed completely. Buildings were like turned off and basically burned to the ground and people were killed in like dozens every day. It's not the same case with the Israelis... So media is so biased and sometimes it makes you so frustrated. And for me, I was angry and like when everyone was watching oh my God what the hell, this is disgusting the way they cover the story.

Although news media is a particularly powerful medium of education, documents that secure and archive knowledge, and thereby history, also contribute to the technology of colonization. During conversation tables one day, a young Saudi IALC student referred to Palestinians as Philistines. An older gentleman, a European American language programs Emeritus faculty member, gently laughed and commented on this student's innocent language as a faux pas. Where I understood Philistine to be an Arabic word for Palestine and Palestinians, the

Emeritus faculty member read the translation through a biblical and Western definition. In the *Oxford American Dictionary* (Ehrlich, et. al., 1980) the word Philistine is defined as such:

n. 1. a member of a people in ancient Palestine who were enemies of the Israelites. 2. an uncultured person, one whose interests are material and commonplace. adj. having or showing uncultured tastes. (p. 670).

Hirsch, Kett, and Trefil (2002) stated, “[n]o one in the English-speaking world can be considered literate without basic knowledge of the Bible. Literate people in India, whose religious traditions are not based on the Bible but whose common language is English, must know about the Bible in order to understand English within their own country” (p. 1). They understand how the Bible is so interwoven into English colloquialism and into the culture by, through, and within English language that English speakers must understand references to the Bible in order to read the world. They further stated, “[n]o person in the modern world can be considered educated without a basic knowledge of all the great religions of the world—Islam, Confucianism, Taoism, Buddhism, Hinduism, Judaism, and Christianity. But our knowledge of Judaism and Christianity needs to be more detailed than that of other great religions, if only because the Bible is embedded in our thought and language” (p. 1).

I merely point to the biblical undergirdings of power in Western society as a way to illustrate whose knowledge and for what purpose the definitions of Philistine, and as a consequence Palestine, serve. As I worked to understand the Western definitions of the word I called upon Participant number three who has completed her Ph.D. program in the U.S. and returned to Jordan. I asked her to look for Philistine in Arabic dictionaries. She did not find the word defined anywhere and confirmed that the word itself literally translates to Palestine or Palestinian and as such is tied to the land, to the geography. This signifies a continued need of

the West to categorize, name, claim, and re/historicize as Willinsky (1998) and others (Hardt & Negri, 2000; Leonardo, 2001; Lesko, 2001) have identified. What is also implicated is how enduring these negative definitions are with/in U.S. society and Western culture. Recognizing the Bible as an historical document that depicts a particular history, it is also important to note that the Bible organizes Western history in a way that usurps other histories not conforming to the same timeline, which is what scholars (Au, 2008; Ladson-Billings, 2003; Osei-Kofi, 2003; Tanaka, 2002) have levied against. So in a sense, the English language, by way of the Bible, overlays a Western history as if a transparency film over the multiple and synonymous histories of the world, reading the places and people into being through a biblical lens. Thus Christian understandings of time, space, people, and places are largely unchallenged and an overtly dominant discourse in the technology of colonization operated with/in and above the various spaces in which students participate and granted authority to what a person can claim.

These final stories further suggest an international privileging of the Israeli story over the Palestinian story. Often, the media, as educational apparatus for many in the West (Moses, 2007), portrays the Israeli-Palestinian conflict “as a Palestinian David taking on an Israeli Goliath” by presenting “[i]mages of the powerful and well-equipped Israeli military arresting young [Palestinian] stone throwers” (Rajagopalan, 2008, p. 100). The news coverage also frequently “excluded significant details on the history of the [Israeli-Palestinian] conflict, the illegality of [Israeli] settlements and occupation under international law, and how [Israeli] military presence and occupation policy restricted Palestinian life” (p. 120). Presenting Palestinian youth as using stones against a larger groups’ firearms and tanks, works to write Palestinians as hapless victims, who, as a group, are underdeveloped in comparison to their Israeli counterparts, and thusly, less civilized and in need of oversight. Also, by disconnecting

the history of the conflict with that of present circumstances, events become re/historicized through the eyes of the scribe.

These two technologies of colonialism are tied to the biblical definition of Philistine previously mentioned, in that they support, re/define the people and lands, and re/inscribe a historical meaning transporting it from the past into the present. Crapanzano (1991) states, “We are caught within the play of arbitrary signs that are loosened from their referents and no longer systemically constrained by grammars of style, say, or narrative” (p. 432). In the quiet acquiescence of biblical definitions on which Western society so firmly wrests, Crapanzano posits, “For the postcolonialist the past evokes the imposition of a history, no doubt in alien form, that has been used, paradoxically, in the failed struggle to overcome that history, that imposition. It calls attention to the absence of voice—and what is worse the absence of a responsive interlocutor” (p. 434). The source of the definition of Philistine is not identified within the dictionary, it’s biblical authorship cannot be consulted, therefore, there is no responsive interlocutor, as Crapanzano stated. The dialogue is merely, one sided, easing appropriation by the news media to call upon the authorial spirit of the past. This furthers the negative framings of the Middle East and persons whose heritages lie within that politically created and defined space, transitioning into the third and final theme, claiming spaces.

CLAIMING SPACES

It’s also about the space if I can say it like that. When you come here um...It is still like for me like it is “their” space, by their, I mean like white Americans. You still feel that because you go there, they’re everywhere like when you go to Starbucks it’s definitely theirs. Because you know as a student, I’m here because of the university so when I come to the university I feel like I have a claim here.

At least I'm paying, you know. At least...but when I go to Starbucks it's definitely their place as if you go to dinner at someone's house and they say, "we don't want to talk about this" and you insist on talking about something and you're rude because it's their house or at least you're really pissing them off. You're really threatening them because they're saying they don't want to talk about this because it's their home. So sometimes I feel like that, sometimes I feel that...although now it's like when I think of it all the years I think it...this place is not totally safe. Like especially with the things going on now [referring to the random beatings and attacks on members of the GLBTQ community]. But for me maybe because I needed to feel there's someplace that I can actually claim and say "you know what? I have a right because I'm paying." Even as bad as that sounds but that's the thing with me like in the streets it's definitely it's definitely America in [the university] I feel at least there is, you know, like it's an international place. (Participant 3)

When, how, and what spaces a person can claim are indicative of various forces impinging upon a person at any given point in time. These spaces are real, imagined, virtual, and physical. Individuals can make choices to occupy or enter into spaces and at times spaces may enter the person. In this definition it becomes increasingly difficult to identify the parameters of a space; rather the borders and boundaries are permeable and fluid. One space can leak into another space influencing the feel, the climate, the size, and the power of that space to influence other spaces as evidenced by the above vignette and indicative of campus environment literatures (Hamrick, Evans, & Schuh, 2002; Kuh, 2000; Moneta & Kuh, 2005; Richardson & Fisk-Skinner, 1990). Therefore, a space can exist along a continuum, from the tangible to the intangible,

impacting identities and at times intersecting with myth. This section explores the various spaces participants operated within, which spaces they could lay claim to, and in what ways they could claim a space. I expand upon the definition of campus environments to include spaces outside of a campus that still impact the actors within a campus (Hamrick, Evans, & Schuh, 2002; Kuh, 2000; Moneta & Kuh, 2005; and Richardson & Fisk-Skinner, 1990). Each space seeps into the next with some spaces felt throughout all the spaces described. Four spaces are presented: global, international, national, and local. I've envisioned these four spaces along a spiraling funnel-like continuum with global at the wider opening because it operates with/in each of the other spaces and hovers above. As the funnel spirals downward, more finely nuanced interactions occur between participants and spaces. Through this, a more complete picture of how students of Middle Eastern heritages experience higher education in the United States is illuminated. Theorizing within this final theme wafts in and out. I choose to hear "those voices that historically have been smothered...[by]...present[ing] on their own terms, perhaps reluctant to surround them with much of...[my]...theory" (Fine, Weis, Wessen, & Wong, 2003, p. 189). At other times, a storm rages allowing me to, "theorize boldly, contextualize wildly, rudely interrupt... "them" to reframe "them" [the dominant voices]" (p. 189).

Claiming Global Spaces

In this section, I am defining global to be that which operates independently of any specific space, yet authors many subsequent spaces. I do not define global as universal, encompassing all nations, or even being specifically tied to any physical space or location. Instead, global is that which invades human consciousness in unmeasured and sometimes covert ways and has the power to influence individuals, groups, communities, nations, and the ways in which organizations behave (Hamrick, Evans, & Schuh, 2002; Kuh, 2000; Moneta & Kuh, 2005;

and Richardson & Fisk-Skinner, 1990). Looking to the news media as an entity that operates in a global space, we can see how the news media constructs identities, defines culture, and re-works history as an apparatus of education (Moses, 2007). Further, the news media have great influence upon the minds of individuals that create and interact with/in spaces. News media may be one of the most powerful forces because it operates independently of any spatial boundaries and borders yet has potency with/in and throughout other spaces. A thread weaves through fabric and is barely noticeable just as the news media is woven through every aspect of society and the various spaces. For example, participant number twelve regarded the history of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict as rarely presented in Western media. Instead, the Western world is mis-educated about the circumstances of Jewish settlement, the origins of the conflict, and the ratio and consequences of the violence (Kincheloe & Steinberg, 2004; Rajagopalan, 2008). Consider this quote from participant number five:

I have the Arabic channels and have the American channels in my house. I have two TVs. If you put them together you see the Fox News bringing the news or the same stuff that is in the same channel from Saudi Arabia, it's totally different. Even the way they present the stuff, even I mean it's really funny, you know, like for example, Fox News will bring like some Palestinian guy who went to some Israeli group and bombed them. But you go here and you see the Israeli guy how he is pointing the machine gun to five kids in Palestine.

Recently as U.S. President Barack Obama left to visit Cairo, Egypt, the news media reported that the President was travelling to "the Muslim world." Discourse such as this essentializes Muslims equating the Middle East with Islam, and ignoring the religious, political, and cultural diversity that exists with/in the region and religion, ignoring Muslims world-wide.

Allowing consumers of the news to believe that the clash of civilizations is a real issue and that *the Muslim world* would just as soon destroy the Western world because Muslims are resentful of our freedom (Abukhattala, 2004; Gordon, 2004; Kellner, 2004; Rajagopalan, 2008) furthers the solidification of a grand narrative and essentializes Muslims, the Middle East, and people from these regions (Said, 1979). These news media reportings also define the issue as a religious one rather than one of colonization, capitalism, and foreign policy gaffe.

Other forms of media also served as an entrée into the United States context. Many of the Intensive American Language Center (IALC) students read popular fiction books as a way to practice reading English. One European American student suggested to one of the Saudi IALC students to read *The Hardy Boys* books because the IALC students' roommate in the dorm had teased him about being gay for reading a romance novel. Romance novels are typically written at low reading levels which are good books for English Language Learners to practice their English reading skills; however, this posed a bit of a social challenge for this Saudi student. *The Hardy Boys* books are also written at lower reading levels and stylistically would also be a good choice for English Language Learners to practice their English reading skills. What was not mentioned was the unintended learning that these books may facilitate. *The Hardy Boys* represent the mythical image of the *all-American* boy next door and educated at least one generation of young European American men what it meant to be male. What does a person unfamiliar with and from a non-Western context learn from such books? About U.S. culture? About how to be within a U.S. space? About him/her self? About their *American* counterparts? Do stories like this further position U.S. citizens in privileged positions in the minds of the readers and support domination and oppression?

Students also turned to movies to educate themselves and others. Members of MESA planned a movie night as a way of educating students on campus about the Middle East and Middle Eastern people. In that conversation students brought up a variety of movies – American made to *foreign* films, some directed by Palestinians or other Arabs, and one cartoon. One student talked about how he looked to a movie to educate himself, “I saw a movie that really made me think a lot about life in the U.S. and especially California because it was set in Los Angeles, and it’s called *Crash*, it’s a really good movie. It just shows you how people are tolerant to each other and it’s, it was great. Yeah, it just, it shows you how...because people sometimes think that they’re perfect, this movie showed me that there is...like, there is um a problem with every person you know” (Participant 8). A movie like *Crash* feeds the master narrative of the United States being a melting pot, tolerant, and a diverse society that is open and accepting toward others. This is both accurate and inaccurate at the same time. Bevis & Lucas (2007), Lucas (1994), Spring (2006, 2007, 2008), Spivak (1999), and Thelin (2004) demonstrated the racial and citizenship tensions that have saturated U.S. social policies indicating United States society as anything but a melting pot and illustrating the tenuous relationship the U.S. government has with visitors and citizens.

Also operating at the level of a global space is a tension about who gets to speak about what, when they get to speak, and in what spaces they can speak. Participant number three captured this best when she said:

It’s easier to say I’m a Muslim and I’m an Arab but it’s a little bit hard when you go out like sometimes, yeah, I don’t speak Arabic in a loud voice when I’m like in a café, I’m like, “keep it down we don’t want them to hear us talking in Arabic.” Even sometimes when we discuss like political issues and we will bring like

Islam, all of us will say, “Islam” [whispering Islam], you know we don’t want them to hear. Although we’re not saying anything wrong, we’re just discussing it. Any Christian or Jews can be discussing Islam and saying the word like loud and nobody will actually look at them but us being us and we look to meet their image then saying Islam may sound as threatening. In that sense I am self conscious like sometimes I feel like they don’t need to know who I am, they just pass. Yeah.

Coming to understand spaces in these ways may contribute to what participant number twelve noticed when he talked about Jordanians finding other Jordanians to hang out with, “it’s like a closed group and I think it’s not good because it’s better to keep looking for more people to meet and it’s basically more knowledge, more experience but without I’m thinking you find out that you’re stuck with this...this kind of like this way, a routine basically.” He was recognizing the limitations of only having co-cultural friends as Trice (2004) and others (Al-Sharideh & Goe, 1998; Ramsay, Jones, & Barker, 2007; Zajacova, Lynch, & Espenshade, 2005) indicated in their research. These observations contribute to how students choose to participate in university life and how they choose to construct their identities for others. A heightened awareness of daily life can impact interactions with self, others, campus, and issues as participant number three articulated, “since day one I was self conscious and I still am but it’s fading away. I’m feeling like I’m more in the society but I think it’s like um...when you’re out like um...out of the classroom where actually people are, all people, like most of the people are...mixed with some sort of imperialist colonialist background. They actually speak to you on some level. It’s easier to say I’m a Muslim and I’m an Arab but it’s a little bit hard when you go out.” In many ways this is a return to the thread that binds these themes together, knowledge. The fact that students felt self conscious speaking Arabic or mentioning Islam and recognized that they pass as

European American because of their outward appearances, speaks to whose knowledge is considered authorial and whose knowledge is accepted in what spaces. Some hostilities serve as imperceptible covert demarcations of real, imagined, virtual, or physical spaces educating people how to be in that space or ones like it, thus demonstrating a purpose for the knowledge.

At the time of this study the eyes of the world were upon the historic U.S. Presidential race between Senators John McCain and Barack Obama and President Obama's subsequent election. In every aspect of U.S. society and around the world, there was much attention paid to this Presidential hopeful with a *foreign* sounding name. The anticipation of a regime change directly and indirectly affected the participants in this study. For example, participant number three said:

I can take back to what I also mentioned earlier when I said that for example the American Studies program is focused on the continent while they really need to be focused on the world especially that the U.S. is the ruling one single power now. I was talking to a friend the other day and I was like, "are you going to vote?" And not favoring any of the candidates [laughing], still she said, "no I don't care." I was like, "don't you care who's the president of the United States?" and she was like, "why do you care?" And I just look back and I said, "why do I care? Because whoever is ruling the U.S. is going to be ruling me personally. Is going to be ruling the people in the Arab world, is going to be ruling the people in the world."

The Armenian-Jordanian participant recognized the extensive power of the American Presidency. As we spoke, her sons also got very excited as they had been learning about the U.S.

political system in their elementary classrooms. What follows is an excerpt from the conversation:

Participant: As international we can't participate but we can look and see for example the elections. Now a days the crisis and what's happening and what's going...because this affects all the world so we are not participating but we are learning and watching and we wish to participate but we can't because we're international but we have our opinions also [child interrupting and pointing to a framed picture of Obama] we have...

Interviewer: That is so cute that you have a picture of Obama...

Participant: And that was before the election you know...

Interviewer: And the kids did this?...

Participant: Yeah, yeah...and if you ask my little kids "mom, who's this [pointing to the framed picture of President Obama]?" [one kid says "Obama, my dad"]
[both of us laughing]

Other participants juxtaposed the political campaigning and the hope that resulted in a regime change from the Republican Party's Bush Administration which came to represent intolerance toward the Middle East and Muslims worldwide. Participant number twelve speaks of the skepticism of a Black man becoming President, the emerging hope from the election, and a humble reflection on political circumstances in his region(s) of the Middle East – Jordan and Saudi Arabia:

Everybody was telling me, "who do you think gonna will win?" I tell them, "no way a black guy's going to win, come on man this is a white country they're like these people are maybe they they talk about democracy or stuff like that but they

wouldn't let a black guy or somebody from Africa to rule the country it wouldn't happen ever"...And when the results appeared I was like shocked, "oh my God it's not like we you think, it's totally different it's proof that it can happen, it could happen." So, "yes we can" is his slogan it is true and yeah, that was really um experience that I will never forget in my life. But on the other hand it makes me feel sorry for how we are living in other countries um...cause we well basically if it's a king it's gonna be his son and the son of his son till the end of eternity and if it was a president it's gonna be his son too and the son of his son. It's a stupid elections they win by 99.9% which doesn't even convince a stupid man so...Yeah, you look at them at first you feel happy that this is going on then you feel sorry for what you're going through.

A similar sentiment was expressed by participant number eight in comparing the United States elections and political campaigning in Qatar, "I found it interesting and I followed everything for about a year. You know, it was really interesting for me, because we don't get a lot of this um...you know, everything [referring to the excitement of the media, presses, and debates] in politics and it's not as um...different...it's politics in my country it just stays the same." Yet participant number three stated, "I really need to be careful. I try to avoid highly political American issues...because of who I am. Like sometimes I can't discuss stuff with my colleague." The work of the various forms of media had educated this student and some of the others when, where, and in what ways they could speak about U.S. politics which were often acknowledged as influencing and impacting the rest of the world. Partly because of their international status as well as their understanding about the appropriateness of how to talk about U.S. politics, most chose to compare and contrast what they were witnessing in the U.S. to what

they knew in their countries or regions of the world. By speaking about their contexts they were not in conflict with others and did not run the risk of offending others; instead, the students would “try to relate it with...issues back home or the issues...[to not] directly criticize them...” (Participant 3).

These comparisons speak to Spivak’s (1999) observation that individuals are brought into being through the Declaration of Independence. Assertions I made earlier in this dissertation about the U.S. government not being obligated to afford or protect the rights of immigrants who do not enjoy citizenship status also confirm this. Because these students are not citizens, rights like the First Amendment’s freedom of speech clause are unevenly applied and thus, they recognize their need for self regulation of speech and behavior in certain spaces. In their discussion of power, control, and Empire, Hardt and Negri (2000) state, “ Power can achieve an effective command over the entire life of the population only when it becomes an integral, vital function that every individual embraces and reactivates of his or her own accord” (p. 24). Orientations, stories of others, and present circumstances leave these students to self govern their speech and behavior in spaces created for and occupied by the majority. Further, these uneven applications of freedom of speech butt up against university policies of academic freedom in ways that make delving into contested political ideologies unprotected spaces, educating those who are not citizens that they cannot speak on particular issues, at particular times, and/or in particular spaces. “Power is thus expressed as a control that extends throughout the depths of the consciousnesses and bodies of the population—and at the same time across the entirety of social relations” (Hardt and Negri, 2000, p. 24).

Enjoying the privileged space of being a United States citizen affords citizens the right to take politics for granted in ways that may further United States imperialism across the globe

(Spivak, 1999). Although the contract brought forth through the U.S. Constitution provides for both the government and the citizen, the document specifies rights rather than obligations. Therefore, citizens have the right to be more or less involved in the actions of the government but are not obligated to be involved by any measure. Further, being a citizen of Empire allows those who enjoy citizenship status the luxury of not having to deeply or cognitively engage with circumstances or events outside of his/her immediate purview (Spivak, 1999). In his introduction to the Spivak chapter on citizenship, During (1999) states:

For Spivak, to be an American legally and politically is to enter into relation to that founding document, the Constitution, and therefore, more accurately, into changing and negotiable narratives about the Constitution...This is a way of provincializing the West and of managing “sanctioned ignorance” – for instance...the way in which it is acceptable to be ignorant of Indonesian massacres of the Chinese but not of German massacres of the Jews (p.169).

In fact, Spivak (1999) recognizes that “We the People are not much involved” (p. 172). Some of this, she argues, is done by design, through a series of manipulations brought forth through a set of assumptions long ago agreed upon. At the foundation of these long held nationalist assumptions, lies the definition of who We the People includes, what rights the People are afforded, and how the People can exercise those rights.

The two domestic students spoke of politics less than the international students. Participant number six epitomized his fluid relationship with his citizenship rights by saying: “politics, I don’t really...I voted for Obama but other than that like I don’t really do stuff in politics.” Although participant number seven recognized the hegemony of the U.S. in the world, the only thing she had to say about politics was, “I try to keep following politics. I mean I did

that overseas anyways, I followed politics. And that's just not U.S. politics, but I try to keep up with international ones as well." She did not demonstrate as deep an engagement with politics as the international student participants had, which may stem from differences between undergraduate and graduate students or differences between students whose citizenship lies outside of the U.S. space. Most of the more deeply engaged discourse about politics came from graduate students. Participant number eight was one of the more outspoken undergraduates about politics, perhaps because of the violent incident that happened to him while studying abroad in England, and which foregrounds international spaces.

Claiming International Spaces

Coming to understand one's positionality in the world is a process of interactions with people, places, memory, and myth, which contribute to an overall sense of comfort in various spaces. As was demonstrated above, forces operating at a global level educate individuals when, where, and how they can speak and what they can speak about. Some of that education happens in what I am operationalizing as the international level. In this section, the term international refers to that which is outside of a participant's home country rather than how it has been used thus far to indicate experiences or people outside of the United States. As mentioned in the citizenship discussion, many of this study's participants travelled and at times relocated around the world. This section explores the experiences and the education stemming from those experiences as a mechanism by which the participants come to learn what they can lay claim to internationally.

Feeling comfortable within the world opens the door to travel opportunities permitting one to come to understand the world in new ways. Participant number seven provided a great example of this when she said:

Go to Africa definitely, definitely. It's like the best continent ever, I'm not even going to lie, I'm so biased. I've been to Europe, Asia, and Africa and Africa is seriously my favorite. Africa is like so charming like I can't even...I mean maybe it's just that I grew up there it's so...everything is so simple, everything just makes sense. I feel like there are no real materialistic constraints there, like maybe not North Africa so much since that's so close to Europe but like lower East Africa and South Africa even West Africa best places in the world. I mean like okay, there's corruption, there's war, there's AIDS but look beyond that. Best beaches in the world not in Hawaii, not in Fiji but in East Africa. It's beautiful. I mean I would definitely recommend. I mean go to a place that doesn't require you to speak English. Go to someplace that the language is completely weird.

This student's imagination has memorialized West Africa in particular ways, while ignoring the less than desirable aspects: AIDs, corruption, and war. Rather, she focuses on the contradiction of the simplicity of life and the beaches. While scholars have acknowledged that immigrants often maintain a sense of nostalgia, a longing for the homeland that they left, and construct an imagined community (Abu-El Haj, 2007; Rajagopalan, 2008; Suarez-Orozco, 2004), this particular student's unique circumstances further trouble these ideas. The capital of her U.S. citizenship afforded her the opportunity to minimize or ignore particular aspects of West African life that she saw as problematic while she took in East African beaches and the less chaotic West African lifestyle. The simplicity that she speaks about was measured against various aspects of living within the United States. She spoke about choices in grocery stores, "I remember in Morocco, there's like one choice for each thing, like you have this or you have this and that's it, there's nothing else. I mean, I was fine with that, that's what I was used to. But like even going

from Tanzania to Morocco, there was culture shock, because like Tanzania there's seriously nothing and then I go to Morocco and instead of 1 choice we have like 3, then to go from 3 choices to like a million." Since she was used to life in West Africa, coming into the new context was confusing and overwhelming for her because of the quantity of new choices, both in grocery stores but also in her daily life within the U.S. Her reference point was challenged in this new space.

Coming to the United States is a major transition, especially for students who have not travelled outside of the Middle East. Sometimes students find ways to claim their Middle Eastern space within the international space. Participant number two had never travelled outside of Saudi Arabia before coming to the U.S. to study. He had mentioned how he was scared to come to the U.S. because he was not sure what to expect and had chosen a university in the North West because of its proximity to his sister in Canada. He said, "yeah, when I feel homesick or something, I like to go visit her. It just give me a break when I visit her, we speak all the way in Arabic, I said no English, just I want to feel like home." Well travelled students still experienced transition, albeit in different ways. Participant number three had travelled to Syria, Lebanon, and Australia and recognized, "...like in Jordan, it's just one thing, we're majority, are Muslims, majority are like...we're not, not everybody's purely Jordanian, but we're still you know in the same, small country and that's what I know. Like this is how we do this, this is how we celebrate, this is how we...this is acceptable and when you come to a place which is so big *so big* you get to know that, you know, it's not always my way or the highway, it's...it's...it can't be, the world doesn't work like that, you have to compromise." She was commenting on how she had to adapt to international spaces, which she came to understand through her travels,

supporting research literature by Trice (2004) and others (Al-Sharideh & Goe, 1998; Ramsay, Jones, & Barker, 2007; Zajacova, Lynch, & Espenshade, 2005).

Another way students came to understand what they were allowed to claim came in the way of experiences. It is representative of the stories that occasionally show up in the media and that students heard about from friends and family. Participant number eight spoke of one experience he had in England while at boarding school, the implications this experience had on other parts of his life, and how he chose to claim other spaces.

Participant: Okay, well um...I um...there's ah...um...a story that I've never, I didn't tell a lot of people, it's kind of something that I just don't want to like think a lot about and 'cause it happened a long time ago. When I was younger I used to be in a boarding school in England. It was right after the 9/11 thing that...it's just I saw how people um...instantly changed the way they think about people from the Middle East. We went from being respected to being hated you know. And um...there was a time that I was um...assaulted um...and I was um...someone tried to beat me with a cricket bat...

Interviewer: Oh my gosh...

Participant: And I had um...a few...fractured bones in my face, yeah.

Interviewer: Oh my gosh, that's awful.

Participant: Yeah, but but it's alright, it was a long time ago.

Interviewer: That's hard, that's hard though, I mean that's a hard thing to deal with and then something hard to come back from. Especially with everything that was going on at the time.

Participant: Yeah, I mean, that's why people should be more careful when they go out.

Interviewer: Yeah,...but...yeah, but people shouldn't have to be careful...

Participant: Yeah, you're right I just um...I thought about this a lot and I don't think it's something that will change in my lifetime it's just something that um people have to live with and people have to live with. You have to know how to deal with situations like this.

Interviewer: Sure...So does that event in your life, does that change like how you choose to participate in things on campus? Like maybe what events you might go to or what groups you choose to join?

Participant: It does, I mean I try to be um...nice to everyone and I think for the most part I am...in the beginning I try to stay away just to kind of see what kind of people they are and then maybe get closer and join...I just um...it's hard to just um...put yourself out there and just you know join everything quickly and...

Interviewer: Yeah, you kind of want to gauge it and be able to feel is that going to be a safe place and I want to make sure, you know you don't want to put yourself into a situation that something might happen, you want to be careful. I totally understand that.

Participant: Yeah, especially in the dorm.

His story shows how mythologization of his Middle Eastern identity contributed to experiences he had at the international level of spaces. This story confirms and is reminiscent of what persons of Middle Eastern heritages around the globe have experienced as documented by multiple scholars and authors (Abu El-Haj, 2007; Amundson, 2008; Bawer, 2009; Ben-David, 2009;

Butler, 2008; Fine, Weis, Weseen, & Wong, 2003; Rhee & Danowitz-Sagaria, 2004; Tehranian, 2008). Through this experience, this student learned that his relationship in a host country of which he is not a citizen, is tenuous, at best, and potentially dangerous. This student revealed that the students who assaulted him faced little punishment, in fact he stated, “I went home [to Qatar]. I was angry for a long time because they didn’t do anything to them. They would just like, “tut tut, bad boys” and just [shaking finger back and forth].” He came to understand that he may face varying levels of hostility within spaces. As such, this incident educated him about how to claim certain spaces, as well as, when and how to claim and construct his own identities for those spaces, speaking to the interconnected fluidity of these themes.

Recognizing one’s relationship with and to the government in which s/he resides, participant number twelve had this to say:

But if you think about Saudi Arabia for example umm...in 1999 yeah, that’s the time, intifada happened in Palestine so all their country’s people were like really angry went down the streets every day making strikes and stuff. Except in Saudi Arabia, they did not allow that, it’s not allowed. The only place you can go and object about that either in your own house, talk to your family, or you can go and talk to the mosque and start praying for them, but making any public gathering is not allowed whatsoever is the cause and you can never like ask for more rights or stuff like that. That’s what I saw with my like living over there for a few years. Umm...people cannot go and what’s the word...like...umm...go against the government or at least ask for more rights from the government or have dialogue with them unless it’s these people have good connections or something like that.

Citizens are brought into being through their relationship with governmental documents and laws imposed upon them (Spivak, 1999). This student understood the role and power of Saudi citizens was minimized, to a certain extent, by governmental laws and the enforcement of those laws. This student had also recognized how Jordanian students often find other Jordanians to befriend on the college campus and that they are rarely involved in political campus activities, rather they just go along with the status quo. Given his discussion of Saudi citizenship rights, the minimal campus involvement by some students of Middle Eastern heritages happens through the ways in which their governments educate citizens into being, which in turn, prepares them for other interactions within the world.

Although the participants who lived outside of the United States experienced an informal education which kept them guessing about their rights, roles, and what they could expect, the one participant born and raised in the U.S. understood his space to be predominantly U.S. centered. Even as he felt comfortable travelling to Qatar and Lebanon he felt more grounded in the U.S. space. While this student participant felt comfortable in the U.S. context, perhaps as a function of his citizenship status and relationship to the Declaration of Independence, the other student participants had different experiences within the U.S. as explored in the next section.

Claiming National Spaces

Education and experiences at the level of international spaces often taught student participants about ways in which they could claim pieces of the United States national spaces. Several participants mentioned Islamofascism Awareness Week, realizing it was a national movement, an event that happened across the nation on college campuses, designed to spread propaganda, misinformation, and feed the culture of fear surrounding Islam and the Middle East. These events and an international incident where the Prophet Mohammed was caricatured in a

newspaper article, contributed to a larger sense of disrespect and misunderstanding that permeates each layer of the spaces within which participants can lay claim and operate. Reconciling this as status quo, participant number five stated, “sometimes you feel you’re facing sometimes people who who...who maybe respect but sometimes people don’t respect for some reason. Or they think that you’re not welcome to this country or something like that, which is normal, you see it everywhere.” His observation speaks to both the mythical *American* space and how that is ruptured through experiences over time, as well as, how spaces are both welcoming and educative about how much of the space can be claimed by the *other*. Often, as Hurtado (1996) mentioned, the intolerances to multicultural others are covert, may not seem outwardly hostile, and as such, may be difficult to discern, yet they are felt by those who occupy differing positionalities. Spivak (1999) recognized these sublimations:

First, the making of an American must be defined by at least a desire to enter the ‘We the People’ of the Constitution...Second, traditionally, this desire for the abstract American ‘we’ has been recoded by the fabrication of ethnic enclaves, artificial and affectively supportive subsocieties that, claiming to preserve the ethnos or culture of origin, move further and further away from the vicissitudes and transformations of the nation or group of origin...Third, *our* inclination to obliterate the differences between United States internal colonization and the dynamics of decolonized space makes use of this already established American ethno-cultural agenda. At worst, it secures the ‘they’ of development or aggression against the constitutional ‘we’. At best, it suits our institutional convenience and brings the rest of the world home. A certain double standard, a

certain sanctioned ignorance, can now begin to operate in the areas of the study of central and so-called marginal cultures (p. 187).

Although these nuanced negotiations are difficult to identify, they serve the purpose of defining the “they” and the “we” to which Spivak (1999) refers. Further, these instances are not necessarily discreet events, therefore, are more difficult to identify, as intended. This creates the coded language used to describe individuals’ feelings about particular spaces being inhospitable. Discussions of hostile spaces become gendered and othered in much the same way as science became masculinized and emotions became feminized during the Age of Reason. The processes working to secure the “they” and “we” to which Spivak refers, also work to circumvent the feelings one may have in particular spaces, asking them to *prove* it through quantification. When particular experiences cannot be easily quantified, they become easier to brush aside as insignificant. Devaluing the feelings of hostility is a technology of colonialism by which individuals come to learn their role within a particular space because they are denied voice.

Entering the United States by air is a process for any traveler. For many people of Middle Eastern heritage, the airport serves as their first point of contact with United States culture, customs, and laws. These experiences helped to orient these students into what they could expect within the national space. Some students, felt dehumanized by the experience, while some understandings of the mythical *American* remained unchallenged. Airport experiences also contributed to when, where, and how a person chooses to display their cultural, ethnic, or national identities. Participant number three illuminated many discreet elements of her airport experiences:

I hate the airport. [laughing – both] Let’s say frankly and straight to the point. I’m always the random check person, all the time, since the day I came here. And it’s

really, you know, like when I first came here I said it's okay it's fine, I was anticipating that. But you know when you keep coming in and out, it gets to you. Like the last time I was in the country it was hell. Like for God sake, I was late, I was running and they wouldn't give me a break and I ended up with this guy who actually screamed and shouted at me, "Ma'am you need to do a random check" and I'm like, "I'm late I'm late, I'm going to miss the plane you don't understand." But you know when you're a foreigner, "I asked a friend to pick me up, if I miss the plane Mister, I have nobody to pick me up from Spokane I need to, whatever, find a way to come"...and they don't seem to really understand. The airport experience is hell. I feel that I'm watched all the time even when I go to the bathroom. When they have these announcements every two seconds don't leave baggage unattended I feel that they're talking about me...I seriously think that they're always talking about me. It's such a self conscious...I feel like I'm under a spotlight, I hate the airports *seriously* it's a very bad experience. It's so tense I'm like, I'm always like I don't want to do anything suspicious and at the end of the day I'm like I'm not a suspect to start with why am I feeling this way? I feel like a suspect *honestly* when I'm in the airport it's so hard and they keep checking and checking and in front of everybody. The line is moving and all of a sudden you give your passport and they're like ma'am can you move to the other line, in front of everybody, can you move to the other line. I mean *come on*, seriously. And I'm always in the other line and everybody looks at me, *everybody*, and it's it's...I know sometimes maybe people didn't even recognize that I actually moved to the other...but your self image you feel that the whole world

saw that and I'm like I'm the one in the other line. So that's one thing about the United States.

The airport experience works like Willinsky's (1998) museum. Individuals are put on display in a particular way, from a particular point of reference (September 11, 2001), while others look on, learning, knowing, thinking. These actions memorialize the events, history, and understandings from September 11, 2001 in the citizenship's collective psyche. Placing people of Middle Eastern heritage in the spotlight as somehow deviant and as enemies within continues to keep these events at the forefront of memory and reminds those who are somehow outside of the collective "we" that they are outsiders and their welcome into this country is tenuous at best. At worst, it reminds those coming into this country to submit to being surveilled, pits *us* against *them*, and signs a warrant for inequitable treatment of persons of Middle Eastern heritages. These experiences also affect the experiences of residents or citizens of Middle Eastern heritages.

At A Taste of Islam event a woman sitting at our table is Lebanese. She tells us a story of taking her step kid to the Spokane airport shortly after 9/11. She was dropping him/her off and getting the suitcase out of the car - I imagine in front of the airport as close as one could get at the time. She stepped a very small distance from the car - she says less than 2 feet away - and was written a ticket by the police. When she called to complain, citing racial discrimination, the woman on the other end of the phone said, "Are you an A-rab?" with the long "a" sound.

(Observation Notes, 11/1/2008)

I knew nothing of this woman except what she shared that evening. I assumed she was either born and raised in the United States or had been in the U.S. for a long time, as she had no accent

and seemed quite knowledgeable about U.S. norms, customs, and traditions. Further, she alluded to living near the university for quite some time.

Some students had different experiences with the airports. None of the Saudi students spoke any English when flying into the United States. They were largely at the whim of airline, airport, and security personnel to help them reach their final destination. One student recounted his long day at an airport in Washington D.C. After a thirteen hour flight, he had to stand for six hours. He did not understand English, had no where to sit, and he was exhausted from travel until what he describes as his “cultural mission” (Participant 9) came and transported him to a hotel. The following day, some other people from his cultural mission brought him to a “meeting for new students, give me the new students some information how can you use the bank, how can you use something, not all of them, just something important like bank, like passport not give away my passport not give any other people just the police what the police want” (Participant 9). So while the information he received from this orientation was useful and important information for this student to receive, it also served to orient him to the United States environment, setting up the culture of surveillance of giving “the police what they want.” However, Participant number nine had to rely on the kindness of *American* strangers to help him get from one point, to another, and into the company of his “cultural mission.” These experiences in the airport present the U.S. space as both welcoming and hostile, one to feel comfortable within in, yet on guard, a space in which one may be surveilled by law enforcement or average citizens. Participants came to learn of the U.S. space as a space where they felt surveilled in even their private moments, as Participant number three mentioned she felt she was being watched when she went to the bathroom. Never knowing who was watching, if that imaginary person posed a threat or a helpful hand, and never knowing when they were being watched helped students learn what spaces they

could claim as their own, how they could claim those spaces, and even when they could lay claim to those spaces if ownership was fluid.

A second way participants were oriented to their new environs was through the well meaning intentions of friends, mentors, and peers. Participant number three had a particularly poignant story.

And I have a professor who was in Jordan, he was a Fulbrighter and he told me during my M.A. in American Studies in the University of Jordan and he said...he was in Jordan for like three years and he is affiliated with the customs and the ways and Muslims and stuff like that and he said come to me, come, you'll be safe with me...I was like seriously self conscious when I first got here. I was, you know we went through the orientation and my own professor in [another university in the state] when I came here I was guest at his house for like uhh...ten days and uhh...you know, he's more like a father figure and he's like, "be careful, don't do this and don't do that, take care, I'm here, I'm close." And so like had all these stuff in my mind that I'm an Arab, I'm a Muslim in America, all these stupid things. So I was self conscious.

Through this impromptu orientation from her mentor whom she respected and trusted, participant number three came to understand that her occupation of the physical space may be tenuous and fraught with particular dangers, causing her to live more cautiously. Through these two powerful orientations into the U.S. space, the international student participants began to learn how to engage within the spaces by self regulating their own behaviors and actions (Hardt & Negri, 2000).

Orientations into appropriate behaviors rarely prevented international participants from travelling about the United States and gaining the multicultural perspectives that they wanted to experience. As mentioned earlier, students wanted and sought out opportunities for the richest experiences they could have while in the U.S. Some students wanted “to see attractions” (Participant 2) locally and across the country and some travelled to many different states. The latter is a testament to the cultural, racial, ethnic, and religious diversity residing within the borders and boundaries of the United States. Student participants recognized this diversity and commented:

So like experience in United States is so beautiful and I am sure if I had been in other countries I would not get same experience. But United States is considered you know if you haven't been in the United States then you haven't been in the world. (Participant 5)

Students could travel to various states and engage in a wealth of multicultural experiences. One participant said, “it's as if the world is around you.” Due to the expanse of cultural, religious, and ethnic diversity that exists within the U.S., students felt they could experience many different cultures. This also served to further the mythical understandings about the U.S. being an inclusive, welcoming, and multicultural space. Further, that these participants recognized or accepted the narrative that one has not fully seen the world without visiting the United States, continues to place the U.S. at the center, as the hub of development along the great chain of being (Leonardo, 2004; Lesko, 2001). Although students were educated about their *place* within United States society and culture, they also wanted to gain a depth of experience while at university. Some were able to carve out a space for their own curiosity and intellectual or social

development to flourish. Through creating safe local spaces, students of Middle Eastern heritages re/claim some agency, as participant number three observed:

the Islamophobia thing I was really willing to do anything *anything* to help and I did get involved like in ahhh...like the whole community of [the town], not just the university community. I was in their meetings with the people...not just students. And I was here on campus. I did something with one of my friends, we distributed flyers, we actually helped put together an ad that actually was in the [campus newspaper]. My friend and I actually we decided and we did some fundraising and we got the money and we ran the ad.

The support and involvement of the local community buffered some of the slights she had experienced at other levels of spaces and jettisoned her into action.

Claiming Local Spaces

Interactions with/in local spaces influence students' desires to participate in various aspects of the university and local communities. Feeling comfortable with/in one's immediate surroundings is a function of the type and quality of exchanges occurring between different components of the campus or community environments. This sub-theme expands upon the definitions provided in campus environment literatures by including the community(ies) surrounding a college campus to better explore and understand how local spaces are impacted and influenced by the happenings at other levels of spaces (Hamrick, Evans, & Schuh, 2002; Kuh, 2000; Moneta & Kuh, 2005, Richardson & Fisk-Skinner, 1990). Participants in every space influence and affect students on a college campus. Environment cannot be divorced from laws, policies, organizations, and people. Throughout discussion of this theme, I have demonstrated how experiences and events occurring in one level of spaces impacts perceptions and behaviors

at other levels. It was necessary to explore the multiple spaces which have influenced students of Middle Eastern heritages in order to better understand what is happening at the level of the local, i.e., the university and surrounding communities.

Interactions with other students educated participants about the local spaces and their roles within those spaces. Participants interacted with students in their housing arrangements, in classes, and in extra-curricular university sponsored activities. Interactions with other students in the dorms were very amicable according to the participants. Participant number one reported meeting people who went out of their way to transcend language barriers and help him while participant number seven preferred living in the international dorm. In contrast, there were times in class that other students said inappropriate things that affected student participants. For example, participant number three said this:

Even one time I had this thing I came back home and I was in the class and I was really irritated about something that had been said in the class. And I came back home and I wrote this e-mail. I was so pissed off that I actually sent it to the American Studies list and the next day the chair who was like, he saw me and said if you want to take this to human rights, I'll back you up. I'm like okay.

(Participant 3)

Other participants chose to get involved with university sponsored extra-curricular activities like intramural sports. An athletic person, participant number six chose to participate in intramural soccer his freshman year. Only in his freshman year did he experience problems with the intramural sports program sponsored by the university. His story illuminates interactions with students, staff, and university units:

One time I was playing soccer, intramural soccer, a guy said a racist remark to me and I responded back to him and then they wanted me to write a paper on sportsmanship. I was like, “well I’ll write this paper if you write a paper on racism” and they didn’t want to so I didn’t write the paper. It’s a pretty physical game, I would say. And then it’s a bunch of frat dudes, and I don’t know how it started but the guy said something to me, and then I responded and like he said another racist remark, and then my teammates had to hold me back, and then I went and told them... That’s when I went and they wanted to talk to me at intramural sports –whatever, and um... And they tried to put the blame on me and I’m like, “no, because I’m going to stand up for what I said” so... Then one of the refs was friends with that guy so they planned to put the blame on me and they said that I overreacted, but I’m like, “no, ‘cause like if I hit him I still don’t think that I overreacted” but it’s just verbal... For a while, that really bothered me because I don’t think they handled the situation right, you know. But after, I just forget about it because like what can I do? I can argue with them as much as I can, you know, they are kind of thick headed up there... One thing that I’ve noticed that every person that said like a racial remark or... you know was in a frat.

This student’s experience with the fraternity members saying racist comments to him, his response, and then the disproportionate discipline bears similarities to Abu El-Haj’s (2007) findings. The stories of her students coupled with the story of participant number six demonstrate how those in power observe and recognize the mistreatment and discrimination of particular

groups by ignoring or failing to recognize the same for other groups, yielding disproportionate disciplines for similar infractions.

Participant number six's story is also reminiscent of my discussion earlier in this dissertation about how people, places, and histories are named and interpreted (Smith, 2006; Spring, 2007, 2008; Willinsky, 1998). Without knowing what the racist comment was, it is difficult to decipher specific meaning. What can be delineated, however, is the purpose behind racist comments and the role particular organizations play in defining *us* and *them*. Fraternities are part of a culture steeped in historical hegemony (Thelin, 2004). They exist as a way to re/produce social classes (Lucas, 1994). Thelin states, "Power and prestige went disproportionately to the self-perpetuating social organizations [Greek-letter systems of fraternities and sororities]" (p. 219). Although changed through time, Greek organizations remain a system by which the elite continue to re/produce the social capital needed to secure particular positionalities. One aspect of the racist comment is also about controlling status as a mechanism of social capital. As Milner (2004) states, status is both inalienable and inexpandable. Status is based on individual perception, it resides "primarily in other peoples' minds" (p. 32). Further, "status is a relative ranking" and "[b]ecause it is relatively inexpandable, when the status of some is increased, the status of others will eventually decrease...Consequently, where status is the central resource, mobility tends to be highly regulated and restricted" (p. 33). Invoking racist remarks, works to position particular individuals at lower levels along the Great Chain of Being and is one technology of colonization and dominance (Leonardo, 2004; Lesko, 2001). Fraternity members initiating such an exchange of racist comments, one working to protect and preserve the status of another, works to regulate and restrict status mobility. By the ref protecting the positionality, and in this case, the status, of the offending fraternity member, he worked to

preserve his own positionality and status as well and served in a gatekeeper kind of role. These types of events also have the effect of educating individuals about their perceived roles within that particular space. Similar incidents of intolerance on campus were met with campus-wide mobilization against hate in an effort to create welcoming spaces for various members of the university community.

During the semester of data gathering, there were three violent hate crimes against members of the gay, lesbian, bisexual, transgender, and queer (GLBTQ) community on campus. Several participants mentioned these attacks to describe their own struggles, or campus climate issues, or as evidence as to why they chose to get involved in social activism. Events such as Islamofascism Awareness Week or the attacks on members of the GLBTQ community sparked the need for social activism and allowed students to re/claim their spaces. In the vignette introducing this theme, Participant number three recognized that the safety of one group is linked to the safety of other groups on campus.

Like the late harassment about the gays and the...I was asked to participate in a march yesterday and I was there, I was there. It's fine with me, maybe this is not the culture that I came from, maybe it's not acceptable, maybe I do agree, maybe I don't agree, it doesn't really matter for me, I am there. I do go sometimes with many events and not only these events like some other stuff that I might not really relate to or understand that might be culturally away, especially when we talk about you know...um...or maybe like some other culture groups that I'm I really have nothing in common, but I still go because it makes a point. It makes a point that this is one of the things that I'm trying to gain in this whole experience that I actually I need to build bridges.

Sometimes reconciling the local spaces with the larger global or national space requires negotiations in order to feel a sense of belonging. These particular incidents mobilized the larger university community. For example, the response within the College of Education was to paint signs representing safe spaces for members of the GLBT community and post in windows. The associated students of the university created new by-laws and wrote a letter endorsed by all undergraduate student representatives and some graduate student representatives to the governor and state legislators to strengthen hate crime laws. The governor of the state also signed a bill into law which strengthened language in the hate crime legislation within months. Administrators publicly acknowledged support for members of the GLBTQ community, albeit a delayed response. Responses to events such as these, by the various campus units, contributed to students feeling welcome within university spaces.

Students interacted with a number of different university units and personnel in those units. Some units oversee housing, some food, others various social aspects, and yet others address academic needs. Overall, student participants concurred that their interactions with library staff, international programs staff, and some other central personnel were all positive. They found the support within the International Student Center most useful, and many of them stayed involved in the center to fulfill their own needs and to help newcomers to the U.S. and university adjust to life in their new contexts. Students living on campus came into contact with the dining centers which became the subject of conversation during one MESA meeting. I have critiqued and problematized the preparation of ethnic foods at the dining centers earlier but I also witnessed how the dining center staff worked with the planning committee for A Taste of Islam night. Attendees at my table were pleased with the authenticity of the Middle Eastern foods prepared as they had either lived in or travelled to Middle Eastern countries and had first hand

experience with the foods. Dining center staff had been given recipes provided by local Middle Eastern families in order to prepare authentic dishes.

Several students had stories to tell about working with their advisor. Productive advising for all students seemed to depend on the unit doing the advising. Poor advising left students with more coursework to complete and a feeling of wasting time and money. Thoughtful advising included accurately accounting for transfer credits, communicating across controversy, and providing mental or emotional support at times. One graduate student talked about a particularly hostile situation with his advisor who was also Muslim and of Middle Eastern heritage. He filed a complaint with the graduate school which temporarily resolved the issues but eventually resulted in his advisor firing him and making sure he could not secure another assistantship within the department. This speaks to disjunctures within the Middle Eastern community to which Said (1979) alluded.

Also referenced earlier, racist comments in class become less damaging when tempered by a knowledgeable faculty member as participant number six testifies, “I took like a um...it was a like history [class] and it was Middle Eastern studies and you have the idiot in class who says something stupid you know but the professor gets on top of that...He one time showed in class a video on the Palestinian-Israeli conflict but it was pro-Palestine and a kid raised his hand and said, ‘I think that is biased they [show] the one side’ and he [the professor] was like, ‘well go watch CNN; they’ll show you the other side.’” Some of these behaviors in the classrooms were precipitated by the events of Islamofascism Awareness Week as participant number seven noticed:

I mean it just all really came out that week I felt. I mean I don’t usually run into that sort of thing. I’ve found that people on...campus are pretty open minded for

the most part but that week I don't know what...it must have just been asshole week or something...You know when you have activities like that you're...I don't know you're encouraging that sort of behavior and it's really sad.

It was events similar to this that opened the space for student activism following September 11, 2001. According to MESA's adviser, "the Middle Eastern Student Association was started by a girl whose parents were from Afghanistan, so she was a domestic student. She was very concerned you know that there'd be a place for Middle Eastern students to go." This student was able to mobilize resources because of her citizenship status which gave her privilege she could leverage for the betterment of her cultural community.

Student participants recognized that by being more involved in the community they are in a better position to educate others and contribute to their local communities. Participant number twelve observed, "it's not always about just studying; it's about community service too, it's about improving the life, and show them what options are there, and that it's like not even a good thing - it's like you're duty to be part of the team; then people will think okay I should go and participate and such and big thing and be part of the team and be more beneficial to the not only my friends, my people, even to the community."

Emancipatory Acts

Overall the local community was viewed as open and welcoming, partly due to the efforts of the International Student Center, "We really have the small town that we can connect. And we are involving...There are certain members of the community that are very involved in the center mainly through our friends and family program...They're the host family situation but we do match students to families to get them out into the community" (International Student Center Staff). He also deliberated about the cultural, ethnic, and racial diversity of the local community

by saying, “[this] is a very interesting community because it is so small. Take the university away and it is quite small. But so rich in diversity, I mean to have 1200 people, international students and that’s not even counting the ones on other visas and the multicultural students and the...but to have that diversity here, for a small town; that is amazing.” Although most participants mentioned the multicultural and multiethnic diversity for the size of town, there were few extracurricular activities outside of the campus, as participant number twelve articulated, “you don’t have lots of options when you think about it over here...It’s really small town. If you think about it, you either go and eat or watch movie at the cinemas over there or just come to the [student union building] where it’s like good places to sit and talk.” Finding ways to leverage their own unique skills and situations, participants immersed themselves in the local community. Participant number four brought her family with her to the United States, so she was involved in the schools and her apartment community. Because she and her family were fluent in multiple languages, they were often called upon for translation skills. Participant number two worked to carve out his own space in the local community to feel more comfortable: “[participating in university life] gives me more comfortable feeling of fitting in with others. I have more opportunity to speak to others, to be more comfortable...It’s not like foreign place for me anymore. The more I participate in things in this community I feel more like...[confident].”

Similar to the founding of MESA, some students used events such as 9/11, Islamofascism Awareness Week, attacks on the GLBTQ community, or circumstances of their own life experiences as a catalyst to create better spaces for future students. Some students realized their contributions through continued participation in organizations that have helped them such as conversation tables at the International Student Center or MESA. Other students worked to create new or strengthen weak programs for the betterment of the university community as

participant number five states, “I will never ever forget what I have done for the thing, which is whoever comes from Middle East for Saudi Arabia, he finds a brother for him or she finds a sister for [her]. So 90% of the Middle Eastern of the Saudi students with the guys or girls who have been come to [town] 100% will pick them up from the airport to help them to make them settled to find them places.” Yet other students worked on an individual level to create a safe space for other international students as participant number six said, “it helps because I look at it as I’m here and I go over there and it’s different for me. Like I try to, you know, if I meet international student I try to, you know, have them be comfortable here because I know it’s got to be difficult on them as it was when I went over there. So I figure they have somewhat the same feelings so try to let them feel like [it’s] another home for them.”

The founding of the Middle Eastern Student Association (MESA) was born out of a perceived need and desire to educate the campus and town communities. Here students can involve themselves in programming with an educative purpose in an effort to construct their identities in opposition to how their identities were being constructed by others. One student “make[s] it a point [to be] there...[when the programming is]...about Arabs or Muslims” (Participant 3). She said, “like it’s important to me to be there when there’s something about Muslims because I feel it’s hitting home. I feel it’s important to be there when there’s something involving Middle Eastern students, Arabs, because it’s hitting home for me. So I make it a point to go.” Recognizing a perceived need to educate, participant number twelve said, “they’re trying to make an Islamic Awareness Week so that they improve the image. Lots of people here don’t even know what’s going on, what’s the problem, what is the cause. They don’t even realize that there is a [problem].”

Throughout this chapter participants have observed that coming to the United States has allowed them to see the world without having to travel outside of this one country. They have spoken of the benefits they have gained and many have revealed instances of intolerance, bigotry, anti-Muslim sentiment, and hatred. Students of Middle Eastern heritages have gained intellectually, socially, emotionally, and mentally yet domestic students often reject opportunities to engage in a growing multicultural and multiethnic campus environment, speaking to campus environment literature (Hamrick, Evans, & Schuh, 2002; Kuh, 2000; Moneta & Kuh, 2005; Richardson & Fisk-Skinner, 1990). Some scholars have observed that university campuses are immersed in a culture of white supremacy and underprepared to meet the needs of an increasingly multicultural world (Au, 2008; Jayakumar, 2008; Ladson-Billings, 2003; Osei-Kofi, 2003; Tanaka, 2002; Tierney, 1992). Although a case may be made that this university is not doing enough for or is not responsive enough to the needs of the various constituent student groups, there are many strengths and the commitment to diversity and multiculturalism resonates with members of the university community. For example, the MESA adviser pointed out the university's commitment to diversity interrupting the narrative that universities are largely unprepared, instead demonstrating that efforts are being made:

The university really takes pride on it's diversity, on it's cultural diversity. Like I know the program I'm in has gotten this SUNY diversity award, the counseling psychology program because of the amount of student[s] that they recruit who are multicultural and so...I think that it's [an] important piece of the university, kind of being able to show yes we do support diversity from their perspective and I think for students especially maybe students who have come from rural communities [or another part of the state]. I think it's really important to learn

about real people from the Middle East rather than cultural stereotypes and you know and learn it from the person's own mouth you know...

Whether her observation shows that university programs are making strides to adapt to multicultural constituencies or that programs are “tak[ing] on a sophisticated guise as an expressed concern for the individual that is consistent with prevailing democratic values—so long as one chooses to ignore *both* the historical and continuous disadvantages under which subordinate groups operate” is worthy of further systematic inquiry, yet beyond the scope of this dissertation (Hurtado, 1996, p. 488). Certainly in order for any program to be successful on a university campus, the university has to think of it as a priority (Hamrick, Evans, & Schuh, 2002; Kuh, 2000; Moneta & Kuh, 2005). Allocating funds, space, or personnel to an issue show commitment as does codification in university policies.

CONCLUSIONS

Through presentation of the data I have explored the three overarching themes of this dissertation which I have named: rupturing mythical understandings, re/constructing identities, and re/claiming spaces. These themes have excavated some key findings applicable to student affairs practice, research methods and methodologies, and knowledge construction and consumption and speak back to the extant literature in some ways while affirming in others. Just as the events of September 11, 2001 brought Middle Easterners into view for a Western gaze, these events also brought them into focus for each other. Some students rejected conservative traditionalism in favor of a more U.S. dominated ideal and yet affirmed their own Middle Eastern pride through resisting how others defined them. Many of the definitions that were inscribed upon these student participants are grounded in biblical beliefs which demarcate history along a particular timeline continuum over laying this history on to the Middle East as a

technology of colonization. As students negotiated the often complex identities ascribed to them, they learned how to navigate particular spaces at a variety of levels. Each space impacted the next space and individuals' behaviors within subsequent spaces. Students travelled the world through ethnoscaples learning about which spaces they could claim and how those claims would be met in sometimes violent ways. Although efforts were made by the International Student Center and many interactions were often positive, some had racial undertones, expressed anti-Muslim sentiment, and continued to trouble the grand narrative of U.S. multiculturalism. Students' participation in local spaces reflected the sometimes contradictory nature of their relationship to the U.S. Declaration of Independence, laws, policies, and practices in terms of what rights are afforded them, in what spaces, and how the rights are often unevenly applied. Finally, individual interactions were some of the most powerful tools of education for these student participants, preparing them to travel into new contexts, and interrupting mythical understandings of people and places.

CHAPTER 6: CONSEQUENCES AND IMPLICATIONS

Reflecting on the past 9 ½ years of my time on a university campus, I have learned to recognize tension, xenophobia, and grave social injustice that may permeate university life. I have also learned to recognize spaces of hope and possibilities that exist on campuses as well. This dissertation has explored both of these spaces as well as their origins. I have learned that hope springs from individuals who, faced with great challenges, work to make a difference for themselves and others in small ways. The participants of this study, many of whom have become my friends, revealed moments of personal despair in their lives and their education. They also displayed courage for themselves and others and perseverance when confronted with less than ideal circumstances. Many times I have wondered how individuals can demonstrate such resilience when their identities are simplified into master narratives that construct them as inferior or dangerous. Although several of the student participants in this study experienced the consequences of these framings, they embraced new experiences, sought out opportunities to learn about others, and participated in events both within and outside of their own cultural communities. These students operated under an umbrella of hope.

Throughout the process of crafting this dissertation, my own assumptions have been challenged in ways that I could not have predicted. Initially, I thought that my interview questions were inclusive. Later, I realized that I was framing my participants as outside of a United States citizenship norm. This was an uncomfortable moment for me, one which I am still grappling with and trying to understand. How do people come to understand themselves as citizen? When, if ever, is citizenship devoid of cultural heritage? How can the experiences of non-European U.S. citizens be accounted for in ways that do not position them outside of a

norm, which works to continue the *us* and *them* dichotomy, while also accounting for and celebrating differences? These are not clear, concise, nor easy questions to answer.

I have learned a great deal from my participants. For example, I have learned that connecting with individuals helps to rupture mythical understandings. Several of the participants in this study held assumptions about *America* and *Americans* that were challenged by their interactions with individual U.S. citizens. As I observed European American individuals claim the Middle Eastern multicultural campus space in various ways, while those of Middle Eastern heritages worked to educate a somewhat apathetic campus populace, I wondered about ways that multicultural campus programming can extend beyond those who already have a vested interest. How can the students who have the most to gain from these groups be encouraged and supported to attend such events? The United States has a long history, as outlined in the Introduction and the Literature Review, of exclusion and contention for civil rights. These battles have not concluded; they have merely shifted focus to new groups. Insights from these groups coupled with actions, behaviors, or comments from *Americans* and/or constructions of people of Middle Eastern heritages made by *American* media, opened the space for me to ask the question: What might a university guided by postcolonial theory look like? Before theorizing possibilities, I present a summary of this dissertation. After troubling campus student programming, I propose a certification program with the power to leverage the multiple layers of resources college campuses have within their international communities and academic programs to create opportunities for domestic and international students to deeply and personally engage with one another. Such a program has the power to heal the misconceptions about particular groups while also providing students with opportunities to develop the cultural competencies necessary to meet the needs of an increasingly globally connected world. Further, such a program addresses

the initial problem: little is understood about the experiences of students of Middle Eastern heritages on U.S. college campuses in the current socio-political moment. Current knowledge and knowledge construction is strewn with misconceptions about students of Middle Eastern heritages which miseducates members of university communities who must work with a wide diversity of students. I next articulate future directions for research, including exploring the experiences of other international and multicultural groups on college campuses as well as those of European American students followed by a brief review of all that was learned from the participants and the process of this study. I conclude this dissertation with a final chapter, an epilogue, that consists of a personal reflection of my own learning in the process of developing, completing, and writing up this study.

THIS DISSERTATION

First, I introduced a problem that has significance for students, staff, faculty, and administrators on college campuses nationwide. After describing the background to the problem, I then laid out the tenets of postcolonial theory and how they helped me to conceptualize and analyze the literature and data. Third, I presented the literature that framed the study. I explored and critiqued literature salient to how environments, identities, and higher education histories are conceived. Through revealing shortcomings in the existing literature, I then turned my focus to operationalizing my methodology and methods to collect and analyze data for this study. Fifth, I presented the data using three primary themes which described how students of Middle Eastern heritages experience higher education in the present socio-political moment. Finally, in this space I conclude and discuss implications of the data for different higher education constituencies and directions for future research.

The data in Chapter 5 answered the first four research questions:

- 6) How do students of Middle Eastern heritages experience post-secondary education in the current socio-political U.S. context?
- 7) How do students of Middle Eastern heritage navigate U.S. higher education?
- 8) How does institutional context shape the experiences of students of Middle Eastern heritages?
- 9) How does the larger post 9/11 United States socio-political context shape their experiences in U.S. higher education?
- 10) How can U.S. higher education better support/accommodate these students?

Data addressing myth and identities answered research question number two: How do students of Middle Eastern heritage navigate U.S. higher education. Reliance upon myth opened the door for students to come and study in the United States. Once that myth was challenged, they learned how to construct their identities for different purposes and at different times, sometimes accepting and sometimes resisting how others chose to define their identities for them. Research question number three (How does institutional context shape the experiences of students of Middle Eastern heritages?) was answered primarily through data describing the spaces theme. Members of the university community invite individuals into various spaces for multiple purposes which defines whether a space is welcoming or hostile. Further, experiences in other spaces educate individuals how they can claim different spaces and what they can expect from those spaces. How students' identities were constructed by others and how they were invited into different spaces answered the fourth research question: How does the larger post 9/11 U.S. socio-political context shape students of Middle Eastern heritages experiences in U.S. higher education? One major purpose of this final chapter addresses the final research question: How can U.S. higher education better support/accommodate these students? Secondary purposes of

this final chapter include highlighting findings or implications from the data and articulating future research directions.

The final research and interview question invited participants to theorize with me and suggest improvements to the prevailing university environment. After this final presentation of data, I present some overarching implications for policy and practice, followed with directions for future research and the conclusion.

COMPLICATING CAMPUS PROGRAMMING

Much of the campus programming about the Middle East and Muslims is organized by student groups. The advantages of student-led programming are the benefits that are gleaned by the student organizers who gain valuable professional, networking, and leadership experience. The campus benefits by being able to offer wider diversity of programming for little to no cost. Domestic students benefit from hearing the voices of those who occupy particular subject positions. Opportunities for a broader education are presented to other international and domestic students, although when domestic students are reticent to interact with students of Middle Eastern heritages, they are less impacted by this programming (Jayakumar, 2008). Or if they attend the events, one has to wonder how often misconceptions go unchallenged.

I was at India night on Saturday and I was sitting next to some students from Saudi Arabia and this girl across started to talk to a guy next to me and said, “is this food as the same as it is in India?” And you know she just assumed because he was, his skin color was different or something and maybe it was because we were at India Night. It was quite a diverse audience that night, it wasn’t just the Indian students then...and this student was a language student so he wasn’t really catching on to this so I just kind of butt in and said, “you know this isn’t an Indian

student, um, he's enjoying the food the same way you are, for the first time" or whatever. And then I asked him, I said, "have you ever been to India?" And he said, "No, no no." So it was kind of an eye opening for this student. And then later I explained to the Saudi student, I said, "I think she assumed you were Indian because you are international, because you were at Indian night." And he was like, "but why I don't look Indian." You know, and he wasn't offended, it was just this whole, "I don't understand, I'm not Indian, I'm Saudi." So there's a lot more outreach and stuff that we can do that I think we have a lot of students who aren't using the center who are just, who aren't, who just have never been exposed to people from other cultures and need that, need that kind of, someone to tell, to explain to them that there are differences within international community. (International Student Center Staff)

The staff member's observation supports what Abu El-Haj (2007) and Zaal, Salah, and Fine (2007) reported about undiscerning *Americans* mistaking people of one ethnicity, culture, or nationality for another. Fortunately, in this instance, the staff member used the misconception as a teachable moment for both the domestic and Saudi international student. A benefit for international students might be greater immersion and involvement in the community outside of the university. For example, the International Student Center staff member said:

We have the party in the park event in September where International Students Council tries to organize all the groups to get out there and put on this kind of international flair for the community, it's completely student lead. I know that there are things that happen within the community that do have international focus but this is driven by the students. And so for the community to realize the things

that are here, how we try to get our students out as much as we can once their academics are met, getting into the schools once in a while to do a little presentation, we try to collaborate with the Center for Civic Engagement because they're the ones that have the contacts and the needs and stuff and it's silly for us to reinvent the wheel. They come in and say you know what, we need, we have a few students whose first language is Korean or whatever in the School District but they need some extra help tutoring so we've tried to kind of connect our students that way. And so that also helps them connect off campus and feel safe within the community and not just on campus.

In this case it is a win-win situation for all parties involved.

There are disadvantages in placing the onus of education upon the students who have been marginalized through the media, popular discourse, politics, and Western understandings of history (Richardson & Fisk-Skinner, 1990). It contributes to creating a heightened awareness of identities, and forces students to justify their own experiences and knowledge of the world, similar to Au's (2008) and Tanaka's (2002) assertions. Participant number three said it best:

I was so happy that I got this scholarship to come here especially to the states is like I really want them to see who we are, I really want them to see that we're not barbaric, we're not violent, we're nice, can be friendly, we smile, we clean. I was like I'm not going to start any kind of conflict with anybody. And I promised myself and it was part of my dedication to the whole visitation thing it was all so, and this is part of my visitation I really need to give a good reflection a good image about Arabs and Muslims together.

As with the Civil Rights Movement in the United States, issues pertaining to the Middle East and persons of Middle Eastern heritages may have difficulty gaining legitimacy among a larger audience until the dominant group can claim some ownership or interest in the issue (West, 2001). Many scholars (Ladson-Billings, 2003; hooks, 2004; West, 2001) recognize that civil rights and other social or equality movements only gained momentum when the issues involved could be shown to have connection with issues of oppression impacting some European Americans, such as white women. The MESA adviser acknowledged that something similar will likely need to happen, “Yeah, and I really appreciated learning more about the Israelis standing up about the Palestinian/Israeli conflict. Because in some ways to me that’s what’s going to have the biggest impact because if they’re the aggressor country and if people from their country say ‘wait a minute this is not right, this has nothing to do with diaspora’ and you know all of that other stuff, you know this just isn’t right.” She also articulated another way in which having student groups organize events to educate others about their own heritage is a disadvantage.

Because of our...you know I think because of our...because of the national climate and because of you know we’re the ones who are attacking Iraq it makes it much more, it makes it a mine field to go through and I haven’t really brought it up with the students like “hey you know are we going to talk about the Iraq war?” And they haven’t brought it up either you know so...And in some ways they’re probably not the group to bring it up. It should be the progressive student union or some other group who wouldn’t be so easily targeted as a result of saying this is wrong. That’s an awfully big burden for students to bear when they’re trying to go to school. I remember when I was young and didn’t know any better. We were organizing against the Klu Klux Klan and I thought maybe I can go up and talk to

the multicultural groups and see why they're not participating. Some of them got really mad at me that I asked, you know, and I was just too young to...but um...I didn't know any better and so, you know...“how come you guys aren't out organizing against the Klan?” And you know I was trying to be very invitational and they're like “it's not our issue. It's the Klan it's a bunch of scary white people and you know what? We have to deal with racism every day.” At the time I didn't even...like it took me quite a few years...Part of what they didn't say but that was also true was the amount of just awful stuff they would have heard by being there, that each person would carry with them when they left so...the Iraq war maybe isn't quite that way but in some ways it is.

This heavy emotional toll as well as the time and energy that go into organizing such events may in fact be detrimental to students' academic health in ways yet unknown and beyond the scope of this dissertation. By allowing student groups to do the educating, the burden is placed upon the oppressed (Abu El-Haj, 2007; Richardson & Fisk-Skinner, 1990). Resting the onus for education upon marginalized groups also more deeply entrenches the perception that the oppressed must make a case for themselves and justify their existence and legitimacy to the dominant groups (Au, 2008; Ladson-Billings, 2003; Osei-Kofi, 2003; Tanaka, 2002; and Tierney, 1992). Until such a time that domestic students make the Middle East their own issue, these educative events may continue to educate those who are curious and international students, who are willing to immerse themselves into a dissimilar cultural context rather than those who may be less knowledgeable and more comfortable allowing their perceptions to be guided by myth, miseducation, and misunderstanding.

IMPLICATIONS FOR POLICY AND PRACTICE

Theoretical and empirical scholars, such as myself, critique the shortcomings of United States systems of higher education, and rightfully so. It must be recognized that few research projects have explored the transnational migrations of peoples and the way those migrations have forever changed the people, their cultures, and places, and how higher education is affected. Few fully investigate how those legacies endure through time, in different locales, and within institutions. However, the strengths of the U.S. higher education system also need to be recognized, celebrated, and leveraged to construct better spaces for learning. The question that begs to be answered is: what could a university experience look like if driven by postcolonial theory?

As several participants pointed out, U.S. higher education is one place where people can have an international experience without leaving the country. Data from this study suggest that these international student participants have benefitted greatly from their study abroad experience, expanding upon their perceptions of the world by challenging myth and learning to re/construct and leverage different aspects of their identities in an effort to claim particular spaces. The possibilities that this international space implies, strengthen and extend the meaning and applicability of Jayakumar's (2008) findings which "suggest that college exposure [for European American students] to diversity is more important than precollege or postcollege exposure in terms of developing pluralistic skills that reflect the highest stages of moral and intellectual development" (p. 641). The international community on any college campus is a tremendous resource for all students, as well as faculty, staff, and local community members. International students benefit by nature of immersion in a different culture – once here they have little choice but to adapt to some degree and learn from their experience.

What would happen if a program were implemented in which students could gain an extra credential or certification in cross-cultural or multicultural competence? Would it be feasible or possible to open this certification to the entire university community and local community members? What might such a certification program look like? Based upon data from the student participants and the MESA adviser and International Student Center staff member, such a program needs to be multi-faceted. I suggest three components to such a certification which include academic coursework based in both liberal arts as well as in the major, involvement with multicultural events, and interaction with individuals. This program could be structured in such a way that students could select either a basic or an advanced certification option. Such a program could be included in the cost of tuition for students, for an extra nominal fee, on a fee basis for local community members, and part of the continuing education that is usually afforded to employees of the university. Certification could account for elective coursework for students pursuing a degree which would not lengthen their time to degree and it would show up on transcripts for verification by employers. The following paragraphs more thoroughly explore the three components to certification in cross-cultural or multicultural competence.

Since universities are places where academic knowledge is created, disseminated, and taught, it would be necessary to have one component include academic coursework. As I consider the coursework that would be necessary to prepare students in their chosen academic fields to be leaders within the world, I believe there are two parts to this portion of a certification. One part of the academic requirement would consist of two courses in liberal arts: History, Sociology, American Studies, Cultural Studies, Education, Comparative Ethnic Studies, anywhere students can gain a broad purview of a culture unlike their own while learning about

the realities of the social lives of members of that group. The second part to the academic requirement would consist of two courses in the major that explore the experiences, history, and/or knowledge that non-European groups have contributed to the students' chosen major.

A second component to certification would incorporate first hand knowledge of a group unlike themselves that students chose to learn more about, this might be called "Domestic Study Abroad". Individuals on the certification track also need to learn about a group from the group themselves. During one semester, students could sign up for 3-6 credits of independent study – or domestic study abroad credits. The advanced certification track would allow for students who chose a more in depth path to gain the experience and credit for being more deeply engaged with a group. This second component would require the students to become involved with a group unlike themselves. For example, for three credits, students could attend two multicultural events per month during the semester when the independent study was taken; this would constitute the basic certification. Students opting for the advanced track, would need to attend two multicultural events per month and become involved with a multicultural student group for a minimum of two hours per month. Students would register for six credits.

The final component involves one on one contact with multicultural individuals. For the purposes of this dissertation, my suggestion is that domestic students gain experiences with non-English speaking, non-European, international students by becoming a mentor or English speaking partner, a "Cultural Exchange". On the campus where this study was conducted the International Student Center regularly recruits English language partners, domestic student mentors, and facilitates English Conversation Table that operates weekly. Frequently, the Center has unmet needs in pairing domestic students with international students. This type of experience would be beneficial for both the domestic and the international students. As Trice (2004) and

others (Al-Sharideh & Goe, 1998; Ramsay, Jones, & Barker, 2007; Zajacova, Lynch, & Espenshade, 2005) have indicated, acculturation and English speaking ability help international students more quickly adjust to campus life and aids in their academic success. Although, much of this research can be critiqued for the types of questions asked and the assumed positionalities of the students, language and difference is still a mechanism by which non-European international students are othered or ignored on college campuses by domestic students. Further, as was evidenced by the international student participants in this dissertation, interacting with their *American* counterparts on an individual level helped them challenge their own mythical understandings of the West and the United States. The same would likely hold true for domestic students who have little experience with persons unlike themselves (Jayakumar, 2008). Again, students could register for 3-6 credits of independent study, depending on which track they chose, and gain credit for their involvement with this certification program. Three credits would be indicative of 3 hours per week in the cultural exchange, while six credits would be indicative of 6 hours per week. At the end of these experiences, students could write a paper, much like students who participate in study abroad opportunities, where they apply their academic knowledge with their experiences within the groups.

These ideas are by no means, all inclusive, they are but one possibility to a problem that continues to persist. This program could also be made available to international students. Since international students are already immersed in a culture unlike their own, their basic and advanced certification would work a differently. The academic coursework they enroll in is already geared to Western norms and traditions; however, they would also need to take one liberal arts course and one course in the major that presents a perspective different than their own. The second component of participation in events and/or a group would remain the same;

merely participating as a mentee or partner in the third component would qualify them for certification.

As scholars (Richardson & Fisk-Skinner, 1990) have demonstrated, when multiculturalism is valued at the state policy level, that priority translates to university level practices. If European American students are to benefit more fully from the international or multicultural communities on college campuses, perhaps such interactions should be purposely facilitated rather than left to chance. As campus programming is currently structured, those who already have the curiosity, some knowledge, or some sort of connection with the culture participate more regularly. The usual suspects become the audience, and in essence, these events are often *preaching to the choir*. Further, the onus is placed on student groups to do much of the educating. Currently, there exists a gap between what this particular university claims to do and the systems that are in place to accomplish those goals. Establishing certification programs, like the one described, might encourage individuals to gain knowledge of groups unlike themselves beyond the media sound bytes that typically ignore complex histories of the stories that are presented. This is necessary because, as Friedman (1992) states, “[t]he common understanding of history, peculiar to modern Western society, is one that consists in a stream of events, a temporal continuum whose empirical existence is unquestionable...It is only necessary to point out that exercises in the deconstructions of events that turn out, on closer examination, to be heavily interpreted (e.g., the French Revolution and other revolutions) demonstrate the degree to which they are integral parts of the way in which we forge and reinforce our own identity” (p. 206). Similarly, data from this dissertation also suggests that it is through history that we come to forge and reinforce the identities of others.

As presented earlier in this chapter, campus programming usually falls upon student groups. Although there are many important reasons for this, there are also compelling reasons why this is not always the best option. In the case of students of Middle Eastern heritage, it might be necessary for the university to officially coordinate, partner, and sponsor activities aimed at engaging and educating the wider university community. Similar to how Native Americans, children, and people in prison have an extra layer of protection and oversight for human subjects research, members of groups who have been effectively demonized within popular culture and continually face hostilities and potential violence should have an extra layer of protection from bearing the onus of educating the dominant group about their culture, ethnicity, heritage, and region of the world. A portion of the education will always fall upon the group; however, it is important that universities not only provide space for students groups, such as MESA, to meet, but that they provide additional supports as necessary. An example was presented by the International Student Center staff member:

I remember...well...of course September 11, 2001 changed a lot. I wasn't here I was working at another university in [the Mid-West]. Like a said, we had a handful like 6, 7 students of Middle Eastern descent but initially there was within the community...and it wasn't a bad community, it was just like, there aren't so many of them so when they're seen, they're seen, people know they're there. That we needed to kind of make sure that these students were feeling safe enough that they could continue with their studies and what they were really here to do. I remember I got a call from the president's office where I was working that said, "I want those students and I want them over to my house in the next few days to let them know that the university is here to support them however." And he took

them in, had them over for dinner and kind of addressed their issues. Which was huge, a statement from the university.

In some cases, it is necessary for university administration to go above and beyond press releases admonishing negative behaviors and/or showing support of multiculturally inclusive environments. At times, inviting students into exclusive spaces and inviting them to collaborate with administration about ways to improve campus environment for members of their group may have a greater impact. Also, inviting community members to participate strengthens the inclusivity of the university space (Richardson & Fisk-Skinner, 1990) and creates the possibility of a richer experience for students. Further, creating an inclusive environment for one group of students helps to make the environment inclusive for all students (Hurtado, 1996; Hurtado, Milem, Clayton-Pederson, & Allen, 1998; Jayakumar, 2008; Richardson & Fisk-Skinner, 1990).

FUTURE RESEARCH DIRECTIONS

Through the background, theoretical framework, literature review, and the data analysis, I was able to more fully explore and expand upon how knowledge was constructed about members of this particular group and the consequences of that knowledge. I would like to continue to explore the origins and evolution of knowledge and how that impacts perceptions and interactions between people in society. Therefore, I will continue working with critical theoretical frameworks to unearth the systems of power and subordination that permeate society, influence interactions, and impact higher education as higher education is a conduit through which members of society come to learn about the world and others.

A second possibility for future research builds on my interview questions and experiences. When I interviewed my first domestic student of Middle Eastern heritage, I noticed that my questions continued to position him as foreigner rather than citizen. To gain a more

complete picture of the experiences of students of Middle Eastern heritages, it would be useful to elicit, specifically, the experiences of domestic students of Middle Eastern heritages.

Accompanying this suggestion for future research are a three others: a larger sample size, variation of institutional type, demographics, and location, and a longitudinal study. More stories from students would help to strengthen the findings from this study and allow for a multitude of voices to come forth. As Richardson and Fisk-Skinner (1990) state, each institution has its own unique set of circumstances. Sampling students from a variety of institutional types, sizes, and locations would provide a depth to the data presented in this dissertation as well. Finally, developing a longitudinal study would allow me to explore student experience over time.

A third useful inquiry would involve using the same methods and methodology to explore the experiences of other international groups within the larger societal contexts. In conducting the literature review, it became clear that little research exists about international student experiences within the United States. Another useful exploration would consist of exploring the international or multicultural experiences of European American students on U.S. college campuses in the current socio-political moment. This latter study may help to illuminate the crevices where myth continues to live on in the minds of university students and eradicate misconceptions and miseducation. Finally, to construct a more holistic picture of a university campus, it would be useful to explore the experiences of various university actors in relation to their international and multicultural experiences, which would further extend the work of Richardson and Fisk-Skinner (1990).

As I have stated multiple times throughout this dissertation, a study divorced from the history in which it is situated has minimal meaning. To fully understand the experiences of a particular group of students or any of the other university actors I mentioned above, it is

necessary to situate them within their own time, context, and history. It is necessary to gain an understanding of how they have been created by representations of history, policy, media, and peers. I agree with Baez (2000), Tanaka (2002), Osei-Kofi (2003), and Fine, Weis, Weseen, and Wong (2003), that educational research can no longer pretend to be neutral. Instead, educational researchers must account for cultural, racial, and ethnic differences, unearth the systems that have created and sustained these differences, and open spaces for new imagining. My future directions for research will continue to make use of and develop the tools presented and utilized within this dissertation to interrupt the hegemonies of research and scholarship that shape understandings of how universities work.

CONCLUSION

Thinking back to the story of the belly dancer, I wonder how a U.S. citizen might react if a stripper were brought in to introduce and represent U.S. culture in a college classroom. Further, as the student indicated, the West re/historicized belly dancing as romantically, exotically, and uniquely Middle Eastern, while he recognized it as emanating from Turkey and being adopted by Egypt. This is similar to equating the life and culture of Manhattan as being a true depiction of all U.S. culture and life; few *real Americans* would recognize or accept it as such. It is through this re/historicization of cultural practices, like the belly dance, that those in the West come to understand that those from the Middle East should be feared, hated, or consumed for erotic pleasure.

I recall feeling perplexed in how to describe my participants in tidy categories, how to divide up the pieces of their identities and still honestly and respectfully represent the whole person. In some ways they did this for me as they described themselves and families' border crossings. Issues such as newly demarcated boundaries determined whether a person could claim

a nationality as a nationality, ethnicity, culture, or even country of origin – and there still does not appear to be any one concise or clear way to define this. Citizenship sometimes determined for the participants which ethnic or *natural* subject positions they chose to identify with in particular locations. And all of these complex configurations of identity are treated as if it is this historical moment that has defined them or in some cases defied definition. The reality is that the cultural, ethnic, racial, national, and other identity boundaries have been fluid for a long time. In the case of the Armenian Jordanian, her national subject position has been in flux for about one century. The Palestinian national identity has been impinged upon and shaped for the past fifty years, with the creation of Israel following World War II. This recent fluxuation created space for new national identities to be re/configured. For one participant it was Qatari, another Jordanian, and yet another Emirati. The Libyan American's identity was one of the more complex and confounding. Having never resided in the United States, it was difficult for her to see herself as *American* rather than international – and the university treated her this way. But even her Libyan national identity butted up against and alongside her indigenous Berber identity because of a long history of colonization in Northern Africa where her father's family resided.

The various mythical understandings served as a source of power and control which shaped particular localities and identities giving way to how spaces both claim and are claimed. As Hardt and Negri (2000) state, “[t]he differences of locality are neither preexisting nor natural but rather effects of a regime of production” (p. 45). As these student participants struggle to make sense of their new spaces within the United States context, they were often met with challenges to their perceptions of what this space entailed. Their perceptions, likewise, illuminated a disconnect with perceptual constructions of how citizens of the U.S. create their own locality and those beyond the borders and boundaries of the U.S. space. “In many

characterizations the problem rests on a false dichotomy between the global and the local, assuming that the global entails homogenizations and undifferentiated identity whereas the local preserves heterogeneity and difference. Often implicit in such arguments is the assumption that the differences of the local are in some sense natural, or at least that their origin remains beyond question” (p. 44). These international student participants were only allowed to participate or engage in a dialectical re/framing of *American* mythologization to a point. Definitions of identities inscribed upon them by others and spaces held them at arms length in re/constructions of the mythologizations. Further, how these students were invited into particular spaces and for what purpose, served as a form of control, disallowing them the same re/constructions or re/framings of others identities. Although the U.S. is constructed as a multiculturally inclusive and welcoming space, student participants still struggled with different forms of intolerances and oppressions, forcing them to consistently re/articulate their identities and re/negotiate spaces.

CHAPTER 7: EPILOGUE: AWAKING FROM A DREAM

Through this journey, I have been reminded of where I come from and how I have been grounded within particular understandings of the world. I have returned to the essence of me that was long ago lost to living on auto-pilot. At the end of this journey, I had the honor of meeting Manulani Meyer at the 6th Annual Globalization, Diversity, and Education Conference in Spokane, Washington (2010). In her keynote address, she spoke of how our knowledge construction must move beyond the construction of knowledge to knowing and be grounded in healing. Our knowledge must heal. Of what good is knowledge left on book shelves to collect dust and never be used to elevate people's circumstances? I offer this dissertation as one small contribution that I hope provides an avenue for healing the institution of higher education that grew out of colonialist practice and need, where the vestiges of racism continue to permeate the curriculum, policies, environments, and practices. Much of my own diseased thinking has been healed through the processes of exploration, engagement with my participants, and working to respectfully re/present their stories here. Through Manu's talk, I am reminded that my being, my way of being within the world, is built upon the legacies of my own family and through my work, I am brought closer to them and their love is realized through me. This epilogue, is my final reflection, situating my own thinking in historical moments.

I grew up at a time with immediate connections to the Civil Rights Movement. As a biracial child who lived with my European American mother and grandmother, I learned to dream with Martin Luther King, Jr. about a world where people were treated with kindness and respect rather than judged on the basis of the color of their skin. I imagined with John Lennon about a world where people could live in peace and share all the world. And I sang with Joan Baez becoming more aware about political prisoners and war torn countries. It was within this context

that my first memory involving my learning about the Middle East became so indelibly imprinted upon my brain. I remember walking by a store front in Spokane, Washington with my mother in the late 1970s when we noticed a poster of Iran's Ayatollah Khomeini with the words "Wanted Dead or Alive." Thinking about this moment now, I puzzle over the juxtaposition of the *American* wild west with an image that had come to represent the mystical Middle East. Since my mother and grandmother had brought me into being through and educated me to love, this poster confused me and I wondered why this man was being villainized. This was shortly after the 1973 gas embargo and my memories were fresh about the long lines to re-fuel cars. Also on my mind at the time, and the subject of conversation in my house, was the Iran Hostage Crisis and Ronald Reagan's campaign for the presidency against President Jimmy Carter. My youthful contemplations began from seeing the image and words of the poster and I began to consider world circumstances. I would frequently lie awake in bed at night wondering about the existence of God, fearing that the election of Ronald Reagan would be the beginning of a world war, and distressing about issues of violence and genocide.

Other elements of my childhood promoted my thinking and engagement with troubling issues. Both my mother and grandmother were huge fans of Martin Luther King's early work and promoted peaceful resistance. Although I did not grow up in a hippie commune, my family embraced many similar principles in my upbringing. Discipline happened in my house through conversation rather than corporal punishment. I was encouraged to think about how my behavior influenced other aspects of my life and the lives of others. Because of these primary tenets in my formative years, I saw everything as interconnected and realized that change came from love and hope. After seeing the poster of the Ayatollah Khomeini, through conversation with my family, I began to learn about capitalism, the U.S. interests in the oil rich Middle Eastern countries, and

the consequences of war and hate. While most children dreamt of travelling to Paris, London, Hawaii, or Disneyland, I dreamt (as I do now) of travelling to the Middle East to see the great palaces, the Sphinx, the Pyramids, Mecca, and Jerusalem. I wanted to learn about the world from different perspectives.

It wasn't until I was in Mr. Swapp's Block English/Social Studies class that I was able to engage my sense of wonderment about these places. Once our class learned about Jerusalem and the Christian Crusades, I began serial dreaming. My dreams were vivid and colorful, transporting me through time travel to the Crusades. I had these dreams several days in a row for many years, off and on, each dream beginning like the last and going a little bit further. When I awoke, I was more curious than before. Through time, I have lost memory of these dreams and thoughts of my youth. Only now, in this space, when I reflect deeply about how and why I have chosen to work within a student group unlike myself, I remember my early social justice concerns for marginalized groups. My concerns for social equality were an early central theme in my childhood; one which I have wandered from and through my doctoral coursework and dissertation study, have returned to. As a person of color and a young girl, literacy was impressed upon me from a very early age. It was impressed upon me at an early age that keeping people illiterate and uneducated was a mechanism of power, a way to oppress entire groups of people throughout history and the world. Education, literacy, and learning were highly regarded in my home. Much of what I wondered about grew out of the conversations in my house, the music we listened to, books that were given and read to me, and television programming we watched as a family.

My grandmother foresaw how essentially important and necessary language development was for me and insisted that I speak proper English, had a broad vocabulary, and enunciate

correctly. We read avidly. By 10 years old, I had read (or had read to me) many great pieces of Western literature and childhood stories, fables, and myths from various cultures around the world. I would often lie awake in bed thinking about the origin of words, who got to name things, how definitions were formed about those words, and why particular names were used. Although I did not know then how language and literature connected and prepared me to engage in wider discourses, through this dissertation, I have re/awakened to these ideas and am grateful for my early preparation. I can never be certain whether my grandmother's insistence that I be well read and thoughtful was intentional on her part. I am certain these early connections gave me the foundation necessary to engage with my research topic in new ways and our conversations prepared me to engage in the type of work where love emanates, hope emerges, and new spaces open. While the poster of the Ayatollah Khomeini in the 1970s awakened me to other places in the world, the events of September 11, 2001 reawakened my desire to dream and imagine and thrust me into a moment where I could no longer ignore the circumstances of students of Middle Eastern heritages on my own college campus. Reflecting back on my upbringing helps me to re/orient myself to hopes I have long held, of which this dissertation is a part.

Using a postcolonial theoretical framework, provided the tools which allowed me to strategically and systematically examine knowledge and knowing about students of Middle Eastern heritages and gave words to thoughts I have long held. While the tools I employed were academic and continue to make use of systems of power, these tools have also provided an avenue to connect with my participants and their experiences more deeply. Rather than using a disconnected science that would distance me from my participants and create *objective* knowledge connected to little else, I chose to connect with my study, with my participants, and

with world circumstances through use of all my senses: sight, smell, hearing, touch, feeling, and through my heart and love. As cited in Chapter 4, Denzin, Lincoln, and Giardina (2006) acknowledge that “an ethics of truth grounded in love, care, hope, and forgiveness” provides for more powerful research findings. In fact, these are also values that were taught to me at an early age. Making use of these values, has permitted me to reawaken, renewed, and refreshed, rejecting and resisting my own diseased thinking that allows for colonialist knowledge to proliferate.

Through this work, I have healed one part of my own colonized mind. I believe one element that comes out of this dissertation is some direction, some contribution to healing higher education in a way that allows for a celebration of differences without ignoring them. Perhaps because I am so connected with my own work, my participants, and their voices, I envision that the theoretical framework I utilized, the methodology I chose, the ways in which I have worked to unearth knowing and knowledge construction, and the suggestions that I have made from the data can all contribute to moving beyond merely creating spaces where marginalized groups of students can feel safe, towards a university community that purposely facilitates multicultural learning experiences for the benefit of all students.

While my grandmother has passed on, her words and support continue to give me strength. She lived her final years continuing to reflect on circumstances in the Middle East and United States foreign policies. She recorded some of her final thoughts on a tape recorder, one much like the one I used to capture my interviews. While she and my mother initiated my thinking, my doctoral coursework and dissertation study provided the tools and helped me find the words to explain and theorize the stories my participants shared. The change in me has been the connection with others beyond time and space as well as a renewed interest and sense of

urgency to contribute to new ways of thinking about persistent problems in society. I awaken as if from a dream with a more complete understanding, having made my own thinking more cohesive about issues that I have long thought about and pondered. Having done so, I hope I have also done so for my field. I still dream, hope, and imagine...

REFERENCES

- Abu El-Haj, T. R. (2007). "I was born here, but my home, it's not here": Educating for democratic citizenship in an era of transnational migration and global conflict. *Harvard Educational Review*, 77(3), 285-316.
- Abukhattala, I. (2004). The new bogeyman under the bed: Image formation of Islam in the Western school curriculum and media. In Kincheloe, J. L. & Steinberg, S. R. (2004). *The miseducation of the West: How schools and the media distort our understanding of the Islamic world* (pp.153-170). Westport, CT: Praeger.
- Ainsworth-Darnell, J. W. & Downey, D. B. (1998). Assessing the oppositional culture explanations for racial/ethnic differences in school performance. *American sociological review*, 63, 536-553.
- Al-Sharideh, K. A. & Goe, W. R. (1998). Ethnic communities within the university: an examination of factors influencing the personal adjustment of international students. *Research in higher education*, 39(6), 699-725.
- Amundson, N. G. (2008). Wearing the hijab for the first time. *NDSU magazine*, 9(1). Retrieved August 13, 2009, from http://www.ndsu.edu/ndsu/news/magazine/vol09_issue01/wearing_hijab.shtml
- Anderson, G. L. (2008). Media's impact on educational policies and practices: Political spectacle and social control. *Peabody journal of education*, 82(1), 103-120.
- Angrosino, M. V. (2005). Recontextualizing observation: Ethnography, pedagogy, and the prospects for a progressive political agenda. In N. K. Denzin & Y. S. Lincoln (Eds.). *The Sage handbook of qualitative research* (3rd ed., pp. 729-746). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.
- Appadurai, A. (1993). Patriotism and its futures. *Public Culture*, 5 (3), 411-429.
- Appadurai, A. (1995). Commodities and the politics of value. In B. Ashcroft, G. Griffiths, & H. Tiffin (Eds.), *The post-colonial studies reader* (2nd ed., pp. 417-420). New York, NY: Routledge. (Original work published 1986.)
- Appadurai, A. (1999). Disjuncture and difference in the global cultural economy. In S. During (Ed.), *The cultural studies reader* (2nd ed., pp. 220-230). New York: Routledge.
- Ashcroft, B., Griffiths, G., & Tiffin, H. (1995). *The postcolonial studies reader* (2nd ed.). New York, NY: Routledge.
- Au, W. (2008). Decolonizing the classroom: Lessons in multicultural education. *Rethinking schools*, 23(2), 27-30.

- Baez, B. (2000). Diversity and its contradictions: How support for diversity in higher education can undermine social justice. *Academe*, 86(5). Retrieved March 15, 2003, from <http://www.aaup.org/AAUP/pubsres/academe/2000/SO/>
- Barker, C. (2005). *Cultural studies: Theory and practice* (2nd ed.) London: Sage.
- Barr, M. J. (2000). The importance of the institutional mission. In M. J. Barr, M. K. Desler, & Associates (Eds.), *The handbook of student affairs administration* (pp. 25-36). San Francisco, CA: Jossey-Bass.
- Bauman, Z. (2005). Identity in the globalizing world. In H. S. Shapiro & D. E. Purpel (Eds.), *Critical social issues in American education: Democracy and meaning in a globalizing world* (2nd ed., pp. 443-454). Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum. (Original work published 2001).
- Bawer, B. (April 23, 2009). Heirs to Fortuyn? Europe's turn to the right. *Wall street journal*. Retrieved August 12, 2009, from <http://online.wsj.com/article/SB124043553074744693.html>
- Belenky, M. F., Clinchy, B. M., Goldberger, N. R., & Tarule, J. M. (1997). *Women's ways of knowing: The development of self, voice, and mind* (10th ed.) New York: Basic Books.
- Ben-David, Esther. (2009) Europe's shifting immigration dynamic. *Middle East quarterly*, Spring 2009, (pp. 15-94). Retrieved August 12, 2009, from <http://www.meforum.org/2107/europe-shifiting-immigration-dynamic>
- Berger, J. B. (2000). Organizational behavior at colleges and student outcomes: A new perspective on college impact. *The review of higher education*, 23(2), 177-198.
- Berliner, D. C. & Biddle, B. J. (1995). *The manufactured crisis: Myths, fraud, and the attack on America's public schools*. Reading, MA: Addison-Wesley Publishing Company.
- Bevis, T. B. & Lucas, C. J. (2007). *International students in American colleges and universities: A history*. New York, NY: Palgrave MacMillan.
- Beyer, M. & Beyer, M. (2006). From the web: Then and now. McCarthyism today. *International journal of Baudrillard studies*. 3(1). Retrieved April 11, 2010, from http://www.ubishops.ca/baudrillardstudies/vol3_1/beyer.htm.
- Bhabha, H. K. (1999). The postcolonial and the postmodern: The question of agency. In S. During (Ed.), *The cultural studies reader* (2nd ed., pp.189-208). New York: Routledge.
- Bigelow, M. (2007, April). *The construction of racialized identities of urban Somali Muslim youth*. Paper presented at the meeting of American Educational Research Association, Chicago, IL.

- Black, I. (7/22/2009). 1948 no catastrophe says Israel, as term nakba banned from Arab children's textbooks. Retrieved August 13, 2009, from <http://www.guardian.co.uk/world/2009/jul/22/israel-remove-nakba-from-textbooks/print>.
- Bogdan, R. C. & Biklen, S. K. (2003). *Qualitative research for education: An introduction to theories and methods*. Boston, MA: Allyn and Bacon.
- Bok, D. (1982). *Beyond the ivory tower: Social responsibilities of the modern university*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Bok, D. (1986). *Higher Learning*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Boote, D. N. & Beile, P. (2005). Scholars before researchers: On the centrality of the dissertation literature review on research preparation. *Educational researcher*, 34(6), 3-15.
- Bourdieu, P. (1986). The forms of capital. In J. G. Richardson (Ed.), *Handbook of theory and research for the sociology of education* (pp. 241-258). New York, NY: Greenwood Press.
- Bowen, H.R. (1999). Goals: The intended outcomes of higher education. In J. L. Bess & D. S. Webster (Eds.), *ASHE Reader Series: Foundations of American higher education* (2nd ed., pp. 23-37). San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.
- Brazzell, J. C. (1996). Diversification of postsecondary institutions. In S. R. Komives, D. B. Woodward, Jr., and associates (Eds.). *Student services: A handbook for the profession* (3rd ed., pp. 43-63). San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.
- Briggs, C. L. (1996). The politics of discursive authority in research on the "invention of tradition". *Cultural anthropology*, 11(4), 435-469.
- Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka, Kansas, 347 U.S. 483 (1954).
- Buck-Morss, S. (2003). *Thinking past terror*. New York: Verso.
- Butler, J. (2008). Sexual politics torture and secular time. *British journal of sociology*, 59(1), 1-23.
- Carnegie Classifications. (n.d.) The Carnegie foundation for the advancement of teaching. Retrieved September 27, 2009, from <http://www.carnegiefoundation.org/classifications/sub.asp?key=782>
- Chickering, A. W. (1969). *Education and identity*. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.
- Chomsky, N. (2001). *Open media collection: 9-11, media control, acts of aggression*. New York: Seven Stories Press.
- Chow, P. & Marcus, R. (2008). International student mobility and the United States: The 2007 *Open Doors* survey. *International higher education*, 50. Retrieved September 26, 2009,

from

http://www.bc.edu/bc_org/avp/soe/cihe/newletter/Number50/p13_Chow_Marcus.htm

- Churchill, W. (2000). White studies: The intellectual imperialism of U.S. higher education. In E. M. Duarte & S. Smith (Eds.), *Foundational perspectives in multicultural education* (pp. 50-67). New York: Addison Wesley Longman, Inc.
- Clifford, J. (1995). Diasporas. In B. Ashcroft, G. Griffiths, & H. Tiffin (Eds.), *The post-colonial studies reader* (2nd ed., pp. 451-454). New York, NY: Routledge. (Original work published 1994.)
- Coalition Forces Land Component Command (n.d.). Article 15-6 Investigation of the 800th Military Police Brigade. *Chief of Staff of U.S. Central Command*. Retrieved April 11, 2010, from http://www.npr.org/iraq/2004/prison_abuse_report.pdf.
- Crapanzano, V. (1991). The postmodern crisis: Discourse, parody, memory. *Cultural anthropology*, 6(4), 431-446.
- Creswell, J. W. (2003). *Research design: Qualitative, quantitative, and mixed methods approaches* (2nd ed.). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.
- Cross, W. E., Jr. (1995). The psychology of Nigrescence: Revising the Cross model. In J. G. Pnterotto, J. M. Casas, L. A. Suzuki, & C. M. Alexander (Eds.), *Handbook of multicultural counseling* (pp. 93-122). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Dayal, S. (1996). Postcolonialism's possibilities: Subcontinental diasporic intervention. *Cultural Critique*, 33, 113-149.
- De Jorio, R. (2006). Introduction to special issue: Memory and the formation of political identities in West Africa. *Africa Today*, 52(4), v-ix.
- Denzin, N. K. & Lincoln, Y. S. (2003). Introduction: The discipline and practice of qualitative research. In N. K. Denzin & Y. S. Lincoln (Eds.). *The landscape of qualitative research: Theories and issues* (2nd ed., pp. 1-46). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.
- Denzin, N. K. & Lincoln, Y. S. (2005). Introduction: The discipline and practice of qualitative research. In N. K. Denzin & Y. S. Lincoln (Eds.). *The Sage handbook of qualitative research* (3rd ed., pp. 1-32). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.
- Denzin, N. K., Lincoln, Y. S., & Giardina, M. D. (2006). Disciplining qualitative research. *International journal of qualitative studies in education*, 19(6), 769-782.
- DuBois, W.E.B. (1903/1996). *The souls of black folk*. New York, NY: Penguin Books.
- Dungy, G.J.; Rissmeyer, P.A.; & Roberts, G. (2005). The influence of selected students' characteristics on their expectations of college. In T.E. Miller, et.al (Eds.). *Promoting reasonable expectations: Aligning student and institutional views of the college experience* (pp. 175-189). San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.

- During, S. (1999). Editor's introduction. In S. During (Ed.). *The cultural studies reader* (2nd ed., pp. 169-170). New York, NY: Routledge.
- Edelman, M. (1988). *Constructing the political spectacle*. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press.
- Egan, T. (2004, April 24). Computer student on trial over Muslim web site work. *The New York Times*. Retrieved April 11, 2010, from <http://www.nytimes.com/2004/04/27/US/computer-student-on-trial-over-muslim-web-site-work.html>.
- Ehrlich, E., Flexner, S. B., Carruth, G., Hawkins, J. M. (Eds.) (1980). *Oxford American Dictionary*. New York: Avon Books.
- Einarson, M. K. & Matier, M. W. (2005). Exploring race differences in correlates of seniors' satisfaction with undergraduate education. *Research in higher education*, 46(6), p. 641-676.
- El-Khawas, E. (2003). The many dimensions of student diversity. In S. R. Komives, D. B. Woodward, Jr., & associates (Eds.), *Student services: A handbook for the profession* (pp. 45-62), San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.
- Ellis, C. (2002). Shattered lives: Making sense of September 11th and its aftermath. *Journal of contemporary ethnography*, 31(4), p. 375-410.
- Erikson, E. H. (1980). *Identity and the life cycle*. New York: Norton.
- Evans, N. J., Forney, D. S., & Guido-DiBrito, F. (1998). *Student development in college: Theory, research, and practice*. San Francisco, CA: Jossey-Bass.
- Federal Bureau of Investigation (2009). Uniform Crime Report. Retrieved September 26, 2009, from <http://www.fbi.gov/ucr/ucr.htm>.
- Feldman, W. N. (2008). Area studies in American universities. In W. Smith & T. Bender (Eds.), *American higher education transformed, 1940-2005: Documenting the national discourse* (pp. 263-266). Baltimore, MD: The Johns Hopkins University Press. (Original work published 1947).
- Fenton, W. N. (2008). Area studies in American universities. In W. Smith & T. Bender (Eds.), *American higher education transformed, 1940-2005: Documenting the national discourse* (pp. 263-266). Baltimore, MD: The Johns Hopkins University Press. (Original work published 1947).
- Fine, M., Weis, L., Weseen, S. & Wong, L. (2003). For whom? Qualitative research, representation, and social responsibilities. In N. K. Denzin & Y. S. Lincoln (Eds.), *The landscape of qualitative research: Theories and issues* (2nd ed.), (pp. 167-207). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.

- Flexner, S. B. et al. (Ed.) (1980). *The random house dictionary*. New York, NY: First Ballantine Books.
- Fontana, A. & Frey, J. H. (2005). The interview: From neutral stance to political involvement. In N. K. Denzin & Y. S. Lincoln (Eds.), *The Sage handbook of qualitative research* (3rd ed.), (pp. 695-728). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.
- Friedman, J. (1992). Myth, history, and political identity. *Cultural anthropology*, 7(2), 194-210.
- Friere, P. (2004). Pedagogy of the oppressed. In D.J. Flinders & S.J. Thornton (Eds.), *The Curriculum Studies Reader* (2nd ed.), (pp. 125-133). New York: Routledge Falmer. (Original work published 1970.)
- Galvan, J. L. (2006). *Writing literature reviews: A guide for students of the social and behavioral sciences* (3rd ed.). Glendale, CA: Pyczak Publishing.
- Geiger, G. (2000). *The American college in the Nineteenth Century*. Nashville, TN: Vanderbilt University Press.
- Giddens, A. (2003). The globalizing of modernity. In D. Held and A. McGrew (Ed.s), *The global transformations reader: An introduction to the globalization debate* (2nd ed., pp. 60-66). Malden, MA: Polity Press.
- Giroux, H., Shumway, D., Smith, P., & Sosnoski, J. (1984). The need for cultural studies: Resisting intellectuals and oppositional public spheres. *Dalhousie Review*, 64 (2), 472-486.
- Glassner, B. (1999). *The Culture of Fear Why Americans are Afraid of the Wrong Things: Crime, Drugs, Minorities, Teen Moms, Killer Kids, Mutant Microbes, Plane Crashes, Road Rage, and So Much More*. New York: Basic Books.
- Goldstein, E. R. (2009). Rashid Khalidi's balancing act. *The chronicle of higher education*. Retrieved August 12, 2009 from <http://chronicle.com/article/Rashid-Khalidis-Balancing-Act/7866/print>.
- Gordon, M. (2004). The United States and Israel: Double standards, favoritism, and unconditional support. In J. L. Kincheloe & S. R. Steinberg (Eds.), *The miseducation of the West: How schools and the media distort our understandings of the Islamic world* (pp. 103-116). Westport, CT: Praeger Publishers.
- Graham, H. D. & Diamond, N. (1997). *The rise of American research universities: Elites and challengers in the postwar era*. Baltimore, MD: The Johns Hopkins University Press.
- Guba, E. G. & Lincoln, Y. S. (1994). Competing paradigms in qualitative research. In N. K. Denzin & Y. S. Lincoln (Eds.), *Handbook of qualitative research*, (pp. 105-117). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.

- Gupta, A. & Ferguson, J. (1992). Beyond “culture”: Space, identity, and the politics of difference. *Cultural anthropology*, 7(1), 6-23.
- Hamrick, R.A.; Evans, N.J.; & Schuh. (2002). *Foundations of student affairs practice: How philosophy, theory, and research strengthen educational outcomes*. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.
- Hardt, M. & Negri, A. (2000). *Empire*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Hartley, V.H. (2004). How college affects students’ religious faith and practice: A review of research. *The College Student Affairs Journal*, 23, 111-119.
- Hate Free Zone Campaign of Washington (n.d.). Retrieved September 26, 2009, from <http://www.hatefreezone.org/article.php?list=type&type=68>.
- Held, D. & McGrew, A. (2003). The great globalization debate. In D. Held and A. McGrew (Ed.s), *The global transformations reader: An introduction to the globalization debate* (2nd ed., pp. 1-50). Malden, MA: Polity Press.
- Hirsch Jr., E. D., Kett, J. F., & Trefil, J. (2002). *The new dictionary of cultural literacy: What every American needs to know*. Boston, MA: Houghton Mifflin Company.
- Hoeveler, J. D. (2002). *Creating the American mind: Intellect and politics in the colonial colleges*. Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers.
- hooks, b. (2004). Choosing the margin as a space of radical openness. In S. Harding (Ed.), *The feminist standpoint theory reader: Intellectual and political controversies* (pp. 153-159). New York, NY: Routledge.
- Hostetler, K. (2005). What is “Good” education research? *Educational researcher*, 34(6), 16-21.
- Hourani, A. (1991). *A history of the Arab peoples*. Cambridge, MA: The Belknap Press of Harvard University.
- Howe, K. R. (1998). The interpretive turn and the new debate in education. *Educational researcher*, 27(8), 13-20.
- Hurtado, S. (1996). The campus racial climate: Contexts of conflict. In Turner et.al. (Eds.), *Racial and Ethnic Diversity in Higher Education* (pp. 485-506). Needham Heights: Simon & Schuster.
- Hurtado, S., Milem, J. E., Clayton-Pedersen, A. R., & Allen, W. R. (1998). Enhancing campus climates for racial/ethnic diversity: Educational policy and practice. *The review of higher education* 21(3), pp. 279-302.
- Institute for International Education (2008) website <http://www.iese.org>. Retrieved March 4, 2008.

- Israel 'shelled civilian shelter'. (1/9/2009). BBC News. Retrieved August 23, 2009, from http://news.bbc.co.uk/go/pr/fr/-/2/hi/middle_east/7819492.stm.
- Jayakumar, U. M. (2008). Can higher education meet the needs of an increasingly diverse and global society? Campus diversity and cross-cultural workforce competencies. *Harvard educational review*, 78(4), 615-651.
- Kalsner, L. & Pistole, M. C. (2003). College adjustment in a multiethnic sample: attachment, separation-individuation, and ethnic identity. *Journal of college student development* 44(1), 92-109.
- Kantrowitz, B., Naughton, K., Halpert, J., & Wingert, P. (November 12, 2001). Generation 9-11: The kids who grew up with peace and prosperity are facing their defining moment. *Newsweek*, 138(20), 46.
- Keller, G. (2001). The new demographics of higher education. *The review of higher education*, 24(3), 219-235.
- Kellner, D. (2004). September 11, terror war, and blowback. In J. L. Kincheloe & S. R. Steinberg (Eds.), *The miseducation of the West: How schools and the media distort our understandings of the Islamic world* (pp. 25-42). Westport, CT: Praeger Publishers.
- Kilbourn, B. (2006). The qualitative doctoral dissertation proposal. *Teachers college record*, 108(4), 529-576.
- Kincheloe, J. L. & Steinberg, S. R. (2004). *The miseducation of the West: How schools and the media distort our understanding of the Islamic world*. Westport, CT: Praeger Publishers.
- Kohlberg, L. (1971). Stages of moral development as a basis for moral education. In C. Beck, B. S. Crittenden, & E. V. Sullivan (Eds.), *Moral education: Interdisciplinary approaches* (pp. 23-92). Toronto: University of Toronto Press.
- Kuh, G. D. (2000). Understanding campus environments. In M. J. Barr, M. K. Desler, & Associates (Eds.), *The handbook of student affairs administration* (pp. 50-72). San Francisco, CA: Jossey-Bass.
- Kuh, G.D.; Gonyea, R.M.; & Williams, J.M. (2005). What students expect from college and what they get. In T.E. Miller, et.al (Eds.). *Promoting reasonable expectations: Aligning student and institutional views of the college experience* (pp. 34-64). San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.
- Kuhn, T. S. (2008). The structure of scientific revolutions. In W. Smith & T. Bender (Eds.), *American higher education transformed, 1940-2005: Documenting the national discourse* (pp. 241-249). Baltimore, MD: The Johns Hopkins University Press. (Original work published 1962).

- Ladson-Billings, G. (2003). New directions in multicultural education: Complexities, boundaries, and critical race theory. In J. A. Banks & C. A. McGee-Banks (Eds.), *Handbook of research on multicultural education* (2nd ed.), (pp. 50-65).
- Lather, P. (1992). Critical frames in educational research: Feminist and post-structural perspectives. *Theory into practice*, 31(2), 87-99.
- Lather, P. (1993). Fertile obsession: Validity after poststructuralism. *The sociological quarterly*, 34 (4), pp. 673-693.
- Lather, P. (2007, October). *Getting lost: Social science and/as philosophy*. George Kneller Lecturer at the American Educational Studies Association Conference, Cleveland, OH.
- Latour, B. (1987). *Science in action: How to follow scientists and engineers through society*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Leonardo, Z. (2004). The souls of white folk: Critical pedagogy, whiteness studies, and globalization discourse. In G. Ladson-Billings & D. Gillborn (Eds.), *The RoutledgeFalmer reader in multicultural education* (pp. 117-136). New York: RoutledgeFalmer. (Originally published in 2002.)
- Lesko, N. (2001). *Act your age! A cultural construction of adolescence*. New York: Routledge.
- Levine, A. (1993). *Higher learning in America: 1980-2000*. Baltimore, MD: The Johns Hopkins University Press.
- Levine, A. (1999). Diversity on campus. In B. A. Jones (Series Ed.) & J. L. Bess & D. S. Webster (Vol. Eds.) *ASHE reader series: Foundations of American higher education* (2nd ed., pp. 38-44). Needham Heights, MA: Simon & Schuster Custom Printing.
- Levy, G. (n.d.) The time of the righteous. Retrieved August 13, 2009, from <http://www.haaretz.com/hasen/objects/pages/PrintArticleEn.jhtml?itemNo=1054158>.
- Lincoln, Y.S. & Guba, E.G. (2003). Paradigmatic controversies, contradictions, and emerging confluences. In N.K. Denzin & Y.S. Lincoln (Ed.s). *The landscape of qualitative research: Theories and issues* (2nd Ed.), (pp. 253-291). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.
- Locks, A. M.; Hurtado, S.; Bowman, N. A.; & Oseguera, L. (2008). Extending notions of campus climate and diversity to students' transition to college. *The Review of Higher Education*, 31 (3), 257-286.
- Love, P. & Talbot, D. (1999). Defining spiritual development: A missing consideration for student affairs. *NASPA journal*, 37(1), 361-375.
- Lucas, C. J. (1994). *American higher education: A history*. New York: St. Martin's Griffin.

- Martinez Aleman, A. M. & Salkever, K. (2003). Mission, multiculturalism, and the liberal arts college: A qualitative investigation. *The journal of higher education*, 74(5), 563-596.
- Maxwell, J. A. (2006). Literature reviews of, and for, educational research: A commentary on Boote and Beile's "Scholars before researchers". *Educational researcher*, 35(9), 28-31.
- McEwen, M. K., Roper, L., Bryant, D., & Langa, M. (1990). Incorporating the development of African-American students into psychosocial theories of student development. *Journal of college student development*, 31, 429-436.
- McMurtrie, B. (November 21, 2008). Foreign students pour back into the U.S. *The chronicle of higher education*. Retrieved August 12, 2009, from <http://chronicle.com/article/Foreign-Students-Pour-Back/15377/print>
- McRee, T. K. & Cooper, D. L. (1998). Campus environments for gay, lesbian, and bisexual students at southeastern institutions of higher education. *NASPA Journal*, 36(1), 48-60.
- Meyer, M. A. (2004). *Ho'oulu our time of becoming: Hawaiian epistemology, and early writings* (2nd ed.) Honolulu, HI: 'Ai Pōhaku Press.
- Meyer, M. A. (2010, February). *Keynote address*. 6th International Globalization, Diversity, & Education Conference, Spokane, WA.
- Miles, M. B. & Huberman, A. M. (1984). *Qualitative data analysis: A sourcebook of new methods*. Beverly Hills, CA: Sage Publications.
- Miller, T. E., Bender, B. E., Schuh, J. H., & Associates. (2005). *Promoting reasonable expectations: Aligning student and institutional views of the college experience*. San Francisco, CA: Jossey-Bass.
- Milner, M., Jr. (2004). *Freaks, geeks, and cool kids: American teenagers, schools, and the culture of consumption*. New York, NY: Routledge.
- MLA contemplates taking a stand in support of scholars of Palestine. (1/7/2009). *The chronicle of higher education*. Retrieved August 12, 2009 from <http://chronicle.com/article/MLA-Contemplates-Taking-a/42207/print>.
- Mohanty, C. T. (1984). Under Western eyes: Feminist scholarship through colonial discourse. *boundary 2*, 12(3), 333-358.
- Moneta, L. & Kuh, G.D. (2005). When expectations and realities collide: Environmental influences on student expectations and student experiences. In T.E. Miller, et.al (Eds.). *Promoting reasonable expectations: Aligning student and institutional views of the college experience* (pp. 65-83). San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.
- Morris, E. (2008, May 19). The most curious thing. *The New York Times*. Retrieved April 11, 2010, from <http://opinionator.blogs.nytimes.com/2008/05/19/the-most-curious-thing/>.

- Morrow, R. A. & Torres, C. A. (1995). *Social theory and education: A critique of theories in social and cultural reproduction*. Albany, NY: State University of New York Press.
- Moses, M. S. (2007). The media as educators, educational research, and autonomous deliberation. *Peabody Journal of Education*, 82(1), 150-165.
- Nathan, R. (2005). *My freshman year: What a professor learned by becoming a student*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press.
- Neider, X. (2009). From a United States standpoint: Researching Muslim higher education students. In F. N. Seggie & R. O. Mabokela (Ed.s) *Islam and higher education in transitional societies*. Rotterdam, Netherlands: Sense Publishers.
- Norwood, S. H. (2004). Legitimizing Nazism: Harvard University and the Hitler regime, 1933-1937. *American Jewish history*, 92(1), 189-223.
- Norwood, S. H. (2009). *Third Reich in the ivory tower: Complicity and conflict on American campuses*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Nixon, H. (2005). Cultural pedagogies of technology in a globalized economy. In M. W. Apple, J. Kenway, and M. Singh (Eds.), *Globalizing education: Policies, pedagogies, & politics* (pp. 31-44), New York: Peter Lang.
- Nuss, E. M. (1998). Redefining college and university relationships with students. *NASPA journal*, 35(3), 183-192.
- Osei-Kofi, N. (2003). Whose "I/Eye" counts?: The reproduction of mythical master narratives. *The review of higher education*, 26(4), 487-496.
- Parks, S. (2005). The journey toward mature adult faith: A model. In M. E. Wilson & L. E. Wolf-Wendel (Eds.), *ASHE Reader of college student development theory* (pp.139-152), Upper Saddle River, NJ: Pearson.
- Pascarella, E. T. (2006). How college affects students: Ten directions for future research. *Journal of college student development*, 47(5), 508-520.
- Perry, W. G., Jr. (1968/1999). *Forms of intellectual and ethical development in the college years: A scheme*. San Francisco, CA: Jossey Bass.
- Pope, R. L. (2000). The relationship between psychosocial development and racial identity of college students of color. *Journal of college student development*, 41(3), 302-312.
- Prisoners: US: Sami Omar Al Hussayen (Released). (n.d.). Retrieved September 12, 2009, from <http://www.cageprisoners.com/prisoners.pho?id=1383>
- Pritchard, M. E. & Wilson, G. S. (2003). Using emotional and social factors to predict student success. *Journal of college student development*, 44(1), 18-28.

- Rajagopalan, K. (2008). *Muslims of metropolis: The stories of three immigrant families in the West*. New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press.
- Ramsay, S., Jones, E., & Barker, M. (2007). Relationship between adjustment and support types: Young and mature-aged local and international first year university students. *Higher education*, 54, 247-265.
- Reese, W. J. & Rury, J. L. (Eds.). (2008). *Rethinking the history of American education*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Rhee, J. & Danowitz-Sagaria, M. A. (2004). International students: Constructions of imperialism in the *Chronicle of Higher Education*. *The review of higher education*, 28(1), 77-96.
- Richardson, Jr., R. C. & Fisk-Skinner, E. (1990). Adapting to diversity: Organizational influences on student achievement. *The journal of higher education*, 61(5), 485-511.
- Rosovsky, H. (1990). *The university: An owner's manual*. New York: W.W. Norton & Company.
- Rund, J. A. (2002). The changing context of campus safety. In C. K. Wilkinson & J. A. Rund (Eds.) *New directions in student services: Special issue: Addressing contemporary campus safety issues* (pp. 3-10). New York: Wiley.
- Rury, J. L. (2002). *Education and social change: Themes in the history of American schooling*. Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.
- Russell, B. (2003, April 26). Deportation ordered for Saudi student. *SpokesmanReview.com*. Retrieved April 11, 2010, from <http://www.spokesmanreview.com/pf.asp?date=o42603&ID=s1341984>.
- Said, E. W. (1979). *Orientalism*. London: Vintage.
- Sameshima, P. (2007). *Seeing Red: A pedagogy of parallax, an epistolary bildungsroman on artful scholarly inquiry*. Youngstown, NY: Cambria Press.
- Sanford, N. (1962). Development status of the entering freshman. In N. Sanford (Ed.), *The American college* (pp. 253-282). New York: Wiley.
- Saukko, P. (2005). Methodologies for cultural studies: An integrative approach. In N. K. Denzin & Y. S. Lincoln (Eds.). *The Sage handbook of qualitative research* (3rd ed.), (pp. 343-356). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.
- Scheurich, J. J. (2001). *Research method in the postmodern*. (2nd ed.) New York: Routledge Falmer.
- Schlossberg, N., K. (1984). *Counseling adults in transition: Linking practice with theory*. New York: Springer.

- Seemungal, M. (2006, September 15). Pope offends Muslims worldwide: Different Muslim groups demanding apology. *ABC News*, Retrieved April 11, 2010, from <http://abcnews.go.com/International/story?id=2450071&page=1>.
- Segal, D. A. (1996). Resisting identities: A found theme. *Cultural anthropology*, 11(4), 431-434.
- Seidman, I. (2006). *Interviewing as qualitative research: A guide for researchers in education and the social sciences*. (3rd ed.) New York: Teachers College Press.
- Shapiro, S. (2005). Lessons of September 11: What should schools teach? In H. S. Shapiro & D. E. Purpel (Eds.), *Critical social issues in American education: Democracy and meaning in a globalizing world* (2nd ed.), (pp. 465-473). Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum. (Original work published 2000).
- Skalli, L. (2004). Loving Muslim women with a vengeance: The West, women, and fundamentalism. In J. L. Kincheloe & S. R. Steinberg (Eds.), *The miseducation of the West: How schools and the media distort our understandings of the Islamic world* (pp. 43-58). Westport, CT: Praeger Publishers.
- Smedley, B. D., Myers, H. F., & Harrell, S. P. (1993). Minority-stresses and the college adjustment of ethnic minority freshman. *The journal of higher education*, 64(4), 434-452.
- Smith, L. T. (2006). *Decolonizing methodologies: Research and indigenous peoples*. London: Zed Books.
- Southern Poverty Law Center (2008). <http://www.splcenter.org>, Retrieved March 4, 2008.
- Spring, J. (2006). *The intersection of cultures: Multicultural education in the United States and the global community* (3rd ed.). Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.
- Spring, J. (2007). *Deculturalization and the struggle for equality: A brief history of the education of dominated cultures in the United States* (5th ed.) Boston, MA: McGraw-Hill.
- Spring, J. (2008). *The American school: From the Puritans to No Child Left Behind* (7th ed.). Boston, MA: McGraw-Hill.
- Spivak, G. C. (1999). Scattered speculations on the question of cultural studies. In S. Daring (Ed.), *The cultural studies reader* (2nd ed.), (pp.169-188), New York: Routledge.
- Steinberg, S. R. (2004). Desert minstrels: Hollywood's curriculum of Arabs and Muslims. In Kincheloe, J. L. & Steinberg, S. R. (2004). *The miseducation of the West: How schools and the media distort our understanding of the Islamic world* (pp.171-179), Westport, CT: Praeger.
- Stewart, D. L. (2002). The role of faith development of an integrated identity: A qualitative study of black students at a white college. *Journal of college student development*, 43(4), 579-596.

- Stiggins, R. J. (2008). *An introduction to student-involved assessment FOR learning*. (5th ed.) Upper Saddle River, NJ: Prentice-Hall, Inc.
- Stonebanks, C. D. (2004). Consequences of perceived ethnic identities. In J. L. Kincheloe & S. R. Steinberg (Eds.), *The miseducation of the West: How schools and the media distort our understandings of the Islamic world* (pp. 87-102). Westport, CT: Praeger Publishers.
- Strauss, A.L. (1987). *Qualitative analysis for social scientists*. San Francisco: Cambridge University Press.
- Suarez-Orozco, C. (2004). Formulating identity in a globalized world. In M. M. Suarez-Orozco, & D. B. Qin-Hillard, (2004). *Globalization: Culture and education in the new millennium* (pp. 173-202). Los Angeles, CA: University of California Press.
- Tanaka, G. (2002). Higher education's self-reflexive turn: Toward an intercultural theory of student development. *The journal of higher education*, 73(2), 262-296.
- Taub, D. J. & McEwen, M. K. (1991). Patterns of development of autonomy and mature interpersonal relationships in black and white undergraduate women. *Journal of college student development*, 32, 502-508.
- Tehrani, J. (September 26, 2008). Middle Easterners: Sometimes white, sometimes not. *The chronicle of higher education*. Retrieved August 12, 2009, from <http://chronicle.com/article/Middle-Easterners-Sometimes/3537/print>
- Thelin, J. R. (2004). *A history of American higher education*. Baltimore, MD: The Johns Hopkins University Press.
- Tierney, W. G. (1992). An anthropological analysis of student participation in college. *The journal of higher education*, 63(6), 603-618.
- Torres, V. (2003). Influences on ethnic identity development of Latino college students in the first two years of college. *Journal of college student development*, 44(4), 532-547.
- Trial of graduate student could test Patriot Act. (2004, April 14). *USA Today*. Retrieved April 11, 2010, from http://www.usatoday.com/news/washington/2004-4-14-idaho-case_x.htm.
- Trice, A. G. (2004). Mixing it up: International graduate students's social interactions with American students. *Journal of college student development*, 45(6), 671-687.
- Trow, M. (1999). American higher education—past, present and future. In B. A. Jones (Series Ed.) & J. L. Bess & D. S. Webster (Vol. Eds.) *ASHE reader series: Foundations of American higher education* (2nd ed., pp. 7-22). Needham Heights, MA: Simon & Schuster Custom Printing.
- Uniting and Strengthening America by Providing Appropriate Tools Required to Intercept and Obstruct Terrorism (USA PATRIOT) Act of 2001, (H.R. 3162), 107th Cong. (2001). Retrieved April 11, 2010, from <http://epic.org/privacy/terrorism/hr3162.htm>.

- U.S. Bureau of the Census (2000). Current population reports. Washington DC.
- U.S. Constitution.
- Vidich, A. J. & Lyman, M. (2003). Qualitative methods: Their history in sociology and anthropology. In N. K. Denzin & Y. S. Lincoln (2005). *The landscape of qualitative research: Theories and issues* (2nd ed.), (pp. 55-130). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.
- Vincent, W. J. (2005). *Statistics in kinesiology*. (3rd ed.) Champaign, IL: Human Kinetics.
- West, C. (2001). *Race matters*. New York, NY: Vintage Books.
- Wilkinson, C. K. (2002). September 11, 2001. In C. K. Wilkinson & J. A. Rund (Eds.) *New directions in student services: Special issue: Addressing contemporary campus safety issues* (pp. 87-96). New York: Wiley.
- Willinsky, J. (1998). *Learning to divide the world: Education at Empire's end*. Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press.
- Wolcott, H.F. (2001). *The art of fieldwork*. Walnut Creek, CA: Alta Mira Press.
- Zaal, M., Salah, T., & Fine, M. (2007). The weight of the hyphen: Freedom, fusion and responsibility embodied by young Muslim-American women during a time of surveillance. *Applied development science*, 11(3), 164-177.
- Zajacova, A., Lynch, S. M., & Espenshade, J. (2005). Self-efficacy, stress, and academic success in college. *Research in higher education*, 46(6), 677-706.

APPENDIX A

INTERVIEW PROTOCOL - STUDENT

Research Question: How do students of Middle Eastern heritage navigate higher education institutions in the United States?

- 1) Demographic
 - a. What is your age?
 - b. What is your academic level?
 - c. What is your major/minor?
- 2) Tell me how/why you chose this institution.
- 3) Tell me about your experiences at your university.
 - a. Tell me about your interactions/experiences with university personnel.
 - b. Tell me about your interactions/experiences with students on campus and in classes.
 - i. How have your interactions with university personnel and students affected your experiences?
 - c. Tell me about a time that the university met your expectations?
 - d. Tell me about a time that the university did not meet your expectations?
 - i. How did you reconcile this gap?
- 4) What ways do you participate in university life?
 - a. How do you choose which aspects of university life to participate in?
 - b. How has your participation in university life affected your experiences?
- 5) Tell me about your experiences in the U.S.
 - a. What ways do you participate in U.S. culture, politics, and life?
 - b. How do you choose which aspects of U.S. culture, politics, and life to participate in?
 - c. How have your interactions with persons or institutions in U.S. society affected your experiences in higher education?

- d. Tell me about a time when the larger U.S. context affected your experiences in higher education.
 - e. How has your participation in U.S. culture, politics, or life affected your experiences in higher education?
- 6) Tell me about experiences you may have had in other parts of the world and/or within the U.S.
- a. How do these experiences compare to your experiences at this university?
- 7) How can U.S. higher education better support/accommodate students of Middle Eastern heritage?

APPENDIX B

INTERVIEW PROTOCOL – ADVISOR/STAFF

Research Question: What are the experiences of transnational Middle Eastern students on one U.S. college campus?

- 1) Tell me about your role in working with international students
- 2) What kind of knowledge and understanding has helped you in working with Middle Eastern or Muslim students?
- 3) What is it like to work with Middle Eastern or Muslim student programming?
- 4) What is the difference in working with Middle Eastern or Muslim student activity programming and other international student programming?
- 5) How has working with international students evolved – in particular with students of Middle Eastern heritage?
- 6) What does the role of your student group or the International Student Center mean to the larger university community?
- 7) What does the role of your student group or the International Student Center mean to the community?
- 8) How does the national climate impact your work with Middle Eastern students?
- 9) Tell me about how you work to mediate the impact of the national climate within your organization or for your students.
- 10) If you could change anything in the university structure to better accommodate Muslim students, what would that be and why?