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Minority Serving Institutions as Sites of Ethnoracial
Identity Development Among Southeast Asian Students

A Thesis submitted in partial satisfaction of the requirements
for the degree of Master of Arts

in

Sociology

by

Houa Vang

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2018

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Abstract

Students can integrate into their higher education institution through their ethnoracial identity. Although some scholars see attachment to one's culture and ethnic or racial group as a deficit, it has been suggested that having a positive relationship with one's ethnic or racial identity is beneficial for students socially and academically. Many studies have looked at development of ethnoracial identity at predominantly white institutions. However, this study examines how Southeast Asian Students use the institution to form or maintain their ethnoracial identity at a predominantly nonwhite Asian American Native American Pacific Islander Serving Institution (AANAPISI) and non-AANAPISI school. I find that students form or maintain their ethnoracial identity using three outlets at both Minority Serving Institutions: 1) Asian American Studies courses or related courses, 2) cultural organizations, and 3) cultural events. Those that used one or more of these outlets were more ethnoracially aware and used less colorblind language. Those that did not use these outlets used more colorblind language and did not see race or ethnicity as an identity that affected them or their peers. I found no differences in the processes among students between these two universities. The AANAPISI designation did not matter in the parameters of this study.

Introduction

In this “post-racial” and colorblind era, higher education institutions are becoming more racially diverse (Maramba and Velasquez 2012). Most studies have looked at the integration of minority students on college campuses (Hurtado, Milem, Clayton-Pedersen, and Allen 1999; Milem and Hakuta 2000). Yet, few studies have examined how students’ ethnic or racial identities are developed during the years of postsecondary education. Furthermore, few have examined how higher education institutions shape students’ ethnic or racial identity and facilitate or block students’ inclusion at their higher education institutions (Feliciano 2009). Not all students integrate monolithically or integrate into campus, and this may not be a problem. Indeed, the formation or maintenance of racial identity may be more central than integration into a campus for some students’ abilities to succeed.

As the college-going population has become more racially diverse, Minority Serving Institutions (MSIs) such as Hispanic Serving Institutions (HSIs) and Asian American Native American Pacific Islander Serving Institutions (AANAPISIs) have emerged to better serve this racially diverse population. MSIs educate 20% of students and 40% of students of color (Gasman, Samayoa, Boland, and Esmieu 2018). Thus, MSIs are an important component of our higher education system that requires further exploration.

In this study, I examine how Southeast Asian Students (SEA) students form or maintain their ethnoracial identity through their minority serving higher education institutions. The sample was designed around a contrast between one AANAPISI and one non-AANAPISI institution. However, I found no difference in how my participants formed or maintained their ethnoracial identity, and the extent to which the school offered them opportunities to do so. Thus, the AANAPISI label did not matter in the context of this study.

I found that the students from both institutions formed or maintained their ethnoracial identity in three main ways: 1) through taking Asian American Studies courses; 2) being involved in cultural organizations; and 3) attending or appreciating cultural events on campus. Students who partook in one or more of these were more racially conscious and believed their ethnic or racial identity was more important than those who did not. Furthermore, they also used less colorblind language and better understood the dynamics of current racial relations.

Literature Review

Ethnoracial Identity in Higher Education

Ethnoracial identity is used in this study to describe the students’ identification with their ethnic or racial identity. Asian Americans are often racialized as a group but there are many ethnic groups within the racial category (Okamoto 2003). Hence, participants in this study may identify with their ethnicity or race. Ethnoracial identity is an important factor in influencing the outcomes of students of color. Previous studies on identity and education have primarily focused on the negative relationship between racial identity and investment of education (Ferguson Ludwick, and Rich 2001; Austen-Smith and Fryer 2005; Fryer and Torelli 2005). These studies find that negative or underdeveloped ethnic identities are indications of poor psychological

functioning among college-age participants (Roberts et al. 1999; Romero and Roberts 2003). Other studies have examined the positive relationship between ethnic identity and psychological outcomes. These studies found that those with well-developed ethnic identities have higher self-esteem and psychological wellbeing (Phelps, Taylor, and Gerard 2001; St. Louis and Liem 2005).

Many studies that examined the ethnic or racial identity of college-age students have primarily looked at students of color in predominantly white institutions as well as selective institutions. Maramba and Velasquez (2012) found that students of color were less in touch with their ethnic identity and had little knowledge about their ethnic group before college. However, while in their 4th or 5th year in college, the students gained a better understanding of their ethnic group and identified more strongly with their ethnic identity. Students who further developed their ethnic identity had a better sense of belonging, sense of competence, and interpersonal relationships on campus. Yet, a large proportion of our students of color attend less selective institutions and institutions that are more racially and ethnically diverse (Gasman and Conrad 2013); hence, examining those types of institutions is important for understanding the development of racial or ethnic identity among a variety of other students in higher education.

Institutional Environments and Their Influence on Identity

Scholars have suggested that students detach from their home communities and submit to the dominant group's norms and culture to be successful in higher education (Tinto 1987). However, studies show that when students have a better connection to their identity, they do better in school and have a higher sense of belonging on campus (Flores-Gonzalez 1999; Maramba and Velasquez 2012). Thus, Tinto's original theory was revised to suggest that students must integrate socially and academically to be successful (Tinto 1993). To integrate socially students must form relationships with other students and peers outside the classroom. To integrate academically students must become attached to the academic life of the institution and interact with professors and other staff. Nonetheless, the revised theory still emphasizes students' responsibility to adjust to the institution and ignores the institution's responsibilities to adjust to a multiracial campus (Tierney 1999). Furthermore, it ignores how students of color may use their ethnic or racial identity to integrate into the campus differently than those from the dominant culture or group. What matters is not just that students integrate, but how they integrate into campus and the pathways they take (Armstrong and Hamilton 2013).

Other theories have called on institutions to adjust to the multiracial student population and serve them through educational programs or spaces and events that relate to their cultures (Tierney 1999; Museus 2011). Institutions play several roles in shaping students' racial and ethnic identities in higher education. For example, Carter (2006) found that black or Latino students who are seen as identifying with whites have peers in honors classes who are mostly whites. Feliciano (2009) found in her study that those who were more highly educated were more likely to identify with hyphenated identities. These studies suggest that education and institutions influence students' racial or ethnic identities and not just that students identify with a racial or ethnic identity that decreases or increases their chances of success.

A major institutional factor that influences students and their ethnoracial identities is the campus racial climate. Research on racial campus climates has primarily analyzed students' perceptions at predominantly white and four-year institutions (Harper and Hurtado 2007; Cuellar and Johnson-Ahorlu 2016). Within these contexts, studies show that students of color perceive a more discriminatory and less welcoming environment than their white peers (Rankin and Reason 2005; Harper and Hurtado, 2007; Hurtado, Griffin, Arellano, and Cuellar 2008; Cuellar and Johnson-Ahorlu 2016).

Hurtado and Carter (1997) assessed Latina/o students' sense of belonging and found that hostile climates at institutions were related to students' lower levels of belonging. Reid and Radhakrishnan (2003) found that students of color had a more negative evaluation of the general campus, racial, and academic climates than their white peers. In addition, studies have also shown that ethnic minority students often drop out when they feel as though do not belong (Just 1999; Swail, Redd, and Perna 2003). Members of an institution signal intolerance to minority groups when they discriminate against minority students' values and culture (Museus, Nichols, and Lambert 2008). Thus, having an institution that understands the students they are serving is critical to students' success.

The campus racial climate affects students' racial or ethnic identities because of the kinds of environment institutions create for students either enhance and embrace their ethnoracial identities or diminish them. Institutions that are racially or ethnically diverse can influence Asian American students' sense of belonging through making sure students feel as though their culture is included and welcome on campus (Park 2009). Wells and Horn (2016) found in their study of Asian American students' experiences at racially/ethnically diverse institutions that their perceptions about the institution predicted how well they believed that their Asian culture fit in with the campus culture. Subsequently, Maramba and Museus (2011) found that Filipino American students' sense of belonging intertwined with their sense of belonging to the campus and the racial climates. Additionally, the ethnic group cohesion that students had on campus positively affected their sense of belonging on campus.

Importance of Minority Serving Institutions

Minority Serving Institutions (MSIs) have a long history of including and providing opportunities for students of color in the education system (Wolanin 1998; Gasman and Conrad 2013). MSIs tend to have more minority students along with faculty and staff of color (Gasman and Conrad 2013). The number of minority students on campus can influence how students feel and experience the campus (Gurin 1999). However, having physical diversity on campus does nothing if people do not cultivate it and enact policies and initiatives to help students of color feel welcome. Racial diversification without education on issues of race can create negative interactions and consequences on campus (Gurin 1999). There are positive social outcomes when campus administrators intentionally cultivate multicultural experiences for students (Milem 2003).

There has not been an abundance of studies conducted on the actual inclusion and sense of belonging that students feel on MSI campuses, but some studies have indicated that there are benefits to attending a MSI with one benefit being its supportive environment (Brown 2003;

Baez, Gasman, and Turner 2008). For instance, Allen (2016) found that Hispanic students who attended a HBCU gained academic validation through the relationships they built with faculty, campus administrators, and peers. African American students attending HBCUs have reported more positive experiences and gains in critical thinking, cultural awareness, and intellectual and personal development (Watson and Kuh 1996, Bridges, Kinzie, Laird, and Kuh 2008). HBCUs have been recognized for validating the campus environment for African American students (Hirt, Amelink, McFeeters, and Strayhorn 2008; Palmer and Gasman 2008; T. Allen 2016).

Although HBCUs have a longer history of serving minority students than other MSIs, they also have a commitment to serving these students through a specific mission built into the institution (Allen 2016). On the other hand, being a HSI or AANAPISI simply means meeting basic percentage requirements to apply for designation(s). Thus, there may be no real commitments on the institutions' end to effectively serve and include these students on campus. Feeling included and comfortable on a campus is integral to the success of students. Since universities can shape the experiences of their students (Stevens 2007; Binder and Wood 2012; Armstrong and Hamilton 2013), MSIs such as AANAPISIs can learn from HBCUs to promote and provide a safe campus where students of color can learn more about their ethnic or racial identity.

MSIs may be able to contribute to students' of color ethnic or racial identity formation or maintenance because of their diverse and supportive environment. This is especially important for Asian American students and more so for Southeast Asian students who tend to have lower attainment rates in higher education and higher poverty rates (SEARAC 2011). Since Asian American students are often seen as successful model minorities, their needs are often ignored in their institutions (Ngo and Lee 2007; Museus 2008; Museus and Kiang 2009). Yet, Asian American students also need guidance and support in higher education (Teranishi 2012).

Asian Americans, the Model Minority Myth, and Colorblind Racism

Asian Americans are often seen as on par with whites in terms of education and income (Sakamoto, Goyette, and Kim 2009). However, Lee and Kye (2016) found in their review of the literature that Asian Americans are still being racialized and have not met parity with whites. Furthermore, the socioeconomic success of Asian Americans is exaggerated and does not represent the variation within the different ethnic groups. The 2010 Census Bureau reports that 28.2% of the overall population in the U.S. has a bachelor's degree or higher (SEARAC 2011). For Asians overall, that percentage was 48.9%. However, when looking at that percentage for Southeast Asian groups it was 16% for Cambodian, 14.8% for Hmong, 13.2% for Laotian, and 25.5% for Vietnamese. Southeast Asians also have a higher percentage of people living in poverty than the national average (15.3%) or the average for the Asian category (12.4%), with 21.6% of Cambodian, 27.3% of Hmong, 16.4% of Laotian, and 15.2% of Vietnamese living in poverty (SEARAC 2011). Many Southeast Asian Americans have some of the lowest higher education and highest poverty rates in the nation; yet, those statistics are ignored because of the broader Asian American racial label.

Asian Americans have been one of the fastest growing groups in the United States (CARE 2013, 2014). They tend to be portrayed as high achievers and an economically superior

minority group (Teranishi 2012). However, that portrayal, often referred to as the Model Minority Myth (MMM), conceals the many ethnic groups who are struggling within that racial category. Many of these ethnic groups are Southeast Asian Americans. (2011). Although Southeast Asian American groups each have distinctive histories, most of them came as refugees to the United States starting in the 1970s during and after the Vietnam War (Ngo and Lee 2007). The MMM was created in the 1960s to frame Asian Americans as model minorities and to create doubt that there were social disparities in society (Kiang, Witkow, and Thompson 2016). Thus, although some Asians such as the Japanese and Chinese who were in the U.S. at that time could be seen as model minorities, the myth did not initially include SEA who came later.

The Model Minority Myth masks many of the struggles that Southeast Asian students face today. The myth is part of the colorblind rhetoric that is invoked by various members of society (Poon et al. 2016). Colorblindness is the perception that race does not matter and everyone has equal opportunities to be successful (Ditomaso, Parks-Yancy, and Post 2003; Bonilla-Silva 2013). Bonilla-Silva (2013) suggests there are four frames that people use to exert colorblind racism: 1) abstract liberalism is when people blame individuals for their problems and view that people have choices in terms of education and other endeavors; 2) naturalization is when people see racial phenomena as natural; 3) cultural racism includes people using someone's culture to explain their status; and lastly 4) minimization of racism is when people believe that discrimination no longer affects the lives of people of color. Colorblind racism such as the MMM paints a picture where Asian Americans are successful and thus, they do not need other resources or assistance.

Many studies have suggested that Asian American students are often ignored because educators are not aware of the struggles they have (Ngo and Lee 2007; Wing 2007; Museus 2008; Museus and Kiang 2009). Museus (2008) showed that academic stereotypes about Asian American students could damage their learning processes and cause them to avoid institutional agents inside and outside of the classroom. While Asians are often ignored in politics and other important discourses (Teranishi 2012), being ignored in education has especially severe consequences to Southeast Asians since they already have low educational attainment rates. Hence, AANAPISIs play an important role in educating many of these low-income AAPI students because of their focus on serving Asian American students. AANAPISI institutions make up less than 3% of all postsecondary institutions, but enroll over 25% of all AAPI undergraduate students (Gasman and Conrad 2013).

The racial composition of many higher education institutions will change with an expected 35% increase of AAPI undergraduates in the coming years (CARE 2013). There is not much known about AAPI students' educational trajectories and higher education outcomes beyond their high number of attendance at selective institutions (Teranishi 2012). Yet, a majority of AAPI students attend less selective institutions and lower resourced institutions (CARE 2013). As more AAPI students become a part of higher education institutions, we need to better understand how they form or maintain ethnoracial identities, and how postsecondary schools can aid in this process.

This is an important endeavor because students can be retained in higher education through connecting with their ethnoracial identities (Maramba and Velasquez 2012).

Additionally, by connecting with one's ethnic or racial identity students can not only gain more knowledge about their background but also become more aware of racial issues, which is important to dismantle colorblind racism. My project was thus designed to better understand SEA students' ethnoracial identity formation and maintenance at an AANAPISI and non-AANAPISI.

Methods

Data

The data for this research consist of individual interviews of undergraduate Southeast Asian (SEA) students from a designated AANAPISI and an eligible but non-designated AANAPISI. There were a total of 26 participants—13 from each campus. Interviewing students from an eligible but non-AANAPISI is important because it allows me to make comparisons between two universities that are fairly similar in their needs based on the AANAPISI qualification standards—income and Asian student population.

Studies that compare designated and non-designated MSIs have primarily examined educational outcomes such as graduation rates (Flores and Park 2015; Garcia 2012). Other studies have also compared racial climate and sense of belonging of MSIs to predominately white institutions (PWIs) (Harper and Hurtado 2007; Cuellar and Johnson-Ahorlu 2016). However, to my knowledge no studies have compared a MSI with another MSI in terms of ethnoracial identity development. This study consists of two universities that are both MSIs. One university has the AANAPISI and HSI designation while the other university only has the HSI designation. The major difference that is important in this study is that one is an AANAPISI and one is not. Having an AANAPISI designation may signal to the students at the institution and others outside the institution that the university is dedicated to serve the Asian student population (Teranishi 2012). Furthermore, it may also signal that the Asian student population needs resources to navigate higher education, discounting the Model Minority Myth.

Both institutions in this study are located in southern California and are about 45 minutes from each other. They are also a part of the same four-year state university system. Characteristics of the universities are listed in Table 1 below. It is critical for the institutions to be similar enough to make comparisons, but different enough to identify variation in infrastructure and the outcomes of interest.

As can be seen from Table 1, both universities have slightly similar numbers of students and racial composition of students. However, the numbers also reveal some different characteristics. While both schools are majority Hispanics, the AANAPISI has a similar number of Asian and white students. On the other hand, the non-AANAPISI has more Asian students than white students. This makes it an interesting case because, although it has a larger Asian population than white population, institutional leadership has still chosen not to pursue an AANAPISI designation. Additionally, the non-AANAPISI is less selective than the AANAPISI. The AANAPISI has about 10,000 more students than the non-AANAPISI. Both are situated in geographically similar places in Los Angeles. The AANAPISI is situated within a small/medium

city while the non-AANAPISI is situated within a larger city. Due to their close geographic proximity, the two schools recruit and receive students from similar places.

Table 1. Characteristics of AANAPISI and Non-AANAPISI

	AANAPISI	Non-AANAPISI
Total Student Population	34,576	24, 059
Race of Student Population		
Asian	21%	14%
White	20%	7%
Hispanic	42%	64%
Admission Rate	48%	64%

Table 2 below shows the characteristics of the participants at both universities. There were a total of 12 females and 14 males in the study. A majority of my participants were Vietnamese (17), two were Hmong, three were Filipino, three were Cambodian, and two identified as another ethnic group. Twenty-three of the students were second generation in the United States while three were 1.5 generation. Thirteen participants were in their fourth year of college or above, 11 were in their 3rd year of college, and two were in their second year. Ten of the participants had at least one parent who had a bachelor’s degree or above, seven had at least one parent who had some college, and nine had parents with a high school diploma or less. A majority of the students receive Pell Grant (17) while four did not receive it—although one stated that she stopped receiving it because she was in her 5th year, and 4 did not know if they received it.

[TABLE 2 ABOUT HERE]

Procedure

Data Collection

Data was collected through individual interviews at each of the two campuses. Interviews were conducted in the fall of 2017 and the beginning of 2018. Individual interviews are ideal for this study as they allowed me to have personal and in-depth conversations about the participants’ experiences with ethnoracial formation in their postsecondary schools (Johnson and Rowlands 2012). Conducting interviews helped me to develop deeper knowledge about students’ personal experiences and identities. Furthermore, unlike focus group interviews, participants had more time and may have felt more comfortable sharing their experiences individually with me. I used purposive sampling method to obtain participants who met the criteria for this study. I included only Southeast Asian undergraduate students and students who had been at the campus for more than one year. I limited the sample to sophomores, juniors, and seniors because they had been at

the campus longer and thus, should have developed better understanding of the school environment.

To recruit students for interviews, I reached out to cultural clubs to ask if they have student members who are interested in participating. Additionally, I reached out to personal student contacts at the university with whom I have a relationship and emailed professors from certain departments to see if they knew of anyone who was interested in participating. I also posted flyers around campus to recruit participants. Those who were interested in participating were asked to send me an email with days and times they would be available. We mutually agreed on a day and time as well as a place to meet. I primarily used snowball sampling to obtain participants at both schools. After interviewing a few students who responded to me through the emails and flyers, I asked them to refer me to other students that they knew.

The interviews lasted between 30 minutes to an hour. Participants were asked semi-structured open-ended questions about their educational experiences at their campus¹. Since the flow of the interviews varied, I asked them all the same questions to begin with and to refocus the conversations. The interview guide was split into three sections: 1) attending an AANAPISI or non-AANAPISI, 2) experiences on campus, and 3) institutional climate.

The first section asked them about why they chose to attend that university and if they understood what the AANAPISI designation is. The second section asked questions about their personal experiences with discrimination and sense of belonging on the campus in general, in the classroom, and with faculty/administration. These questions allowed for insights about students' explicit and implicit experiences at school and delved into their ethnoracial identity and sense of belonging. The last section asked students to reflect on how the institution serves SEA students and other minority students. I audio recorded the interviews with students' consent and took extensive notes during the interviews pertaining to students' interactions with me and their behaviors. At the end of the interviews, participants were asked to fill out a quick demographic survey².

Data Analysis

The recordings of the interviews were transcribed. After transcription, I analyzed them with Dedoose to see what were the common themes among the participants and to identify any exceptions. I used open, axial, and selective coding to code the data and create themes and subthemes that helped to answer my research question (Creswell 1998; Strauss and Corbin 1998). With open coding, I thoroughly reviewed what the participants said to develop basic themes. With axial coding, I further developed the themes and narrowed them down when necessary. Lastly, with selective coding I saw how the themes related to each other and how they worked together to address the research question. Being able to code in these three particular ways, I was able to develop more coherent and exhaustive themes.

¹ See Appendix A for interview guide.

² See Appendix B for survey.

While coding, I compared the data on three levels: within a case, between cases, and across institutions. Within a case means that I looked at what the individual said and if they had any contradictory or consistent statements. For between case comparisons I looked at what each individual said and compared their statements (Flick 2007). Finally, I compared statements of individuals from the two institutions to see if there were differences or similarities in their experiences.

Limitations

One limitation of this study is that I only looked at universities in southern California, which makes it difficult to generalize to other universities that are not in the same area or do not have the same geographic characteristics. Furthermore, both universities are in the same four-year state university system, which has its own rules and system culture—again making it hard to generalize to other schools. Additionally, both universities are MSIs so the findings may not be applicable to schools that are not MSIs. One last limitation in this study is that I only interviewed a small number of Southeast Asian students from particular groups. The participants may not be representative of all SEA students.

Findings

Ethnoracial Identity Development

Southeast Asian students at the two focal universities experienced similar processes of forming or maintaining their ethnoracial identity. Although I did not find a difference between these two universities, I did identify three avenues through which students formed or maintained their ethnoracial identities. Some students became more conscious of their ethnoracial identity through taking Asian American Studies (AAS) courses or other related courses. Others became more in touch with their identities through joining student cultural organizations. Lastly, through cultural events on campus students became more cognizant of their ethnoracial identities and felt more appreciated on campus. For all students who shared these experiences the institution's infrastructure mattered in the development of their ethnoracial identities.

Utilizing the Institutions' Infrastructure

Asian American Studies or Related Courses

There were Asian American Studies Programs or Departments at both universities. The program at the non-AANAPISI was an Asian and Asian American Studies Program while the one at the AANAPISI was an Asian American Studies Program (now recently a department). They will both be referred to as AAS programs in this paper. The program at the AANAPISI had three times more teaching staff (including faculty and lecturers) than the non-AANAPISI. Hence, they offered more classes, although the non-AANAPISI also has a long list of courses offered. The AANAPISI does have a larger student population that may contribute to a larger AAS program than the non-AANAPISI. Both programs offer classes for students to learn about the history of Asian Americans, contemporary matters for Asian Americans, and art and literature of Asian Americans.

Several students at both institutions expressed how passionate they felt about their ethnoracial identity after taking AAS courses. Of the 26 students in the sample, eight had taken Asian American Studies courses or courses that were related (e.g. ethnic language course, race courses from other departments). These courses helped them to better understand their background and history. For example, Gabby (AANAPISI) was passionate about the Asian Americans Studies Program (now department) because it helped her connect more with her Asian American identity. Throughout the interview she was aware of racial issues and how one's race or ethnicity could affect their life experiences. She was knowledgeable about the model minority myth and its rhetoric that affects Asian students. As she noted:

Because I've taken a lot of Asian American study classes, it really did strengthen how I felt. I really feel a much bigger connection with just the whole Asian community because I already felt pretty good about my Asianness, I guess, back in high school because in high school I was around other Asians too. . . . But taking classes where I learned about the struggles of what Asian Americans went through. We did not have it easy. This model minority thing is very damaging. It's not good. It seems good but it's not good. That definitely makes me feel a lot more aware.

She mentioned how important it is for others to take these classes and to learn about their backgrounds and identity as well. It was not until she started taking Asian American Studies courses and decided to major in AAS that she realized how important taking these types of classes were for her and others.

Through taking an AAS course, Leah (AANAPISI) felt as though her race and ethnicity was more valued. She felt welcomed in class because she was around others to whom she did not have to explain herself.

I took an Asian American studies course, here on campus, and I felt like really welcome and I don't know how to describe but it just felt really nice like to know that people understood and especially since you were learning more about it, like other students that were non Asian were also able to understand and like "Oh okay I, I get you now." And so it made me feel nice and comfortable in my own skin.

Others who took AAS courses also mentioned being comfortable and feeling content with their identity in class because they did not have to explain who they were.

Lee (non-AANAPISI) was one of the few Hmong people on his campus but expressed feeling appreciated in the AAS courses he has taken because his professor acknowledged and understood his ethnic background. He explained:

[I] probably (felt appreciated) only in my Asian American Studies class but other than that no. No, not at all. . . . It's because it was taught by an Asian American Studies professor and she knew what Hmong people was. Like nobody in the school knows who Hmong people are. So I always default to being Thai because that was where I was born.

Lee also built close relationships with AAS professors although his main department is film. He continued:

I think the only teacher I was really involved with was my Asian American Studies teacher. I was helping her with oral history project and then I would do other things for her, like other projects. The Asian American Studies Department here they don't have a media division so I kind of fill that role. So if they need someone to do camera work for their events or to do interviews, I usually do that for them.

As various studies have shown, having close relationships with professors is beneficial (Hagedorn et al. 2007). It is even more beneficial when the professor is one that the student can relate to. Thus, having this relationship with a professor in the AAS program helped Lee gain a better sense of belonging on campus and with his identity as a Hmong Asian American student. He also relied on AAS program professors as they were the only faculty to help him out when he was homeless for a few weeks during the semester. He mentioned how they checked in on him while the other professors knew but did not reach out to him in the extent that the AAS professors did.

Students who took AAS courses were not only more in touch with their ethnoracial identity but also more racially aware. They used less colorblind race language and acknowledged throughout their interviews that students of color do face barriers and stigmatization. Gabby (AANAPISI) recognized microaggressions when they occurred, unlike other students who dismissed them.

Okay. I remember this one time when I was in one of my psych classes, because I'm also a psych major... I had this one professor where he is talking about demographics and he is like "What percent do you think of this certain ethnic group does this?" Or something like that. Then he made a joke where he was like... "Then for Asians, who the hell know what Asians were thinking about." And then he just laughed and crossed it over. And I'm just like, hello. I mean, I don't know if other people took it that seriously. They probably didn't care because not a lot people care. I was just like, "What the hell?" That really reinforced the stereotype that Asians are mysterious and like we don't know anything about them. They're just quiet and they just exist and they aren't anything significant for people to really think about.

In contrast, Kason (AANAPISI) has not taken any AAS courses. He had a white professor who, in his view, appreciated Vietnamese culture. This professor would joke that Asians were smart and that they would excel in his class. Kason did not take offense to these comments and thought it was just light humor in class. He described:

[My professor] would just make jokes about like "Oh you're probably like the smartest person in class because you're Asian." I was just like (laughs) "This guy dude." They were positive, I guess, positive stereotypical jokes. They're not like "Oh, you know you're chinky" or whatever you know. Like "Oh you're probably the smartest because you're Asian. You probably work the hardest." Stuff like that and cause I sat next to other

Asian people and he's just like "You guys are probably the smartest row cause you're all Asian." But other than that, it's very light humor.

Kason differentiates between positive and negative stereotypical jokes and labels the ones the professor told as a positive joke. He accepts the joke, unlike Gabby who viewed her professor's comment not as a joke but as an offensive statement. Although the professors in the situations are making different statements, they are both stereotypes that Asians often face and allude to Asians being invisible either in mental health or in the classroom. These types of light humor are often what keep stereotypes about Asian Americans alive—a fact that was visible to Gabby but not Kason.

Many students who took AAS courses did not realize how important these types of courses were until they actually took them. Although some were content with their ethnoracial identity beforehand, taking these courses allowed them to learn about issues that Asian Americans face. John (AANAPISI), who took one AAS course because he thought it would be easy, later realized how important the course actually was. He did not think much about the class until the end when he realized how Asians were being treated.

I took an Asian American Studies class. It was online but um, honestly that class like I just took it online because I thought it was an easy class and I hear people tell it was easy and like it should meet my requirements, but it was not till the end till I started realizing this class was really really interesting....I think I watched this video, it's like a two hour long video it's called like Yellowface....It's about how like white people, white actors are depicting Asian characters and it's kind of like disrespectful cause like I mean if you're going to have an Asian character, you have to have like an Asian play it...But when I was watching that video, it's like, it really shows how much Asians are (under)appreciated and they should treat them with respect.

Through that Asian American Studies course, John understood how Asians are discriminated within media and the movie industry. Throughout his interview he used colorblind language to describe opportunities for people of color; however, when talking about the AAS class he at least recognized and acknowledged how Asian Americans are not always given the same opportunities as whites.

Those who took AAS courses expressed awareness of how people's race or ethnicity can affect their opportunities and life outcomes. Although many of them did not experience direct discrimination or racism themselves on campus, they were more open to possibilities that it could happen and that other students of color could have those experiences. Students who did not take AAS courses used more colorblind rhetoric and were not as race conscious. Their racial or ethnic identity was not as salient to them. They consistently used more language pertaining to individuals' work ethics as defining the individuals' outcomes.

By taking AAS courses or related courses, students gained knowledge about their Asian American or ethnic identity and felt valued at school. Previous studies have shown that learning about one's ethnic group positively affected students' sense of belonging and relationships with other ethnic groups (Maramba and Velasquez 2012). Although their racial Asian American

identity seemed more salient in this context, they still gained more insights about their ethnic identity and felt it was valued.

While Tinto's theory (1993) suggests that students must integrate academically to be successful. What I found, instead, was that SEA students who took AAS courses or other related courses did integrate academically, not because they adhered to mainstream campus culture, because instead because they had outlets to build and understand their ethnoracial identities. AAS courses or other related courses provided students that space to enhance their ethnoracial identity, learn more about themselves, and gain a better sense of belonging.

Cultural Student Organizations

Both universities had similar student clubs such as the Vietnamese Student Association (VSA) and Filipino Student club. Almost all the students in this study were involved in some type of organization on campus. Those who were involved in some type of organization expressed a better sense of belonging and connection to their ethnoracial identity. However, those involved in cultural organizations were more comfortable and expressed greater pride in their ethnic identity than those involved in other organizations, such as fraternities. At least half of the participants are or were involved in some type of ethnic cultural organization.

Alexa's (AANAPISI) described a sense of appreciation while in the Vietnamese student club and other cultural organizations. She noted:

Yeah, I feel proud because there are other culture clubs here and I get involved...also there are Asian students here so I feel like I am part of this campus as well. I feel more comfortable with Asian students because I can relate to them and the culture-wise as well. And I can talk to them...I used to be (in the Vietnamese Student Association); however, I joined a Chinese one too and also I tried the Japanese one. (laughs) So part of everything, a little bit.

Alexa mentioned she joined various cultural clubs but felt comfortable in all of them because of the shared identity of being Asian like the others in the organization. By being in these organizations, it helped her to experience being a part of campus. Not only was she maintaining her racial identity through these organizations, but she was also gaining spaces where she saw herself as fitting in.

Similarly like Alexa, Connor (non-AANAPISI) gained a space where he could fit in through a cultural organization. By being in the Vietnamese Student Association, Connor was able to produce a play pertaining to Southeast Asians. That was possible through the help of a club in his theater department; however, VSA gave him the opportunity to do so for a cultural play. He mentioned that there were not enough plays on campus representing Southeast Asians; hence, this play was important to him.

In a sense [I] have a voice cause like I said I've always wanted to start creating and producing my own plays and things like that and VSA gave me the opportunity. I started my own projects and some of them involved Southeast Asian stories and the theater

department gives you the opportunity for it because they have a Student for Student Club. They allow you to produce and work on any projects and provide you the venue for it so that's a really great start.

Being in the cultural organization, Connor got to not only produce a play and act in it but also be creative in making the play relevant to him and others in the cultural organization.

I mean being in VSA is, the reason it does (strengthen my sense of ethnic identity) is because it has a cultural show and because I love performing and because it's pertaining to my culture I learn and I get to perform and I get to enjoy what I do.

About one-fourth of my participants were involved in various service organizations that primarily consisted of Asian Americans. However, they did not discuss anything related to their ethnoracial background in the organization. For instance, when I asked John (AANAPISI) if the fraternity he is in did any cultural events or talked about their cultural backgrounds, he replied:

Rarely. The only culture, for culture stuff, we attend other people's cultural events like the Filipino club or Japanese culture night or even VSA Vietnamese Culture Night. We attend those to show our support. But in our fraternity we don't really like talk about our ethnicities. It's just more like down to business, just making workshops and events.

Thus, even though his fraternity consisted primarily of Asian students, they did not explicitly talk about their Asian identity or backgrounds. They focused more on their fraternity's mission and endeavors related to that. However, when he joined VSA, John learned more about his ethnic identity and culture: "When I joined VSA that's when I learned about my culture because I really got to know about the Vietnamese culture cause I was really into knowing my own culture cause I am Viet."

Ethan (AANAPISI) was in a service club that comprised mostly of Asians; however, as with John, their organization focused on service and the mission of the organization. Since there were many Asians in the club, he did feel welcome although it did not strengthen his ethnoracial identity in any way.

I was in a service club...but that was predominantly Asian so there was bunch of respect there. If anything, I guess during that made me feel welcomed. I don't really put like a label, I don't know. I'm just being human. (laughs) I think that's what it comes down to. I don't get offended or anything like my race.

Ethan does not think too much about race or ethnicity and instead, sees everyone as just "humans." This could possibly be why he is not interested in joining any cultural organizations or does not feel a need to. He also expressed that since coming to the university, his sense of ethnic or racial identity has not changed. As he described, "I tell myself I'm like the most un-Asian Asian. It wasn't weakened or it wasn't strengthened, to answer your question. I feel pretty much the same. (laughs) It strengthened me as a human but not as a Southeast Asian."

Cultural organizations have been shown to be important for students of color in gaining a sense of belonging (Museus 2008). Furthermore, they are also critical spaces where students can learn more about their identity and culture through their peers. In one sense, this is the social integration Tinto (1993) talks about. However, these students are not simply integrating into the institution as it is. Rather, they are using cultural organizations oriented to specific ethnoracial groups to make more spaces for students like themselves, and to develop or maintain their ethnoracial identities.

Cultural Events

Cultural events are important ways for the university to show their support for students of color. However, as I find in this study, students end up doing most of the cultural work by, for example, putting on shows or hosting events. Thus, the students in this study connected to their ethnic or racial identity primarily through their own efforts (or the efforts of other SEA students) to develop cultural events on campus—although the university offered the venue to make such events possible.

Lily (non-AANAPISI), for instance, feels appreciated when small events such as a Vietnamese Coffee welcome takes place. Although she does not get to think much about her culture in her classes, she can during events like this one.

I think definitely when they hold, the Asian Pacific Islander room, they hold API events like I know they did, at the beginning of each year they do a Vietnamese coffee welcome and I always go to that one because the coffee is good. But it's also, I mean I feel like it's (her identity) not mentioned a lot in my classes just specifically because my classes are more like scientific than they are cultural.

Although this is a small event, it was enough for her to feel appreciated since she often does not get to appreciate her culture in her courses. She gets to maintain her ethnic identity through simple events such as this one. Similarly, Emma (non-AANAPISI) did not attend the cultural event she mentions below, but she felt valued because it took place at her university. She explained:

I feel like not really...well, maybe because we have like this Filipino organization. So they had like different events where they were honoring um, I forgot his name but he was like this important figure in the Philippines. So I'm like oh that's cool, like having my culture be celebrated because I feel like they don't really celebrate the Philippines as much as other cultures. Like we're not as focused as the other Asian groups. So I mean like that was cool that this year they did that.

Although James (non-AANAPISI) is not involved on campus through any organizations, he believes that the school should bring in more speakers and hold more events pertaining to SEA students.

I feel like they could maybe get more involved, hold more events, do more screenings, bring in more speakers. Anything that's related to Southeast Asian culture so people can

learn more about it. I think recently they brought someone to talk about coming over to America as an immigrant.

He mentions how the institution can be more involved and do more things for their students. Although student organizations and the cultural center do hosts some events, there is more the school itself can do.

In contrast to students who valued cultural events, Kason (AANAPISI) is not interested in cultural events and believes he does not have time to attend them. As he noted, “Events? Normally I’m either in class or with friends most of the time so I don’t really go to any events catered towards Asians or anything.” Kason believed that the students at his school do not care about someone’s ethnoracial identity because they are all just trying to succeed.

I don’t want to say I felt unappreciated but again I just felt normal, and that’s mainly all the time. But I want to say this generation of students it’s like they don’t care what you are. We’re just here for like the same goal and same purpose. You know, we’re all trying to work hard, get our degrees, and some people just work harder than other people. And that’s sort of how I feel about it.

He suggests a belief in colorblind appreciation for “merit” or “hard work” that does not acknowledge the differential struggles of SEA individuals for recognition.

Not as many participants spoke about cultural events as they did for AAS courses or joining cultural organizations. Nonetheless, this was still an outlet that was important in helping students maintain their ethnoracial identity. Many students were aware of the cultural events throughout campus when they happened. However, several students expressed that the institution could help promote or sponsor more of these types of events. The cultural events provided spaces where students could appreciate their identity and culture during different times throughout the year, since they usually do not get to do that regularly on campus. Even when some students did not attend events but saw the events taking place, they felt connected to the events because it showcased their ethnoracial identity.

Not Utilizing the Institution’s Infrastructure

Colorblind Rhetoric

As is hinted above, ethnoracial identity was not salient for all participants. These students were less likely to take AAS courses, belong to cultural clubs, or attend cultural events. Many dismissed race or ethnicity entirely when I tried to ask them questions about their identities. Several used colorblind rhetoric to convey that they did not think about their race or ethnicity as affecting them in any way.

For instance, Eli (non-AANAPISI) is a computer information systems major. Throughout his interview he expressed his ethnoracial identity as not a defining factor for him. He sees people in terms of their hobbies and interests, instead of their race or ethnicity.

Honestly, for me as a Southeast Asian—cause I’m Cambodian—like to me I don’t really see it (race?) as much as I should of. Because I just think of me as I’m just here type of person. Even though I am a Southeast Asian, I don’t know. It’s just not really too effective.

Similarly, Cam (AANAPISI) employed various colorblind rhetoric throughout her interview. Cam indicated that ethnicity and race did not define her or other students, but instead skills do, especially in her major and field.

Maybe it's my major or something. Like everything's based on skills there... they take you for like your skill and not for who you try to portray yourself as. So if you, if you know how to do this, that means you know how to do that. And if you can prove yourself doing that correctly, then you know, you have it. It's not really like “Hey, I'm Asian. I deserve more of this and this because I am.” It's like I study the same things you guys do and I do the same work that you guys do.

Being in a scientific field that also contains a large proportion of Asian students, Cam sees that the major and field values individual skills and work ethics. She does not try to use her Asian minority status to get more resources or opportunities. She points out that she does the same work as everyone else. This could be her trying to dismiss the stereotypes that Asian Americans are smart by saying she does the same things and work as everyone else.

Students who used more colorblind language described not being as involved culturally on campus. Daisy (non-AANAPISI) is not involved in any student organizations and thus, she feels her experiences in college are not the same as others who are more involved: “I kind of like low-key at school so I don’t really go out to student clubs or anything. I think my experiences are pretty mild compared to most people.” For her, race and ethnicity are not salient to her on campus, as she feels like she is treated fairly on campus just like everyone else: “I feel like it’s the same as everyone else. It’s not really that much different like no one sees me as something different.” Daisy is like many of the other students who do not feel as though their ethnoracial identity has strengthened since attending the university.

Ken (AANAPISI), like others who are not culturally involved on campus, does not see his SEA identity as a primary identity. He views students as all sharing the same struggles and believes everyone sees each other as equals, so that race, ethnicity, or any other identity does not play a role. He points out that there is some sort of connection among the students in the classroom because they all have a mutual understanding of how the semester will be like and just want to get through it together.

I do feel valued but not as a Southeast Asian but more like just a person in class in general... I think everyone looks at each other as equal rather than separate in a way. At least the classes I’ve been through, like we all treat each other like we’re gonna be classmates. We’re all gonna be here for like one semester. Let’s get through this together.

These students are using the frames within colorblind racism that Bonilla Silva (2013) discusses. Some used the abstract liberalism frame, stating how students are all equal and

everyone has the same opportunities. Others, such as Kason (described earlier) also used the minimization of racism frame to excuse professors' statements about Asian Americans in the classroom. Although the joke could be seen as harmless, it contributes to the colorblind ideology by stereotyping a group directly without any personal charges of racism from the person who made the joke (Perez 2017; Burke 2017). It could be that their ethnic or racial identity does not affect them as much, but by dismissing it for other people, it shows how they really do not see racism as an issue students face. Although the students in this study may not experience racism themselves and do not view race or ethnicity as a factor affecting their personal lives, understanding that racism is still an issue is important.

Impact of AANAPISI Designation

In my study, AANAPISI designation did not matter for students. The AANAPISI did not provide significantly more cultural opportunities and outlets for students than the non-AANAPISI. What really mattered were the resources that both institutions had and that students utilized. Students at both universities used the same outlets—AAS classes, cultural organizations, and cultural events—to help form or maintain their ethnoracial identity. These similarities could be due to the similar demographic composition of the two schools; they are both primarily Hispanic and contain a large proportion of students from low-income backgrounds. They are also both commuter schools with a wide array of students. Both schools are also under the same four-year regional public university system and share a common bureaucracy.

The AANAPISI designation is a federal designation that does not mean much unless the school takes it as a defining characteristic of their university. Furthermore, if schools do not compete for the grants available for those with the AANAPISI designation, then they do not have any funding that would help them focus more on AAPI students. Conrad and Gasman (2015) examined what MSIs such as AANAPISIs are doing for their students. They found in their analysis of various AANAPISIs that these universities offered programs for first-generation students and programs that allowed students to build relationships with professors. Although these programs are effective and may be available at other institutions that are not an AANAPISI, SEA students or other underserved students will not receive the benefits of these programs unless they are specifically targeted. One specific program from a university in their study was called the Full Circle Project. This project contains a cohort of 75 AAPI freshmen students every year. These students take classes in Ethnic Studies that help them connect with and understand their history, culture, and background. Neither school in my sample targeted SEA students in this type of holistic programming around ethnoracial identity—regardless of AANAPISI designation

Discussion

Attachment to one's culture and racial or ethnic identity could be seen as a deficit in the pursuit of higher education. However, forming or maintaining one's ethnic or racial identity is important for students of color in education (Maramba and Museus 2011). Students do not always have to integrate into the dominant culture of the institution. By connecting to their ethnoracial identity and culture, they too can be successful in school.

My study found that students formed or maintained their ethnoracial identity through taking Asian American Studies courses, being involved in cultural organizations, or attending or taking interests in cultural events. They integrated into campus differently from those who did not take these outlets. Students who were involved in one or more of these outlets were more connected to their ethnoracial identity and were in better positions to form or maintain those identities.

Those who took AAS were more conscious of their ethnoracial identity and background. They were aware of their history and had more appreciation for being Asian American and/or Southeast Asian. They were also more racially aware of their status as SEA and were aware of social injustices for people of color. Taking classes related to one's ethnoracial identity is beneficial for students academically and socially (Sleeter 2011). Furthermore, taking ethnic studies classes as well as women's studies classes can influence students' cultural awareness and racial understanding (Astin 1993). Although these classes are important, students and faculty are usually the ones who have to fight for them and funding is scarce. If universities actually want to serve their students of color and support their faculty of color, they should provide these groups with more resources so they can effectively do so without the students and faculty having to continuously "fight" and advocate for resources.

Those who were involved in cultural organizations had more appreciation of their ethnoracial identity. By being a part of cultural organizations, they learned more about their cultures and were surrounded by others who made them feel comfortable. Various studies have found that these types of cultural organizations can positively shape students' experiences and outcome in higher education (Kuh and Love 2000; Gonzalez 2003; Harper and Quaye 2007). Scholars have found that cultural ethnic organizations at predominantly white institutions help students of color be involved at their institution and to connect with others like themselves (Guiffrida 2003; Harper and Quaye 2007); however, I found that these cultural organizations also benefit students of color at racially diverse institutions. Although they may attend a racially diverse school, ethnic cultural organizations are still important to help students of color gain a sense of belonging and build an ethnoracial identity.

Lastly, those who attended cultural events or showed appreciation for them had a better connection with their ethnoracial identity. They were supportive of the events and felt valued ethnically or racially when those events were held. Many students mentioned how the university could be more supportive and hold more events that include speakers and scholars relevant to their ethnoracial identity. Like the AAS program, students and the cultural organizations mostly hosted these cultural events, although the institution supported them to some extent. Not all students in this study took part in these three activities, but those that did used less colorblind language and showed more appreciation for their ethnoracial identity.

Colorblind rhetoric was prominent throughout my interviews with a majority of the students—particularly those not engaged in cultural activities. They did not view race as an issue and did not think discrimination or racism occurred on their campus. Racially diverse campuses can encourage racial consciousness and awareness of other groups among their students (Santos et al. 2007). However, not all students in my study gained racial consciousness or connected to

their ethnic or racial identity any more than when they started college. Students who attend ethnically or racially diverse schools may feel more included on campus (Chang 1999; Cho, Hudley, Lee, Barry, and Kelly 2008), but they also need to step outside their boundaries to recognize racial issues that are affecting their communities and other communities of color. Some ways they can achieve this is by taking ethnic studies courses or being culturally involved on campus. Notably, colorblindness is not limited to these students, as a majority of Americans see themselves as racially colorblind (Hartmann et al. 2017).

The AANAPISI designation was not a significant factor in influencing students and their ethnoracial identity development. The participants had relatively similar experiences at both institutions. Although the two MSIs in this study showed support for their SEA students through these three outlets, there was much more that they could do to help students. Since MSIs do serve a large proportion of our students of color, it is critical that they create an environment where students can learn about and showcase their ethnoracial identity. MSIs can create more racial consciousness by being more supportive of ethnic studies departments and cultural student organizations. They can also create more funding opportunities to help students showcase their ethnoracial culture.

MSIs such as AANAPISIs and HSIs can also compete for grants that can help them better serve their students of color. However, MSIs with dual designations can encounter funding dilemmas as they can only choose one source of MSI funding. Hence, they tend to choose the funding for the HSI designation since there are more Hispanic students at the university (Yang and Masulit 2018). Restructuring the MSI funding rules can help MSIs with dual designations fully serve all their students of color instead of having to choose who is more important. That is especially important for AANAPISIs that serve SEA students who are also in need of resources and guidance in navigating the higher education system. As our universities become more ethnically and racially diverse, we need to consider what more universities can do for students of color and take the initiative to listen to their needs.

Table 2. Characteristics of Students

	AANAPISI	Non- AANAPISI
AGE		
18-20	5	4
21-23	6	5
24-26	2	3
27+	0	1
GENDER		
Female	7	5
Male	6	8
ETHNICITY		
Hmong	1	1
Vietnamese	11	6
Cambodian	0	3
Filipino	0	3
Other	1	0
GENERATIONAL STATUS		
1.5 Gen	1	2
2nd Gen	12	11
YEAR IN SCHOOL		
2nd	0	2
3rd	6	5
4th+	7	6
PARENT'S EDUCATION LEVEL		
Less than high school	1	4
High school	3	1
Some college	3	4
College	4	3
Graduate	2	1
RECEIVE PELL GRANT		
Yes	6	11
No	3	1
I don't know	4	1

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APPENDIX A

Interview Guide for Interviews

Introductory Statement

Hello. Thank you so much for agreeing to meet with me. In this interview, I am going to ask about your experiences on campus. I want to remind you that you can choose not to answer any of the following questions.

Attending an AANAPISI or non-AANAPISI

1. Why did you choose to attend this university?
2. Where else were you considering?
3. Have you ever heard of the Asian American Native American Pacific Islander Serving Institution (AANAPISI) designation?
4. Do you know if your school has the AANAPISI designation?

Experiences on Campus

1. How have your experiences been like as a Southeast Asian (SEA)/minority student at this campus?
2. How did the university welcome you as a student during your first semester/year?
3. Can you tell me about a time when you felt your identity as a SEA/minority student was valued/appreciated on campus (i.e. in the classroom; at school events)?
4. How about a time when you felt your identity as a SEA/minority student was NOT valued/appreciated on campus?
5. Do you feel “safe” (intellectually, physically) on campus? (free to express yourself)
6. Have you ever experienced any form of discrimination on campus?
 - a. Do you know anyone who has ever experienced any form of discrimination on campus?
7. How would you describe your interactions on campus with professors and staff?
 - a. How about with other students?
 - b. How about in the classroom?
8. Do you think the faculty and administration here are supportive of minority students?
9. Have you personally had any difficult interactions with faculty where you felt race was an issue?
10. Do you feel as though you have access to the resources on campus?
 - a. Do you feel comfortable with using the resources on campus?
 - b. Do you think the resources meet your needs as (SEA) students?
11. Do you think there are stereotypes about Asian students on campus?
 - a. If yes, what are these stereotypes? How do these stereotypes affect you or other SEA students?

Institutional Climate

1. In general, do you think the university values diversity?

- a. What does diversity mean to you?
2. How often do you think students interact across racial lines on campus?
3. Do you think SEA students are as involved as other students in the social life of the university?
4. What have been the biggest barriers of academic achievement for SEA students at this institution?
5. Do you think this university is putting time and effort into serving their Asian student body?
 - a. What else can they do to better serve their Asian/minority student body?
 - b. Are there other student groups that are better served by the university?
 - c. Are there differences in how well the university serves some Asian subgroups versus Southeast Asian students in particular?

APPENDIX B

Participant Survey

Name	
University	
Age	
Year in School	
Major	
Ethnicity	a. Laotian b. Cambodian c. Hmong d. Vietnamese e. Other _____
Gender	a. Female b. Male
Generational Status	a. First generation b. 1.5 generation c. Second generation d. Third generation e. Fourth + generation
Parent's Educational Level	a. Less than a high school degree b. High school degree c. Some college d. College degree e. Graduate degree
Are you eligible to receive a Pell Grant?	a. Yes b. No c. I don't know