



The Racialized Experiences of Asian American and Pacific Islander Students:

An Examination of Campus Racial Climate at the University of California, Los Angeles

This report was made possible through generous funding from the University of California, Los Angeles (UCLA) Research Initiative for Diversity and Equity (RIDE). Central to the collaboration between CARE and RIDE is the commitment to promote a diverse, inclusive, and equitable campus climate at UCLA through the advancement of scholarship. In this report, we have a particular focus on Asian American and Pacific Islander students, a population that is too often overlooked and underserved in higher education.

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This report is dedicated to Professor Don Nakanishi, who worked tirelessly toward the educational advancement of Asian Americans and Pacific Islanders at UCLA and beyond.

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PREFACE

The need for better representation through the collection and reporting of data has been a pillar of Asian American and Pacific Islander (AAPI) advocacy. Although the coining of the term "data disaggregation" did not emerge until 1997, the demand for recognition of the vast diversity within the AAPI population has been a longstanding call to action. With over 48 different ethnic groups, representing a wide range of languages, cultures, histories, and immigration patterns, the need for an accurate rendering of the deeply heterogeneous AAPI population is now more urgent than ever. This is particularly true within the education sector, as educational inequities are especially prevalent for particular AAPI ethnic subgroups, which hinder their ability to gain access to and achieve success in postsecondary education.

In 2013, the National Commission on Asian American and Pacific Islander Research in Education (CARE) launched iCount: A Data Quality Movement for Asian Americans and Pacific Islanders in Higher Education, a collaborative effort with the White House Initiative on Asian Americans and Pacific Islanders (WHIAAPI) and with generous support from the Educational Testing Service (ETS) and Asian Americans and Pacific Islanders in Philanthropy (AAPIP). iCount aims to bring attention to and raise awareness about the ways in which aggregate data conceals significant disparities in educational experiences and outcomes between AAPI subgroups, iCount also offers best practices that address the unmet needs of underserved populations through data. Most importantly, iCount works collaboratively with the field of education to encourage broader reform in institutional practices related to the collection, reporting, and use of disaggregated data. CARE has made great strides alongside institutional,

community, and state partners to advance data disaggregation efforts. In the fall of 2015, CARE and WHIAAPI celebrated these successes and planned for future data reform efforts during a symposium held at the U.S. Department of Education and the White House.

Using the last two years of iCount as a springboard, the current study shifts attention from the national and state-level foci reported in the 2013 and 2015 iCount reports, respectively, to an institutional emphasis, spotlighting the University of California, Los Angeles (UCLA).³ In alignment with the larger iCount goals to dispel myths about AAPI students and raise awareness about their diverse needs, this report brings attention to the range of AAPI academic experiences through an examination of AAPI student interactions with the campus environment. As a highly selective institution with a large concentration of Asian American students (33.3%) and a small representation of Native

Hawaiian and Pacific Islander (NHPI) students (0.6%)^a, UCLA offers an excellent site to examine the misunderstood experiences of AAPI students who are perceived as both exceedingly successful and highly satisfied. Funded by UCLA's Research Initiative for Diversity and Equity (RIDE), this study aligns itself with the program's goal to address and

eliminate systemic inequities and structural barriers due to race and ethnicity through innovative approaches to research.

iCount REPORTS

This report is the third of a series emerging from the iCount effort. The previous two reports focused on the importance of and utility for data disaggregation, highlighting national and state-level efforts:

iCount: A Data Quality Movement for Asian Americans and Pacific Islanders in Higher Education (2013)

Building on the existing body of research on AAPIs in education, this report makes a case for an AAPI data quality movement. We demonstrate how and why institutional, state, and federal datasets are a significant issue for the AAPI community, what changes are needed in how data are collected and reported, and the impact more refined data can have for the AAPI community and the institutions that serve them. The focus of the report was threefold: 1) providing an empirical rationale for disaggregated data; 2) providing a case study of a student-initiated data disaggregation movement; and 3) discussing the importance of disaggregated data for Pacific Islander students.

The Hidden Academic Opportunity Gaps Among Asian Americans and Pacific Islanders: What Disaggregated Data Reveals in Washington State (2015)

Utilizing disaggregated data from the Office of the Superintendent of Public Instruction (OSPI) and the Educational Research Data Center (ERDC), this report offers a deeper and more nuanced perspective on the educational realities of AAPI students and reinforces the need for disaggregated data to unmask the hidden opportunity gaps of particular AAPI students in the State of Washington. The report aims to demonstrate why and how data disaggregation is a critical tool for closing the academic opportunity gaps through the advancement of equitable educational practices. It offers a foundational study on state-level efforts that is the first of its kind to utilize disaggregated data since it was first collected in the State of Washington in 2010.

These and other CARE reports can be found on the CARE website at: http://care.gseis.ucla.edu/care-reports/

a. We do not include International Students when referring to AAPI Students

INTRODUCTION

Although Asian Americans and Pacific Islanders (AAPIs) make up 5.6 percent of the United States population, their mark on the rapidly changing demography is significant as the fastest growing racial group in the nation.⁴ Moreover, the AAPI population is projected to grow by 134 percent to over 35.6 million over the next 40 years.⁵ In addition to their rapid growth, AAPIs also represent a tremendous range in diversity. There are currently 48 different AAPI ethnic groups that differ vastly in culture, language, and immigration histories. Despite common misconceptions about their overall success, the same diversity can be found in their educational attainment, poverty status, household income, and socioeconomic realities. AAPIs fall along the full range of educational and social outcomes in this nation, yet are often misrepresented by the aggregation of all ethnic groups under one racial category.⁶ As such, there is a need for research that more closely examines the experiences and outcomes across AAPI ethnic subgroups, which is particularly salient in regions and states with highly diverse concentrations of AAPIs.

The State of California, for example, has the second largest population of AAPIs in the nation - following Hawai'i - making up 13.4 percent of the state population. Between 2000 and 2010, California boasted the largest numeric growth of AAPIs in the U.S., and simultaneously, the population became increasingly heterogeneous.7 Los Angeles, specifically, represents the largest Asian American population and the greatest numeric increase of AAPIs of any county in the U.S.8 Given both the concentration and growth of the population, California broadly, and Los Angeles specifically, has become a model for AAPI advocacy with regards to a plethora of civil rights issues, including efforts within the educational sector.9 In fact, student-led efforts for data disaggregation originated in California (within several University of California campuses), making the state one of the first to collect disaggregated AAPI student data. While the history of progress has been productive in the State of California and the County of Los Angeles, it has also highlighted the challenges

(e.g., language barriers; lack of health insurance; affordable housing; educational quality; access to financial aid), continuing to plague particular AAPI subgroups who experience difficulty accessing much needed attention and resources, including barriers within the postsecondary sector.¹⁰

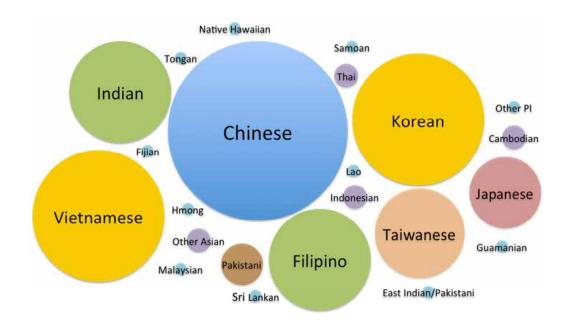
Considered one of the most desirable public fouryear institutions, the University of California, Los Angeles (UCLA) is no stranger to the growth and impact of the AAPI community. UCLA attracts some of the highest achieving students from within the state and across the nation, which aligned with popular opinion, marks a strong rate of admissions for Asian American students, who now make up 33.3 percent of the campus population. While the Native Hawaiian and Pacific Islander (NHPI) population has often been collapsed into the Asian American category, their representation on the UCLA campus is remarkably small at 0.2 percent. These groups together make up 33.5% of the student population; however, the common stereotype of AAPIs being overwhelmingly represented on the UCLA campus masks these very different rates of enrollment.

It is this very type of numerical representation that fuels the misperception that AAPI students are universally successful and highly satisfied with their campus experience. Although past research has sought to put a percentage to what can be determined to be an ideal number of students to achieve "critical mass," which would hypothetically lessen discrimination and increase sense of belonging on college campuses, AAPIs do not fit into that logic, as they enroll in large numbers at institutions like UCLA, yet continue to demonstrate signs of isolation and a lack of satisfaction through their racialized^b experiences.¹¹ In other words, numerical representation falls short of addressing

the needs of AAPI students because numbers without proper support does not equal true critical mass. ¹² As Dr. Sylvia Hurtado, Professor of Education at UCLA, poignantly states, "I don't want it to turn into a magic number. You can have a bunch of diverse people in a room, but if they don't interact, you're not going to get the benefits of diversity." ¹³ Thus, what is considered a "critical mass" of AAPIs at UCLA is not enough to understand the complexities of campus climate or the experiences of AAPIs on campus.

As Milem, Chang, and Antonio's (2005) report, *Making Diversity Work on Campus: A Research-Based Perspective* highlights, a diverse campus population is only a first step toward achieving the benefits of campus diversity. The benefits of diversity, which

Proportional Representation of AAPI Enrollment at UCLA by Ethnic Subgroup^c



b. Racialized or racialization, as defined by Omi and Winant (2015) in Racial Formation in the United States, is "the extension of racial meaning to a previously racially unclassified relationship, social practice, or group" or "the process of selection, of imparting social and symbolic meaning to perceived phonotypical differences" (p. 111).

c. The ethnic categories reflect the 23 ethnic groups on which UCLA collects. The "Other Asian" and "Other Pacific Islander" categories represent those groups that are not captured by the other 21 categories.

are empirically linked to student outcomes, are also intrinsically connected to institutional benefits that are reaped through the increased satisfaction and overall success of its students.14 Accordingly, institutions must move beyond compositional diversity - numerical and proportional representations of various racial and ethnic groups - as the sole mechanism for achieving diversity benefits and think very purposefully about not only how to achieve diversity in numerical representation, but also consider the realities of that diversity once it arrives on campuses. The racialization of AAPI student experiences at UCLA, highlighted in this report, represents a gap between reaching numeric diversity and achieving diversity benefits. While diversity can certainly be a significant approach for institutions to respond to the shifts in student populations they serve - explicit in the needs of AAPI students - left misunderstood, institutions miss out on its proven benefits.

With the intentionality of achieving diversity benefits in mind, and in an effort to counter false perceptions about AAPI student experiences, this study aligns itself with past scholarship on campus racial climate that finds ethnic minority students often feel isolated and lack a sense of belonging on their college campuses. Although studies on campus racial climate are vast, there is an immensely limited repertoire of literature focusing specifically on AAPI students. In fact, most of the past research has either positioned AAPIs as a highly satisfied aggregate group that is represented by the experiences of only a few AAPI subgroups or has entirely ignored their experiences. 16

In a small handful of studies, scholars have more deeply investigated the experiences of AAPI students with campus racial climate. Museus and Truong (2009), for example, conducted a study on the campus experiences and perceptions of Asian American students at a predominantly White institution and find that AAPI students have varying responses based on their high school background. The authors highlight that disaggregated data is key to understanding the within group variation in the AAPI population.¹⁷ Maramba (2008) shares this sentiment in her study

THE NEED TO EXAMINE AAPI INTERSECTIONALITY

Though there is a need for examining the experiences of AAPIs through an ethnic specific lens, as is done in the present study, it is equally important to acknowledge that like other racial and ethnic minorities, AAPI experiences must also be understood from an intersectional perspective. In other words, while ethnicity is critical to examine, there remains a need to consider how ethnicity intersects with other dimensions of student identity including gender, sexuality, class, and immigration status. Situating student experiences with undocumented status, for example, sheds light on the unique barriers that undocumented AAPI students – across all ethnic groups – face in their academic trajectories. ¹⁹ These experiences cannot be isolated from their ethnic identity and are a necessary extension of this study, which is true for all the dimensions of student identity. We acknowledge that the lack of data on students' intersectional experiences within our sample is a limitation of the study and encourage future research to capture these intersections when examining the experiences of AAPI students generally, and with regard to campus climate specifically.

examining Filipino American students at a large research university in Southern California, which empirically highlights that this student group feels homogenized by the stereotypical Asian American experience and also lack a sense of belonging on their campus – both findings directly contradicting the misconception of universal AAPI satisfaction.¹⁸ These studies, although limited, offer narratives that counter the ideals of universal satisfaction and point to the need for further exploration of the experiences of AAPI students with campus racial climate. Within this context, and considering its

concentration of AAPI students and its legacy of advocacy, UCLA^d is an opportune campus for overcoming assumptions, more accurately representing the racialized experiences of AAPI students, and purposefully considering how to achieve the benefits of diversity.

AAPI DISCRIMINATION ON CAMPUS

The common misperception that AAPIs are the most highly satisfied students across America's college campuses is in large part due to the misunderstanding that AAPIs do not have racialized and minoritized experiences or encounter racial discrimination on campus. As this report points out, however, that narrow understanding of the AAPI student experience is far from true. AAPI students across the nation grapple with their racial and ethnic identities and how they are situated within their college contexts and are at times confronted with discrimination. ²⁰ In 2011, for example, a YouTube video entitled "Asians in the Library" took the media by storm as it captured the racist rant of a White, female UCLA student mimicking what she felt Asian Americans in the library sound like while studying. The backlash from the AAPI community and its allies was immediate, but the repercussions could not be avoided. AAPI students, as the video made apparent, are a marginalized group at UCLA. This sentiment was once again confirmed in 2014 when an anonymous flyer containing racist imagery and racial slurs was sent to UCLA's Asian American Studies Center. While these two examples only highlight public instances of racial discrimination, they point to the need to overcome the harmful stereotype that AAPIs somehow have escaped the racialized, and sometimes discriminatory, experiences of other racial minorities.

d. While the study's context is UCLA, it does not speak to the institution's efforts regarding campus climate (e.g., services, programming), which is beyond the scope of the research aims. Instead, the study is a snapshot of the unique and racialized experiences of AAPIs on campus from the perception of students and an extension of opportunities for better understanding and serving AAPI students.

Purpose of the Report

In alignment with the efforts of iCount to bring awareness to the disparities that are concealed by vast generalizations about AAPI students, this study utilizes data from the University of California Undergraduate Experience Survey (UCUES) and qualitative interviews (see Technical Appendix for further detail) to examine the experiences of AAPI students on the UCLA campus. As one of a few studies focusing specifically on campus racial climate and AAPI students, this report brings to light three key themes that can advance the need to more carefully examine AAPI student experiences, in order to improve their educational experiences and outcomes:

- Despite common misconceptions that align the educational experiences of AAPIs with Whites, evidence points to a racialized experience that is parallel to other racial minorities. This study highlights the need to overcome stereotypes regarding AAPI student satisfaction in order to focus on the more urgent need to identify opportunities to support their academic success.
- Analysis utilizing disaggregated data uncovers the nuances and disparities that are critical for pinpointing possible points of intervention for improving the AAPI student

- experience. This report offers a critical perspective on the value of disaggregated data, even on college campuses that have a high AAPI student population.
- 3. In alignment with former studies on campus racial climate, this study reinforces the need for and value of student organizations as a critical and necessary space for underrepresented students. This report highlights the need for increased recognition of and resources for such organizations to support and improve the experiences of AAPI students and their campus environments.

Together, these themes align with the study's ultimate aim to support scholarly understanding of the experiences of AAPI students with regard to campus climate. Each of the themes will be discussed in detail in the following sections, starting first with an examination of aggregate data of AAPIs, followed by a second section that expounds on the same variables using disaggregated data. The third section focuses on the value of student organizations and campus spaces, followed by a number of recommendations highlighting opportunities to better represent and serve AAPI students based on our findings. We conclude with general recommendations for other institutions to consider when serving diverse AAPI student populations.

UCLA SNAPSHOT

UCLA is the largest campus of the University of California system, with an undergraduate enrollment of 29,633 as of fall 2014. AAPI students comprise 33.5 percent of the student body; this includes 58.6 percent East Asians, 10.9 percent Filipinos, 12.8 percent South Asians, 17.1 percent Southeast Asians, and 0.6 percent NHPI students.

The following items provide a general overview of the institutional environment at UCLA with regard to the AAPI student experience, to offer context for this study and its findings:

- As a result of the student-initiated "Count Me In" campaign in 2007, the UC system now collects disaggregated data on 23 AAPI ethnic groups on the undergraduate admissions application. The campaign also changed how data on the population is reported; summary statistics for the AAPI population is now reported in three categories: Asian American, Filipino, and Pacific Islander.UCLA established a Department of Asian American Studies in 1994, and currently offers an undergraduate major and minor, as well as a Master's of Arts degree in Asian American Studies. Affiliated with the department is the Asian American Studies Center, founded in 1969, which supports programs related to research, scholarship, public policy, community engagement, and leadership for the Asian
- American community both on campus and beyond. The Center also houses the AAPI
 Nexus Journal, one of the leading academic journals specifically focused on policy,
 practice and community research related to AAPIs.
- UCLA has a number of student-initiated outreach and retention projects, in which
 undergraduates develop and implement activities designed to facilitate college
 access and success for underrepresented student populations. Among these projects
 are those that specifically target the Southeast Asian, Filipino, and Pacific Islander
 communities.
- There are nearly two dozen racial and ethnic student organizations for AAPI students
 at UCLA. Among these include the Asian Pacific Coalition, Pacific Islands Student
 Association, Samahang Pilipino, and the Vietnamese Student Union, which represent
 the historically underrepresented AAPI communities at UCLA. In addition, there are
 a number of fraternities and sororities, performing arts groups, academic clubs, and
 other organizations specifically for AAPI students.
- AAPIs make up 16.6 percent of the faculty and 23.8 percent of the staff.²¹ This includes the recent appointment of an AAPI faculty member, Jerry Kang, to the position of Vice Chancellor for Equity, Diversity and Inclusion.

AAPI EXPERIENCES PARALLEL OTHER RACIAL AND ETHNIC MINORITIES

While this report focuses on the necessity of data disaggregation, it is also important to acknowledge the broader racial frame through which AAPI students are perceived relative to other racial groups. In the context of education, AAPIs are believed to be high performing, well-adjusted students who seldom encounter discrimination or require institutional resources to be successful. These sentiments are also manifested in research, as studies often group AAPI and White students together, comparing their satisfaction and success against Black and Latino students.²² As such, this section contributes to the nearly nonexistent research that situates AAPIs as a racial minority alongside other students of color and pushes back on numerous misconceptions and assumptions made of AAPIs - that they do not share the experiences of other racial minorities or in more extreme instances, are considered "honorary" Whites.²³ Indeed, other examples, often popularized by media, suggest that AAPIs are even out-whiting White students.²⁴ However, as research countering these false stereotypes demonstrates, AAPIs do in fact have racialized experiences, 25 ranging widely across ethnic subgroups. AAPI students have been forced to dance a fine line between their minoritized status, and their inaccurate portrayals as non-minorities.

This section aims to dispel such myths by uncovering overlooked and misunderstood AAPI experiences and to highlight that given the racialized nature of those experiences, AAPI students' perceptions of campus climate parallel those of other racial and ethnic minorities. To be clear, the study does not claim that AAPIs share the exact experiences of other minority student groups or aim to take away from the unique needs and challenges of other student populations. Rather, our goal is to counter the harmful association of AAPI experiences as a "non-minority" population by demonstrating that the experiences AAPIs are, in fact, more in concert with their racial minority counterparts. With this in mind, several prominent findings emerged related to students' experiences with campus climate: a) interpersonal interactions and b) their sense of belonging and satisfaction with college.

Interpersonal Interactions

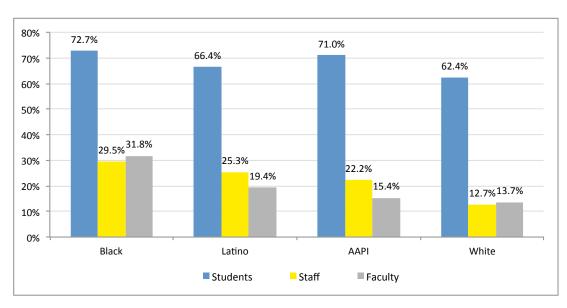
On college campuses, interpersonal interactions are manifested through experiences (direct/indirect, verbal/nonverbal) with faculty, staff, and fellow students. These interactions are defining dimensions of students' perceptions of their campus environment, given that they shape their social experiences.²⁶ Accordingly, it is a serious matter of concern that 71 percent of AAPI students in the sample report hearing fellow students, occasionally to very often, express negative and stereotypical comments

with regards to race and ethnicity. With regard to staff interaction, AAPI students are significantly more likely to hear negative and/or stereotypical comments than their White peers (Figure 1). Although the survey does not specifically denote whether these comments are directed toward students' own racial or ethnic groups, the rate of exposure among ethnic minority students, as compared to Whites, is marked.

The AAPI findings parallel those of Black and Latino students in the sample, suggesting that AAPI students share statistically similar racialized experiences with other racial/ethnic minorities at UCLA. Given that these interactions can largely define the experiences of students, these findings point out both a critical issue and a key opportunity to address one source responsible for the unwelcoming environment that students of color encounter.

These findings are consistent with past literature, such as Yeung and Johnston (2014), which demonstrates empirically that Asian American students "experience more harassment and fewer positive cross-racial interactions and conversations across difference when compared to other Students of Color and White students" (p. 151).²⁷ These results suggest that targeted interventions aimed at not only increasing engagement across student groups, but also reducing instances of both overt racial comments and microaggressions,²⁸ must be considered to reduce the likelihood of student exposure to experiences that lead to negative perceptions of campus climate.

Figure 1: Proportion of Students Reporting Hearing Students, Staff, or Faculty Expressing Negative/Stereotypical Views About Racial/Ethnic Groups



a ANOVA results were not statistically significant when comparing means for all groups. However, it is important to note the high number of students who hear their peers express negative and stereotypical comments with regards to race/ethnicity. b ANOVA results indicated that the differences in means was statistically significant (p < .001) for volume of hearing university staff make negative racial comments, when comparing AAPI students and White students. There is no statistically significant difference when comparing AAPI students to Black or Latino students.

Sense of Belonging to and Satisfaction with College

In addition to interpersonal interactions, students' sense of belonging on campus emerged as an important theme when considering AAPI student experiences with campus climate. Although AAPIs are the largest racial group on campus, their sense of belonging contrasts starkly from White students - the group to whom they are most often labeled similar to with regard to their academic experiences. As Figure 2 demonstrates, when asked to rate their level of agreement with the feeling that they belong at UCLA, AAPI undergraduates report lower levels compared to their White peers. This result directly contradicts the rationale to group these two student populations together in research related to their satisfaction with the campus environment.

Furthermore, AAPI students' sense of belonging on campus has no statistical difference from other students of color. Put another way, AAPI students have statistically similar levels of sense of belonging with their racial and ethnic minority counterparts. These findings share the sentiments of other studies that have found that minoritized students on college campuses do, in fact, have lower levels of sense of belonging and extend the findings of past scholarship to capture the racialized experiences of AAPI students.²⁹

These quantitative findings beg the question, if AAPI students make up one-third of the total undergraduate population, why do they feel like they do not belong on campus compared to White students at UCLA? Given that students' sense of belonging at their academic institution is an important factor associated with positive campus experiences as well as having the potential to

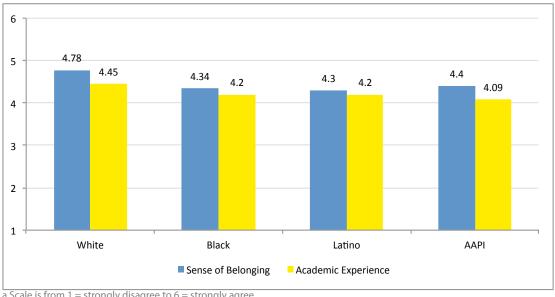


Figure 2: Sense of Belonging and Satisfaction with Academic Experience

a Scale is from 1 = strongly disagree to 6 = strongly agree.

b ANOVA results indicated that the differences in means was statistically significant (p < .001) for Sense of Belonging and Overall Academic Experience between AAPI and White students, but not statistically significant between AAPIs and other students of color.

impact academic outcomes, this points to an opportunity to improve the campus environment to better support and include students of color. ³⁰

The findings presented thus far are similar to what emerges in the examination of satisfaction with overall academic experience. AAPI students are statistically less likely to be satisfied compared to White students (Figure 2), and also report the same levels of overall satisfaction as Black and Latino students. This finding is further exacerbated by the higher rates of negative experiences reported by AAPI students, as compared to White students. Previous research sheds light on this finding by pointing to various types and degrees of negative experiences that AAPI students face on college campuses, which range from racial hostility (e.g., racial bullying, racial slurs, and racial profiling) to racial silencing - the exclusion of AAPI voices in curricular and co-curricular activities.31 Additionally, AAPI students report higher levels of mental health issues, while also having lower levels of seeking help, which is an important area of consideration when strategizing plans to address racial discrimination.³² These findings show the complex experiences of AAPI students and highlight that as students of color, AAPIs

face unique challenges but also share similar experiences with Latino and Black students, many of which can be addressed through targeted interventions aiming to mitigate negative campus climates.

Overall, these findings demonstrate that AAPI students, like other students of color, have a racialized experience at UCLA. Furthermore, these findings rebuke the underlying assumption that AAPI students are not racial minorities and demonstrate that AAPI students do, in fact, face varying forms of racism on campus. Regardless of the compositional diversity at UCLA, AAPIs perceive campus climate more negatively than White students, as AAPIs indeed struggle and face challenges in unique ways in relation to their race. Most importantly, these results call for a more robust and in-depth understanding of AAPI college students and help identify key opportunities for doing so, which is further addressed in the following section.

DISAGGREGATED DATA MATTERS FOR UNDERSTANDING AAPI CAMPUS CLIMATE

Although the previous section importantly demonstrated that AAPI students have racialized and minoritized experiences parallel to other ethnic minorities at UCLA, the nature of ethnic subgroup experiences are likely to vary, as has been suggested by previous studies that have analyzed disaggregated data on the AAPI student population.³³ In addition, the unique historical, social, and political experiences of different AAPI groups within the U.S. have led to distinct subgroup experiences with race and racial identity, pointing to the need to consider these subgroup differences when conducting research on this population. Otherwise, there is the risk of overgeneralizing AAPI experiences and minimizing or overlooking the nuances embedded within the diversity of the population.

AAPI REGIONAL SUBGROUPS

A common convention utilized in describing segments of the AAPI community is that of regional subgroup labels-East Asian, Southeast Asian, South Asian, Filipino, and NHPI - each of which is composed of a number of different ethnic groups, as listed below. These four subgroups are common designations within the higher education research, practice, and policy spheres. While there is a geographic basis to this categorization, in that the constituent ethnic groups can trace their ethnic backgrounds to the same geographic region of Asia and the Pacific Islands, there are also historical and sociopolitical factors at play. Due to differing patterns of immigration and migration to the U.S., as well as experiences of racialization, each regional group has a shared experience that is distinct from other groups. The refugee experience characteristic of many Southeast Asian communities, ³⁴ for example, has uniquely shaped how those populations have experienced ethnicity and race. Similarly, the history of Spanish and U.S. colonialism have led Filipino Americans to have distinct racial experiences compared to their AAPI peers. ³⁵ While a detailed overview of each of the regional groups is beyond the scope of this report, a body of scholarship offering additional insight on this topic exists among the literature on race and AAPIs. ³⁶

Regional Group Labels

East Asian: Chinese, Japanese, Korean, Taiwanese

Southeast Asian: Cambodian, Hmong, Lao, Vietnamese

South Asian: Bangladeshi, Indian, Pakistani, Sri Lankan

Filipino: Filipino

NHPI: Native Hawaiian, Chamorro, Marshallese, Samoan, Tongan

Note: As there is no official or standard categorization scheme for AAPI regional subgroup labels, the ethnic groups listed are those that more commonly associated with that regional group label within U.S. racial discourse.

THE NHPI EXPERIENCE

Although Native Hawaiians and Pacific Islanders (NHPI) are considered a separate racial group from Asian Americans,³⁷ this distinction is not consistently made within education research. As such, many higher education institutions do not distinguish between Asian American and Pacific Islander students in their reporting or their programs.³⁸ The consequences of this phenomenon are such that the unique experiences of NHPI college students are often rendered invisible in the dominant narrative of the AAPI student experience, which is largely defined by the experiences of Asian American students. Research, curriculum, and policy recommendations to enhance the educational success of AAPI students thus frequently fail to consider strategies and approaches that are more culturally-appropriate and effective for NHPI students.³⁹

Not surprisingly, then, there is limited research on the NHPI college student population. Existing studies have pointed to disparities in the rates of college access, retention and persistence, and degree attainment between NHPI students and other racial groups,⁴⁰ suggesting that this population faces barriers in their pursuit of higher education. However, other studies have highlighted the importance of family and community, cultural values and tradition, and religion and spirituality in the lives of NHPIs, as well as the value of peer support, adult role models, and cultural validation in the facilitating their educational success.⁴¹ A critical need exists for higher education institutions to recognize and understand the experiences of NHPI students, and better facilitate their success through targeted interventions and support systems.

To this end, this section revisits the findings detailed in the previous section on AAPI students' campus climate experiences, but with analyses that have disaggregated student data into four subgroups based on ethnicity and region: East Asian, Filipino, South Asian, and Southeast Asiane. These disaggregated findings depict a richer and more complex portrait of how AAPI students perceive, navigate, and interact with the campus racial environment at UCLA.

Subgroup differences in overall perceptions of the campus climate point to more negative experiences for Southeast Asian and Filipino students compared to their South Asian and East Asian peers^f (see Technical Appendix). Additional analysis of these subgroup differences determined that compared to East Asian students, whose perceptions of the campus environment tended to be the highest

among AAPI subgroups, Southeast Asian students' perceptions were significantly less positive. This demonstrates that the campus climate at UCLA may not be as welcoming for this student population. For example, Brittney, a Hmong American student, shared, "I would say administration and other entities say they serve the Hmong community... but, in reality, whether or not they actually do is another story. [They are] not necessarily providing the support that they say they are." She is highlighting the need for UCLA to recognize her ethnic identity and support her community's unique needs in light of a challenging campus climate.

Such feelings of invisibility and marginalization are likely to lead Southeast Asian students to feel dissatisfied with their college experiences. In fact, despite the finding that AAPI students as a whole are somewhat satisfied with their overall

e. Due to the low number of respondents who identified as Pacific Islander, this group was not included in the quantitative analysis, but is highlighted in qualitative findings. While this decision maintains the students' confidentiality (pseudonyms are utilized), it is also an acknowledged limitation of the study.

f. ANOVA results indicate a significant difference (p = .016) exists between ethnic groups, and specifically between Southeast Asians and East Asians (p = .013)

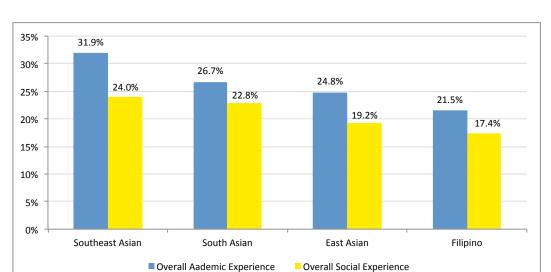


Figure 3: Dissatisfaction with Academic and Social Experience

a ANOVA results for overall academic experience indicate significant differences exist between Southeast Asians and East Asians (p = .009), and between Southeast Asians and Filipinos (p = .001)

b ANOVA results for overall social experience indicate significant differences exist between Southeast Asians and Filipinos (p = .003).

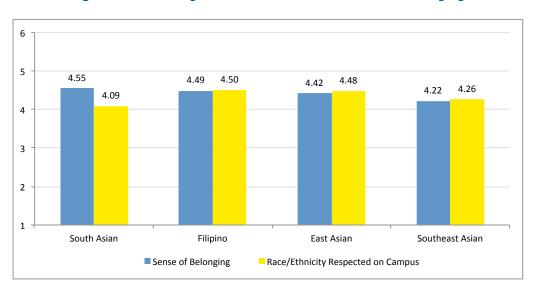


Figure 4: Level of Agreement on Measures of Sense of Belonging

a Scale is from 1 =strongly disagree to 6 =strongly agree

b ANOVA results for feeling respected on campus indicate a significant difference exists Southeast Asians and East Asians (p = .001), Southeast Asians and South Asians (p < .001), and Southeast Asians and Filipinos (p = .031)

c ANOVA results for belonging on campus indicate a significant difference (p = .001) exists between ethnic groups, specifi-

academic and social experiences – undefined by the UCUES survey – on campus, Southeast Asian students reported the lowest average levels of satisfaction compared to other subgroups with over 30 percent reporting dissatisfaction with their overall academic experience and nearly 25 percent indicating the same regarding their overall social experience (see Figure 3).

Analyses of other measures related to campus climate provided additional evidence of factors contributing to the distinct experiences of Southeast Asian students at UCLA. For example, one in five Southeast Asian respondents disagreed that students of their race or ethnicity are respected on campus; in fact, Southeast Asians reported the highest level of disagreement among all AAPI students and at a level notably higher when compared to East Asian, South Asian, and Filipino students (see Figure 4), all of which are statistically significant findings.

Furthermore, Southeast Asian students also reported feeling the weakest sense of belonging on campus (Figure 4), and also at a level significantly different than their peers. When asked about potential reasons for these feelings, Andrew, a Vietnamese American student, offered, "misrepresentation, low understanding model minority myth, [and] low understanding of differences between Asian American ethnic groups" as factors. Similarly, Brittney shared, "Being Hmong on the UCLA campus, I don't feel represented... I feel like there's this pressure to be a pioneer for my community." These students' comments reinforce the need to recognize and better understand the varied experiences of AAPI subgroups. In the case of UCLA, this means increased attention to their Southeast Asian student population.

Additional disaggregated analyses offer further examples of the nuanced experiences of AAPI

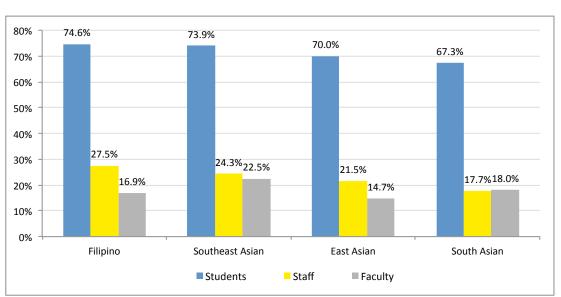


Figure 5: Proportion of Students Reporting Hearing Students, Staff, or Faculty Expressing Negative/Stereotypcial Views About Racial/Ethnic Groups

Although the ANOVA results do not show that AAPI subgroups are statistically different from each other, it is important to note the high number of AAPIs who hear their peers express negative and stereotypical comments with regards to race/ethnicity.

subgroups embedded within the findings using the aggregated AAPI student data. For example, it was stated earlier that 71 percent of AAPI students at UCLA reported hearing campus peers express negative or stereotypical views about race or ethnicity on at least an occasional basis. Analysis of disaggregated data, however, revealed a difference in the average frequency with which AAPI subgroups are exposed to these negative comments, with Filipino and Southeast Asian students reporting the highest frequency, with nearly 75 percent of both groups hearing negative comments from peers. In addition, Filipino students reported hearing negative comments from university staff toward AAPIs more frequently compared to all subgroups (see Figure 5).

These findings may be attributed in part to the liminal status of Filipino Americans among the Asian American population, as well as their ambiguous position within the racial structure of society. With nearly 65 percent of Filipino students and 56 percent of South Asian students reporting often having interactions with someone with different views than them – compared to less than half of their East and Southeast Asian peers – the need for targeted interventions (e.g., educational programming, cultural competency trainings, curricular redesigns) designed to increase awareness of the unique experiences of Filipino students may be warranted across all areas of campus.

Although NHPI students were not represented in the quantitative analysis, it is critical to acknowledge that they also experience similar challenges with the campus racial climate. Jo Jo, a Samoan American student, described being the only student in class "who looked to be Pacific

Islander," and that was "why I had a hard time making friends... I was always afraid to open my mouth in class because I know I sound different... I already feel all these looks... Everyone talks so proper and [I was] afraid of being judged." For Jo Jo, the mere perception or anticipation of negative peer interactions was sufficient to instill feelings of discomfort and isolation in regards to her racial identity.

The findings shared in this section highlight the value of data disaggregation in better understanding the experiences of AAPI students at UCLA (with the caveat that Pacific Islander students' experiences are not captured in the quantitative analysis). In examining the factors that relate to and predict AAPI students' perceptions of campus climate, it is clear that the ways in which the campus environment affect students varies by subgroup. Southeast Asian and Filipino students have distinct experiences in particular, and ones that cannot be discerned purely from data on AAPI students in the aggregate.

This suggests a campus climate that is less conducive to the success of students with particular identities, which aligns with existing research on the experiences of these populations in college. Given the detrimental impact that racial microaggressions, racial comments, and other symptoms of a negative campus racial climate have on students mental and emotional health, the value of data disaggregation in illuminating the distinct experiences of AAPI subgroups is clear. The analyses and findings presented here are thus a critical first step in improving and enhancing the campus racial climate for both the overall AAPI student population and its constituent subgroups.

STUDENT ORGANIZATIONS AND INSTITUTIONAL SPACES CRITICAL TO AAPI STUDENTS

As the two previous sections have highlighted, AAPI students in this study report feelings of isolation and lack of representation on campus. Given this reality, students have eagerly sought outlets through which to find community and space, which emerges as a key theme for our analysis of UCLA campus climate. In alignment with other studies that empirically examine student experiences with campus environments, this study finds that space, and thus the student organizations that provide, support, and contribute to those spaces, are a critical component of AAPI perceptions of campus. The importance of these organizations and spaces vary between racial groups and across ethnic subgroups, but universally point to the institutional opportunity to transform the student experience by supporting established organizations and offering dedicated institutional spaces for underrepresented student groups. Though this is but one way to improve campus climate among many that have been identified by scholars, it emerged as a significant finding within the sample and is offered here as a possible intervention.

Finding and Creating Space

The need for finding a supportive or safe space at such a large institution was made apparent by both the quantitative findings that highlight feelings of isolation and by the experiences of student interviewees. Brittany (Hmong), for example, shared this very sentiment, "I feel like I belong in certain areas. I don't feel like I belong anywhere in the university." Upon being asked what areas she felt she belonged in, Brittany responded, "Usually within the Southeast Asian spaces, within [the Association of Hmong Students] (AHS)." This was also reflected in the UCUES data for Southeast Asian students, as participating in community service though a campus based organization or program is significantly correlated to their overall perception of campus climate (r = .318, p= .003). Keeping in mind that AAPIs report much

lower levels of sense of belonging (Figure 2) than their White peers and share parallel experiences with Black and Latino students, it becomes even more apparent how finding and creating spaces are important for students of color, which helps to explain the high rates of AAPI student involvement in student organizations. For example, a high proportion (84.5%) of AAPI students in the quantitative sample participate in campus-based service organizations (on-campus programs that organize off-campus community service opportunities) (Figure 6). This is also the case with participation in performance groups, with 15.3 percent of AAPIs reporting involvement, as compared to 12.7 percent White, 11.9 percent Black and 13.5 percent Latino participation.

The importance of student organizations is especially pronounced for the most

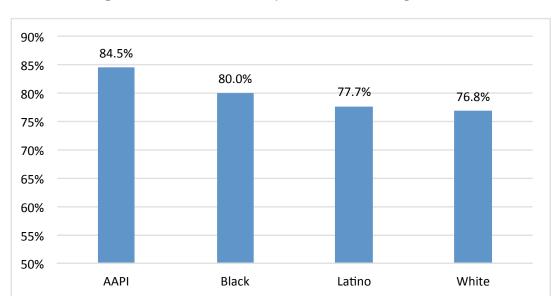


Figure 6: Involvement in Campus-Based Service Organizations

underrepresented AAPI students, who also report the lowest levels of sense of belonging. Though the UCUES data did not ask about ethnicspecific organizations, nearly all of the student interviewees reference these when talking about their involvement on campus. It would, therefore, not be surprising if their participation in campus-based community organizations, advocacy organizations (e.g., Sierra Club, Amnesty International) or performing groups (e.g., school band, dance group) are likely to also be ethnic-based, though we cannot conclude with certainty based on the collected data. Nonetheless, notable findings emerge when examining the involvement of AAPI students across ethnic subgroups. Participation in campusbased community organizations, for example, is higher for South Asians (95.6%) and slightly higher for Southeast Asians (84.7%) than their East Asian (82.9%) and Filipino (81.1%) peers. The differences become starker when examining rates of participation in advocacy organizations and performing groups (Figure 7). Although Southeast Asians, for example, have the lowest rates of involvement in performing groups; they have the second highest level of participation in advocacy organizations.

These rates of involvement in advocacy organizations are not entirely surprising when compared against student interviews, as South and Southeast Asians prominently highlighted the need for finding community. Amanda (Vietnamese), for example, shared, "I felt like [the Vietnamese Student Association] (VSU) was a home away from home. [...] Growing up, my mom always taught me to value your history, your background. Being away from home, VSU was my home here." In addition to terms like "home," "family" was also utilized to describe the organizations students are involved in, like the one Jo Jo (Samoan) describes:

Not only did they [(a student organization)] treat me as family, they were very patient with me. The things that my family had been through growing up [...] I had a really hard time opening up to people I didn't know that well. They were patient and they took care of me. When I was struggling financially [...] they gave me money, they gave me food, they

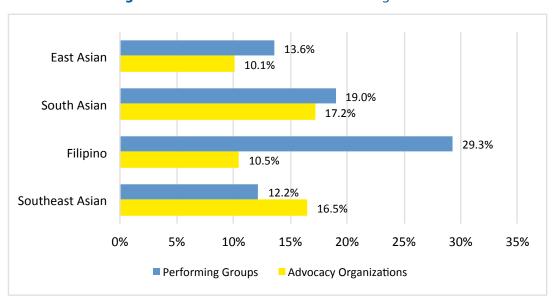


Figure 7: Involvement in Various Student Organizations

took me grocery shopping. It was little things [...] they really do care for my well being here at UCLA.

Given their value, students sometimes went above and beyond to not only find, but to create such spaces. Rajvi (Bangladeshi), for example, one of the leaders of the Bangladeshi Student Association (BSA), shared, "One of the reasons why I [got involved in] BSA was because I wanted people to know about our history, about our culture. I say if you can't support your own community, who else is going to?" Students also sought opportunities to provide welcoming spaces for future UCLA attendees. Brittney (Hmong), for example, shared about the outreach of VSU and AHS at their Southeast Asian outreach event, "I felt that it was an important opportunity to showcase that there was a community specifically for the Hmong students; that there was a community that they could find here on campus." As demonstrated by these students' interviews, spaces that provide the feeling of inclusiveness, like student organizations, are helpful for building a sense of community for all AAPIs, but are particularly crucial for the most underrepresented students.

Need for Representation and Resources

One of the key components of student organizations is to acknowledge the attendance and value of overlooked student populations on campus. Though there are many student organizations at UCLA and AAPI involvement, as demonstrated thus far, is high for those that do exist, there remains a deep need for better representation and resources for underrepresented student groups. As Jo Jo (Samoan) profoundly states about the Pacific Islander (PI) community, which has relevance for other disregarded populations:

Who else at this school is going to advocate for PI communities or PI access or PI representation other than us? Who else is going to do that besides us? That's the problem that we're the only one advocating. [...] It's just really hard to bring representation onto campus. That's one of

the struggles that we deal with, with [student] organizations.

The issue of representation is particularly acute for student groups like the PI community and their Southeast Asian peers, as it becomes more challenging to find support in small numbers. As Jason, a Vietnamese American biology major in his fourth year, puts it, "The Asian minority groups that have a lower number of students here, I feel that it actually makes it more important for them, to know more about their culture and be surrounded by people from similar backgrounds."

The need to be acknowledged and recognized on campus is compounded by the fact that these student organizations struggle to find resources and support. This point is well delivered by Andrew (Vietnamese):

I work as a peer counselor for Southeast Asian students. I think our services, we exist to not exist, down the line one day, once we reach parity [...], I think at the moment, that time has not come yet. I think we still need more resources on our end. We only get student funding so we can only do so much, [and] see so many students.

In an effort to no longer be needed, however, Andrew also notes that student organizations should be supported, not overtaken. To this point, he states, "Student run, I do believe, is the best way to do it, like student peer counselors, but in terms of administration, is it too much work? Is it unfair to us, as students, to do all that work?" Accordingly, both better representation and more resources can impact the experiences of AAPI students, which can help to improve their perceptions of campus racial climate. These findings point to a key opportunity for UCLA specifically, and institutions serving AAPIs broadly, to better support the students who need it most.

As previously stated, providing students' with spaces and supporting ethnic-based student organizations is but one way to support the racial and ethnic minority students on campus, among a variety of possible interventions. That said, this finding emerged in every student interview and was reinforced by the quantitative findings – student organizations and institutional spaces are critical approaches for integrating, supporting and welcoming students that are otherwise isolated and underserved. Accordingly, this is one institutional possibility for tapping into the full potential of AAPI students to contribute to the campus environment, which is otherwise underdeveloped due to low levels of sense of belonging and satisfaction. These findings point to a tangible opportunity to engage with the campus diversity that already exists and to foster an environment in which students who are at the margins can be brought in and centralized.

CONCLUSION & RECOMMENDATIONS

As institutions of higher education continue to grapple with the meaning of campus diversity and face increasing demands to better serve increasingly heterogeneous student populations, there is a need to consider how AAPI students fit within that narrative and into larger campus priorities. Representing one of the fastest growing student populations, as well as one of the most overlooked and underserved with regard to provision of support and resources, AAPIs stand at a critical position for defining what it means to embrace campus diversity and reap its benefits. If AAPIs continue to be left out of diversity conversations, institutions will continue to fall short of tapping the full potential of campus diversity.

This report offers a unique contribution for considering how to engage AAPI students within campus diversity initiatives, as it focuses on campus climate and sheds light on opportunities for institutions to better serve their AAPI students to improve their overall campus experiences. This report's approach points out institutional barriers to improving AAPI campus satisfaction and tangible steps for mitigating such barriers. Given the findings featured in this report, a number of recommendations are offered:

- Although the mean scores in our findings show fairly high satisfaction across racial groups, they also highlight that particular groups feel especially marginalized on campus. As such, there is an opportunity to foster concerted cross-racial and cross-ethnic engagement that generates productive dialogue between students, staff, faculty and administrators. In addition to singular events of this nature, there is also an opportunity to consider structural changes that can readily include this type of engagement, such as the support of ethnic studies programs and centers or changes to curriculum and pedagogy that capture opportunities to engage campus diversity.
- As many of the students shared, the harmful practices of aggregating all AAPIs under one stereotype the model minority myth continues to plague the experiences of AAPI students today; thus highlighting the persistent and urgent need to overcome myths about universal satisfaction. This points to an institutional opportunity to bring awareness to the larger campus community about the diversity across the AAPI subgroups and to shed light on the unique challenges facing these student communities. The use of disaggregated data must be inherently linked to such efforts.
- Additionally, as the findings indicate, student organizations play a critical role in supporting students' campus experiences and offer a much needed community and space through which many students thrive. Accordingly, student organizations offer a tangible structure that should be supported both financially and symbolically. In addition to resources, student organizations must feel that they have institutional spaces for their existence and be acknowledged for their impactful and important work.

Beyond the scope of these recommendations, there is an institutional opportunity, generally, for improving campus climate for all students of color through the acknowledgement of their unique needs, the commitment to better understanding those needs, and the provision of systems of support that can help students succeed. As this report demonstrates, improving campus climate can have a profound impact on student outcomes. Institutions serving diverse populations have an opportunity to transform student experiences to ensure that all of their students are acknowledged, valued, and successful.

TECHNICAL APPENDIX

This study utilized a mixed methods research design in order to fully understand the experiences of undergraduate Asian Americans and Pacific Islanders (AAPIs) at the University of California, Los Angeles (UCLA).

Data Source:

University of California Undergraduate Experience Survey

Our primary source of data for the quantitative analysis came from the University of California Office of the President (UCOP). We relied on data from the 2014 University of California Undergraduate Experience Survey (UCUES). Administered annually, UCUES collects information on undergraduate students' experiences on campus, including their involvement in activities, satisfaction with campus life, and perceptions of campus climate. Importantly, UCOP collects disaggregated racial and ethnic data, thereby allowing us to conduct a disaggregated analysis on the AAPI student population. However, because the low sample sizes for individual ethnic groups would compromise statistical rigor and the confidentiality of survey participants, we aggregated the data into AAPI regional subgroups (e.g., East Asian, Filipino, Southeast Asian, South Asian). We readily admit this is a limitation of our study and hope that the future administration of the UCUES survey will elect to sample AAPI ethnicities in greater numbers. In total, 2,703 AAPIs participated in the survey. Table 1 provides detailed demographic information of our overall UCUES sample.

Table 1: Demographic Sample of UCUES

Subgroup	N
East Asian	1645
South Asian	255
Filipino	275
Southeast Asian	517
Native Hawaiian Pacific Islander	11
Total	2,703*

^{*} NHPI students were included in all analysis that aggregated AAPIs, but were not included in disaggregated analysis due to a small sample size. Sample excludes international students.

Student Interviews

Our primary source of data for the qualitative analysis came from 16 individual, semi-structured interviews with AAPI undergraduate students that were currently enrolled at UCLA during the time of data collection. We utilized a purposeful sampling technique that recruited students through student organizations, the UCLA Asian American Studies Center, announcements in various courses, and multiple UCLA email listservs. We also employed snowball sampling to ensure that we recruited students from underrepresented ethnic groups in higher numbers. Students were also given a \$20 gift card for their participation in the hour-long interview. Table 2 provides demographic information of students in our interview sample. The names presented in the table and throughout the report are pseudonyms to protect students' identities.

Table 2: Student Interviewee Demographic Information

Name	Ethnicity	Class Year	Major
Amanda	Vietnamese	Sophomore	Psychobiology
Andrew	Vietnamese	Senior	History, Asian American Studies
Brian	Japanese, Chinese, Vietnamese	Sophomore	Chemistry
Brittney	Hmong	Senior	Psychobiology, Evolutionary Medicine minor
Jade	Korean	Senior	Asian American Studies, Geography/Environmental Studies minor
Jason	Vietnamese	Senior	Biology
Jennifer	Chinese Vietnamese	Senior	Asian American Studies, Education minor
Jo-Jo	Samoan	Senior	Sociology, Education minor
Lerina	Chinese Burmese	First Year	Pre-Business Economics / Pre- international Development Studies, Potentially Chinese
Mary	Filipina	Junior	Asian American Studies
Penny	Victnamese	Junior	Psychobiology
Rajvi	Bengali	Senior (5th year)	Electrical Engineering
Roland	Pilipino	Junior	Molecular, Cell, and Developmental Biology
Seng	Cambodian	Junior	STEM
Stacee	Chinese	Senior	Asian American Studies, Political Science
TJ	Filipino	Junior	Linguistics

Variables and Data Analysis Procedure:

Quantitative Data Analysis

With regards to our quantitative analysis, descriptive statistics were conducted across a series of variables to understand the experiences of students at UCLA. These variables included:

- Frequency of hearing faculty express negative comments regarding race or ethnicity
- Frequency of hearing staff express negative comments regarding race or ethnicity
- · Frequency of hearing students express negative comments regarding race or ethnicity
- Level of agreement that I feel that I belong at this University
- Level of satisfaction with overall academic experience
- Level of satisfaction with overall social experience
- Level of agreement that students of my race/ethnicity are respected on this campus
- Involvement in community service through a campus-based organization or program
- Participation in campus-based student advocacy organization
- Participation in campus-based student performing groups

ANOVAs with post-hoc tests were performed to compare the differences in mean scores between racial groups, as well as between AAPI subgroups.

Qualitative Data Analysis

The 16 interviews, were audio recorded, transcribed verbatim, coded and analyzed for emerging themes in an iterative process using NVivo. The three primary authors of this report met multiple times to discuss the findings for consistency across the themes and to triangulate qualitative data with quantitative data. To further ensure reliability of the report, additional practices employed for trustworthiness of analyses included sharing results with outside researchers and practitioners, whom are familiar with the scholarship and experiences pertaining to AAPIs and campus climate.

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