

ASIAN AMERICAN POLICY REVIEW

**John F. Kennedy School of Government
Harvard University**

Volume XVI • 2007

**Harnessing the Asian American Influence:
Politics and Mass Media**



INTERVIEWS/PROFILES

**The Virginia Senate Race 2006: An Interview with Steve Jarding,
Jim Webb's Campaign Manager**

By Christina Hu

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Be Culturally Competent**

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FROM THE EDITORS

We are pleased to present the sixteenth annual volume of the *Asian American Policy Review (AAPR)* of the John F. Kennedy School of Government at Harvard University. The theme of this year's journal is "Harnessing the Asian American Influence: Politics and Mass Media." Our theme offers an in-depth analysis of the unprecedented levels of Asian American visibility and engagement in both the American political landscape and media outlets in the past year.

This volume features interviews with two Asian Americans who, by leveraging their extraordinary careers, have brought much-needed attention to some of the critical issues in the Asian American community. **Hines Ward**, the NFL Super Bowl XL's most valuable player, speaks to Samuel S. Lee about his childhood experiences as a mixed-race American and his current outreach and education efforts for mixed-race children. **Eric Byler**, another Asian American of mixed heritage, talks to Sharon Chae about how his struggles with identity have shaped his career as a filmmaker and pushed him to become a political activist and a community organizer on issues of political and social injustice. He speaks of his recent efforts as an organizer of the Real Virginians for Jim Webb in his home state of Virginia.

The active role of Asian Americans and the impact of their engagement in the 2006 Virginia Senate race are further explored in a conversation with Professor **Steve Jarding**, an experienced campaign manager and senior consultant to Jim Webb, who won a narrow victory in the Senate race against incumbent George Allen.

This volume's selection of research articles, commentaries, and reviews spans a wide range of political and social influences that impact Asian Americans and also examines the ways Asian Americans are shaping the political and social agenda. It is our hope that this volume will provide the Asian American community with rich fodder for further discussion and insight in this important interaction.

Our research articles examine two of the most prominent Asian American communities in the United States, California and Hawaii. **Kathy H. Rim's** research explores California's various media outlets and the ways they reflect and influence the mainstream society's perception of Asian Americans as a group. **Meechai Orsuwan and Darnell Cole's** research provides a glimpse into the role that race plays in the Asian American students' college experience in Hawaii. Our commentaries and reviews highlight some of the recent changes in U.S. policies that have a particular impact on Asian Americans, including those of labor, homeland security, education, and health.

Creating this year's journal would not have been possible without the support provided by our advisor, **Professor Richard Parker**, and our journal publishers, **Christine Connare and Jennifer Smetana**. We would also like to thank our managing editors, **Sareena Dalla and Tai Sunnanon**—this volume would not have been possible without their hard work. We would like to thank the rest of the dedicated AAPR staff whose impressive knowledge of Asian American issues proved invaluable time and again throughout our selection and editing process. Finally, we

are grateful to **Fred Wang** and the **Wang Foundation** for his generous and enduring support of the *AAPR*.

This is an exciting time for the Asian American community—more than ever before, we are helping to shape the political and social issues that impact our image and lives, and we have sought through these pages to offer you the most relevant and insightful coverage of these recent and significant developments. We hope that you will enjoy reading them as much as we have enjoyed publishing them and that you will continue the conversation with us through our forthcoming issues.

Sharon Chae
Samuel S. Lee
Co-Editors-in-Chief

SIXTEENTH ISSUE

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ASIAN AMERICAN POLICY REVIEW

ANNOUNCES THE RELEASE OF

VOLUME XVI

The 2007 issue of the *Asian American Policy Review* is devoted to the theme **Harnessing the Asian Pacific American Influence: Politics and Mass Media.**

- Reviews, commentaries, and interviews covering the many faces of Asian America, including Hines Ward and his outreach efforts for multiracial children, and filmmaker Eric Byler's political activism
- The Virginia Senate Race 2006: an interview with Steve Jarding, Senator Jim Webb's campaign coordinator, discussing the "macaca incident" and the vital role of the Asian American political engagement
- Model, Victim, or Problem Minority? Examining the Socially Constructed Identities of Asian-Origin Ethnic Groups in California's Media: a feature article examining the way California's media has shaped and influenced Asian Americans' identity and social perceptions

Throughout the issue, we uncover important and fascinating insights into the multifaceted, vibrant identity that is Asian America today.

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The Virginia Senate Race 2006: An Interview with Steve Jarding, Jim Webb's Campaign Manager

Interviewed by Christina Hu

On 7 November 2006, Democratic candidate Jim Webb defeated the incumbent Republican senatorial candidate George Allen. The Webb victory in Virginia put the Democrats back as the majority in the U.S. Senate. The win is widely believed to be the result of the rising Asian American mobilization in Virginia, responding to the Republican candidate George Allen's racial insensitivities during the Senate election.

Harvard University Professor Steve Jarding, a senior political consultant for the Jim Webb 2006 senatorial campaign, has more than twenty-five years of experience in American politics and electoral campaigns. Jarding was also the campaign manager for Mark Warner's 2001 campaign for governor in Virginia, which was widely regarded as one of the best-run campaigns in America.

The following interview was conducted by AAPR staff member Christina Hu in Cambridge, MA, on 12 December 2006.

AAPR

You have been involved in Virginian politics for a very long time. Did you see the 2006 race as unique or special on the issue of race?

Steve Jarding

Yes. There was no question, certainly, in the Asian community. Now, the African American community, it's about 14 percent of the population, about 17 percent of the turnout. That's always about the same. And it's important, and has been for a long time. You're starting to see the Latino or Hispanic vote grow.

But the Asian vote has been kind of quiet. And, all of a sudden, I don't know if it was because of the "macaca" thing, and I think probably triggered some of it. This was a slur against an Asian, a person of Asian descent who lives in America. Allen suggested he didn't. But he grew up in Virginia.

Christina Hu is a master in public policy candidate at the John F. Kennedy School of Government at Harvard University.

But also I suspect some of it was because Webb speaks Vietnamese. His wife is Vietnamese. The campaign certainly reached out to the Asian community like most campaigns haven't, I think, in the past, both to the different constituencies in the Asian community, but also through the Asian media, the newspapers. Again, it helped that Webb spoke Vietnamese. He was able to go on, certainly, Vietnamese radio and television.

But I think it was a combination. It was, all of a sudden, the Asian community was saying, "We're not sure we like Allen. We certainly don't like what he did to this young kid." And here is this guy named Webb who is embracing the Asian community in so many ways. And it wasn't just that he was married to a Vietnamese woman. Webb has done numerous trade missions to Asian and [is] trying to open, certainly, Vietnam and other parts of Asia to business. He's done work, certainly, with Vietnamese soldiers who relocated in the United States.

And this is a guy that had a pretty good track record of working with the Asian community. So it was kind of a natural alliance to say, well, this is someone we should feel comfortable with—particularly in light of this other guy that we don't feel very comfortable with. Even if we thought we knew Allen, it's pretty inexcusable, what he did.

So [Allen's insensitive comment] probably triggered [the Asian American community's immediate look to Webb], but I think it was deeper. I think Webb was a natural candidate. And Jim feels very comfortable in the Asian community, and it showed. And we had really good support. We had it in all the different communities—from, certainly, the Vietnamese community, but the Chinese community, the Korean community. There was, like I say, kind of a coming-together, I think, of the Asian community, for the first time that I've seen in Virginia politics, where there were things from phone banks going out into Asian voters. There were robo calls. There was a volunteer organization specifically for Asian Americans in Virginia. And it was a real, kind of a mini-campaign inside of the bigger one. And it paid dividends. It was a heck of a vote.

And there was no question. Jim won by nine thousand votes. And getting the percentage that he got in the Asian community ended up probably somewhere [around] forty-five thousand votes or something. Maybe not quite that, but approaching that. That put him over the top, no question about it.

AAPR

Why do you think political campaigns have largely not been active in outreaching to the Asian American community?

Jarding

Well, it's inexplicable to me. It is. I just think, to me, you go after all communities and all people, and talk about what their needs are and their fears and insecurities. And you develop a dialogue. It's like anything. Sometimes you have to have a moment like this where a community has a chance to flex its muscle before people go, "Wow, I didn't even know they were there."

And the Asian population in Virginia is not big. But in close races, it's all relative. Now, all of a sudden, they can become huge. But sometimes I think it just went under the radar. And it might work both ways. I know one of the things that we had [is] a strong education program. There were a lot of people in the Asian community that weren't sure—did it matter to vote? For a lot of them, it was maybe a foreign concept, the way that we vote here. And it was, No, here is why it matters. And until you have that history, sometimes you don't realize the power that you have. And I think a lot of eyes were opened.

AAPR

Do you think because of this election the Asian American effect in Virginia is stronger now?

Jarding

Oh yes, I think you'll see it anytime you kind of flex your muscles and you say, "Wow, I had an impact."

I always tell people, when I work in campaigns, I take pride in campaigns. But I think I help make a difference. And the Asian community in Virginia made a tremendous difference there, and they should take great pride in that. I hope it fires people up and [they say], "Let's go do it again. Let's get more people involved. This is a good thing. This is the way it's supposed to work."

This may have been kind of the race where it broke through the glass ceiling of sorts. But it's not going into a shell. If anything, I suspect it to get stronger. I hope so.

AAPR

What about Asian American influence overall in the United States?

Jarding

First of all, I think in certain parts of the country, the Asian population is growing, certainly on the West Coast from Washington, Portland, OR, to all through California. But you look at places like Virginia. I just think it's a growing population with growing influence. The Asian culture, I think, is one of hard work and discipline. And, in a strange way, it fits politics. And in politics, you have to be driven. You have to be focused. And you have to be smart. And a lot of the values that Asian Americans bring to the table, it fits with politics. I think it's a good fit.

I think it's here to stay. And I think it's going to be stronger. And I think the Asian American influence is great. And it's only going to increase. And I think that's a good thing. I believe in the theory of the melting pot in America, and that you need voices, and you need people from all over the world. And I think it makes America stronger. I think it will make policy strong. I think it's made Virginia stronger.

It's more participation. Everybody needs to participate. And if this is now another group of Americans that maybe saw its real strength for the first time, and that gets more people to participate. That's good for the system.

If you just look at the number itself, there were seventy thousand Asian voters on the seventh of November in Virginia. And Webb wins by nine thousand. Webb got about 70 percent, a little short of that. So if there's 70 percent of seventy thousand, do the math in your head, it's a lot more than nine thousand. Clearly the Asian American vote in Virginia put Webb over the top. I mean it's not even close.

It would be different if it was, Well, there's three thousand Asian voters, and he won by ten. And he got two thousand. So it was a piece of it. But no, when you've got enough of a block that is that significant, and it's a significant enough increase over past elections, which it was, then I think you've got a strong case to say that the Asian American voter in Virginia clearly turned that race. If this [had been] a typical race, and Webb didn't get the percentages that he did in the Asian American community in Virginia, I think it's not even close: he doesn't win.

AAPR

When we look at the "macaca" incident, if that involved an individual of, let's say, Latino or African American background, how do you think that would have played out? And would there have been a difference?

Jarding

That's a good question. I guess, to me, bigotry is bigotry—if that's what it is, a racial slur. Again, I know he apologized. And I know he said, "That's not who I am." I watched the tape. It looked like a slur. It looked like a bad thing.

But my guess is that there would have been equal outcry, which I think is a good thing. It shouldn't matter that Sidarth happened to be of Asian descent. Whether he's African descent or Hispanic or whatever, the fact is a slur is a slur, and singling someone out like that was wrong. So in that sense, I hope it's a good sign. Wrong is wrong. And Allen was wrong to do this no matter what the color of the skin of the kid he singled out.

But hopefully, it means you just can't do it to anybody—that, oh, by the way, if you did it to an African American, there would be an outcry. But if you did it to someone of Asian descent, people wouldn't care. No, people care. And they said it was wrong. And they held it against him. And I think that's a good thing. Hopefully, it's a healthy thing, and the nation learns from it and grows.

AAPR

What advice would you have for Asian Americans who are interested in getting more involved in politics, both as candidates and campaign workers?

Jarding

Do it. Absolutely do it. Asian Americans are Americans. Native Americans are Americans. African Americans are Americans. Caucasian Americans are Americans. To me, the Asian community, if you live in America, and you've played by all the rules of citizenship and all that, it's wide open.

And there are opportunities. Look at Gary Locke, very successful in the West Coast. There are increasing opportunities, I think, for Asian Americans. But you

know what? The only way I know that an opportunity won't materialize is if you don't take advantage of it. And at some point, you've got to put yourself in line and say, "I know it's tough. But I'm going to go out and I'm going to do it."

In Boston, they just elected a Chinese American city councilor a couple of months ago and hadn't done that before. You know, I mean if this guy doesn't run, okay, then apparently there's no opportunity. You run, you win, and you go, "I'll be damned. This is good."

So no, I believe that all people are equal. And I believe in our Constitution. And I believe that, yes, it can be difficult. I know how tough this game is. And I know how much courage it takes to put yourself on the line sometimes. But just do it. Come to the public and show that you understand their fears and their needs, and you care about them. And I believe, at the end of the day, that most people are going to say, "I don't give a damn if you're Asian or African American, whatever the hell you are. If you come and you're honest, and you seem to understand my fears and insecurities, people don't care."

Because at the end of the day, I believe, and I genuinely do believe this, most people know people that are suffering. They're in poverty; they know that poverty is colorblind. Poverty doesn't give a damn if you're Asian or Black or White or whatever. It's just that poverty hurts all people. It's an economic issue. And I can look across the street and see an African American or Asian family. If they're in poverty, I know they're going through the same stuff I'm going through. And I don't care that they're Black or Asian or whatever it is.

And I believe that. I think if politicians understand that races aren't about them, it's about people they're supposed to serve, then the color of your skin matters less or your gender matters less, or your age matters less. But you have to come with that attitude.

And I know it's tougher when there are groups of Americans that haven't really been on the stage yet, haven't had to go through some type of painful process an election can be. Like I say, if I'm an African American, and there's no history, and I put myself on the line, yes, there's a chance that I'm going to see some ugly things. But there is also a chance, I believe—and a pretty good chance—that I'm going to see that at the end of the day, people are people. And at the end of the day, people are good people. But I've got to talk to them about where they live. I have to let them know that I'm doing this for them, not for me. And then who I am matters less. So I'd say go do it—the quicker, the better. And I believe it's going to happen very quickly, by the way.

AAPR

Do you think America is really ready for Asian American political force?

Jarding

Yes. The problem with all that talk is, until you break through the ceiling, it still looks like a ceiling. And until you break through it, you don't know if it's two feet thick or two centimeters thick. The minute a woman is elected president, and the ceiling breaks, we don't have to talk about that anymore. The same way I'm sure

there are people who have said, "Oh, we can never have an Asian as the governor of Washington." And then Gary Locke comes along and gets elected. People went, "I'll be damned." There goes the ceiling.

And now, the opportunity for Asian Americans is much greater than they were before. But somebody has to be the trailblazer. Whether it's Hillary Clinton as the first woman, or Barack Obama as the first African American, or whatever it is, somebody's got to break through that ceiling. And I think sometimes we make the mistake of assuming every glass ceiling is two feet thick when, in fact, it might be just razor thin and we've just got to punch through it.

Again, if you come and talk to me about where I live and what my fears are, at some level, I've got to believe. There are racists in America. And they're not going to get past that racism. But for most people, they're going to say, "Did you talk about what affected my life? Do you understand my fears?" And if you do, I don't give a damn who you are.

And if the person of color—an African American, Asian American, Native American, you name it—if a Latino comes up and says, "I know what's affecting your life. I know what you fear," and the light bulb goes off, says, "My God, they really get it. These guys over there don't." I swear, for most people, that cultural, that racial, that religious, whatever it is, gender falls by the wayside. I believe the message, in many ways, is more important than the messenger. I've always believed that.

AAPR

What unique barriers do you believe exist for Asian Americans in the political arena?

Jarding

I don't know that there's a unique barrier. But I think there are barriers for all people of color at some level, and the different ethnic groups, and so forth. So I don't know that they're unique.

I just think the Asian American community's light bulb has to go off to say we actually have a lot more strength than we might have realized. And, by the way, it also matters that we get involved, that you can actually affect change by getting involved in American politics. And part of that is going back to the other questions: What about running? Is the time right? Well, you won't affect change if you don't run. Or at least you'll be less affected because you don't hold the reigns of power.

But if that message comes through, then people of Asian descent could sit there and say, "You know, it doesn't seem to matter. Jarding didn't seem to care [about] the color of my skin. He's just saying it's all about public service. And you've got to do it right. And you've got to be smart. And if you do these things, and you target profit, and you message properly, you can get elected to office." Well, you know what? That's true.

So, no, I just think it's like anything. Once you see a success, and I'm hoping the Asian American community goes, "I'll be damned. We elected a senator and, by

the way, changed the majority.” That is power. You don’t think we’re going to have change? And when you look at those numbers, at seventy thousand votes, and Webb gets 70 percent of them to put him over the top. That’s power. That is raw stuff.

One thing about a vote tally, it is final. At some point, they add them up. And they’re going to declare a winner. And based on that vote tally, you now govern. You have power. You can affect change. Well, the Asian American community affected change on election night.

AAPR

Thank you very much for taking time out to talk to us.



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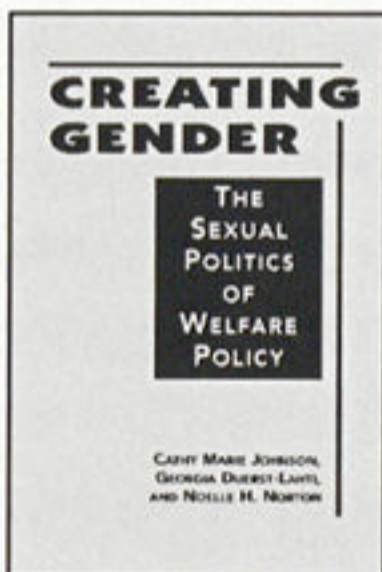
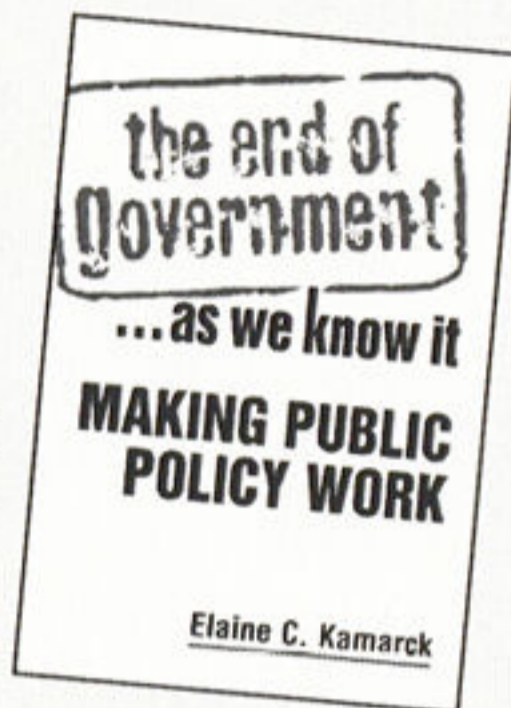
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Asian Americans in the New American Labor and Immigrant Rights Movements: An Interview with Kent Wong, Director of the UCLA Center for Labor Research and Education

Interviewed by Roy Cervantes

The following interview was conducted by Roy Cervantes, AAPR senior editor, on 11 January 2007 at the University of California, Los Angeles (UCLA).

AAPR

So first off, could you explain your role as the current director of the Labor Center and the role of the center at UCLA?

WONG

Sure. I've been the director at the UCLA Center for Labor Research and Education for the past sixteen years. We just celebrated our fortieth anniversary a couple years ago. So we were established back in 1964. And the Labor Center has, for many years, served as a research and education center that addresses the issues of unions and workers here in California. We also have an outreach office, our downtown labor center, that conducts a lot of educational work with labor unions. We also have a whole series of union leadership schools and a series of conferences and educational events that address the educational needs of unions.

AAPR

Can you tell us a little bit more about how you personally got involved with labor issues and union issues?

Roy Cervantes is a master in public policy degree candidate at the John F. Kennedy School of Government at Harvard University. He was a graduate of the University of California, Los Angeles, and a public policy and international affairs fellow from the Goldman School at the University of California, Berkeley in 2003.

WONG

My first involvement with labor unions was when I was in high school and I worked as a volunteer boycott organizer for the United Farm Workers of America. And that was a very important part of my education in learning about issues of labor, the importance of organizing, the importance of exercising collective power, and representing workers of color, immigrant workers, against some of the wealthiest, the most powerful forces within our society.

Upon graduating from college and from law school, I worked as staff attorney for the Asian Pacific American Legal Center, where I was involved in different civil rights work and specifically was involved in developing programs to provide education on labor rights to the Asian American community and to improve working conditions and working standards for Asian American workers.

And from there, I worked as staff attorney for the Service Employees International Union here in Los Angeles, representing about forty thousand government workers. And from there, I took a position here at UCLA.

AAPR

The center recently published the *Sweatshop Slaves* publication. Could you tell us a little bit more about that?

WONG

This is the very first student publication that addresses the role of Asian Americans in the garment industry. It actually took a number of years to produce, but it's a remarkable testament to what students can do—they went out in the field, they interviewed garment workers. Many of them had Asian language skills. We had one student who spoke Thai, so she was actually able to interview some of the workers from the infamous El Monte Slave Shop that held a group of seventy-two Thai immigrant workers in slavery for between five and seven years. So she was able to record the experiences of some of the garment workers from the El Monte Slave Shop.

They also interviewed union leaders and union activists and attorneys who worked on the case and some of the anti-sweatshop advocates here in Los Angeles. So they put together the very first publication that documents the experiences of Asian Americans within the garment industry of Los Angeles. And it's done in a very popular format, so it's a resource that is accessible. It can be used by students, by workers, and by the broader community.

One of the students in the class, this Chinese woman from Vietnam, she had actually worked as a child in sweatshops. And her parents were in the garment industry, so she just assumed that that was part of growing up—that when you're a kid, you help sew clothes on the living room floor. And so, it was only after taking the class that this lightbulb went off, and she said, "Oh my God. I was a victim of child labor. I was working in a sweatshop when I was growing up, and I didn't even think about it in those terms."

What was refreshing was that this particular group of students was [that they were] not your normal group of student activists who are already engaged in these

issues. They were students that many had not even considered these issues before they took this class. So that was kind of interesting, working with a very broad-based group of students who put together this project.

AAPR

Because this group originated from your students that took the class, has there been that hope for future students in such classes to create similar types of publications?

WONG

We are teaching a brand new class this quarter addressing the experiences of the undocumented students of UCLA. And we're going to be putting together a new student publication this spring that will document the experiences of the undocumented students of UCLA.

It will include oral histories, interviews, their families' immigration stories and experiences, and how, against all the odds, they got into UCLA. These are students who cannot get a driver's license. They cannot get financial aid. They cannot work on campus. And, after graduating from UCLA, they can't legally get a job in this country.

Some of these students have been here since they were in preschool. And yet because of the failures of immigration law, and the failures of our society to address this crisis facing these young people, they have very limited opportunities for the future. Hopefully, we can draw greater attention to this terrible problem that needs to be fixed.

AAPR

How important do you think it is for public universities to incorporate that kind of issue and that kind of perspective into the curriculum?

WONG

Well, to be honest, it's always been a battle. The establishment of the Labor Center took a lot of work and effort on the part of the labor movement. And our program has been under attack. You know, the governor of the state of California, as recently as 2005, reached into the University of California budget and singled us out for elimination. So this was an unprecedented step on the part of the governor of the state of California to eliminate funding for labor studies and for labor education within the University of California.

And in one sense, it shows that we must be doing something right—that for people who oppose unions, who oppose the rights of working people, who want to prevent working people from having access to the resources of the university, this was a victory for them, to get the governor to intervene and to attack us in that way.

Fortunately, because of the tremendous support we have from the California State Legislature, from the California labor movement, we were able to win full restoration of our funding this year. But it gives you some sense of how, like ethnic

studies, like women's studies, the field of labor studies has always been a challenge to get off the ground and to establish within the university.

As a public university that is funded by the tax dollars of working people, we think that it is absolutely crucial for the university to be responsive to all the constituents, not just the corporations. And so that's why we think that the work that we do very much embodies the core mission of the university, which integrates teaching, research, and community service.

AAPR

Can you talk a little bit more about the new downtown labor center and the immigration worker resource center?

WONG

Los Angeles has emerged as a focal point of the New American Labor Movement. Everywhere across the country, people look to Los Angeles as a leading force for unions. And much of that is based on the willingness of unions in Los Angeles to aggressively reach out and to organize immigrant workers. So some of the most exciting organized campaigns that have taken place right here in Los Angeles have been among immigrant workers—the Justice for Janitors campaign, the hotel workers, the home care workers, the hospital workers.

Currently, there is a major campaign to organize the port truck drivers and the hotel workers. And so Los Angeles has emerged as a focal point of the New American Labor Movement and also a focal point of the New Immigrant Rights Movement. Los Angeles was home to the largest demonstrations in U.S. history for immigrant rights.

Over one million people took to the streets of Los Angeles in spring of 2006 to demand full rights for immigrants in this country and to reject some of the draconian proposals that were being advanced by the Republican Congress last year.

The downtown labor center was established not only to provide more access to unions and working people to the resources of the Labor Center and to the resources of UCLA, but was also designed specifically to address the changing nature of the workforce and the changing nature of the labor movement.

And so the Immigrant Worker Resource Center is a way to reach out to immigrant workers, to educate them about their rights on the job, to educate them about the significant role that immigrants historically have played in our workforce, and continue to play, to this day.

The UCLA Labor Center established the very first Spanish-language union leadership school in the country, and we've had a number of very exciting schools that have brought together some of the most dynamic and talented immigrant union leaders and immigrant union activists in the city.

So we are very hopeful that these types of initiatives will continue to educate the labor movement and the community at large about the concerns and issues confronting immigrant workers, and will also provide opportunities for immigrant workers themselves to learn to grow and to develop.

AAPR

And you mentioned the Spanish-language union leadership school. [The center] also offers it for the African American community, as well as the Asian American community, correct?

WONG

That's correct. We run the very first Asian American union leadership school in the country, right here at UCLA. We run the very first African American union leadership school in the state of California. We run the only LGBT union leadership school in the country. We also sponsor a summer internship for union women, which provide a number of trade union women educational opportunities.

AAPR

Speaking of the rallies in spring 2006, the new immigrant rights movement drew many comparisons to other major movements, including the continuing labor movement. Do you see those two movements working more with each other, or do you see them flowing in parallel lines? How do you see those two movements coexisting?

WONG

Historically, the American labor movement has had a very antagonistic relationship with immigrant communities. Right here in California, the labor unions were involved in demanding the passage of the 1882 Chinese Exclusion Act. And the founder of the American Federation of Labor, Samuel Gompers, was a lifelong opponent of Chinese immigration and an opponent of the inclusion of Asians within the American labor movement. Back in the 1980s, the American labor movement was one of the stronger advocates for employer sanctions, which enacted criminal and civil penalties for employers who knowingly hire undocumented immigrants. So throughout the history of the American labor movement, unions feared that immigrants would take their jobs and would lower the working conditions.

Here in Los Angeles, however, the new leaders of the American labor movement have taken a much more progressive stance and have decided that it is in the interests of the labor movement, as well as in the interests of immigrant workers, to forge a strong alliance and to aggressively reach out, and to recruit immigrant workers into the labor movement. And so I think that this enlightened approach has led to the decisive breakthroughs, where the role of immigrant workers has strengthened the labor movement, and the participation and support of the labor movement has strengthened the immigrant rights movement.

This is still in its early stages of development. And, unfortunately, many other parts of the country do not have that same type of alliance and partnership that we see here in Los Angeles. But I do see that what's occurred here in L.A. represents the hope for the future.

AAPR

And do you anticipate on the national level that other cities and other areas will take L.A. as an example and really go with that? What is your outlook for the next couple years?

WONG

That has been the case. I think that L.A. has really taken the lead in forging this alliance, but that in many other cities across the country, we see more and more labor unions aligning themselves and supporting and organizing immigrant workers, and supporting immigrant rights. The debate within the national AFL-CIO took place right here in Los Angeles at the 1999 convention, when the AFL-CIO came to town. And that debate at the 1999 convention resulted in a major change of the immigration position of the AFL-CIO in the year 2000.

And so, in the last six years or so, we've seen remarkable progress, where a new generation of union leaders across the country has risen to the challenge, to reach out to immigrant workers, to bring them into the labor movement, and to forge alliances to fight for immigrant rights.

AAPR

Given the new Democratic leadership in Congress, how do you think the immigration debate will play out?

WONG

Well, I think that the defeat of the Republican Congress in November of 2006 was caused by a series of factors, including the horrible war in Iraq, the devastating impact of Katrina, the series of scandals, both corporate and congressional. But I do think that the reactionary proposals on immigration also fueled their demise.

History will look back and evaluate the Sensenbrenner Bill as one of the most mean-spirited and harsh measures ever introduced in U.S. Congress with regard to immigration and immigrant rights. The Sensenbrenner Bill passed the House of Representatives, which is astonishing when you think of it. And it called for the criminalization of 12 million immigrants living in this country without papers. And it also called for the criminalization of the organizations—religious, labor, community—that support undocumented immigrants.

And that's really what fueled the huge outrage in the spring of 2006 and brought together not only the largest demonstrations for immigrant rights in U.S. history, but actually some of the largest demonstrations, period, in certain cities and states that had never seen that coalescing of immigrants—or anyone, for that matter—before, dwarfing even marches in the height of the anti-war movement, in the height of the civil rights movement. So that was really a remarkable mobilization in the spring of 2006. And I do think that that also contributed to the defeat of the Republican Congress in November of last year.

AAPR

Nationally with the immigrant rights movement, to many outsiders it's typically seen as mainly a Latino issue. Do you feel that Asian American issues and concerns are underrepresented, perhaps not so much in Los Angeles, but on the national level?

WONG

On a national level, the concerns of Latinos and Asians tend to be overlooked, because Washington, DC, is the center of government and the center of power. In that city, which has so much influence on policy across the country, race is still defined in terms of Black and White.

And clearly, you know, African Americans have not fared well under the Bush administration and under the Republican Congress. But with Latinos and Asians, there still is a fundamental problem of invisibility. And because the presence of Latinos and Asians in DC is still weak, and because our national advocacy organizations are still in their early stages of development, this is a real problem, when it comes to addressing issues that involve Latinos, Asians, and immigrants overall.

The immigrant movement, by and large, has been led and has been dominated by the Latino immigrant community. The Spanish-language media, in particular, has played a very powerful and very forceful role in educating the Latino community and in mobilizing the Latino community to support immigrant rights. And in my view, it's no accident that, you know, the vast majority of people who responded to the call in spring of 2006 were Latinos.

But here in Los Angeles and in other parts of the country, these were diverse groups, that we did see a convergence of Latinos and Asians and some African Americans and some Whites who responded to this call and supported the demands for immigrant rights. But within the Asian community, I do think that we have a big challenge to do the type of education, advocacy, and mobilization that we need to do.

AAPR

What do you think are some of those barriers that create such a challenge for the Asian American community?

WONG

Well, unlike the Latino community that has one unified language, within the Asian community, there are many, many cultures and languages. And so, you just can't put out one press release or have one community TV or radio network reach out to the Asian community. It's a very diverse community, it's very geographically scattered, and it's a challenge. But it's not an insurmountable challenge, and that's what the Asian community must do, in order to reach out to educate and to mobilize our community to advocate for immigrant rights.

AAPR

And what do you think of the current state—the major issue confronting Asian Americans in the labor movement right now?

WONG

In the early 1990s, when I was still a staff attorney at the Service Employees International Union, I was involved in organizing the very first national organization of Asian American workers and union members, the Asian Pacific American Labor Alliance. We held our founding convention back in 1992, and I served as the first president for about five years. So the very first challenge that we addressed was to reach out and to recruit and train a new generation of Asian American union organizers, and we have successfully done that.

But there still are huge issues with regard to sweatshops, with regard to low-wage service jobs within the Asian community, with regard to the dilemma of immigration laws which prevent Asian and Latino immigrant workers from exercising their rights on the job. And so because of people's immigration status, they are very fearful and cannot truly demand enforcement of their rights as workers on the job.

So those concerns still remain: that the Asian American workforce is still largely unorganized, it's still very much in need of unions and union representation, that the vast majority of Asian American workers are immigrants, and that immigrants, historically and to this day, have faced special problems and conditions on the job, and that there has been an overall failure of labor law in this country to protect the basic rights of all workers, but especially workers of color, including Asian American workers.

AAPR

To close, what opportunities do you see in the future for Asian Americans to really become more involved with labor issues and immigrant issues?

WONG

What we've seen in the last few years is that there are more organizing campaigns being led by Asian American workers than ever before in our history. We see more Asian American union organizers than ever before, more Asian American union leaders than ever before. We see more Asian community organizations that are taking on the fight for immigrant workers and see the necessity of developing stronger alliances with Latinos, with African Americans, with the White community. And so I think that, in many ways, the Asian American community has come a long way in developing a collective voice, developing institutions that advocate on behalf of the Asian American community. But it still is a young community, and it still has a long way to go.

I'm very excited about the prospects of so many—this whole new generation of young Asian Americans who are currently in college and who have recently graduated, who do have a sense of commitment to the broader community and are exploring ways to use their skills and talents to make a difference. There is not an equivalent within the African American community or within the Latino

community, where you have such a large number, proportionally, within the Asian American community who are attending college, attending graduate school, going into law school, going into graduate school, going into medicine and other professions.

And so I do think that there is tremendous opportunity, and it's a tremendous challenge for the Asian American community to play a strong role in forging alliances, in developing a broader perspective that extends just beyond the Asian American community, and that really looks to broader social justice issues around civil rights, around immigrant rights, around worker rights. I really hope that this emerging generation of Asian American professionals, educated people, and college graduates will use their knowledge and experience and skills to make positive change.



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Above and Beyond the Playing Field: An Interview with Hines Ward, NFL Wide Receiver

Interviewed by Samuel S. Lee

Introduction

Drafted by the Pittsburgh Steelers in the 1998 NFL Draft, Hines Ward has been the epitome of a team player and an ambassador to the game of football. However, it was not until recently he began to receive international recognition after winning the most valuable player award at SuperBowl XL. Prior to this prestigious honor, Ward has had an illustrious professional football career, being named to the Pro Bowl four times in addition to multiple team MVP awards.

Off the field, Ward's accomplishments are just as stellar. Hines Ward has used his newfound influence to help others around him. He recently started the Hines Ward Helping Hands Foundation to help children of mixed ethnicities. Ward has become a vocal advocate for the plight of mixed-race individuals and the discrimination they face.

Ward is a graduate of the University of Georgia, where he received a degree in consumer economics.

The following interview was conducted by AAPR co-editor-in-chief Samuel S. Lee on 14 February 2007.

AAPR

How would you describe your ethnicity? Black? Korean? Korean American? African American? Did you feel more connected to certain parts of your heritage at specific junctures in your life?

Samuel S. Lee is a M.P.P. candidate at the John F. Kennedy School of Government at Harvard University. He received an undergraduate degree from Rutgers, the State University of New Jersey. Upon graduation, he will pursue a career in public service with the U.S. federal government.

Ward

I would definitely describe myself as Korean African American. I felt more connected with my African American side growing up, but now, with my visits to Korea, I feel like I reestablished a connection with my Korean side, a side that has really been missing for quite some time. I truly feel a part of both cultures and am blessed to receive the best from both worlds.

AAPR

Could you speak a little more about your experiences growing up?

Ward

Growing up with a mom who did not speak much English and who did not look American was very frustrating at times. I was even more frustrated and saddened when I was called names because I did not look like a full-blooded African or Korean American kid. Through athletics, I was able to fit in and excel. This was my outlet. Having a mom that always led me by example was also very important to who I am today. I owe her everything.

“I knew then that God put me on this earth to do more than just play football.”

AAPR

Why did you decide to go to South Korea with your mother this past summer?

Ward

I had planned this trip with my mom long before the Super Bowl victory last year. My mom and I could not get our schedules together to make the trip until this past year. I wanted to go to see what her culture was all about. After having gone, I now see what my culture has to offer and am very glad I went.

AAPR

What was that trip like? What were some of the highlights?

Ward

The trip was amazing. To see all the Korean people proud of me was overwhelming. I had no idea that they even knew who I was. I know the Super Bowl was the catalyst to this, but I will take it any way I can because it gave me a chance to connect with my Korean side. Some of the highlights were my visits with the president and the mayor of Seoul. Obviously, if you have seen any of the television footage,

the mayor of Seoul gave me an honorary citizenship to Korea, which was a very emotional thing for me. I felt truly loved and accepted by the Korean people, and it was a trip I will never forget. Of course, I loved the food in Korea, too!

AAPR

Did it strike you as ironic that you were embraced so warmly after the great success you achieved as a professional athlete? If so, how did you resolve that sentiment?

Ward

It did. I was not trusting of all of the Korean publicity at first. However, after my visits to Seoul and seeing how the Korean people embraced me, that feeling of distrust slowly went away. I am grateful to the Korean people for their love and continued support of my efforts.

AAPR

Many superstar athletes keep an arm's length distance from working on social or political issues. What first encouraged you to become a spokesman for biracial children in Korea?

Ward

When I first saw the biracial children of the Pearl Buck Foundation in Korea, they touched my heart. I could easily identify with them and their plight, their pain. I knew then that God put me on this earth to do more than just play football.

AAPR

What are your greater hopes for the work of the Hines Ward Helping Hands Foundation?

Ward

That we are able to reach the biracial people all over the world and provide them with hope and opportunities to achieve success in life and that we can become an international organization for social change and biracial equality.

AAPR

What specific changes in Korean society would you like to see?

Ward

I would like to see an end to discrimination in all forms. I would like to see Koreans more accepting of other races and cultures, especially the African American culture. I would like to see biracial people given equal opportunities in life that other pure-blooded Koreans have. These are only a few of the changes I would like to see.

AAPR

How far do you think we are from what you would like to see?

Ward

I think we are still years away from this. However, if we start now, we can only shorten this time.

AAPR

Thank you very much for your time and have a great season.

Ambassador of Hope

By Samuel S. Lee

As an NFL player, Hines Ward is often called the best blocking receiver in the game. Blocking is a selfless act. It requires impeding and being physically punished by the opposing defense so a teammate can advance the ball. Many receivers have been called out for taking it easy on plays that are not designed to get them the ball. In a team sport that has recently been dotted by plenty of “there’s no *we* in *team*” players, Ward stands out. Ward is not particularly fast for a receiver, but what he lacks for in sheer physical ability, he makes up with heart and passion. Ward does not hold back and all of that is left on the field.

Long before he was named the MVP of SuperBowl XL, Ward was a stellar representative of the NFL. A dedicated team player, he shed tears for teammate Jerome Bettis in often-replayed footage at the prospect of the man they call “The Bus” leaving the sport without winning a championship. Ward does not demand the ball. Ward does not taunt opposing players. You will not see Ward taking part in flashy endzone dances on *SportsCenter*. He simply plays the game, and excels. Off the field, Ward has shown equal passion and dedication in improving the lives of biracial children through the Hines Ward Helping Hands Foundation.

Ward himself has endured much trauma growing up as a mixed-race individual in Korea and America. He has been open in sharing his emotions on occasion and reveals a warm and honest vulnerability. In those moments we get glimpses of the past hurt in his life. During a January 2007 ESPN *SportsCenter* special, Ward describes his childhood in Georgia:

Going to school, Black kids teased me because I was Korean, so it was hard to try to fit in with Black kids because they always made fun of my Korean side. Well, trying to hang out with the Korean kids, they always teased me because I was Black. Trying to hang out with White kids, well, they teased me because I was Black *and* Korean.

Furthermore, Ward speaks painfully about the discrimination and abuse his mother endured in Korea for marrying and having a child with an African American man. Despite being cast as an outsider for much of his life, Ward has retained his sense of dignity and a desire to help others who are discriminated against on the basis of their mixed-race heritage. All of this radiates through his famous smile that serves as a ray of hope for the thousands of biracial children in Korea.

Harvard professor Ronald Heifetz has written extensively on technical and adaptive challenges. A technical problem can be solved through the current pool of know-how and ability. Adaptive challenges call for “learning new ways- changing attitudes, values, and behaviors” (Heifetz 2002, 13). The hardship Ward faced in defining his identity was clearly an adaptive challenge. There were no quick fixes for the issues he was facing. In many ways, the adaptive challenge that Ward has faced in his life to search, define, and become comfortable with his identity is similar to the ones that Asian Americans are continuing to struggle with decades after they have immigrated to the United States. Many Asian Americans struggle to honor their past while fully embracing their American culture and upbringing. Their native countrymen often see identity as a zero-sum game, where choosing to embrace American heritage is equated with being disloyal to the homeland. In a sense, there has never been such a thing as true dual citizenship for Asian Americans.

Ward describes himself as a Korean African American. He has risen above specific roles he is expected to play and not only defined his own unique identity, but outright created a new category. Ward did not allow others to define his worth or limit him with labels. Ward cast off the tight boxes that people were placing him in, essentially not allowing roles thrust upon him to adversely effect his notion of self. In the process, Ward has been able to draw the best parts of the communities he is a part of.

Impressively, Ward has been able to successfully fuse two very different cultures. When East meets West, it is rarely without sparks, but Ward has been able to deftly combine his two cultures without hurting or crushing one part of his heritage. Much the way he eludes defenders after a catch, Ward finesses his way through the different aspects of his heritage with ease and sophistication. Though Ward would be justified in shunning both the African American and Korean communities for their failure to accept him as a youth, he shows remarkable class and maturity in embracing both communities.

Life for Ward goes far beyond football. Though he has piled up impressive stats and an unblemished football resume, more inspiring are his actions off the field. Ward is a man with a deeply rooted vision and a strong will to see our world slowly changed to fit that mold. Many athletes keep a fair distance between themselves and social and political issues. Ward, however, has strode boldly toward the issues by starting his own foundation to advance the plight of biracial children. Ward’s conviction that he was placed on this earth to do more than play football is inspiring, humbling, and challenging. Once he is done blocking for his fellow teammates in the NFL, Ward will continue to block and fight for the rights of children of mixed ethnicity and offer them hope. Hines Ward is not only an ambassador for the game of football or biracial children; he is an ambassador of hope for humanity.

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Art, Media, and Social Responsibility for Asian Americans: Profile of Eric Byler, Filmmaker

By Sharon Chae

For filmmaker and up-and-coming political activist Eric Byler, being a Hapa American—a person of mixed Asian and European heritage—was a doubly disorienting phenomenon growing up. “In Virginia, where I spent my early childhood, I grew up looking more Chinese than White,” Byler recounted, “and because this was a community with few Asian Americans, I saw this as a social deficit. Adolescence got me looking more Hapa, but by then my family had moved to Hawaii, where the majority is Asian and looking White was a social deficit.”

Growing up as the “odd one out” who was neither White enough nor Asian enough, the only consistent emotion Byler experienced in both Virginia and Hawaii was a nagging sense of isolation. To Byler, art became the one reliable way for self-expression where he could turn this sense of isolation into something positive and beautiful.

As a film student at Wesleyan University, Byler initially believed the primary purpose of film to be a venue for escapism and entertainment, and set out to become a filmmaker who provided both. When his student film *Kenji's Faith* debuted at Sundance to rave reviews, however, he met and was embraced by what he describes as his own tribe—a Los Angeles-based group of Asian American artists who wanted to do more than simply make their audience and laugh and forget about the harsh realities of the everyday life.

Paralleling his rise as a filmmaker, Byler's passion for community and social issues also grew, and he began to use his artistic skills as a means to mobilize the community whenever he witnessed prejudice and injustice. There were signs even from a young age—as a high school student in Hawaii, he wrote a letter to the editor of the *Honolulu Star Bulletin* protesting its decision to publish an anti-gay advertisement on the morning of a Gay Pride Parade stating, “There Is No Pride In

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Homosexuality.” In the letter, Byler asked if it would have printed an ad had it denigrated African American Awareness Month instead, bringing forth an issue that had not yet gained prominence in mass media. Byler says of this event, “As a kid, prejudice and discrimination were important parts of the questions I was forced to ask myself, and I became sensitive to instances of prejudice, regardless of the target.”

As Byler grew as a filmmaker, both his confidence as a member of a tribe of Asian American artists as well as his lifelong interest in examining the various angles of prejudice became increasingly prominent in the characters and stories he developed through his film. Byler’s first feature film, *Charlotte Sometimes* (2003), examines the unspoken rifts and complex gender politics caused by American stereotypes that tend to exoticize Asian females while marginalizing Asian males. As Byler honed his craft to make a social statement about the internal lives of Asian Americans, he was also maturing as a political activist and a community organizer.

Byler said of this period, “I felt truly demoralized. I nearly lost faith in our political system when I learned of the systematic disenfranchisement of African Americans in Florida during the 2000 election. To me, this was about corrupt political appointees taking advantage of a lack of oversight and victimizing a minority who lacked legal protection. Over the next few years, I decided to get involved in some small way and try to make a difference.” In 2004, Byler led groups of volunteers on road trips to Arizona and Nevada to volunteer for John Kerry. In early 2006, Byler drove to San Diego and volunteered for candidate Francine Busby in the days leading up to the special election to replace Randall “Duke” Cunningham, who resigned his seat in Congress after being indicted and convicted of taking bribes from defense contractors. Byler the Political Activist and Organizer was born.

A few months later, a video he saw on YouTube inspired him to fly across the country and volunteer in the same state where he had attended grammar school, Virginia. During the 2006 Virginia Senate race, Senator George Allen infamously mocked an Indian American man, introducing him as “macaca,” a little-known racial slur. “Let’s have a round of applause to welcome Macaca to America. Welcome to America and the *real* Virginia,” Allen said. The incident, captured on tape by the target of Allen’s ridicule, spread like wildfire on the Internet through user-generated media outlets such as YouTube. Byler recruited fellow Los Angeles filmmaker Annabel Park to volunteer for Allen’s Democratic challenger, Jim Webb. Park coined the moniker “Real Virginians for Jim Webb” to describe the multicultural coalition they formed to assert that the “real Virginia” is not defined by skin color, but rather by values that people of all ethnicities share.

“Webb entered the [Senate] race relatively late and was not considered a serious contender until after the ‘macaca’ incident,” Byler says of his involvement in Webb’s campaign, “So when we [Real Virginians for Webb] went into Webb’s office and filled out our volunteer forms, we had to literally create a box for Asian Americans because the staff had not considered Asian Americans as a serious constituent base for his race. We ended up taking over the entire second floor [of the campaign headquarters] and working more full time than the full-time staff.”

From mid-September to the election day in November, Byler had to leave Virginia to attend film festivals, including one in Hawaii. Throughout his trip, Virginia and the Real Virginians were never far from his mind, and when he ran into Korean American actor Daniel Dae Kim from the television show *Lost*, he convinced Kim to star in a public service announcement denouncing George Allen's comments and urging Asian Americans to get involved and vote for Webb. This video clip, much like the original clip of the 'macaca' incident, gained high visibility in large part due to its popularity on YouTube, and made a visible mark in Asian American politics and activism. Byler had brought together his craft, his tribe, and his passion for eradicating prejudice into one highly effective product.

Jim Webb, the dark horse of the race, emerged a victor in a dramatically tight race that tipped the scale just to the side of the Democrats in the Senate. The Democratic Party acknowledged the role of Asian American activism and political involvement and the efforts of the Real Virginians in bringing Democratic victory to Virginia.

Today Byler continues his activism with Annabel Park and other like-minded Asian American organizers, policy makers, and artists. On a recent visit to the John F. Kennedy School of Government at Harvard University as a part of his college campus tour, Byler and Park spoke of their campaign to pass House Resolution 121, which, if passed in the U.S. House of Representatives, would demand a formal apology by the Abe administration in Japan for its wartime sexual crimes committed against the so-called Comfort Women—women from Korea, Taiwan, and Philippines who were forcibly taken to have sex with Japanese soldiers. Byler takes advantage of the speaking opportunities that his prolific film career creates by speaking to as many Asian American audiences about the issue at hand and by ducking out during screenings of his films at festivals and conferences to film public service announcements with Asian American actors, organizers, and activists.

Eric Byler and his tribe of Asian American artists-organizers, by leveraging their talents on behalf of their communities and leading by example, send a powerful message of political and civic engagement to the Asian American community.



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The Cambodian-American Repatriation Agreement: An Interview with Director David Grabias

Interviewed by Myron Santos

The following interview was conducted on 19 March 2007.

AAPR

What drew your attention to this story, and how did you go about filming it?

Grabias

My partner on the film, Nicole Newnham, ran across an individual who was Cambodian and facing deportation, and [she] was really moved by this guy's story. We ended up contacting Jay Stansell who, representing Kim Ho Ma, had managed to win a Supreme Court case against indefinite detention.

At the time, individuals facing deportation to a country that would not accept deportees were detained indefinitely by the INS. Kim and Many were held for several years. As a result of the Court's decision [*Zadvydas v. Davis*], they were both released on their own recognizance, pending a decision by Cambodia to accept them as deportees.

When we first contacted Jay, the repatriation agreement with Cambodia had just been signed—that was in 2002. He introduced us to Kim. A month after we started

David Grabias is an award-winning documentary whose programs have aired internationally on PBS, A&E, Discovery, FX, the Travel Channel, and National Geographic. David is currently coproducing and directing Uncovered, a documentary for PBS about the health insurance crisis. He also just completed Premonitions, a one-hour film for A&E that explores personal stories and scientific research that seem to indicate that we may all have the ability to know what is going to happen before it does.

Myron Santos is a filmmaker living in Los Angeles. He studied economics at the University of Virginia and has traveled across the country as well as to Tibet, India, and China for his work in documentaries, features, and television. He currently works in post production at MTV.

filming Kim, he got his final orders for deportation. That's one of the first scenes in the film, saying goodbye to his family and then walking into the INS building.

Through Kim and Jay, we ended up meeting Many and Leoun. We made a decision to focus the film in the Seattle-Tacoma area, to simplify the geographical context. We filmed for three years, on and off, trying to capture pivotal moments in the process as they unfolded. We made four trips to Cambodia, staying a week, and far too many trips to Seattle-Tacoma to meet with Leoun and his family and, later on, just with Many.

AAPR

Seattle is a diverse city, yet the Cambodians' predicament seemed to isolate them from other communities. What was their connection to, and their interaction with, other Asian groups—and with others of the same socioeconomic status?

Grabias

One of the reasons we decided to make the film was that we felt the Cambodian community was a special case in terms of immigration law and deportation. They're a refugee community; families struggled through the Khmer Rouge and years in refugee camps in Thailand and the Philippines.

There was really not a lot of support in place for the Cambodian community when they first started arriving [in the United States] in the early 1980s. I don't think anyone really knew what to do with them. There was no significant community for the Cambodian population in the States before they arrived, and there was very little integration, Asian or otherwise, that might have given help in terms of how to start their lives over here.

On the other hand, their situation is not that much different. There's something like seventy-eight or eighty thousand people who are deported a year from the United States and they all go through the exact same process. They face the same challenges, the same lack of appeals process, the same lack of any empathetic ear from the Department of Homeland Security and the immigration enforcements.

We tried to highlight what the kids went through: struggling to come to terms with their identity as Cambodian, as an American struggling to come to terms with their status and class. They had no support from the federal, state, or local governments, nor from community-type organizations. A lot of them—kids Many's, Kim Ho's and Leoun's age—arrived as small children and grew up in the hood, basically. A lot of them ended up making choices that weren't the most productive and obviously had a negative impact on their lives later on.

AAPR

How aware do you think the pan-Asian-American community is of this situation? Has there been a lot of collaborative activism or grassroots political efforts?

Grabias

There is very little awareness, both inside and out of the Asian American communities, of immigration policy and of deportation policy as it stands. We felt the film

had to be made because there's such ignorance. A lot of community groups and political organizations we spoke to within the Asian American communities had very little idea of what was going on. The situation of the Chinese American community and the Japanese American community is very different than the Cambodian American community or the Vietnamese American community, in terms of their experience over the last thirty years.

There was not a lot of communication or attempts to create more awareness. Even between refugee communities coming from Laos, Vietnam, and Cambodia, there are tons of issues between them that prevent an open dialogue that might help them understand and get the issue out there. One of the points we tried to make was that the notion of, and the value of, citizenship—at least within the Cambodian community—was something very few were aware of.

AAPR

How do activist efforts get started, whether within or outside of the Cambodian community?

Grabias

Typically, it's second-generation activists born and raised in the United States that have a different political awareness. Groups like SEARAC, the Southeast Asia Resource Action Center, have made a lot of inroads in Congress. They're based in Washington, DC, trying to building awareness—to get Congress to at least pay attention to the issue and begin to think about it. They're trying to bridge what is a huge gap between nationwide and small local community groups—such as the Cambodian Association of Washington State or the Cambodian Mutual Assistance League of Lowell, Massachusetts—so they can all reach out to political figures. But there's no good answer.

AAPR

Is *Sentenced Home* a pretty accurate assessment of the current state of not just the refugee situation and the deportation process, but of constituency reaction, of activists pushing for policy reform? Have you been able to show the film to a lot of those who could benefit from seeing it?

Grabias

We made a real push at the local level within the Southeast Asian refugee communities, obviously focusing on the Cambodian community. We've worked to arrange screenings that would include both students' groups as well as local members of the community. And we've had a fair amount of success.

Many has really evolved into an activist and has raised money through an organization called Hate Free Zone, based in Seattle, and then also through SEARAC. He's traveling the country, showing the film himself at local community groups and student organizations, trying to get people to talk about it, to get the issue out there. Many is very articulate and draws a lot of empathy, a lot of sympathy, from

the Cambodian community who are his age or younger. So it's really helped to begin to mobilize the community and begin to shape some future leaders.

Many's working a number of other people—Jay Stansell, UC Davis professor Bill Ong Hing among others—to build a nationwide coalition of immigrant rights groups, local Southeast Asia community groups, and other like-minded organizations. They're hoping to meet with sympathetic Congress people and discuss legislation or policy. Congressman Mike Honda, based in San Jose and Santa Clara County, has been approached and has expressed awareness and understanding. Barney Frank in Massachusetts and Maria Cantrell in Washington state have been exposed to the issue through the film and have expressed their sympathy and desire to try and come up with some different way of dealing with deportation—and ways to keep this issue in mind—as they move forward in an attempt to reform immigration law.

AAPR

Could you provide a mini-history of how the Cambodian refugee population was originally received when they first came over in the eighties? And how has that process and accommodation evolved, up to the present day?

Grabias

When they first arrived, [there was] an earnestness and a desire from governmental agencies, as well as church groups and immigrant groups. People underestimated the traumatic legacy that these refugees were coming from. And because of the cultural misunderstandings there was not a lot of support. They were left on their own to fend for themselves with minimal support, financial and otherwise. That served to really ghettoize the community, and that situation hasn't changed a whole lot over the last twenty-five years. The community has grown and integrated through business, with some openness, but not a whole lot.

It's only now as the generation that arrived here as children—Many and Kim and Leoun, as they are facing issues with immigration and becoming products of the criminal justice system—that there's been a desire to reach out. Both on the part of the Cambodian community as well as on the part of local organizations and agencies to find a solution and break through a bit of that isolation.

AAPR

What form do you think policy changes should take, and how would/should individuals in Many, Kim, and Leoun's situation be treated years from now?

Grabias

I would personally love to see people immigrating from exceptionally traumatic situations—from the Khmer Rouge, Somalia, or Rwanda—receive acknowledgment of that history as the Department of Homeland Security Immigration Customs Enforcement reviewed their cases for deportation. Some kind of an appeals process, some way for that background to be acknowledged and incorporated into an understanding of whether or not they should be deported.

Likewise, I'd love—especially for guys who committed their crimes as teenagers and aren't facing deportation until, in some cases, ten to fifteen years later—to have acknowledgement that they may have changed significantly since they committed their crime: had a family, gotten a job, were a productive valuable member of society. That's just a small thing, but would go a long way towards at least preventing some of the tragic and unfortunate situations that occur with our current deportation policy. At the very least, some basic appeals or hearings process—where individuals are able to present a bit of who they are and how they may have changed, their personal histories—would be an incredible move forward.

AAPR

How far away do you feel changes like this are from taking place?

Grabias

It's difficult to predict. Jay Stansell and others have been working on this for two or three years now. At times it feels like it's not too far in the future. At times it feels very far in the future. It really comes down to how the overall progress of immigration reform takes place, and what happens in the next elections. In my best-case scenario I would say that in the next two or three years, we'd see something, but it's incredibly difficult to predict in any realistic way.

AAPR

Do you have any final comments?

Grabias

We're organizing a number of screenings—something like forty or fifty screenings over the next couple of months, leading up to the May 15 PBS broadcast. And those screenings will culminate in a screening on Capitol Hill. That is being spearheaded by SEARAC. They're leading the charge on that.

Further Reading

Hate Free Zone: <http://www.hatefreezone.org/>

Sentenced Home on PBS *Independent Lens*: <http://www.pbs.org/independentlens/sentencedhome/>

Southeast Asia Resource Action Center: <http://www.searac.org/>

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David Grabias and Nicole Newham's *Sentenced Home*

Reviewed by Myron Santos

When one is convicted of a criminal act, he or she is subject to punishment through the courts and prison system. It is understood that upon serving the sentence the prisoner is permitted to return to society, debt paid, without further punishment—so long as they abide by the laws. *Sentenced Home*, a documentary by David Grabias and Nicole Newham, chronicles the cases of Seattle Cambodians and their uniquely unfortunate ordeal of double jeopardy.

During the 1980s thousands of Cambodians fled Pol Pot's Khmer Rouge regime and, upon their arrival to the United States, were granted permanent resident status. In 1996 Congress instituted mandatory deportation of noncitizens imprisoned for terms greater than one year. The government eliminated the deportation appeals process and declined to hear cases even if refugees had arrived as infants and even if they married and had children. The three men profiled in *Sentenced Home* articulate the broader difficulties of the Cambodian refugee population and their struggle to acculturate into American society.

Many Uch served his state prison sentence for a robbery he committed when he was eighteen years old. Years later, he has a wife and child, only to be placed on the INS' deportation list. Every day for the last seven years he has had to report to the local immigration office before work or face immediate deportation. Kim Ho Ma took part in a drive-by shooting involving a rival gang; he served twenty-five months out of his thirty-year sentence. Kim was transferred to an INS deportation center where he remained for two and a half years before being transported back to Cambodia, upon which he lived in a halfway house. Leoun Lun had been sentenced to and served an eleven-month sentence for firing a weapon at rival gang members. Eight years later the INS authorities initiated deportation procedures against him.

Sentenced Home strongly illuminates both the problems of Many, Kim, and Leoun as well as the recurring themes that confronted Cambodians when they first arrived two decades ago. To this day efforts are far and few between in addressing these issues: the U.S. government and society's lack of proper orientation for and reception to first-generation Cambodians, leading to a deprivation of educational and other social services and often culminating in the formation of a gang youth culture; a refugee status that detaches them from other Asian immigrants and urban

communities; a dearth of educational resources about community development and naturalization processes and policies; and the political wherewithal to influence leaders and communities.

Several scenes of *Sentenced Home* display a compelling, individualized integration of American and Cambodian cultures. Leoun Lun shaves his head and takes part in a monk cleansing ceremony, intended to praise his parents and ensure their entrance to heaven. Kim Ho Ma, now and forever in Cambodia, sits with a friend as they smoke and listen to hip-hop. Many Uch coaches his son's baseball team, pledging earnestly during the national anthem even as he awaits eventual deportation. Grabias and Newnham's documentary presents profiles of Cambodian-Americans blending and preserving their cultural identities—and, one also hopes, will help point the way toward establishing and maintaining their political identities as well.

¹ The Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) was renamed the Bureau of Citizenship and Immigration Services under the USA PATRIOT Act.

Model, Victim, or Problem Minority? Examining the Socially Constructed Identities of Asian-Origin Ethnic Groups in California's Media

By Kathy H. Rim

Abstract

Social constructions are values and meanings attached to groups, and within the sphere of public policy, they are often ascribed to racial groups as a method of categorizing certain groups as “deserving” of policy benefits and others as “undeserving.” Much of the rhetoric within debates over affirmative action policy evoke the image of Asian Americans as “model minorities” and emphasize the negative impact the policy has on Asian Americans, one of several racial minority groups it was designed to protect. This study documents and evaluates how the media’s construction of Asian Americans as a model minority has evolved throughout the development of affirmative action policy. In addition to tracking the evolution of the model minority construction, this study examines alternate constructions of Asian Americans such as the “victim minority” image (victims of discrimination, social problems, and hate crimes) and the “problem minority” image (participants *in crime and resisters of assimilation*). *Through a content analysis of articles covering Asian Americans in two major California newspapers (Los Angeles Times and San Francisco Chronicle)*, this study systematically examines how the construction of Asian Americans as a model, victim, or problem minority has either changed or remained stable throughout the last half-century and concludes with a discussion on potential implications for public policy, multiracial coalition building, and the future of the Asian American community.

Kathy H. Rim earned her B.A. in Asian American Studies from the University of California, Irvine (2000), received her master of education degree from the University of California, Los Angeles (2003) and is currently a Ph.D. candidate in the Department of Political Science at the University of California, Irvine. Her main research interests are racial and ethnic politics in the U.S. with a primary focus on Asian American political participation, representation, and immigrant political incorporation.

It would be bad enough if the model minority myth were true. Everyone else would resent Asian Americans for what Asian Americans possess. It is worse that the model minority myth is false. Everyone else resents Asian Americans for what they believe Asian Americans possess.

—*Sociologist Frank Wu (2002, 76) on the model minority construction of Asian Americans*

Introduction

Social constructions are values and meanings attached to groups: they can be positive or negative, strong or weak, and can be subject to change through the interactions of events, people, media, and politics. Within the realm of public policy, social constructions are often ascribed to racial groups as a method of categorizing certain groups as “deserving” of policy benefits and others as “undeserving” (Schneider and Ingram 1997). Much of the rhetoric within debates over affirmative action policy evoke the image of Asian Americans as a “model minority” and emphasize the negative impact the policy has on Asian Americans, one of several racial minority groups it was designed to protect. Alternately, the message directed to Asian Americans emphasizes how less-qualified African Americans and Latinos acquire spots that Asian Americans are more “deserving” of. In both cases, the simultaneous construction of Asian Americans as model minorities and “victims” of affirmative action policy is strategically used to bolster an argument against affirmative action policy, as both messages maintain the larger themes of equality and individualism. Proponents of the model-minority image measure success based on a few indicators of Asian American educational attainment and income and often refer to examples of individual Asian Americans who achieved success despite difficult hardship. Opponents of the image contend that using different measures of success and examining each Asian-origin group separately would provide a more accurate picture of Asian Americans. In short, both sides agree that the model minority construction exists, but disagree on the validity and accuracy of the image.

What remains unknown from existing literature is whether this image is becoming more or less pronounced over time. Thus, this study documents and evaluates how the media’s construction of Asian Americans as a model minority has either changed or remained stable in California throughout the development, implementation, and dismantling of affirmative action policy. First, I provide a brief historical overview of social constructions attributed to different Asian-origin groups and demonstrate how Asian Americans have historically lacked control over the construction of their own identity. Second, I offer a review of the literature written in support of or opposition to the construction of Asian Americans as a model minority. Third, I present a primary data content analysis of newspaper articles from the *Los Angeles Times* and the *San Francisco Chronicle* and investigate how the constructions of Asian Americans as a model, victim, or problem minority have evolved over time. Finally, I conclude with a presentation of results, an analysis of

these findings, and a concluding discussion on the potential implications of social constructions for public policy, multiracial coalition building, and the future of the Asian American community.

Historical Constructions of Asian American Identity

Historically, Asian Americans have lacked agency in the construction of their own identity. As a racial group, Asian Americans have been constructed in multiple ways, not just as a successful model minority. History shows that at one time or another, Asian Americans were constructed as expendable labor, excludable foreigners, economic threats, inassimilable aliens, and disloyal citizens. The experience of Japanese Americans serves as a prime example of how a group's construction can change drastically over time; their image evolved from a negative problem minority prior to and during World War II to a positive model minority in the post-WWII era (DiAlto 2005). The Japanese case supports the claim that social constructions are not static; old constructions can be modified and new ones can be created.

As early as the 1800s, Chinese immigrants were exploited and treated as an expendable labor force in comparison to White American laborers. Anti-Chinese editorials were commonplace during this period in San Francisco newspapers. Resistance to the naturalization of Chinese immigrants, formation of anti-coolie clubs, and fatal mob attacks against Chinese proliferated in number and frequency (Hing 1990). "Anti-Orientalism" was a common platform for political parties vying for leadership in California (Daniels 1988). For example, in 1884, the Democratic Party platform declared that the Chinese were "unfitted by habits, training, religion, or kindred . . . for the citizenship which our laws confer" (Fuchs 1990, 112). Increasingly, in popular literature, political speeches, and even in government reports, Chinese immigrants were described as "immoral by nature" and "racially habituated to filth, disease, and immorality" (Fuchs 1990, 112).

During the late 1860s, in an attempt to avoid the same nativism and discrimination the Chinese had faced, Japan was highly selective regarding their emigrants (Takaki 1989). But despite efforts to protect their emigrants, Japanese immigrants soon discovered that they were also perceived as a labor threat to White American workers and consequently treated similarly: allowed to work, but not to join the body politic. Japanese immigrants encountered violence from both individual White Americans and formal nativist organizations, such as the Anti-Jap Laundry League and the Anti Japanese League of Alameda County, all of whom feared California would soon be "overrun" by the Japanese (Hing 1990). Anti-Japanese sentiments that began in the late 1800s grew stronger as time passed, reaching a climax between 1941 and 1945. After the attack on Pearl Harbor in December 1941, all individuals of Japanese descent, regardless of their U.S. citizenship status, were sent to internment camps because they were perceived as threats to national security. In this period, Japanese Americans were constructed as disloyal enemies of the state.

In 1965, immigration policies in the United States enabled large numbers of immigrants to migrate from Asian countries. Legally, more Asian American groups were offered immigration status with the rights to naturalized citizenship and its privileges. Socially, however, they were unable to shed their predecessors' historic

legacy as perpetual foreigners. Ronald Takaki (1989, 18) sums up this constraint, asserting that Asian Americans were continually viewed as “strangers from a different shore.” With a consistently growing Asian immigrant population who increasingly interacted with other Americans, new stereotypes of Asian Americans began to surface in the mainstream media. While the longstanding perpetual-foreigner stereotype remained, this era also witnessed the first article constructing Asian Americans as a model minority published in the *New York Times Magazine* by sociologist William Petersen in 1966. Both constructions continue to persevere today.

The Model Minority Construction

Many Asian American scholars hypothesize that the model minority construction is a product of a changing racial climate or changing moods or conditions of society rather than any real characteristics of the group (Sue and Kitano 1973; Osajima 1988; Hurh and Kim 1989; Suzuki 1989). What does it mean to be constructed as a model minority? According to Wong, Lai, Nagasawa, and Lin (1998) the model minority label suggests that a group works hard, conforms to the norms of society, and excels academically and professionally. Stacy Lee, author of *Unraveling the Model Minority Myth* (1996), suggests that the model minority construction strongly implies that Asian Americans have been able to succeed because they have the “right” cultural components for success: traditional family structures that value hard work and education. Asian American success is frequently compared to the success of Jewish Americans, another group historically constructed as economically and academically successful. Sociologist Naomi Fejgin (1995) suggests that human capital, family, and/or cultural values and predisposition contribute to the academic excellence of Jewish and Asian American students. Historically, both groups have been labeled as overrepresented in undergraduate institutions, and thus both were impacted by the quota policies enacted to lower the enrollment of Jewish students in the 1920s and Asian American students in the 1980s at some of the most prestigious academic institutions in the nation (Ancheta 1998).

In previous literature, academics have documented the construction of Asian Americans as a model minority in mainstream media sources since the 1960s. This construction first emerged amid a turbulent period during the civil rights movement in a *New York Times Magazine* article entitled “Success Story, Japanese-American Style.” Sociologist William Petersen’s 1966 article was the first of many that praised the efforts of Japanese Americans and their successful struggle into the mainstream of American life. In the same year, a similar article entitled “Success Story of One Minority Group in U.S.” appeared in *U.S. News and World Report*. This piece compares Chinese Americans to African Americans and proclaims, “At a time when it is being proposed that hundreds of billions be spent to uplift Negroes and other minorities, the nation’s 300,000 Chinese Americans are moving ahead on their own, with no help from anyone else” (73). The theme of Asian Americans overcoming hardships and succeeding in a fair and meritocratic society is articulated in both articles.

The construction of Asian Americans as a model minority is not limited to mainstream media outlets. Academic journal articles and books also recount the rising success of Asian Americans and make sweeping generalizations. As Chun (1995, 97) observes, “the ascendancy of Asian Americans as a model minority reached its peak with the publication of two important books, Harry Kitano’s book *Japanese Americans: The Evolution of a Subculture* (1969) and *Japanese Americans: Oppression and Success* by Petersen (1971),” where both authors describe Japanese Americans as an unmistakable success story, citing high income and educational levels as supporting evidence. Some Asian American individuals participate in a self-promotion of the model minority construction as well. In 2005, two Korean American sisters published a book entitled *Top of the Class: How Asian Parents Raise High Achievers-And How You Can Too*. Similar to the definition of a model minority previously addressed, the Kim sisters describe how their parents came to the United States with only two hundred dollars, and even though their father worked as a janitor and their mother as a seamstress, they still managed to succeed (Kim-Abboud and Kim 2005). They avoid the assertion that Asians are intellectually superior but credit a diligent practice of “Asian values,” such as delayed gratification, hard work, and deference to authority, as the key to success in academics and in life.

In contention with media and literature supporting the model minority image, there is a growing scholarship arguing that the model minority image of Asian Americans is a false and inaccurate construction. Critics of the model minority image condemn supporters of the construction for drawing conclusions about Asian Americans based on narrow measurements of economic and educational success. For instance, when discussing educational attainment, analyses often focus on how Asian Americans outperform White Americans in GPA scores, SAT math scores, and college graduation rates (Min 2006). Several studies also point to Asian American family median incomes that are higher than average White family median incomes as evidence for Asian American “success.” However, recent demographic analyses indicate that Asian-origin groups can be found at both the highest and lowest levels of certain socioeconomic indicators such as public assistance, poverty levels, and median household income (APALC 2005). When measuring median household income, for example, Taiwanese, Japanese, Chinese, Sri Lankan, Filipino, Malaysian, and Asian Indians all fare above non-Hispanic Whites. However, even though median household incomes are most often cited to support the model minority thesis, looking at median household income instead of per capita income fails to acknowledge that Asian-origin groups tend to have more workers per family and live in areas with higher costs of living near or within large metropolitan cities (Osajima 1988; Espiritu 1992; Chun 1995; Min 2006). Since per capita income focuses on how much individuals earn, it is arguably a more reliable measure for comparing socioeconomic progress between groups.

Similar to socioeconomic indicators, when evaluating levels of education attainment, some Asian ethnic groups fall well below average rates while others fare above the U.S. average. On the one hand, previous studies have found that 66 percent of Hmong, 58 percent of Laotians, and 56 percent of Cambodians have less than a high school degree, placing them below all major racial and ethnic groups

(Portes and Rumbaut 2006). Portes and Rumbaut (2006) also find that Cambodians and Laotians share below U.S. averages in both high school and college graduation rates. On the other hand, only three Asian-origin groups, Indonesians, Taiwanese, and Japanese, have fewer people with less than a high school degree than non-Hispanic Whites. Also, Indians, Taiwanese, Filipinos, Koreans, Japanese, and Chinese origin groups have above-average rates of high school and college graduation. Most interestingly, with the exception of the Vietnamese, Asian-origin groups fared either above or below the U.S. average, strengthening the observation that Asian Americans can be found in the highest and lowest levels of socioeconomic status and education profiles.

In addition to examining socioeconomic and educational levels separately, some scholars suggest analyzing both indicators in relation to one another as stronger evidence against the model minority image. As such, for household median income to be a functional index to compare groups, then education levels, number of wage earners, number of hours worked, salary levels, and occupational types also need to be included to make a more effective comparison (Chun 1995). Although some Asian-origin groups like the Chinese and Japanese have higher educational status, they still lag behind non-Hispanic Whites in per capita income levels (Hirschman and Wong 1984; Chun 1995).

In sum, both sides acknowledge the application of the model minority construction to Asian Americans but disagree on the validity and accuracy of the image. Proponents of the model minority image measure success based on narrow measurements of Asian American educational attainment, income level, and examples of individual Asian Americans who succeeded in spite of hardship. Whereas opponents of the image contend that using more intricate measures of success and examining each Asian-origin ethnic group distinctly instead of just a few successful groups would provide a more accurate analysis of Asian Americans. What remains unknown from the literature is whether this image is becoming more or less pronounced over time. The next section explores this question using evidence gathered from a content analysis of newspapers.

Methods and Data

This study examines three different constructions of Asian Americans: model, victim, and problem minority. Although examining a causal relationship between social constructions and policy outcomes is beyond the scope of this analysis, detecting constructions of Asian Americans during key periods of the evolution of affirmative action policy will establish initial findings to build upon for future exploration. Patterns of change or stability for Asian American social constructions can readily be explored with a content analysis of articles in newspapers. Newspaper articles can serve as valuable indicators of the media's construction of Asian Americans. Existing literature focuses primarily on the construction of Asian Americans as a model minority based on selected relevant articles in various media sources. This study conducts a more focused and systematic analysis of two major newspapers: the *Los Angeles Times* (LAT) and the *San Francisco Chronicle* (SFC). Both newspapers have large readerships and are published in Northern and

Southern California; these two regions have large populations of Asian Americans and a long history of Asian American settlement in California. Out of the approximate 10.3 million Asian Americans living in the United States, California boasts one of the largest Asian American populations housing a total of 3.7 million Asian Americans (U.S. Bureau of the Census 2002).

I chose five sample time periods ranging from the 1960s to the 2000s to track the changing construction of Asian Americans. Table 1 describes the pivotal moments and the results yielded from the content analysis for each sample period: 1965–1966, 1977–1978, 1984–1985, 1995–1996, and 2002–2003. Each sample period was chosen to reflect the media’s construction of Asian Americans during pivotal moments of affirmative action history.

Table 1

Selected Time Periods	Pivotal Moments	Results Yielded (Returns out of Total Hits)
1964–1965	President Johnson’s Policy	13 out of 52
1977–1978	Bakke v. UC Davis	37 out of 335
1984–1985	Asian Admissions Controversy	76 out of 673
1995–1996	SP-1 and SP-2, Proposition 209	113 out of 3,297
2002–2003	Grutter v. Bollinger & Gratz v. Bollinger	45 out of 2,609

During 1965 to 1966, the Immigration Act of 1965 enabled large numbers of Asians to migrate to the United States. Moreover, the act gave way to new affirmative action policy created by President Johnson through Executive Order 11246 and aimed to promote the “full realization of equal employment opportunity” in addition to prohibiting discrimination (sec. 101). The years 1977 to 1978 mark the years in which California medical school applicant Alan Bakke sued UC Davis for “reverse discrimination,” charging that affirmative action programs were discriminatory against Whites. The years 1984 to 1985 mark the period in which the Asian admissions controversy first emerged, as Asian American professors at UCLA launched a study to determine reasons for a two-year decline in Asian freshman

enrollment despite a growing number of Asian-origin applicants. The year 1995 marks the passage of UC Regents' Standing Policy 1 (SP-1) and Standing Policy 2 (SP-2) at the University of California, policies that abolished the relevance of race in admissions or hiring in the UC system. In 1996, Proposition 209 was passed in California, repealing all existing affirmative action policy in the state. In 2001's case of *Gratz v. Bollinger*, the court declared race as an unconstitutional criteria for admission in the University of Michigan. Finally, in 2002, in *Grutter v. Bollinger*, the existing affirmative action program at the University of Michigan Law School was similarly challenged but, later in 2003, was upheld as constitutional by the U.S. Supreme Court. Selecting these five periods provides a glimpse of prevalent constructions of Asian Americans during pivotal moments of change or stability in the development of affirmative action policy.

All of the articles were collected using two online databases and one newspaper index from a microfiche archive. For LAT, I used ProQuest to access articles prior to 1985 and NewsBank, Inc. for articles in the post-1985 period. For SFC, I referenced the *San Francisco Chronicle* Newspaper Index (1986) to retrieve articles prior to 1985 and used the online resource NewsBank, Inc. for post-1985 articles. The key words used to identify articles relevant to Asian Americans varied across the decades due to the continuously changing labels invoked to identify groups of Asian origin. For example, for the 1960s, when I queried the key term "Asian Americans," the search did not yield any returns. This occurred because the label "Asian American" first emerged during the 1960s and was not more popularly used until the 1970s. Therefore, to find the greatest number of relevant articles in the 1960s, terms such as "Chinese American" and "Japanese American" were utilized instead. With the exception of "Chinese American" and "Japanese American" in the 1960s search, I relied on the key term "Asian Americans" for the remaining searches.

The search yielded fifty-two hits under key terms "Chinese American" and "Japanese American" spanning in date from January 1965 to December 1966, 335 hits under key term "Asian Americans" from January 1977 to December 1978, 673 hits from January 1984 to December 1985, 3,297 hits from January 1995 to December 1996, and 2,609 hits ranging from January 2002 to December 2003. Upon examination of each article, I narrowed the data to include only articles that substantively reported on Asian Americans, eliminating ones that referred to them solely as a statistical reference. This process narrowed the data to the following: 1965–1966, 13 returns; 1977–1978, 37 returns; 1984–1985, 76 returns; 1995–1996, 113 returns; and 2002–2003, 45 returns.

In addition to tracking the model minority construction, this study also examines alternate constructions of Asian Americans as a victim minority and a problem minority, both of which emerged as prevalent constructions in the selected time periods. While a model minority group is viewed as positive and successful, a victim minority is constructed negatively – a group that is hindered by social problems, wronged by discrimination, and victimized by hate crimes. Similarly to a victim minority, a problem minority is also constructed negatively but differs in one aspect. A problem minority construction contains an element of deviance, a group that poses a social threat to the larger community.

The content of each article was analyzed for themes rather than focusing on key phrases or words, although key words often cued larger themes. For example, key words such as “hard work,” “discipline,” and “motivation” were often found in articles supporting Asian Americans as a model minority, whereas the words “low wages,” “cultural conflict,” and “mental health problems” often appear in articles constructing Asian Americans as a victim minority. Finally, key words such as “anti-Asian,” “foreigners,” and “gangs” frequently emerged in articles depicting Asian Americans as a problem minority.

Table 2
Typology of Different Asian American Constructions

Model Minority	Victim Minority	Problem Minority
Academically Successful	Negatively Impacted by Racial Discrimination in Education and Employment	Exhibits Deviant Criminal Behavior
Socioeconomically Successful	Hindered by Social Problems	Viewed as Perpetual Foreigners Unwilling to Adapt to American Culture
Successful Due to Confucian Values	Endured Anti-Asian Sentiment and/or Hate Crimes	
Successful Group Hurt by Affirmative Action/Quota Policies		

As illustrated in table 2, I focused first on the three different types of constructions of Asian Americans that emerged from each article. Then, I created subcategories under each broad theme. For example, the broader model minority construction has the following four subcategories: academically successful, socioeconomically successful, successful due to Confucian values, and successful group hurt by affirmative action/quota policies. I designated three subcategories for the victim minority construction: negatively impacted by racial discrimination in education and employment, hindered by social problems, and endured anti-Asian sentiment and/or hate crimes. Finally, the problem minority construction includes two subcategories: exhibits deviant criminal behavior, and viewed as perpetual foreigners unwilling to adapt to American culture. Through this categorization process, both broader and more specified types of construction are provided for analysis. In the data, the total percentage of articles that contained relevant themes

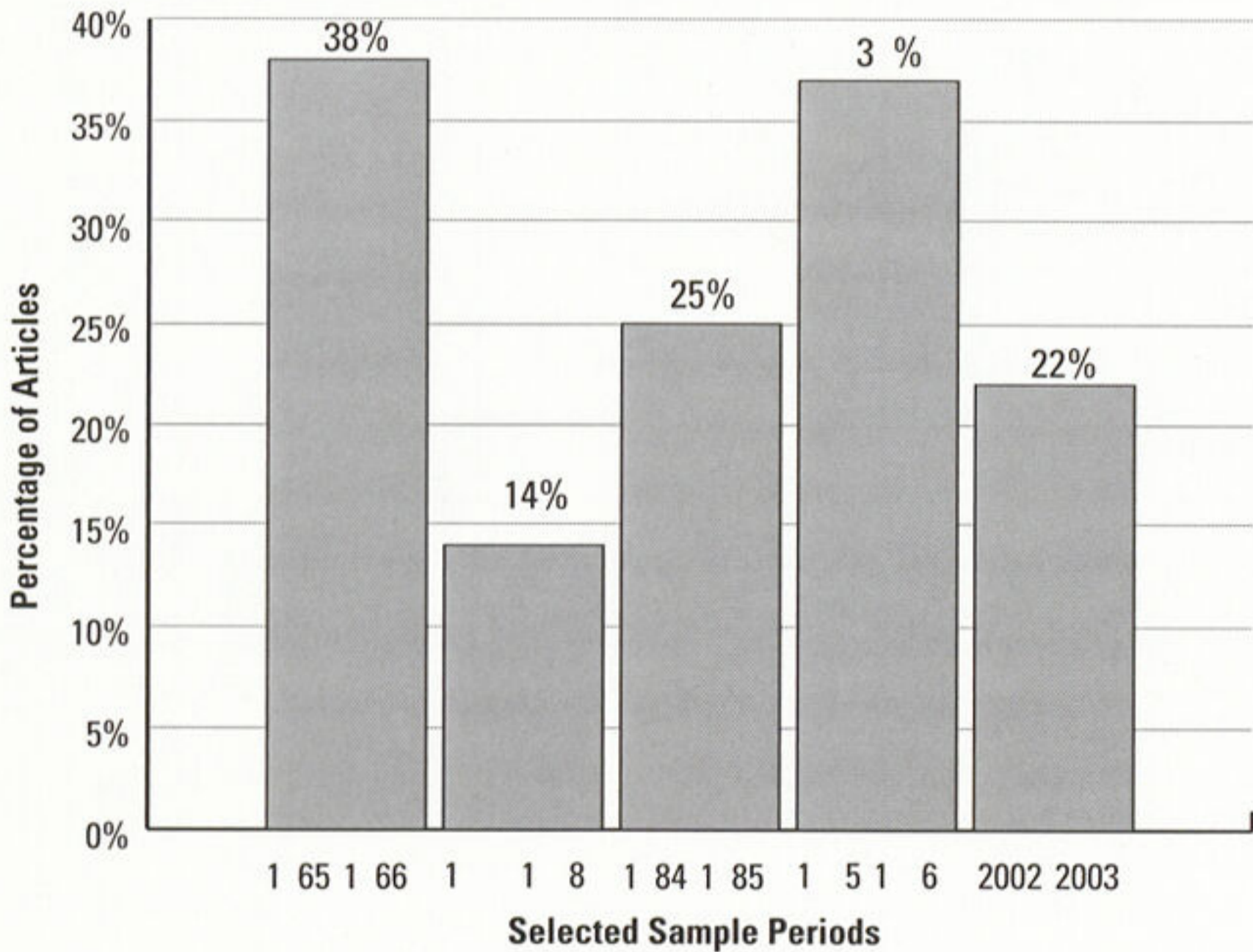
is presented, not the number of times the theme emerged in each article. The goal of this exercise is to identify which types of constructions of Asian Americans are most prevalent during a given time period and if the model minority construct is growing stronger, becoming weaker, or demonstrating no change at all.

Results of the Content Analysis

Asian Americans as a Model Minority. As discussed previously, Asian Americans are often identified as a model minority by the media. They are deemed a successful group in the arenas of education and employment due to their Confucian work ethic that sometimes can work against their best interests. For example, quotas might restrict higher numbers in enrollment for Asian Americans or they may be excluded from eligibility in affirmative action programs. Overall, the construction of Asian Americans as a model minority was most prevalent during 1965–1966 and 1995–1996 as indicated by 38 percent and 37 percent of articles from both the LAT and the SFC, respectively (see figure 1).

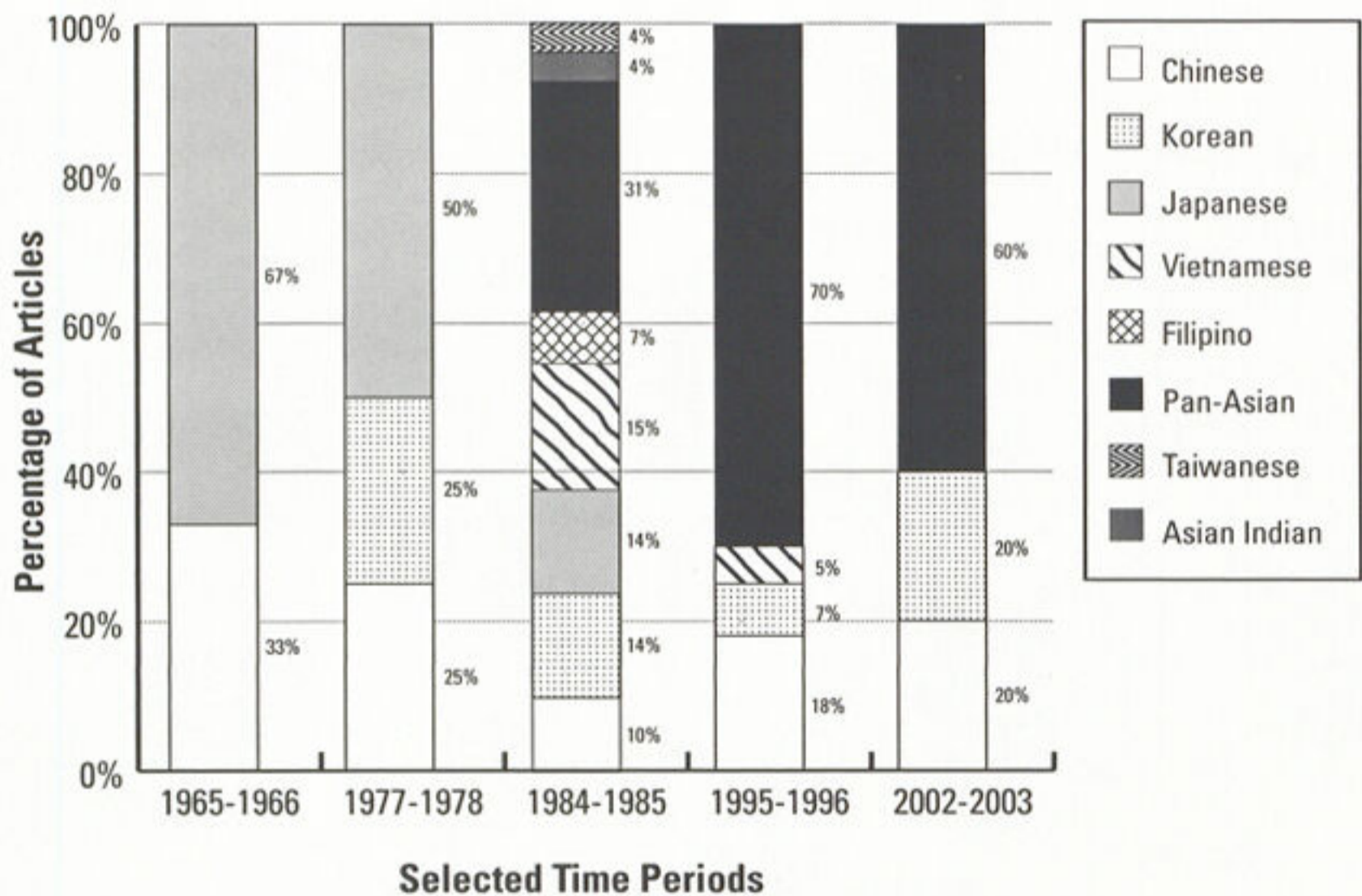
Figure 1

Construction of Asian Americans as a Model Minority in California's Media



When examining the model minority construction separated by Asian-origin ethnic groups (see figure 2), some interesting results emerge. First, Chinese American (five out of five times), Korean American (four out of five times), and Japanese American (three out of five times) groups have consistently been portrayed as model minorities throughout most of the selected time periods. Second, reference to Asian Americans as a pan-ethnic model minority group first emerged during the 1980s, dramatically increased during the 1990s, and then settled at 60 percent of the articles in the 2000s. Yet it is important to note that Korean, Chinese, and Japanese Americans are referenced separately from articles that discuss Asian Americans as a broader pan-ethnic model minority. Third, the only groups ever referenced as model minorities are of Chinese, Japanese, Korean, Vietnamese, Taiwanese, Filipino, or Asian Indian descent whereas several of the Asian-origin groups have never been separately referenced as a model minority (i.e. Cambodians, Laotians, Thai, Hmong).

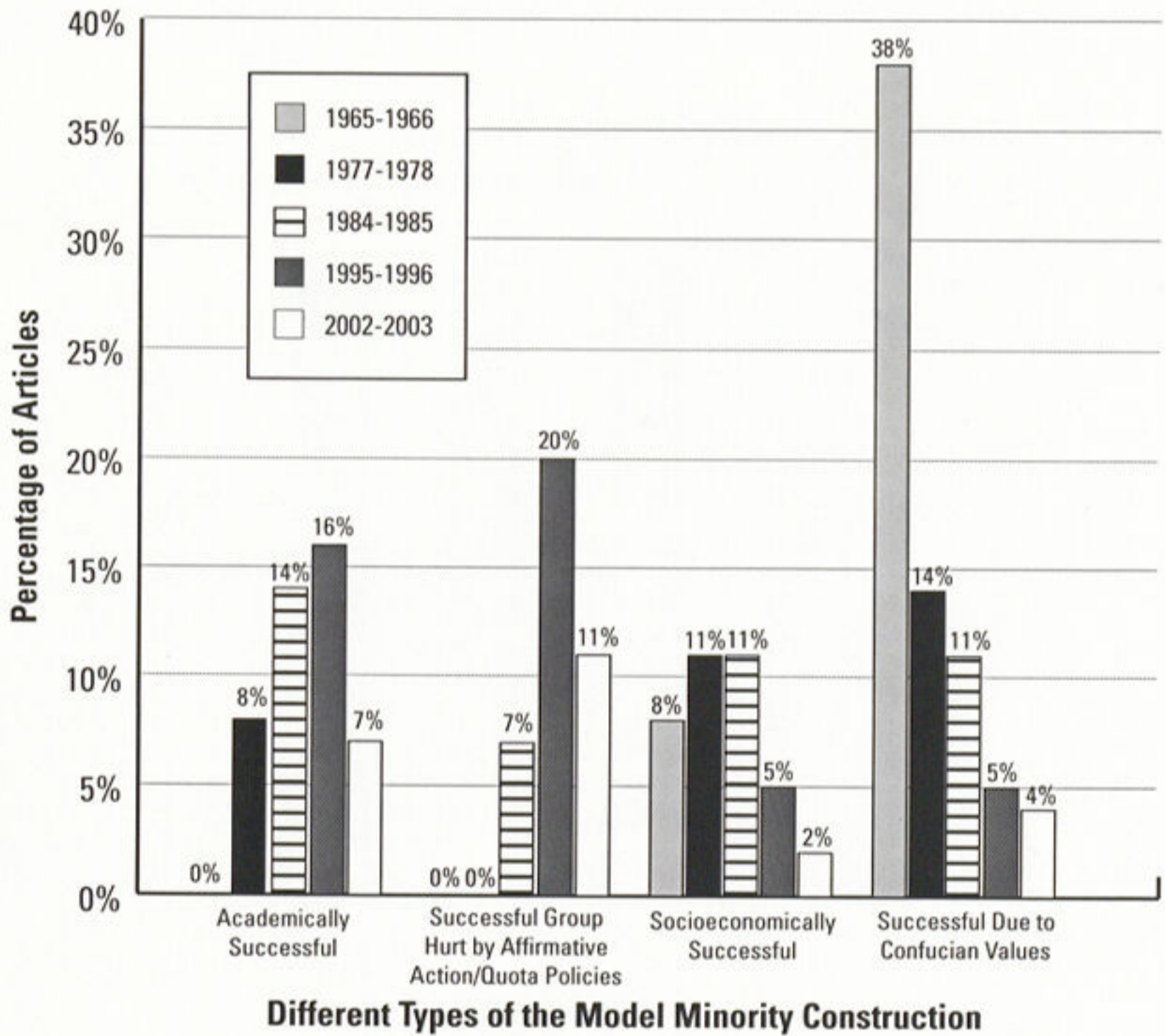
Figure 2
Construction of Asian-Origin Groups as a Model in California's Media



Examining the subcategories of the model minority construction provides a more detailed picture of which types of models are most prevalent. For example, figure 3 indicates that overall, the image of Asian Americans as academically successful is nonexistent during the 1960s, gains some exposure in the 1970s (8 percent), is most prevalent in the 1980s (14 percent) and 1990s (16 percent), and finally drops back down to a low of 7 percent in the 2000s. The image of Asian Americans as a socioeconomically successful group peaked in the 1970s and 1980s (11 percent for both) but steadily declined from the 1990s (5 percent) to the 2000s (2 percent).

Articles depicting Asian Americans as a successful group due to Confucian values was highest in the 1960s (38 percent) but since that time has experienced a steady decline throughout subsequent years. Finally, Asian Americans were first constructed as a successful group negatively impacted by affirmative action or quota-oriented policies beginning in the 1980s (7 percent). This construction reached its peak in the 1990s (20 percent) and dropped back down to 11 percent in the 2000s (see figure 3).

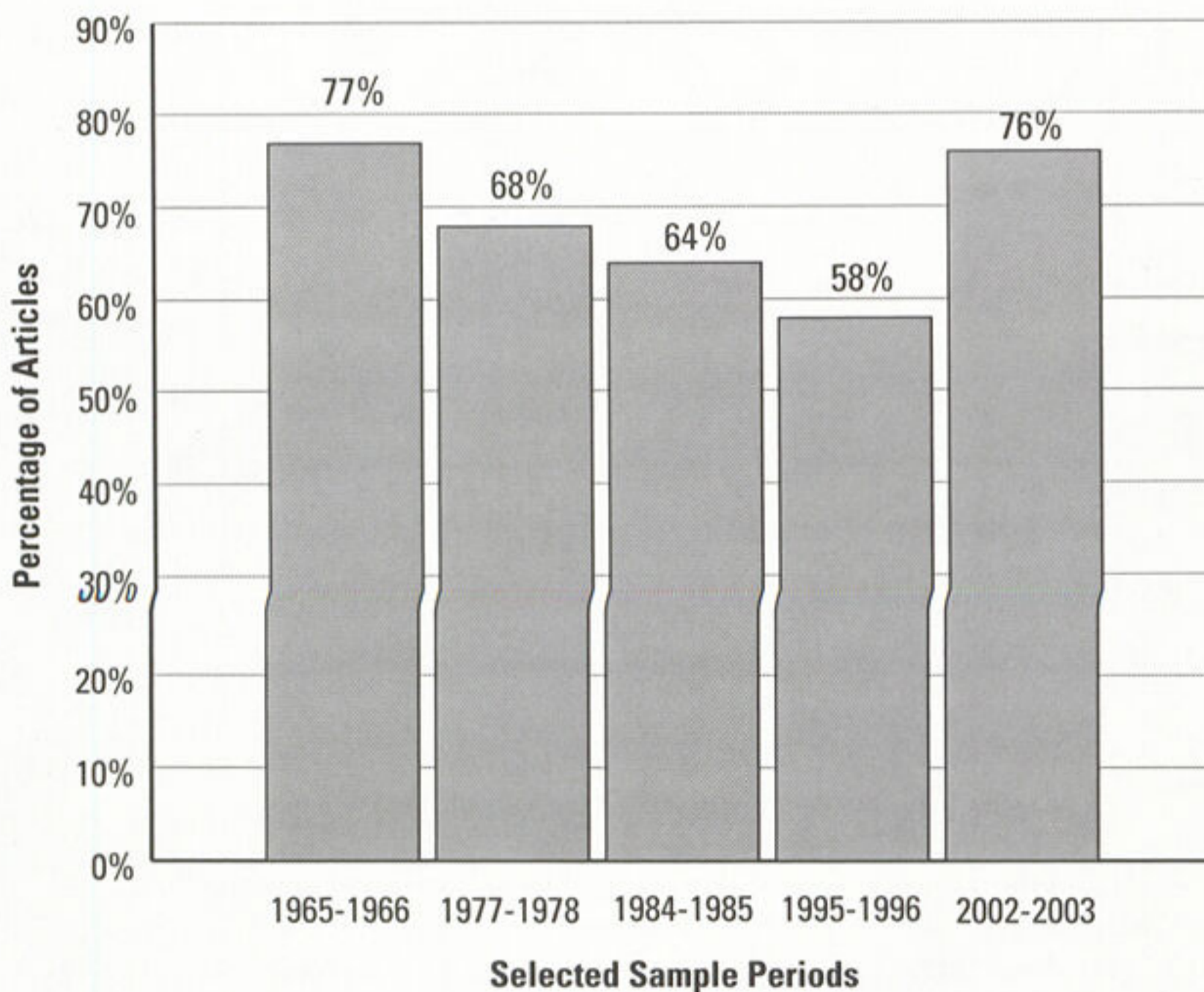
Figure 3
Construction of Asian Americans as a Model Minority in California's Media Categorized by Type



Asian Americans as a Victim Minority. Contrary to mainstream perspectives, Asian Americans are increasingly portrayed in the media as a victim minority. In this construction, they are described as a group negatively impacted by societal discrimination, plagued by social problems such as poverty, depression, and cultural conflicts, and as victims of anti-Asian sentiment or hate crimes. In both newspapers, the construction of Asian Americans as a victim minority was prominent in the 1960s (77 percent) and declined steadily, but only slightly during the 1970s (68 percent), 1980s (64 percent), and 1990s (58 percent) (see figure 4). It regained prominence again in the 2000s with 76 percent of the articles supporting the victim construction. What is most striking in these results is the persistence of the victim minority construction throughout each time period. Over 50 percent of the articles consistently constructed Asian Americans as a victim minority. Thus, the victim construction indicates greater stability over time when compared to the fluctuating presence of the model minority construction.

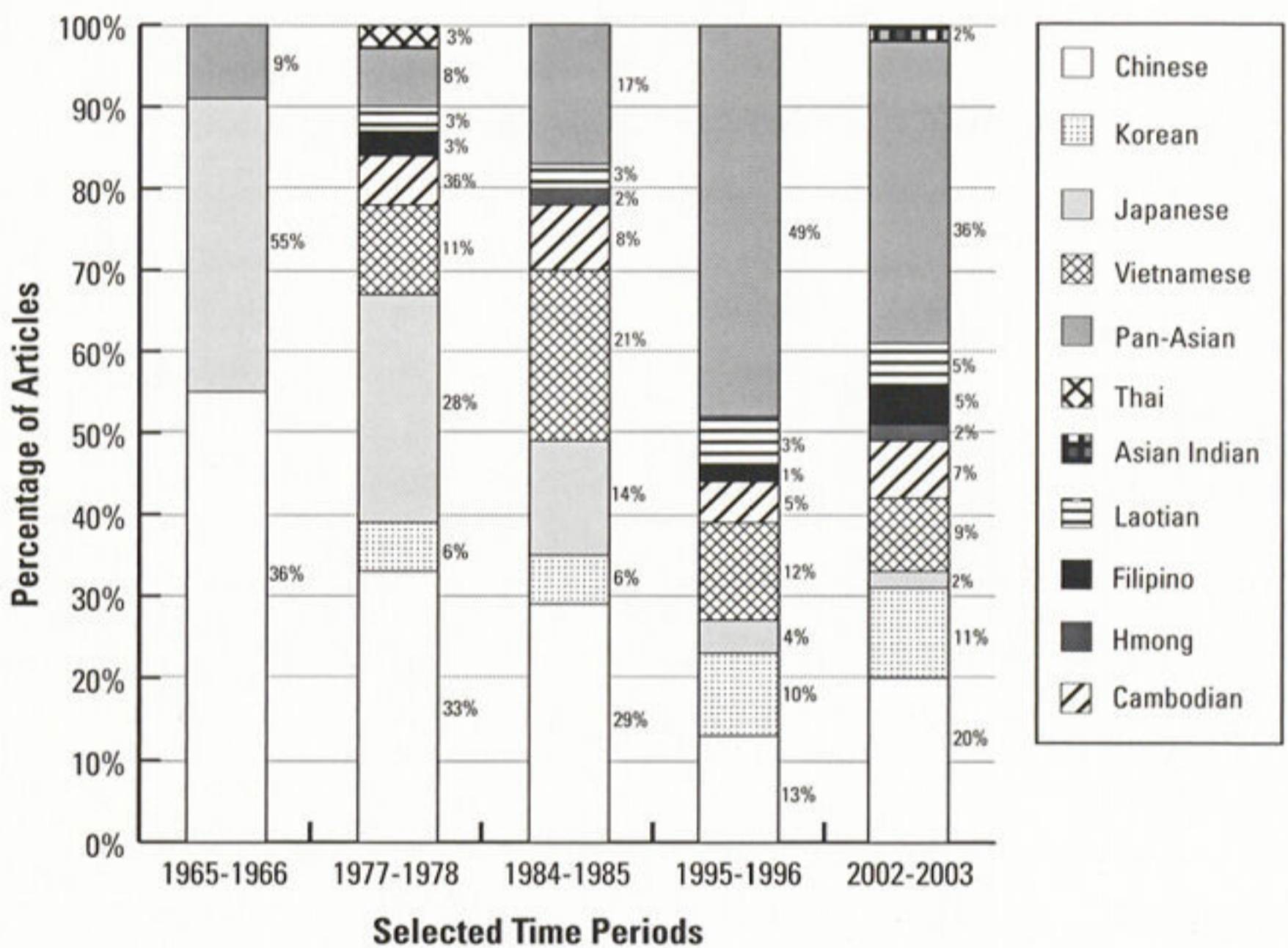
Figure 4

Construction of Asian Americans as a Victim Minority in California's Media



Examining the victim minority construction separated by Asian-origin ethnic groups (see figure 5) reveals some important results as well. Although Chinese Americans have been consistently portrayed as a model minority throughout the selected time periods, they have also been consistently portrayed as victims at almost the same rate. Also, Japanese Americans were often referenced as victim minorities during the 1960s, but such references experienced a steady decline throughout the decades (from 55 percent to 2 percent). Finally, the data indicate Cambodian and Laotian Americans as victim minorities (four out of five times) whereas they have never been portrayed as model minorities.

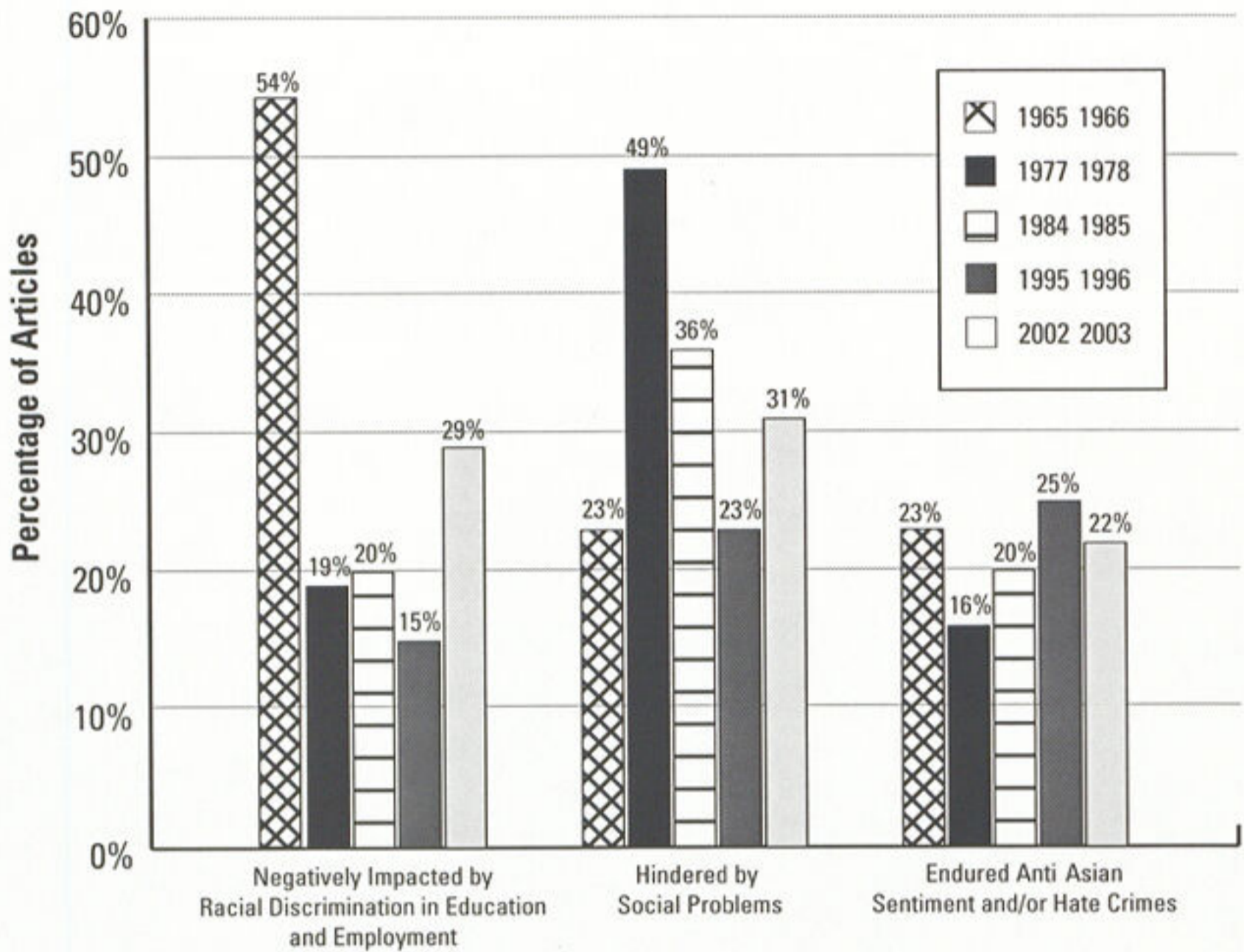
Figure 5
Construction of Asian-Origin Groups as a Victim Minority in California's Media



Looking at the subcategories of the victim minority construction, the data indicate that during the 1960s, Asian Americans were mostly perceived as a group negatively impacted by racial discrimination in education and employment (54 percent) (see figure 6). And in the 1970s, the most prevalent image was Asian Americans as a group hindered by social problems. Overall, these data suggest that Asian Americans have consistently endured each victim category experience at a fairly similar level over the decades.

Figure 6

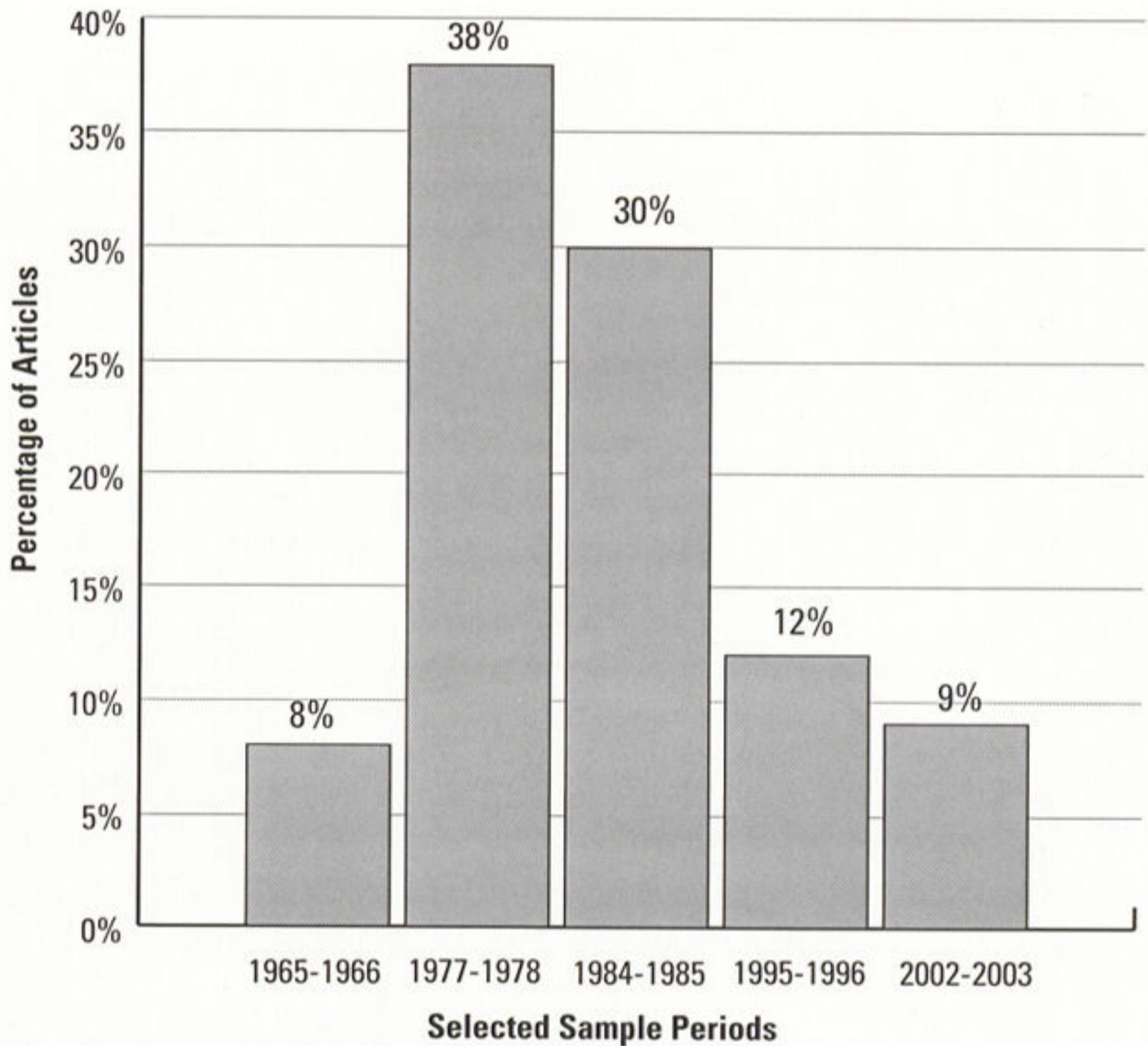
Construction of Asian-Origin Groups as a Victim Minority in California's Media Categorized by Type



Different Types of the Victim Minority Construction

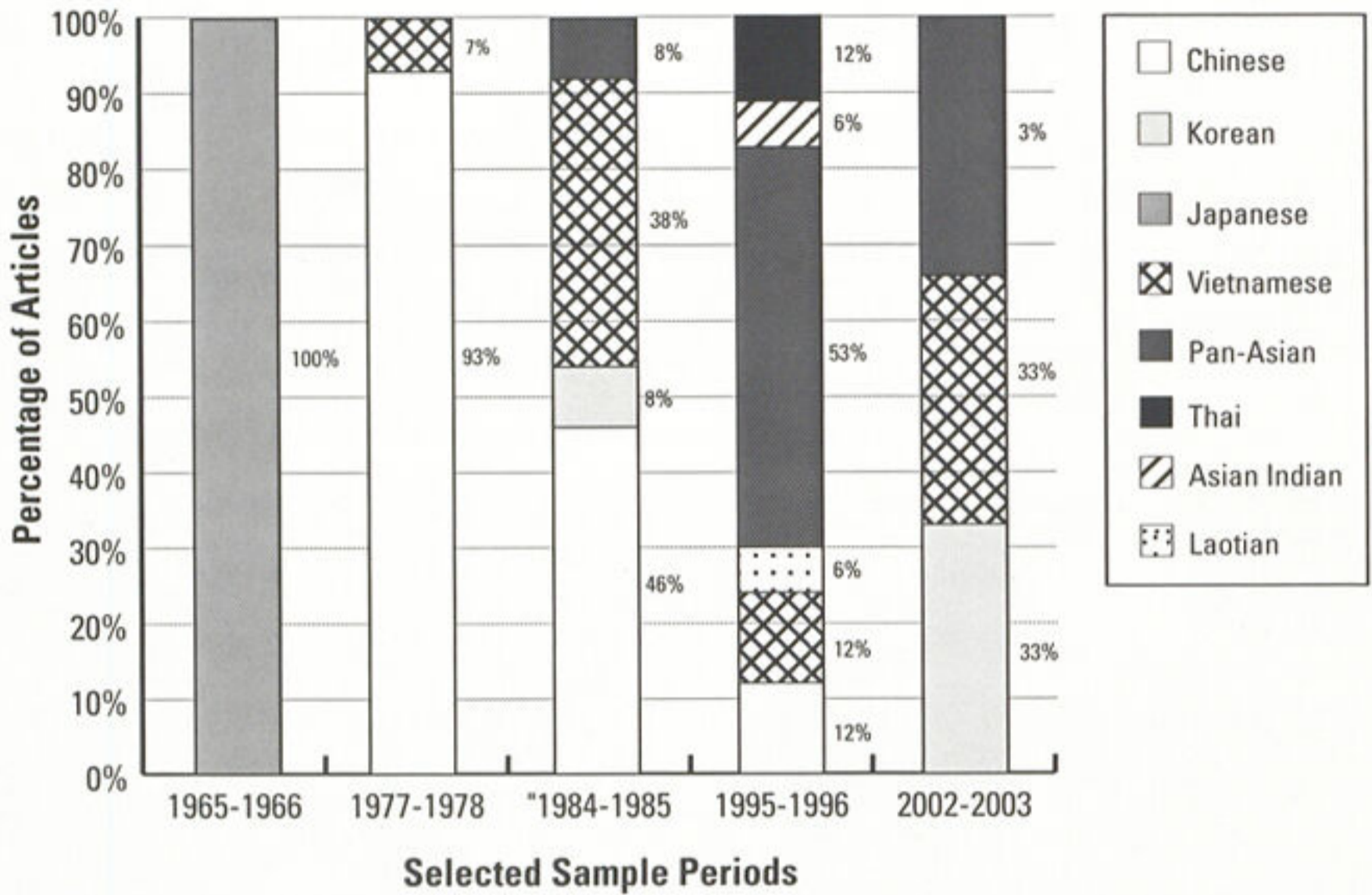
Asian Americans as a Problem Minority. In both the SFC and the LAT, Asian Americans are frequently constructed as a problem minority. They are viewed as threats to society and American culture. Overall, the construction of Asian Americans as a problem minority in both newspapers was highest in the 1970s (38 percent) and decreased steadily to 30 percent in the 1980s, 12 percent in the 1990s, and to 9 percent in the 2000s (see figure 7).

Figure 7
Construction of Asian-Origin Groups as a Problem Minority
in California's Media



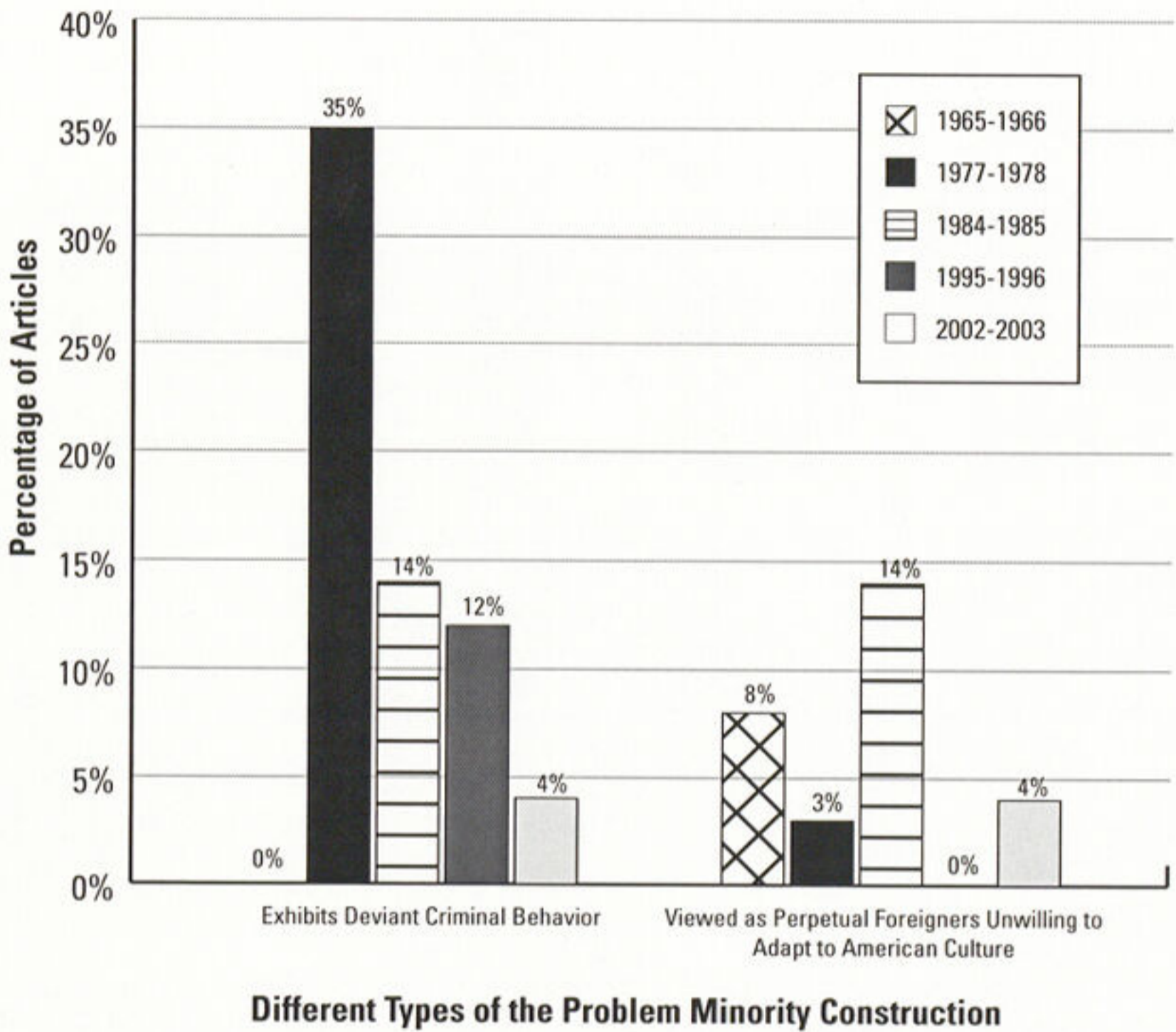
Some key results emerge when examining the problem minority construction separated by Asian-origin ethnic groups (see figure 8). Vietnamese and Chinese American groups (three out of five times) have been most consistently portrayed as problem minorities over time. As a pan-ethnic group, Asian Americans were most frequently viewed as a problem minority during the 1990s, with 53 percent of the articles containing this image.

Figure 8
Construction of Asian-Origin Groups as a Problem Minority
in California's Media



Upon examining the subcategories of the problem minority, it shows that overall, the depiction of Asian Americans as a group exhibiting deviant criminal behavior is highest in the 1970s (35 percent) and steadily declines over the decades. The view that Asian Americans are perpetual foreigners unwilling to adapt to American culture fluctuates between decades (see figure 9).

Figure 9
Construction of Asian Americans as a Problem Minority in California's Media
Categorized by Type



Discussion of Results

The data from this content analysis offer initial evidence to support the idea that the mainstream media construction of Asian Americans as a model minority was increasingly prevalent up until the 1990s, but is currently on the decline. The data reveal that the model minority construction was highest during the 1960s when affirmative action was in its infant stages of development and in the 1990s when Californians voted to dismantle affirmative action with Proposition 209. Its prevalence during the 1990s might be explained by the numerous articles (20 percent) in both newspapers contrasting academically successful Asian American students who are hurt by affirmative action policies with “less-deserving” African American and Latino students.

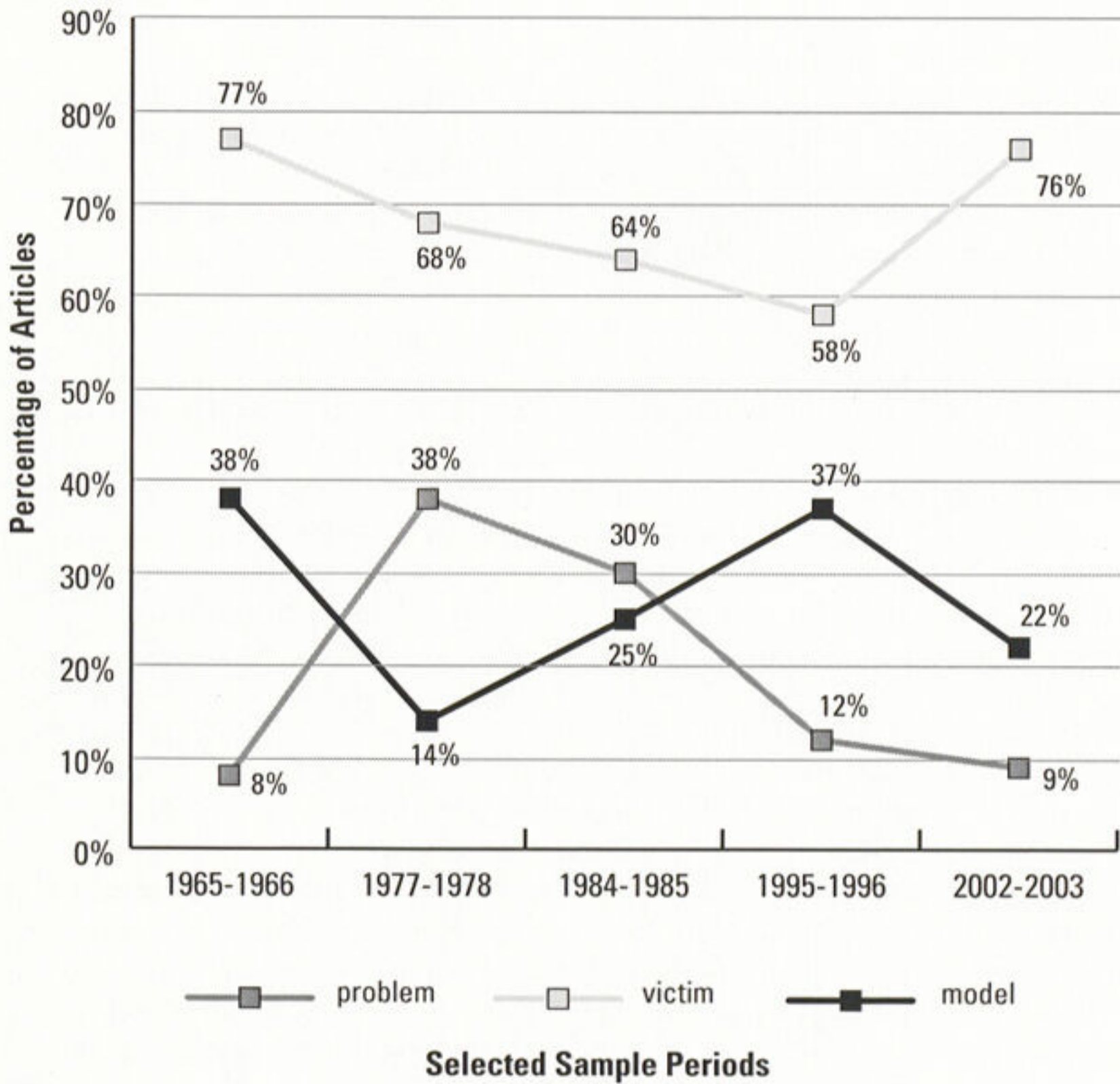
For the problem minority construction of Asian Americans in both areas combined, the data reveal a peak in the 1970s (38 percent) followed by a steady decline in subsequent decades. The high numbers of articles depicting Asian Americans as deviant criminals may have been prevalent during the 1970s due to transitional issues. Many Asian-origin immigrants and refugees faced unique challenges of abrupt entrance into a new country, and often they lacked resources to facilitate a smoother transition into life in the United States. Particularly, Asian-origin refugee groups faced triple disadvantages in their situation. War experiences in the country of origin, ruptures in cultural and social relations in transit, and a lack of preparation increased hardships for many refugees adjusting to life in the United States (Haines 1996).

Additionally, the data show articles describing Asian Americans as perpetual foreigners unwilling to adapt to American culture peaked in the 1980s (14 percent). This might be explained by the extended coverage given to the English-only movement in the San Gabriel Valley area in Los Angeles County. In 1985, citizens drew up petitions to declare English as the official language of Monterey Park, Calif. This petition was largely motivated by a growing number of signs in the city written only in Chinese characters. During this time, many supporters of the English Only Initiative expressed resentment towards the rapidly growing Chinese immigrant population in the area, prompting many White Americans to relocate to other cities. Whether the English-only movement was positively related to the level of hate crimes against Asian Americans in California is unknown because hate crimes were not officially recorded until 1995. However, the decrease in articles (25 percent to 22 percent) reporting anti-Asian sentiment and/or hate crimes from 1995–1996 to 2002–2003 in both papers are consistent with the decrease in hate crime incidents against Asian Americans from 197 incidents in 1995 (California Department of Justice 1996) to 66 incidents recorded in California in 2003 (California Department of Justice 2004).

Most importantly, contrary to scholars who emphasize the prevalence of the model minority image in media, these data offer initial indications that in the case of California’s media, Asian Americans are more consistently portrayed as a victim minority than as a model minority (see figure 10). More than 50 percent of the articles from the beginning of affirmative action history to current times consistently contain the construction of Asian Americans as some variation of a victim

minority. As a minority group, they have continuously experienced racial discrimination, social problems, and anti-Asian sentiment throughout their history in the United States. These problems are not a new phenomenon, and the data strongly support the continuing prevalence of negative effects caused by a perpetual-foreigner syndrome; Asian Americans are consistently viewed as foreign regardless of how long they have lived in the United States or what their citizenship status may be.

Figure 10
Construction of Asian Americans in California's Media



In sum, the data suggest that the construction of Asian Americans as a model minority is consistently changing in California's media and that the only stable construction of Asian Americans throughout the last half century has been the victim minority construction. However, the stability of the victim minority construction does not eliminate or weaken the influence of the popular model minority image. Using both images, Asian Americans are often depicted as a successful model group that overcomes its victim experiences. In this respect, the victim construction not only works in preserving the model image, it strengthens it.

Conclusion

If the stability of the victim minority construction does not weaken or eliminate the model minority image, what are the potential implications of both of these images being present in the media? The first potential implication of the prevalence of inaccurate social constructions is connected to a common practice referred to by many scholars of Asian American studies as lumping or homogenization. Homogenization is distinct from racialization, the creation and characterization of racial categories (Omi and Winant 1994), as it takes the process one step further. Through racialization, any individuals who have Asian origins are racially categorized into the larger umbrella "Asian" group. Homogenization occurs when all Asian-origin groups are viewed and treated the same, despite their observable and measurable differences in culture, language, education, socioeconomic attainment, etc. I suggest that homogenization may have potentially detrimental effects on public policy decisions when all Asian-origin groups are perceived as successful model minorities who have overcome victim experiences. For example, when media focus primarily on successful Asian American students, disadvantaged students who happen to be of Asian origin are unfairly marginalized from opportunities afforded to non-Asian-origin disadvantaged groups. Some Southeast Asian-origin groups could greatly benefit from a variety of social service programs specifically designed to aid disadvantaged groups. But when they are homogenized within a group who is deemed successful, they are often ineligible for these benefits. In the case of affirmative action, all Asian-origin groups were ineligible for affirmative action benefits in the 1980s despite clear educational and economic disparities within the Asian American community. Also, Asian-origin groups who are less affluent and less educated but are formally identified with more successful Asian groups such as Japanese, Chinese, and Korean groups equally suffer the consequences of homogenization and lose out on valuable social services that other disadvantaged groups are eligible for. Thus, focusing on successful segments of the Asian American community diverts attention from more disadvantaged or "at-risk" Asian American ethnic groups.

The second potential implication relates to Schneider and Ingram's (1997) work on *degenerative policy-making processes*. *Schneider and Ingram contend that in a degenerative form of policy making, social constructions of groups can be used for private political gain by reinforcing contrasting images of a deserving model minority and others as an undeserving non-model minority.* The concept of a model minority implies the existence of an opposing counterpart, a non-model minority; one cannot exist without the other. Arguably, the repeal of affirmative action in California in 1996 could be considered an example of degenerative politics when proponents of the repeal worked to convince White and Asian American voters that affirmative action was a flawed policy giving benefits to "undeserving" minority groups. Also, in California during the 1990s, references to Lowell High School's admissions controversy by former Governor Pete Wilson and other supporters of Proposition 209 further demonstrate the process of degenerative politics. Lowell High School is a prestigious magnet school in San Francisco complying with the district desegregation Consent Decree plan adopted in 1984. Chinese

American parents viewed the policy as unfairly reducing the likelihood of their children's admission to the school. In 1994, they filed and won a lawsuit city against the San Francisco Unified School District that eliminated differential cut-offs for admission based on race. Supporters of Proposition 209 often referenced Lowell as an example to emphasize how affirmative action policies are unjust, not only for Whites, but harmful to minorities as well, the very group they were originally designed to protect. In this case, proponents of 209 emphasized the advantages that "undeserving" Latinos and African Americans were receiving at the expense of "deserving" Asian American students.

Continuing within a degenerative politics framework, many scholars contend that the model minority construction is frequently used to construct Asian Americans as a political wedge between African Americans and Whites to support the notion that America is a colorblind, equal opportunity, and meritocratic society (Takagi 1992; Kim 1999; Fong 2002; Wu 2002). The model minority image upholds the idea of meritocracy as it implies that if Asian Americans can succeed, other minority groups should be able to also. Claire Kim's (1999) racial triangulation model conceptualizes this process effectively. Based on this model, Asian Americans are racially triangulated; as model minorities they are valorized as superior to non-model minorities such as African Americans, but inferior to a more successful model majority of White Americans. In relation to affirmative action policy, Asian Americans serve as examples for other minorities to emulate. Implicit in this argument is the notion of meritocracy: if Asian Americans can overcome a past of historical victimization, others can also. However, racial triangulation can have major implications for multiracial coalition building. Lien (2001) contends that the model minority construction may thwart multiracial coalition building in two ways. First, the valorization of Asian Americans as superior to other minorities may thwart them from being perceived as viable coalition partners among liberal and non-White groups. Second, Asian Americans who accept the model image as reality may not see any value in partnering with non-model minorities, such as Latinos and African Americans, because they already perceive themselves on equal standing with Whites. In this respect, the model image can intensify existing cross-racial conflicts and as a result undermine historical coalitions between minority groups and prevent future coalitions. This implication can significantly thwart prospects for coalition building within diverse metropolitan areas such as Los Angeles and San Francisco.

In sum, this paper provides initial evidence to support a greater prevalence of the victim minority image of Asian Americans rather than the model minority construction in California's media. Contrary to existing literature, the image of Asian Americans as a victim minority has been the most consistent and stable construction contained in California's media throughout the development, implementation, and dismantling of affirmative action policy. Yet both images are often evoked in conjunction with one another where Asian Americans are portrayed as a successful model minority that has overcome a victim minority experience. In this respect, the victim construction does not necessarily eliminate or weaken the model image, it strengthens it. The deployment of these images demonstrates degenerative political processes that can have negative implications for both the Asian American commu-

nity and for multiracial coalition building among minority groups. These findings should prompt us to question why the model image continues to retain such strength in policy debates and, more importantly, in policies in which these images are most often deployed. Further investigation may reveal that references to Asian Americans as a model minority most frequently emerge within debates over policies involving more than one racial minority group in a zero-sum gain framework. To advance our understanding of degenerative political processes, future studies should investigate potential causal relationships between social constructions of Asian Americans and the implications for public policy and the Asian American community.

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The Moderating Effects of Race/Ethnicity on the Experience of Asian American and Pacific Islander Community College Students

Meechai Orsuwan and Darnell Cole

Abstract

Based on the experience of 618 community college students, this study contributes to the existing literature by examining the complexity of race/ethnicity with focus on the interactions between social divisions and within-college processes. The analysis included five racial/ethnic groups in Hawaii: White, Chinese, Japanese, Hawaiian, and Filipino. Two main findings are presented. First, college processes such as academic integration, opportunity structures, and sense of belonging were positively and significantly associated with educational satisfaction. Second, race/ethnicity did moderate the relationship between social categories and within-college processes. These interaction effects were overlooked by previous studies.

Meechai Orsuwan recently graduated from the University of Hawaii at Manoa with a Ph.D. in education with specialization in higher education administration. He also holds two master's degrees—the first in economics from the University of Hawaii at Manoa and the second in business administration from Hawaii Pacific University. His background, interest, and expertise are in students' transition from high school to college systems, economics of education, quantitative research methodology, diversity in higher education, and educational policy.

Darnell Cole is associate professor of higher education at Rossier School of Education, the University of Southern California. His areas of research include race/ethnicity, diversity, and college student experiences.

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Introduction

The decline in state appropriations for higher education, changes in the demographic profile of students, rising societal needs and expectations, and mounting public concern for accountability in higher education are pressing colleges and universities to demonstrate their effectiveness and efficiency. All stakeholders, including policy makers, administrators, college students, and their parents, strive to ensure institutions of higher education demonstrate academic effectiveness by measuring institutional performance outcomes. Since 1990, a large number of states have adopted performance indicator systems ranging from quantitative indicators such as total degrees awarded and enrollment/retention/graduation data to more qualitative data such as indicators of remedial effectiveness (Ruppert 1995). In addition to these measures, student satisfaction is an important educational outcome and common performance measure used in institutions of higher education to inform policy makers and accreditation agencies about their institutional effectiveness (Beltyukova and Fox 2002), to plan financial budgeting, and to improve student programs and services (CCC 1989, 1990; Laanan 2001). Student educational satisfaction is considered a pivotal mediating concept that links with a positive association to other student outcomes, such as performance, attainment, retention, and growth of students (Astin 1993; Pascarella and Terenzini 1991; Tinto 1975). Furthermore, student satisfaction is touted as an outcome of good institutional practice and resource investment in efforts associated with learning quality. From the academic institutions' point of view, student satisfaction, unlike students' performance indicators, is an appropriate outcome to study because institutions have a greater role to intervene in students' experience. It is in the institutions' best interest to have satisfied students because they are likely to succeed academically and subsequently after college (Pascarella and Terenzini 1991). Furthermore, satisfied students recommend prospective students to attend the same institution (Eimers and Pike 1997). In addition, the amount of financial support from alumni is positively related to the level of educational satisfaction students have toward their alma mater (Monks 2003). Student satisfaction is thus deemed so important that Alexander Astin (1993, 173), a pioneer in college student research, stated boldly, "It is difficult to argue that student satisfaction can be legitimately subordinated to any other educational outcome."

Research Background

Research on students' satisfaction has mostly been conducted at four-year institutions, such as predominantly White institutions (PWIs) and historically Black institutions, where a racial majority group of students exists. These studies have generally compared measures of students' experiences, such as satisfaction, according to racial majority versus minority, which in most cases is White versus African American. However, the results are mixed and inconclusive, depending on how and where the research was conducted. Many studies, however, agree that students are more comfortable and satisfied with their college experiences when they

represent the racial majority on campus (Allen 1988; Bohr et al. 1995; Fisher and Hartmann 1991; Love 1993; Nettles, Thoeny, and Gosman 1986; Suen 1983).

Despite a growing body of research on racial/ethnic minority students' satisfaction, research findings remain limited for two reasons. First, research on racial/ethnic minorities is usually conducted at PWIs, where there are a limited number of ethnic minority students. This research does not, therefore, include students who attend minority-serving institutions, where the student body is structurally diverse and thus there is no "majority," and whose institutional mission is to serve the educational needs of minority students (DOT).

Asian American and Pacific Islander institutions (AAPIs) are a specific type of a minority-serving institution whose student body consists of 10 percent or more Asian American and Pacific Islander students (Laanan and Starobin 2004). Despite being the fastest-growing group of students, research on the educational experiences of students at AAPIs is relatively limited in the literature of higher education (Escueta and O'Brien 1991; Nakanishi 1995; Ong 2000; Sue and Okazaki 1990; Takagi 1992), perhaps because few AAPIs exist in the United States (DOT). In addition, Asian and Pacific Islander students are usually considered as a homogeneous group, rather than considering subgroups of these students separately. Understandably, researchers are not interested in the differences of the subgroups of the Asian and Pacific Islander students because these researchers usually assume that these students on aggregate do as well in school (Ah Sam 2005; Hune and Chan 1997; Smith et al. 1997; Teranishi 2002). There are differences, however, for Asian American and Pacific Islander students when researchers use disaggregated data (White House Initiative on AAPIs).

Second, research on the effects of social class or race/ethnicity on racial minority students' college experiences may be curtailed because the effects of race/ethnicity are usually treated more uniformly due to the limitations of the theoretical propositions tested and the analytical techniques employed on the data (Heck and Mahoe 2006; Pollock 2004). Pollock (2004, 25) asserts that researchers should examine race in education "more self-consciously and strategically" because race/ethnicity is more complex than previous research perceives. Research on students' college experience usually treats the effects of race/ethnicity and social classes as "statistically controlled (or made relatively invisible) before examining the effects of other theoretical constructs in explaining student behavior." As a result, researchers may overlook "more fine-grained analyses of how social categories and other within-school processes (e.g., academic integration, sense of belonging) intersect to structure student (experience)" (Heck and Mahoe 2006, 423). In brief, the effects of within-school processes associated with students' educational satisfaction may be moderated by social class or racial/ethnic background.

In addition, while there is extensive research on student satisfaction in general, there is little data on the satisfaction of community college students and even less regarding the satisfaction of minority students attending community colleges. In addition to the factors studied in the main body of research, the experiences of community college students are also shaped by the open access mission and other conditions unique to community colleges, such as part-time students, students with lower ability, and lower socioeconomic class (Cohen and Brawer 2003).

This study examines how college processes and students' social categories affect the educational satisfaction of racial/ethnic groups at a minority-serving institution in Hawaii with a sample of 618 community college students. The analysis includes five racial/ethnic groups in Hawaii: White, Chinese, Japanese, Hawaiian, and Filipino. The study has two main objectives. The first objective is to examine the role of students' academic integration, opportunity structures, sense of belonging, and social categories across these five racial/ethnic groups. The second objective is to examine the interaction effects between social categories and within-college processes associated with educational satisfaction.

Conceptual Framework

Although the increase of minority students enhanced structural diversity in colleges and universities, questions remain unanswered as to whether and/or how institutions respond to the educational needs of these diverse students (Carnegie Commission on Higher Education 1973). Also, because higher education was an unfamiliar situation for ethnic minority students, concerns have arisen as the dominant, White culture continues to be prevalent on college campuses (Burbach and Thompson 1971; Delucchi 2003). Furthermore, the scarcity of ethnic minority students may shape their collegiate experience or may hinder educational opportunities for social support (i.e., integration, sense of belonging, and opportunity structures) (Delucchi 2003). Examining ethnic minority students' college experiences can be limited because many existing frameworks assume and suggest that a college experience is identical for all kinds of students and therefore are not fully valid for studying racial/ethnic minority students (Tinto 1997). Social category variables, including ethnicity, are often glossed over and are not usually the centerpieces of these theories (Rendon, Jalomo, and Nora 2000). Research, however, often finds that a particular college experience is generally conditioned by the specific characteristics of the students and these conditional effects are also known as interaction effects (Pascarella and Terenzini 2005). For example, Asian, Latina/o, and Native American students have lower levels of satisfaction than White students due to higher rates of alienation, discrimination, and invisibility (Astin 1977; Hune 1998; Jones, Castellanos, and Cole 2002). But students from racial/ethnic minority groups who are satisfied with their college lives tend to excel in academic performance, persist through graduation, and become successful after college (Nora and Cabrera 1996). More specifically, satisfaction with the college experience is more consequential for ethnic minority students than for White students. Their motivation to attend college and to be successful may depend largely on the degree of satisfaction (Kuh and Vesper 1991; Nora and Cabrera 1996). Therefore, Rendon, Jalomo, and Nora (2000) suggest that studying minority students is multifaceted and needs different theoretical considerations for explaining and understanding them and their educational outcomes.

Therefore, this study proposes a student satisfaction model, which relies on the following conceptual frameworks: (a) theory of student integration (Tinto 1975,

1993, 1997), (b) sense of belonging (Hurtado et al. 1998, 1999), and (c) theory of proportions (Kanter 1977) in order to explain and predict the educational satisfaction of student subgroups. The purpose of this study is to build relevance for student satisfaction as a key outcome of college, especially for racial/ethnic minority students at community colleges.

Tinto's Integration Theory

In his theory of student departure, Tinto (1975, 1993, 1997) concludes that whether students depart college depends largely on the quality of academic and social interactions while being in college. Positive interactions increase integration and reinforce students' intentions, goals, and commitments and result in desirable student outcomes. However, negative interactions hinder integration, discourage students from mingling with other agents in the institution, and promote marginality and lead to undesirable student outcomes. The focus of this study is on academic integration that occurs when students exchange academic information, perspectives, and values common to other members in the classroom (Tinto 1993). Academic integration appears to be the result of student involvement, so students who are actively involved in academic opportunities and frequently interact with faculty are likely to do well in college and are likely to persist (Bean 1980). Measures of academic integration are generally categorized into three groups: (1) formal interactions with faculty or students in the classroom (Bers and Smith 1991; Fox 1986; Halpin 1990), (2) class related matters (Fox 1986), and (3) actual academic performance and perceptions of academic behaviors (Fox 1986; Moss and Young 1995; Pascarella and Chapman 1983).

Although integration has an impact on student outcomes, critiques of Tinto's (1975) integration model suggest that Tinto's integration framework may not fully apply to minority students (Tinto 1997). For example, interacting with faculty outside the classroom can be more difficult for racial/ethnic minority students (Allen, Epp, and Hanniff 1991; Burrell and Trombley 1983; Fleming 1984) and many minority students avoid social interaction and opportunities because these interactions may waste their study time (Eimers and Pike 1997). Tinto's integration model, especially the social integration aspect, may not well describe ethnic minority students' experiences (Torres and Solberg 2001). Therefore, to make Tinto's integration model applicable to minority students, some scholars suggest that additional frameworks are needed to sufficiently explain the college experience of minority students (Eimers and Pike 1997; Rendon, Jalomo, and Nora 2000). In an effort to expand Tinto's integration framework, Eimers and Pike (1997) examined the differences and similarities of factors that influenced intent to persist by minority and non-minority students. Their research suggested that besides academic integration, minority students' perceptions such as a sense of belonging are especially necessary to nurture the college experience of minority students.

Sense of Belonging

A dimensional model of campus climate is often used to understand and analyze the sense of belonging for racial/ethnic diversity (Hurtado et al. 1998, 1999). The dimensions consist of (1) historical legacy of inclusion or exclusion, which consists of resistance to desegregation, mission, policies, and rituals and traditions; (2) structural diversity, which consists of the representation of minority student enrollment, faculty, and staff; (3) psychological dimensions of climate and its impact on students, which consist of attitudes and prejudice reduction, and perceptions of racial/ethnic tension and discrimination; and (4) behavioral dimensions of climate and its impact on students, which consist of positive or negative social interactions with others, peer involvement, and classroom diversity. Overall the model of campus climate provides a comprehensive perspective of understanding and improving student's sense of belonging. With regard to racial differences, Asian, Latina/o, and Native American students reported lower levels of satisfaction partly due to higher rates of alienation, discrimination, and invisibility when compared to their White counterparts (Astin 1977; Hune 1998; Jones, Castellanos, and Cole 2002). Although racial/ethnic discrimination is likely to negatively affect minority students, White students' sense of belonging (Gilliard 1996) and educational satisfaction (Cole and Jackson 2005) are also negatively affected by racial discrimination. Overall, these studies suggested that students' perceptions such as sense of belonging, perception of discrimination, and feelings of alienation have an impact on educational experiences.

Kanter's Opportunity Structures

Many researchers have used organizational theory or structural theory to understand race, class, and gender differences. Among structural theories, Kanter's (1977) theory of opportunity structures is widely used to study group dynamics and social structures that affect behaviors, attitudes, and member opportunities in a setting or organization. Kanter hypothesizes that the token members, those severely under-represented demographically, tend to have more negative experiences than majority members or those of the dominant group, and the token members are usually belittled by the dominant members. In higher education, Kanter's theory of proportions has been used to test the effect of diversity on student outcomes after the 1964 Civil Rights Act, and the 1972 Title IX Amendments to the Higher Education Act were amended (Adisa Thomas 2000; Ah Sam 2005; Chang 1996). Although studies on college students stress the importance of college factors like integration and sense of belonging, these factors usually do not explain how the racial composition in a college environment may affect students within the academic setting. Kanter's framework, however, provides an insightful explanation of how and why the group composition influences group relations as well as individual group members. For example, Tinto's academic integration alone may not sufficiently explain the college experience or satisfaction of ethnic minority students because the extent to which they integrate within a campus environment may be different from the racial majority students' extent. That is, Tinto's academic opportunity merely represents opportunities for one to integrate oneself into the institution. Consequently, the proposed model uses Kanter's opportunity structures

to help explain the satisfaction of ethnic minority students because it is a broader concept than Tinto's academic integration as opportunity structures affect one's overall view of institutional involvement. Thus, Kanter's concept of opportunity appears more useful because it captures the intent embedded in the notion of integration, which is commitment without predetermining the perimeters of that commitment. That is, those students who have a significant amount of opportunity tend to be satisfied with their institution, have high aspirations, have high self esteem, and be optimistic with the economic or social payoff. The structure of opportunity is determined by various factors including the following: the degree of one's aspiration, self esteem or self-rating of one's confidence, commitment to the organization, intrinsic aspects such as one's potential for learning, and access to growth in skills and rewards.

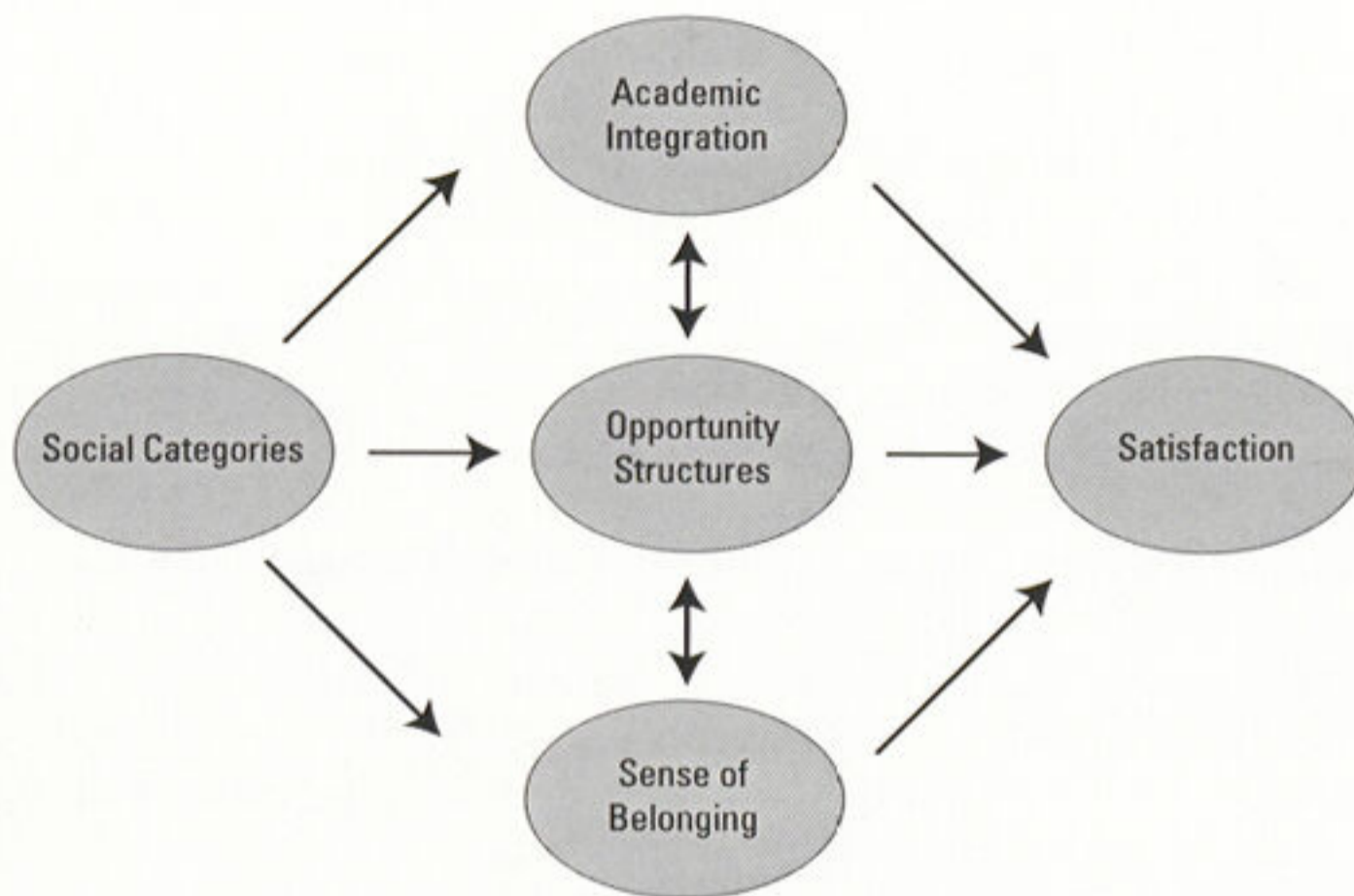
Consequently, this study proposes a student's educational satisfaction model as a function of four elements: (1) academic integration, (2) sense of belonging, (3) opportunity structures, and (4) student social categories (see figure 1). Particularly, positive academic integration, sense of belonging, and opportunity structures are hypothesized to positively influence college students' satisfaction, the final outcomes in the proposed model.

Like most previous research on college students (e.g., Astin 1975, 1993; Pascarella 1985; Tinto 1975), the proposed model includes students' social categories such as ethnicity, household income, and parental education. Unlike most research on college students, however, this study treats student social categories in a more meaningful and dynamic manner, and the interaction effects between social categories and within-college processes are examined. This study expects to find that the effects of academic integration, sense of belonging, and opportunity structures associated with students' college experience are moderated by social categories.

Academic integration in the proposed model includes interactions with faculty in the classroom and class-related matters. In this study, opportunity structures include students' perception of prospective employment, perception of learning expectation, perception of development of practical ability, and perception of development of critical and creative thinking skills. The proposed model uses students' perceptions of the college campus climate as a measure of sense of belonging. The final element of the proposed satisfaction model considers students' satisfaction as a multidimensional construct and measures students' educational satisfaction with several college experiences.

This study relies on the three conceptual frameworks previously described and proposes that student satisfaction is a function of student social categories, academic integration, sense of belonging, and opportunity structures. More specifically, the study addresses two research questions. First, do academic integration, sense of belonging, and opportunity structures explain students' educational satisfaction? Second, in what ways do student social categories interact with the proposed determinants of students' educational satisfaction?

Figure 1. Proposed Model of Students' Educational Satisfaction



Method

This research used secondary data, which were originally collected by the Department of Social Sciences at the target institution at the end of the spring 2005 semester. The data consisted of 618 usable responses. Students were asked to self-identify their ethnicity and to select only one ethnicity from the choices given. The five main ethnic groups used for this study represented approximately 75 percent of the total participants: Japanese (24 percent), Chinese (9 percent), Filipino (16 percent), White (17 percent), and Hawaiian (9 percent). With respect to family backgrounds, most students in the sample had a parent (either father or mother) who had obtained an education higher than high school (59.1 percent) and 12.5 percent of the students had a family income of less than \$10,000 annually. The returned surveys yielded 618 responses with 374 females (60 percent) and 231 males (40 percent). Valid responses were received from 618 participants, and the response rate was approximately 51 percent.

Instrumentation

The survey instrument used was adapted from the Community College Student Experience Questionnaire (CCSEQ) by Friedlander and associates (1999). The first of the two survey sections asked students about their perceptions of college in general, learning and teaching, course organization and assessment, and campus climate. This research used only questions believed to represent the four components in this satisfaction model, which were measured on a five-point Likert scale (high = 5, low = 1). The second section included questions on student demographics. However, only ethnicity, annual household income, and parental education were used in this study.

Dependent Variable

This research followed a multidimensional approach and measured students' educational satisfaction with several college experiences. The student opinion survey included three questions that measure student satisfaction: (1) "Do you feel welcome on this campus?" (2) "Is tuition a worthwhile investment?" (3) "What is your satisfaction with learning/teaching environment in general?" Principal component analysis was used to construct a weighted composite of educational satisfaction (see table 1). The factor loadings for the three items were all higher than 0.7. Cronbach's alpha coefficient for this construct was 0.69.

Independent Variables

There were four sets of independent variables: academic integration, opportunity structures, sense of belonging, and social categories. In addition, principal component analysis was used to develop more reliable measures of the three proposed constructs: academic integration, opportunity structures, and sense of belonging. The factor loadings for the items of each construct were high: academic integration (0.71, 0.736, 0.813, 0.831), opportunity structure (0.781, 0.823, 0.84, 0.817), and sense of belonging (0.802, 0.799, 0.700). Cronbach's alpha coefficients for each construct also indicated acceptable internal consistency (see table 1).

Data Analysis

Analysis of main and interaction effects.

The first stage of analysis included a series of multiple regression analyses, which examined the main effects (social categories, academic integration, sense of belonging, and opportunity structures) as explanatory variables. The second stage of the analysis tested for the presence of conditional effects. Consequently, a series of cross-product terms was created between ethnicity, household income, parental education, and each within-college process (for example, Chinese x academic integration, etc.) in the prediction of the educational satisfaction. Subsequently, these interaction terms were added to the full main-effects-only model (model 4). If the t-test of the coefficients of a particular interaction term yielded a statistically significant result ($p < 0.10$), that suggests the presence of that interaction effect. At the third and final stage of the analysis, insignificant interaction terms were removed from the model. The strength of the interaction effects was calculated by taking the difference in the F-tests (DF) for the main-effects-only model and the interactive model. The significance level for DF was set at a 0.10 level. In addition, the R-square for the interaction model was compared to that for the main-effects-only model to tell how much the interaction effects added in accounting for the variance in the educational satisfaction.

This study had two limitations. First, this study was a cross-sectional design and it made use of a secondary dataset. Hence, there may be some problem regarding cause and effect, or directionality. Second, this was a case study, conducted at a single institution. Therefore, interpretations were limited to the target institution and may not be explicitly applied to others, with the possible exception of other community colleges in Hawaii, which exhibit the same racial diversity.

Table 1: Component Scores Loading and Reliabilities for Dependent and Independent Variables

Factor and Survey Items	Component Loadings	Internal Consistency (Alpha)
Educational Satisfaction		0.69
Learning and teaching environment	0.81	
Welcomeness of the campus environment	0.799	
Worthwhileness of paid tuition	0.701	
Academic Integration		0.83
Academic interaction between student and instructor	0.71	
Promptness of feedback on assignments	0.736	
Availability of lecture notes and handouts	0.813	
Quality of the lecture notes and handouts	0.831	
Clarity of the course syllabus	0.764	
Opportunity Structures		0.829
Prospective employment	0.781	
Prospective employment	0.823	
Development of practical ability	0.84	
Development of critical and creative thinking skills	0.817	
Sense of Belonging		0.65
Institutional commitment to underrepresented populations	0.802	
Support and respect among individuals	0.799	
Security and safety	0.7	

Research Findings

Model 1: The first model examines social category variables such as ethnicity, household income, and parental education to explain student satisfaction. Table 2 indicates two significant main effects for race/ethnicity associated with student satisfaction. The result indicates that the social category variables in model 1 explain only 2.6 percent (adjusted $R^2 = 0.004$) of the students' educational satisfaction. More specifically, only two out of twelve independent variables were statistically significant in explaining the level of students' educational satisfaction: Japanese and Chinese. For model 1, being Chinese had the largest coefficient for explaining student satisfaction ($B = -0.207$, $p < 0.10$). In other words, the satisfaction of Chinese students was significantly lower than that of White students, the reference group. The same claim can be made for Japanese students. Japanese students were significantly less satisfied than the reference group ($B = -0.171$, $p < 0.05$). Although model 1 is a preliminary model, it provides a cursory view of how social categories such as race/ethnicity are associated with educational satisfaction.

Model 2: The second model examines the effects of the social category variables (model 1) and academic integration to explain student satisfaction (see table 2). Model 2 with three significant variables represented a statistical and substantive improvement over model 1 ($R^2_{\text{model2}} = 0.479$ versus $R^2_{\text{model1}} = 0.026$). The result indicated that together the social category variables and academic integration explain 47.9 percent (adjusted $R^2 = 0.466$) of the variance in students' educational satisfaction. Two social category variables and the academic integration construct were significantly related to satisfaction. Similar to model 1, the satisfaction of Japanese students ($B = -0.142$, $p < 0.05$) was significantly lower than that of their White peers. For model 2, adding academic integration reduced differences due to ethnicity (i.e., Chinese was not significant in this model). On the other hand, academic integration magnified another group difference: parental education. The coefficient for students with parents having bachelor's degrees ($B = 0.086$, $p < 0.10$) indicated that students with such family background (bachelor's degree) had a higher level of satisfaction than those with parents having only a high school education, the reference group. Turning to within-college processes, academic integration ($B = 0.45$, $p < 0.01$) had the effect on students' educational satisfaction in model 2. After the academic integration construct was added, the Chinese effect that was present in the first model dropped out, but the Japanese effect remained significant. The coefficient of academic integration was significant and positive. Model 2 also provides an explanatory result that besides social categories, academic integration accounts for a great portion of educational satisfaction.

Model 3: This model examines the influence of social category variables, academic integration, and sense of belonging in explaining student educational satisfaction (see table 2). The entire regression equation explained 56.7 percent of the variance in educational satisfaction ($p < 0.01$). Model 3 with three significant variables represented a statistical improvement over model 2 ($R^2_{\text{model3}} = 0.567$ versus $R^2_{\text{model2}} = 0.479$). When opportunity structures were included, the Japanese effect continued to be significant, but the income effect that was present in model 2 became insignificant. One social category variable and two within-college

processes were significant. Similar to the previous two models, the satisfaction of Japanese students was significantly lower than that of their White counterparts, the reference group, ($B = -0.101$, $p < 0.10$). The strongest effects on satisfaction in the model came from academic integration ($B = 0.286$, $p < 0.01$) and opportunity structures ($B = 0.26$, $p < 0.01$). Besides social categories, the finding suggests that factors having significant effects on students' educational satisfaction also include academic integration and opportunity structures.

Model 4: The fourth model examines the effects of social category variables and all the three within-college processes (i.e., academic integration, opportunity structures, and sense of belonging) have in explaining student educational satisfaction (see table 2). Model 4 with three significant variables represented a statistical improvement over model 3 ($R^2_{\text{model4}} = 0.664$ versus $R^2_{\text{model3}} = 0.567$). The entire regression equation explained 66.4 percent (adjusted $R^2 = 0.655$) of the variance in educational satisfaction ($p < 0.01$). Once all the three within-college processes were included, the racial/ethnic effects were removed although one household income effect on educational satisfaction was present. For model 4, only one social category variable and all the three within-college processes were significantly related to educational satisfaction. Surprisingly, the educational satisfaction of the students from the lowest household income group ($< \$10,000$) ($B = 0.138$, $p < 0.01$) was significantly higher than that of students from the highest income group ($> \$70,000$, the reference group). All the three within-college processes were significant and positive: academic integration ($B = 0.213$, $p < 0.01$), opportunity structures ($B = 0.195$, $p < 0.01$), and sense of belonging ($B = 0.243$, $p < 0.01$). Although model 4 is not the final model, the finding suggests that factors having significant effects on students' educational satisfaction are academic integration, opportunity structures, and sense of belonging. It will be seen in model 5 (the final model) whether these within-college processes persist.

Model 5: This section tests for the presence of conditional effects between ethnicity, household income, parental education, and college processes. Specifically, a series of cross-product terms was created between ethnicity, household income, parental education, and college processes (i.e., academic integration, sense of belonging, and opportunity structures) in the prediction of educational satisfaction. Subsequently, these interaction terms were added to the regression model 4, the main-effects-only model. In table 3, the interaction-effects model with seven significant interactions represented a statistical improvement over the main-effects-only model (model 4) ($\Delta F = 5.609$, $p < 0.01$). This implied a significant improvement in the explanatory power from the main-effects-only model. The added variance accounted for by the interaction effects was 0.025. This figure was calculated by considering the difference in the R-square for the main-effects-only model and that for the interaction model ($0.689 - 0.664 = 0.025$). Therefore, the interaction effects accounted for an additional 2.5 percent of the variance in educational satisfaction.

Table 2. Main Effects of Social Categories and Within-College Processes on Satisfaction

	Model 1		Model 2			Model 3			Model 4			
	B	S.E	B	B	S.E	B	B	S.E	B	B	S.E	B
Social Categories	4.053	0.096		3.994	0.071		3.980	0.065		3.887	0.060	
(Constant)												
Filipino	-0.024	0.095	-0.013	-0.005	0.070	-0.003	-0.047	0.065	-0.026	0.005	0.059	0.003
Hawaiian	0.120	0.111	0.054	0.011	0.081	0.005	-0.008	0.075	-0.003	0.073	0.068	0.033
Japanese	-0.171 **	0.085	-0.109	-0.142 **	0.062	-0.090	-0.101 *	0.058	-0.064	-0.034	0.052	-0.022
Chinese	-0.207 *	0.111	-0.089	-0.052	0.082	-0.022	-0.012	0.076	-0.005	0.026	0.068	0.011
Others	-0.067	0.086	-0.042	-0.062	0.064	-0.038	-0.078	0.059	-0.049	-0.040	0.053	-0.025
Family income (<\$10,000)	0.074	0.104	0.037	0.039	0.077	0.019	0.082	0.071	0.041	0.138 **	0.064	0.068
Family income (\$10,000-\$29,999)	-0.021	0.086	-0.014	0.028	0.064	0.019	0.050	0.059	0.033	0.070	0.053	0.046
Family income (\$30,000-\$49,999)	-0.026	0.086	-0.017	-0.022	0.064	-0.014	0.008	0.059	0.005	0.056	0.053	0.036
Family income (\$50,000-\$69,999)	-0.098	0.094	-0.055	-0.038	0.069	-0.021	0.018	0.063	0.010	0.063	0.057	0.036
Parental education (associate degree)	-0.007	0.085	-0.004	0.011	0.062	0.006	-0.013	0.058	-0.007	0.001	0.052	0.001
Parental education (bachelor's degree)	0.033	0.072	0.022	0.086*	0.053	0.058	0.056	0.049	0.038	0.056	0.044	0.037
Parental education (graduate degree)	0.036	0.089	0.019	0.062	0.066	0.033	0.053	0.060	.028	.054	.054	.029
Within-college processes												
Academic integration				0.450 ***	0.021	0.682	0.286 ***	0.025	0.434	0.213 ***	0.023	0.326
Opportunity structures							0.260 ***	0.025	0.394	0.195 ***	0.023	0.295
Sense of belonging										0.243 ***	0.020	0.363
R ²	0.026			0.479			0.567			0.664		
Adjusted R ²	0.004			0.466			0.556			0.655		

Table 3. Strength of Interaction Effects

Model	R	R ²	Adjusted R ²	S.E. of the Estimate	Change Statistics				
					ΔR ²	ΔF	df1	df2	Sig. FΔ
Main Effects Model (Model 4)	0.815	0.664	0.655	0.39319	0.664	67.844	15	514	0.000
Interactions Effects Model (Model 5)	0.830	0.689	0.675	0.38141	0.024	5.609	7	507	0.000

Social categories. Table 4 suggests four social category variables were significantly related to educational satisfaction, as follows: (1) students from household incomes less than \$10,000, (2) students from household incomes ranging between \$30,000 and \$49,999, (3) students with parents having bachelor's degrees, and (4) students with parents having graduate degrees. There were two significant main effects for household income associated with student educational satisfaction. More specifically, students from household incomes less than \$10,000, the lowest income group ($B = 0.213$, $p < 0.01$) and those from a medium family income (\$30,000 to \$49,999) ($B = 0.105$, $p < 0.10$) were positively associated with student educational satisfaction. The other two significant social category variables were variables related to parental education. Students with parents having bachelor's degrees ($B = 0.074$, $p < 0.10$) and students with parents having graduate degrees ($B = 0.111$, $p < 0.05$) were positively related to educational satisfaction.

The added effects of interactions removed the main effects of race/ethnicity although the income effects and parental education effects were present in the final model. This conclusion seemingly suggests that race/ethnicity has nothing to do with students' educational satisfaction. As seen later, however, although race/ethnicity has no direct influence on educational satisfaction in the final model, race/ethnicity is more dynamic than originally thought when it interacts with college processes. The complexity of race/ethnicity reveals the relevance of social divisions and the conditional effects of a variety of college experiences. In accounting for satisfaction, these conditional effects also provide much more detailed analyses of college experiences.

Table 4. Effects of Social Categories, Within-College Processes and Their Interactions on Satisfaction (Final Model)

	B	SE	β
Constant			
Social Categories	3.852	0.059	
Filipino	0.064	0.062	0.036
Hawaiian	0.111	0.070	0.050
Japanese	-0.035	0.051	-0.022
Chinese	0.085	0.070	0.037
Others	-0.042	0.052	-0.026
Household income less than \$10,000	0.213***	0.066	0.105
Household income (\$10,000–\$29,999)	0.078	0.052	0.051
Household income (\$30,000–\$49,999)	0.105*	0.054	0.068
Household income (\$50,000–\$69,999)	0.071	0.056	0.040
Parental education (associate degree)	0.017	0.050	0.009
Parental education (bachelor's degree)	0.074*	0.043	0.049
Parental education (graduate degree)	0.111**	0.055	0.058
Within-College Processes			
Academic integration	0.252***	0.028	0.386
Opportunity structures	0.181***	0.022	0.274
Sense of belonging	0.211***	0.023	0.316
Interactions			
Japanese x academic integration	-0.168***	0.043	-0.131
Filipino x academic integration	0.103**	0.051	-0.057
Japanese x sense of belonging	-0.103**	0.043	0.078
Household income (\$10,000–\$29,999) x academic integration	0.109***	0.039	0.081
Chinese x parental education (graduate degree)	-0.407**	0.166	-0.069
Hawaii x household income (\$10,000–\$29,999)	-0.305**	0.152	-0.059
Filipino x household income (\$30,000–\$49,999)	-0.245**	0.109	-0.070
R ²	0.689		
Adjusted R ²	0.675		

Within-college processes. Similar to the main-effects-only model, model 4, all the three within-college variables were significant and positive in explaining educational satisfaction. Experiencing higher degrees of academic integration ($B = 0.252, p < 0.001$), opportunity structures ($B = 0.181, p < 0.001$), and sense of belonging ($B = 0.211, p < 0.001$) were positive determinants of how students experience their educational years. Among these three within-college processes, the coefficient for academic integration (0.252) was larger than that for sense of belonging (0.211) and opportunity structures (0.181). Although all the three processes were significant, there were changes in magnitude of their coefficients. In comparison to the main-effects-only model, model 4, there was a reduction in coefficient size for academic integration in the interactions model, model 5 ($B_{\text{model 5}} = 0.252$ versus $B_{\text{model 4}} = 0.213$). With an exception of opportunity structures, the coefficients for academic integration and sense of belonging cannot be interpreted in straightforward manner. That is, model 5 suggests that their combined effects must be considered when taking interaction effects into account. The next section shows how the coefficients for academic integration and sense of belonging are adjusted when their interactions are present.

Interactions. Seven significant interactions between race/ethnicity, household income, parental education, and within-college processes were identified. The finding supports conditional effects, which theorize that the impact of any particular college experience is different in magnitude for students with different characteristics such as ethnicity (Pascarella and Terenzini 1991, 2005). For example, academic integration was affected by race/ethnicity and this conditional effect influences student satisfaction. A significant interaction between academic integration and race/ethnicity suggests that the strength of academic integration effect depends on race/ethnicity. More specifically, from table 4, the combined effect of academic integration on Japanese students' satisfaction would be $0.252 - 0.168 * (\text{Japanese})$. If a student is Japanese (coded 1), the academic integration effect would be calculated as $0.252 - 0.168 * (1) = 0.084$. Although the adjusted effect of academic integration for Japanese was still positive (0.084), the result showed that academic integration was not the same in magnitude for all racial/ethnic groups. The effect of academic integration had a smaller positive magnitude for Japanese students compared with other racial-ethnic groups. In addition, the interaction effect can be seen in a graphical presentation. Consequently, one may consider the interaction effect between academic integration and race/ethnicity for Japanese students.

A graphical presentation of the interaction can be displayed by plotting the regression lines for satisfaction (Y) on academic integration (X) for each ethnic/racial group (Japanese and non-Japanese in this case) defined by the moderator variable on the same graph. Nonparallel lines indicate an interaction effect. Considering the moderating effect of race/ethnicity on the relationship between academic integration and satisfaction for Japanese students, two regression lines were created: one for Japanese and the other for non-Japanese. Holding all the other independent variables in the equation as constant (as if they were 0), a value of 1 for Japanese and 0 for non-Japanese was entered into equation 1. To create a line, some values of academic integration (1, 2, 3, 4, ..., n) were substituted into

equation 1 to create several points for the Japanese and non-Japanese line.¹ As a result, two regression lines were drawn (see figure 2). Figure 2 shows that the effect of academic integration had a smaller positive magnitude (flatter line) for Japanese students, compared with other racial/ethnic groups.

On the other hand, the combined effect of academic integration was more pronounced for the satisfaction of Filipino students. With the same logic, the combined effect of academic integration on Filipino students' educational satisfaction would be $0.252 + 0.103*(\text{Filipino})$. If a student is Filipino (coded 1), the academic integration effect would be calculated as $0.252 + 0.103*(1) = 0.355$. As a result, the adjusted effect of academic integration for Filipinos improved significantly (0.355). Again, the result confirms that academic integration was not the same in magnitude for all ethnic students. The effect of academic integration had a larger, positive magnitude for Filipino students compared with other racial/ethnic groups. Figure 3 shows a graphical presentation of the moderating effect of being Filipino on the relationship between academic integration and satisfaction. Two regression lines were created: one for Filipino and the other for non-Filipino. A value of 1 for Filipino and 0 for non-Filipino was entered into equation 1, while holding all the other independent variables in the equation as constant. Figure 3 shows that the effect of academic integration was larger in magnitude (steeper line) for Filipino students compared with other racial/ethnic groups.

The regression lines for Japanese and Filipino students were drawn together on one graph to demonstrate the magnitude of academic integration on educational satisfaction for both ethnic groups (see figure 4). Figure 4 illustrates academic integration had a more positive and stronger influence on educational satisfaction for Filipino than for Japanese students.

Figure 2. Moderating Effect of Being Japanese on the Relationship between Academic Integration and Educational Satisfaction

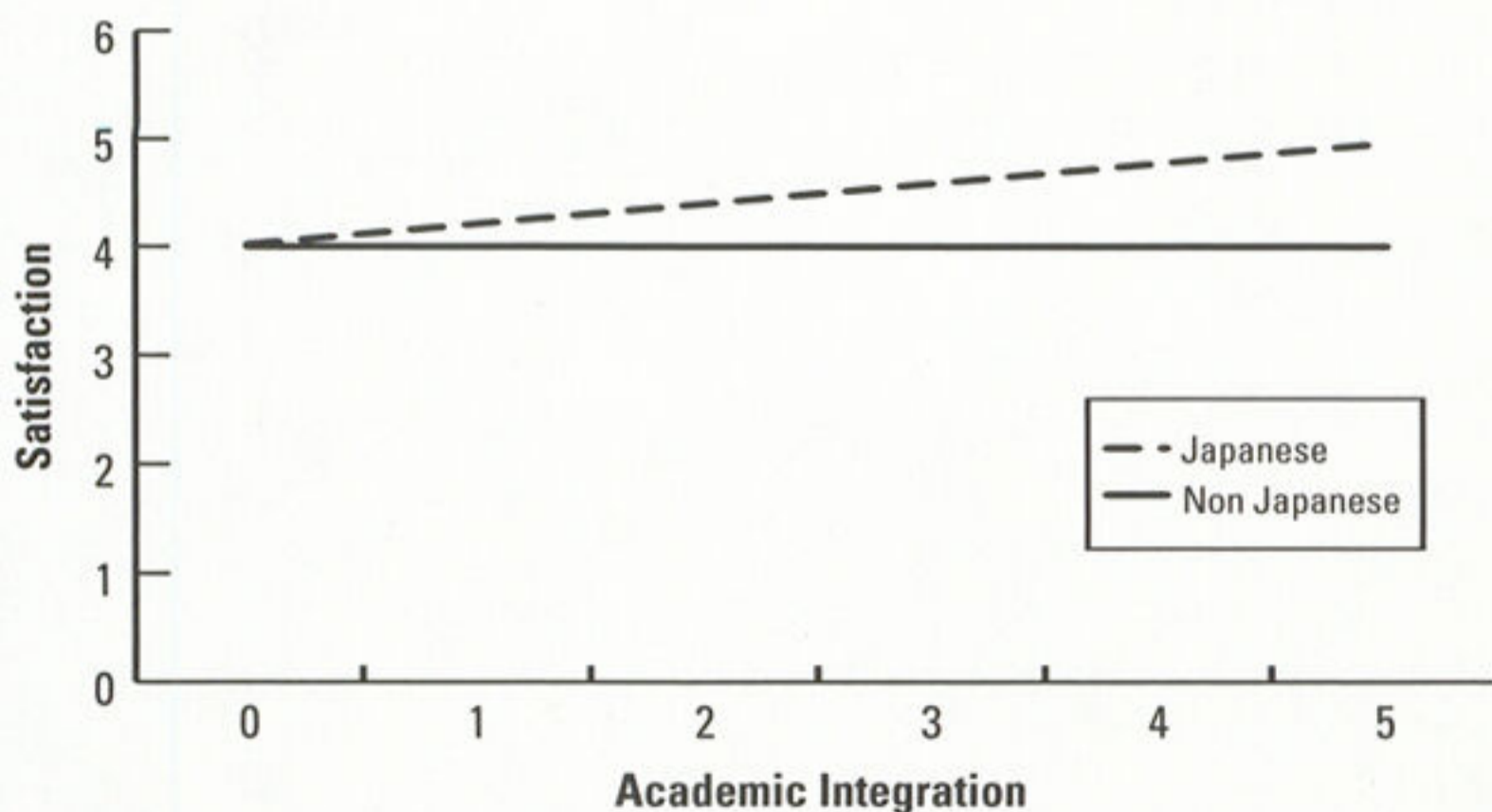


Figure 3. Moderating Effect of Being Filipino on the Relationship between Academic Integration and Educational Satisfaction

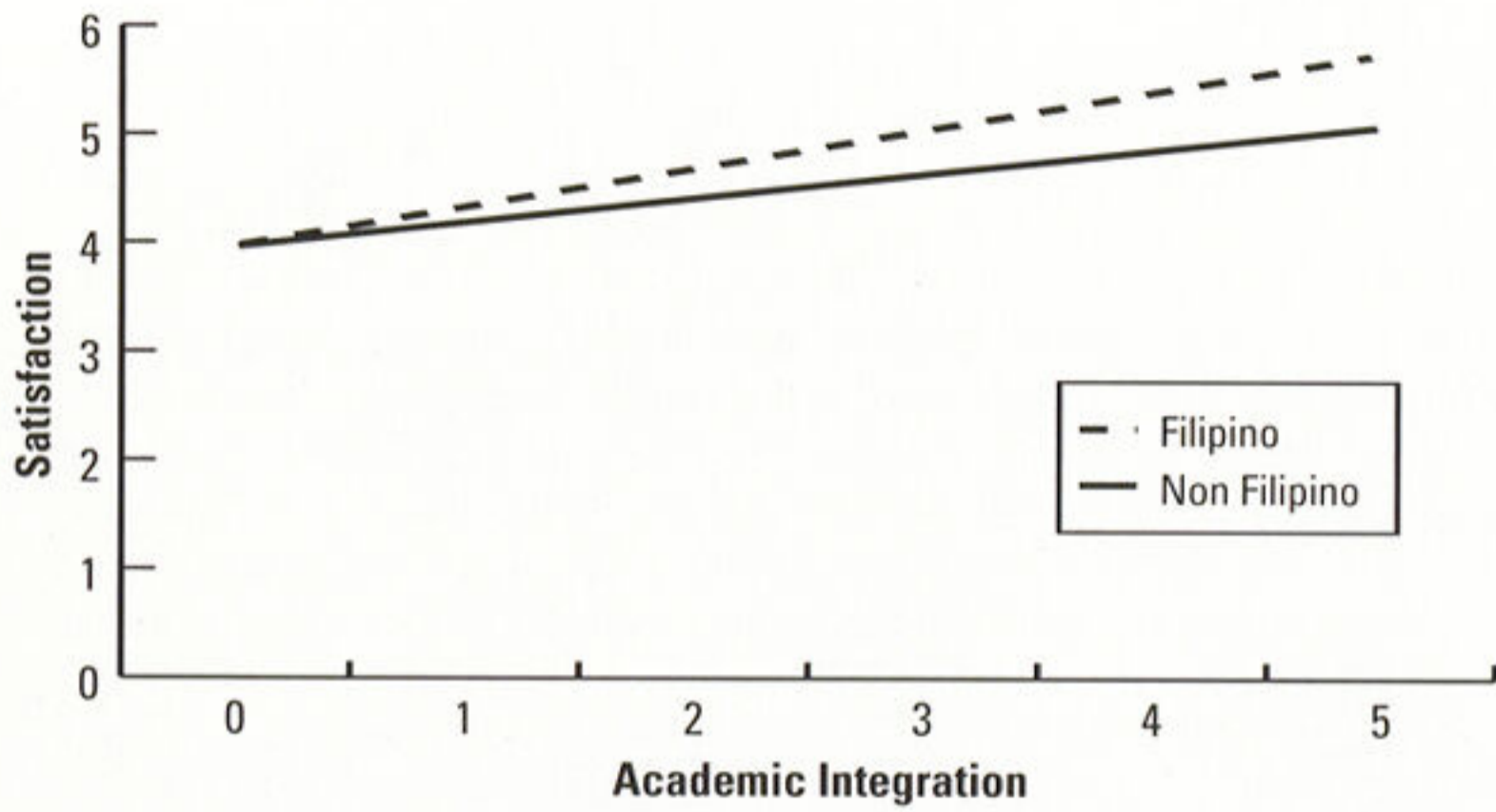
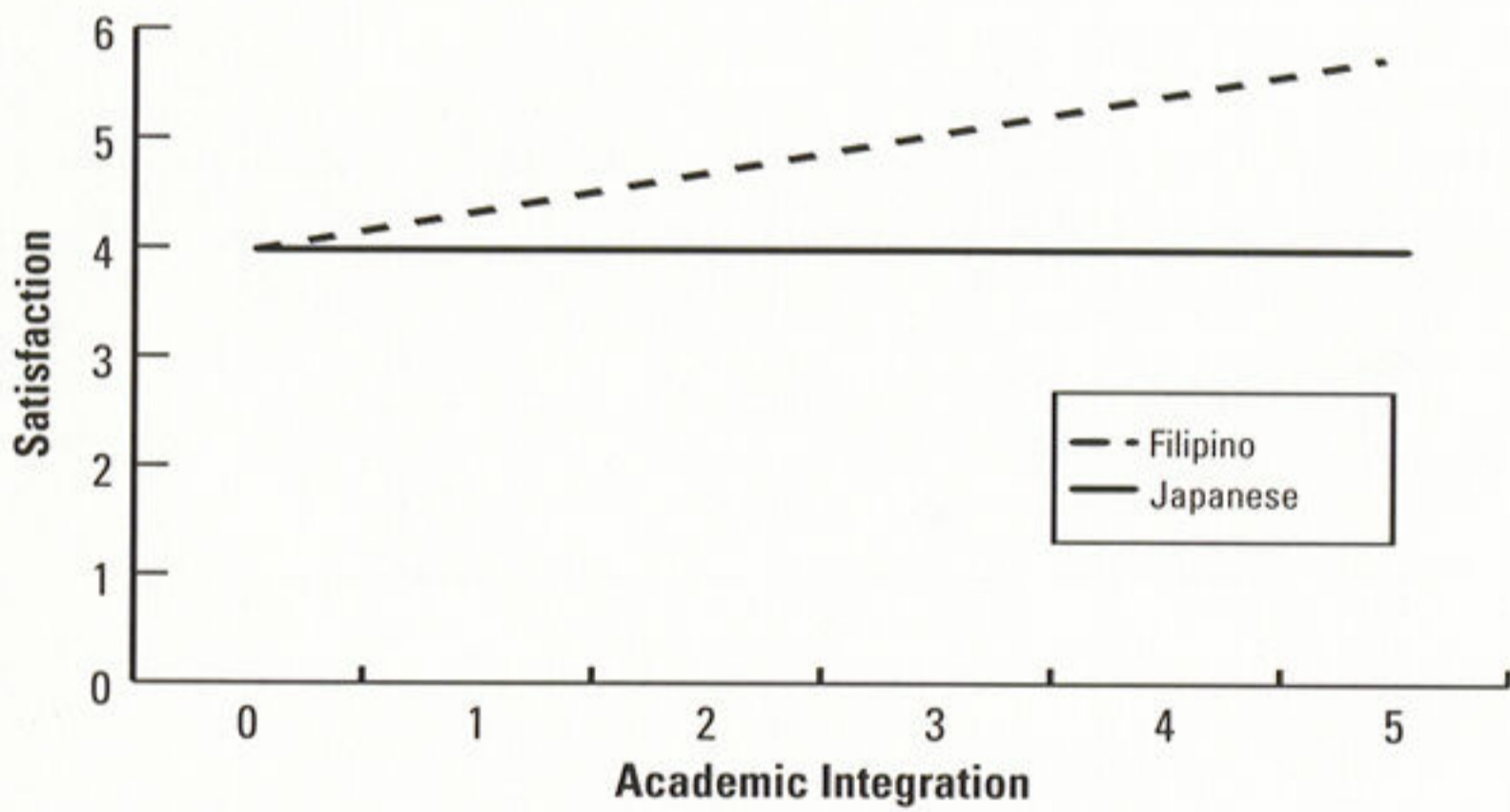


Figure 4. Moderating Effect of Being Japanese and Being Filipino on the Relationship between Academic Integration and Educational Satisfaction



In addition, there were five other significant interactions in model 5. Being Japanese also affected the relationship between sense of belonging and satisfaction. The coefficient of the interaction term Japanese x sense of belonging was significant and positive ($B = 0.103, p < 0.01$). However, the net effect of sense of belonging for the educational satisfaction for Japanese students must take the interaction effect into account. Similar to the previous procedures, the combined effect of sense of belonging on Japanese students' satisfaction would be $0.211 - 0.103*(\text{Japanese})$. If a student is Japanese (coded 1), the sense of belonging effect would be calculated as $0.211 - .103*(1) = 0.108$. Therefore, the combined effect of sense of belonging for Japanese decreased dramatically (0.108). It can be concluded that the effect of sense of belonging had a smaller, positive magnitude for Japanese students, compared with other racial/ethnic groups.

Another significant interaction term was Chinese x parental education (graduate degree) ($B = -0.407, p < 0.05$). The interpretation is being Chinese moderated the relationship between parental education (graduate degree) and educational satisfaction. The net effect of parental education (graduate degree) on educational satisfaction for Chinese students would be $0.111 - 0.407*(\text{parental education} = \text{graduate degree})$. If a student was from this educational background (coded 1), the effect of parental education (graduate degree) would be calculated as $0.111 - 0.407*(1) = -0.296$. Surprisingly, the combined effect of parental education (graduate degree) for Chinese students now changed the magnitude as well as the direction (-0.296 versus 0.111). This finding strongly supports the hypothesis that not only does the magnitude of a specific effect vary according to ethnicity, but also its direction diverges for different ethnic groups.

The interaction between Filipino and household income (\$30,00–\$49,999 – the medium income group) was significant and negative ($B = -0.245, p < 0.05$). The interpretation is that being Filipino moderated the relationship between household income and educational satisfaction. The net effect of household income (the medium income group) on the educational satisfaction for Filipino students would be $0.105 - 0.245*(\text{Filipino})$. If a student was from this socioeconomic status (SES) background (coded 1), the effect of household income (the medium income group) was much less than the main effect. It can be calculated as $0.105 - 0.245*(1) = -0.140$. Its coefficient suggested that the combined effect of household income (the medium income group) decreased the educational satisfaction of Filipinos in comparison to other racial/ethnic groups.

The relationship between academic interaction and satisfaction also changed when the moderator variable was household income (\$10,000–\$29,999 – the second-lowest income group). The net effect of academic integration on the satisfaction for students from this SES background would be $0.252 + 0.109*(\text{second income group})$. For students from this SES background (coded 1), the effect of academic integration increased significantly. It can be calculated as $0.252 + 0.109*(1) = 0.361$. This adjusted effect suggested that the net effect of academic integration on the satisfaction of students was much larger for students from families with household incomes of \$10,000–\$29,999 compared with students from other income groups.

Finally, one conditional effect (Hawaiian x household income) provided in-depth explanation of social divisions that would have been omitted if one considers only the main effects. Although being Hawaiian and household income (\$10,000–\$29,999 – the second-lowest income group) had no main effects in model 5, they interacted with each other (Hawaiian x household income), and this interaction was significantly associated with educational satisfaction. The interaction between household income and race/ethnicity was negatively associated with the educational satisfaction of Hawaiian. More specifically, the coefficient for Hawaiian x household income (\$10,000–\$29,999) ($B = -0.305, p < 0.05$) implied that the moderating effect of being Hawaiian negatively influenced the relationship between household income and satisfaction. Table 5 shows a summary of the seven significant interactions included in model 5.

TABLE 5. Summary of Interaction Effects

Significant Interactions	Net Effect on Satisfaction
Japanese (–)(n.s.) x academic integration (+) (s)	Positive but smaller magnitude for Japanese
Filipino (+)(n.s.) x academic integration (+)(s)	Positive and larger magnitude for Filipino
Japanese (–)(n.s.) x sense of belonging (+)(s)	Positive but smaller magnitude for Japanese
Income (\$10,000–\$29,999) (+)(n.s.) x academic integration (+)(s)	Positive and larger magnitude for income (\$10,000–\$29,999) group
Chinese (+)(n.s.) x parental education (graduate degree) (+)(s)	Negative and smaller magnitude for Chinese
Filipino (+)(n.s.) x income (\$30,000–\$49,999) (+)(s)	Negative and smaller magnitude for Filipino
Hawaiian (+)(n.s.) x income (\$10,000–\$29,999)(–)(n.s.)	Negative and smaller magnitude for Hawaiian

Conclusion

Two major conclusions can be drawn from this study. First, academic integration, opportunity structures, and sense of belonging were positively and significantly associated with the educational satisfaction of the community college students in this study. This finding was expected and suggests, despite attendance at a minority-serving institution, these processes are pivotal determinants for explaining the quality of students' educational experience. Second, the most important conclusion of this study, race/ethnicity has no direct influence on students' experiences but is more dynamic than originally thought when race/ethnicity interacts with college processes. In accounting for educational satisfaction, these conditional effects also provided much more detailed and interesting analyses of college experiences.

An interesting finding is that academic integration and sense of belonging had a smaller positive magnitude for Japanese students in comparison to other racial/ethnic groups. Based on income, occupation, and educational attainment, Japanese students in Hawaii are usually from the upper social categories (Okamura 1990). Japanese students may have higher expectations regarding the quality of education and tend to be more critical of college experiences. If their expectations do not materialize, their perception of academic integration may be lessened.

Also, the target institution has a relatively high number of Filipino students, and this may help Filipino students adapt to college life. The higher number of Filipino students may induce Filipino students to have high aspirations and high self-esteem, be committed to the institution, and subsequently value academic integration more highly in accordance with similar suggestions by Kanter (1977).

The satisfaction of Chinese students from high educational backgrounds was significantly lower than those from lower educational backgrounds. This finding strongly supports the hypothesis that not only does the magnitude of a specific effect vary according to ethnicity, but also its direction diverges for different ethnic groups. The low satisfaction of Chinese students who had parents with high educational backgrounds can possibly be explained by a common perception that community colleges are less academically rigorous. Agbayani (1994) found that parental education is a common indicator of where certain groups of students may go to college. *It could be that Chinese students with highly educated parents are expected to attend a four-year institution, like their parents. Those who attend a community college, therefore, may find themselves less appreciative of the community college experience.*

Both household income and parental education play a large role in the level of cultural capital available to students (Gandara 2002). Hawaiian students, especially from low-income and low-parental-education backgrounds, may be less satisfied with their educational experience as they try to navigate a system of which they know little.

In summary, enrollment of racial/ethnic minority students at community colleges is projected to increase. Thus, there remains much research to be conducted in the area of minority student satisfaction, particularly at community colleges. Based on racial/ethnic minority students' community college experiences, this study contributes to the existing literature by studying the complexity of race/ethnicity with

regard to the interactions between social divisions and within-college processes. The findings reveal that these interactions do exist, despite being overlooked by previous studies and considering the main effects alone would not lead to these findings. The interaction effects provide a different view of data analysis. Additionally, this new view illustrates the importance of heterogeneous academic experiences across racial/ethnic groups (Thomas and Galambos 2004).

Endnotes

¹ **Satisfaction (with interactions)** = 3.852 + 0.064Filipino + 0.111Hawaiian – 0.035Japanese + 0.085Chinese – .042other + 0.213household income (<\$10,000) + 0.078household income (\$10,000–\$29,999) + 0.105household income (\$30,000–\$49,999) + 0.071household income (\$50,000–\$69,999) + 0.017parental education (associate degree) + 0.074parental education (bachelor's degree) + 0.111parental education (graduate degree) + 0.252academic integration + 0.181opportunity structures + 0.211belonging – 0.168JapanesexAcademic integration – 0.103JapanesexBelonging + 0.103FilipinoxAcademic integration + 0.109household income (<\$10,000)xAcademic integration – 0.407ChinesexParental education (graduate degree) – 0.305HawaiianxParental education (graduate degree) – 0.245FilipnixHousehold income (\$30,000–\$49,999) (equation 1)

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(Mis)Educating about “Mixed Race”: Discourse on Multiraciality and the Prospects of Higher Education Policy

By Matthew M. Andrews and Jeffrey Chun

Introduction

The mixed-race issue, it would seem, is susceptible to being politically defined in a number of competing and contradictory ways. How will it be read in the immediate future?

In the above statement, scholar Michael Omi (2001, xii) warns of the possible co-optation of issues pertaining to mixed-race individuals¹ by those interested in advancing their particular political agendas. Ironically, not long after Michael Omi expressed these concerns, Ward Connerly, University of California (UC) regent and famed conservative political activist, would use the “mixed-race issue” to advance his own agenda. If one may recall, Connerly is best known for his anti-affirmative action policies, such as California’s Proposition 209 and Michigan’s recently passed Proposition 2. However, in the fall of 2004, Connerly directed his attention toward California’s growing mixed-race population and proposed “that UC should collect data from potential students using a ‘multi-racial’ or ‘multi-ethnic’ check box and that the President should request that the OMB (Office of Management and Budget) revise its guidelines to permit this” (Regents of UC 2004, 11). Although Connerly, mixed race himself, purported to be speaking on behalf of mixed-race and multiracial-identified individuals,² when one takes into account his political record, one cannot help but question his intentions.

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For Asian America's mixed-race members, such a critical outlook is especially important, given their growing numbers within both the Asian American and mixed-race populations. According to the 2000 census, of the 11.9 million individuals who identified as being of Asian heritage, 13.9 percent, or 1.7 million, identified with at least one other race. In addition, 24.3 percent of all individuals who identified with more than one race marked "Asian" as one of them (Jones and Smith 2001). Recent studies have shown that these numbers will only increase in coming years (Lee and Bean 2004). In fact, some scholars have projected that as high as 36 percent of the Asian American population will be of mixed racial heritage by 2050 (Smith and Edmonston 1997). Through analyzing issues surrounding the 2004 "Multiracial" category initiative, we call for a reassessment of popular understandings of multiraciality in an increasingly multiracial America. Recognizing that one of the most enduring characteristics of American higher education has been its commitment to "benefit society at large, both by advancing knowledge and by educating students who will, in turn, serve others," we propose how changes in higher education policy can serve as vital first steps in this process (Duderstadt and Womack 2003, 45).

Connerly's Racial Project

Michael Omi and Howard Winant's (1994) concept of a "racial project" provides a critical lens through which to frame Connerly's political record and his "multiracial" category initiative. According to Omi and Winant, understanding the dynamics of a racial project is to understand its linkage of structure with representation, for a racial project "is simultaneously an interpretation, representation, or explanation of racial dynamics, and an effort to reorganize and redistribute resources along particular racial lines" (56). Connerly's initiative for a multiracial category reveals his own "interpretation, representation, or explanation of racial dynamics." That is, we argue that multiraciality has joined anti-affirmative action policies as the vehicle by which Connerly relentlessly pursues his political campaign for colorblindness.

In a 15 November 2004 news article by Elysha Tenenbaum for *The Daily Californian*, Connerly asserted that "there are a significant number of people in California who consider themselves 'multiracial' . . . That is their identity, and it is not sufficient for them to check several boxes and then leave it to the discretion of the University of California to decide how those several boxes are going to be collapsed into one for reporting purposes." However, if one may recall, this argument is not new, for the 2000 census marked the first time individuals could check more than one box when specifying their race (Espiritu and Omi 2000). Connerly embraced this growing understanding of the social construction of race, for he explained to Michelle Locke of the *North County Times* in a 17 November 2004 article, "You either fit into this food group or you fit into that food group and you don't allow anything in between . . . We're redefining people so that they fit the system that we have, rather than having a system that fits who they are." However, Connerly simplistically depicts the racial classification system as malleable and one that can be changed without structural ramifications. Hence, he illustrates

race's social construction but denies its social reality, and it is in his attempt to codify this colorblind denial of race's social reality that Connerly reveals his initiative's drastic effects on "reorganiz[ing] and redistribut[ing] resources along particular racial lines" (Omi and Winant 1994, 56).

Many critics of multiracial identification, including many within the Asian American community, cite the detrimental effects of ignoring the structural consequences of such a measure in the distribution of resources to communities of color. After the gains of the civil rights era, racial categories were used to track instances of racism that persisted institutionally. Critics warn of the curtailment of such gains and the necessity for such measures in addressing the problems that face people of color today. In reference to the advocacy for a "multiracial" category in the 2000 census but mirroring the criticism of multiracial identification more generally, the National Asian Pacific American Legal Consortium³ shared the sentiments of many other race-based organizations nationwide, as the organization argued that

the issue of whether to add multiracial to the existing racial categories is more than a personal issue. The data is being collected for use as a basis for important research, policy development, and resource allocation. The data is also extremely important to monitor and fight discrimination, both institutional and otherwise. (Espiritu and Omi 2000, 81–82)

Hence, opposition to the multiracial category is well founded in its placement of racial classification within a civil rights framework. However, in the milieu of criticisms of movements for multiracial identification and political opportunists' relentless efforts to use the rhetoric of multiraciality for their colorblind racial projects, the voices of multiracial-identified individuals and their advocates are left unheard and the complexity of their arguments overlooked.

Mixed-Race Activism against the Multiracial Category Initiative

Many mixed-race individuals, even those multiracial-identified, disagreed with the implementation of a multiracial category on UC applications. This was especially shown through the activism on behalf of mixed-race advocacy groups and multiracial-identified student organizations that rallied against the initiative at the UC Regents meeting in Los Angeles in November 2004. On 29 September 2004, three of the largest member-based mixed-race organizations, the Association of Multiethnic Americans (AMEA), the Hapa Issues Forum (HIF), and the MAVIN Foundation, submitted a letter to the UC Regents in opposition to the proposed multiracial category. Criticizing the category's inability to accurately represent all the heritages of multiracial-identified individuals, the organizations argued that the multiracial category would limit "their choice to a generic multiracial/multiethnic category [that] ignores this diversity and severely limits the ability of UC to gain a clear and detailed picture of its student population." Actually referring to the "check all that apply" format of the 2000 census, the three organizations stated that they would rather "support a mark one or more format that will allow multiracial students to fully embrace all aspects of their diverse backgrounds and provide UC with a much more accurate portrait of student diversity" (Yuen 2004).

Jungmiwha Bullock, current president of AMEA, represented the organization along with representatives of HIF and MAVIN before the UC Regents in opposition to the initiative. In a personal interview with Matthew M. Andrews on 1 May 2006, Bullock recounted that letters on behalf of many different mixed-race campus organizations and mixed-race individuals were presented to the regents, expressing their criticism of the generic multiracial category that she termed as “just another way of saying ‘other.’” Many mixed-race student organizations, largely from Southern California college campuses such as UCLA, USC, and the Claremont Colleges, came in protest as well. Bullock explained that the initiative faced stern opposition from a vast majority of those at the meeting. In fact, she mentioned that it was the mixed-race advocacy groups that had primacy in the proceedings. However, this primacy afforded to mixed-race advocacy groups was not paralleled in the media, in which such mixed-race advocacy groups and student organizations were mentioned sparingly or simply not at all.

The Role of the Media

Marginalization of mixed-race voices in the media has largely contributed to the seemingly popular equation of multiracial identity and the politically conservative push for colorblindness. Former president of UC Berkeley’s Mixed Student Union and organizer against the multiracial category initiative Ai-Ling Jamila Malone agreed. In a 30 April 2006 personal interview with the authors, Malone expressed her concern over the conflation of mixed-race activism with Connerly’s colorblind project. She explained:

I believe that most people assume that Connerly is representative of how multiracial people feel. While there are definitely people who agree with Connerly, I feel that mainstream society has allowed them to dictate or be reflective of the majority of multiracials. People need to recognize the diversity in the multiracial community. That includes diversity of opinion.

However, this diversity of opinion is less often shown in the media. In fact, most often, the voices of mixed-race individuals, especially those multiracial-identified, are not heard at all. For example, in a 15 November 2004 *San Francisco Chronicle* article by Tanya Schevitz about the multiracial category initiative, the staff writer only interviewed a representative of the pro-affirmative action group By Any Means Necessary, citing the possible ramifications of the category on tracking underrepresented student enrollment. The article ended describing the activism of affirmative action supporters and their plans to protest at the UC Regents meeting. Even though the mixed-race advocacy groups and student organizations agreed with the issues that these particular affirmative action supporters addressed, mixed-race mobilization was not mentioned once in the article. Hence, the silencing of these voices in the media has detrimental effects especially on the perception of multiracial-identified individuals, for without reminders of mixed-race opposition to the colorblind racial project at the root of the “multiracial” category initiative, the two are easily conflated.

Policy Recommendations

Efforts to promote racial diversity and awareness through higher education in the areas of campus programming, academic scholarship, and diversity initiatives continue to overlook issues around multiraciality. Our policy recommendations are based on inclusion strategies designed to work in tandem with existing multicultural programs and initiatives that have proven to be successful in combating ignorance regarding communities of color. Through promoting the inclusion of mixed-race-specific issues in campus programming, academic scholarship, and diversity initiatives, we hope to create spaces within existing initiatives while challenging constrictive frameworks in order to bring about a greater awareness and prevent the future co-optation of multiraciality for political agendas.

Campus Programming

Many colleges and universities nationwide require new faculty and graduate student instructors to attend teaching orientations. We recommend that higher education institutions include workshops and offer resources on multiraciality in these orientations as well as incorporate mixed-race perspectives in various campus-wide seminars and programs throughout the school year. These specific campus-wide workshop events should extend beyond the campus community and be open to the public. It is worth adding that these events can also serve as a great opportunity for colleges and universities to build stronger networks with existing mixed-race advocacy organizations and work together to advance higher education's commitment to diversity.

Funding Research

In 1972, the University of Michigan founded the very first teaching center in the nation. The Center for Research on Learning and Teaching (CRLT) has been very active in collaborating with academic administration, faculty, and graduate student instructors to help the university fulfill its self-stated mission of "dedication to the support and advancement of learning and teaching." During the 2003–2004 school year, CRLT funded nine grant competitions, two of which came from the Office of the Provost and the executive vice president for academic affairs. One of the grant competitions of particular relevance is the Faculty Associates for Multicultural Innovations in Teaching, which provides funding, workspace, and CRLT staff expertise for faculty to "create multicultural curricula and pedagogical innovations that directly impact undergraduate courses and faculty approaches to teaching a diverse undergraduate student body" (CRLT 2005, 40). Using CRLT's grant competitions at the University of Michigan as an existing example, we recommend the creation and expansion of university grants encouraging the development of research and teaching of mixed-race awareness in the classroom.

Diversity Initiatives

More encompassing measures have been taken by universities to approach pertinent social issues through both academic scholarship and campus programming. One example of such a measure is UC Berkeley's Berkeley Diversity Research Initiative (BDRI). Charles Burrell of the *San Francisco Chronicle* reported on 8 April 2005 that, in response to the "diversity crisis" plaguing the nation's most highly ranked public university, the UC Berkeley chancellor, Robert Birgeneau, introduced the BDRI. Under this initiative, the university will hire up to ten new full-time employees to collaborate with existing faculty across various disciplines on "meritorious research topics related to diversity, inclusion, and intercultural competence" and "eventually, instructional programs," as Cathy Cockrell reported in the 19 April 2006 *Berkeleyan*. Initiatives such as BDRI provide fertile ground for the university not only to promote research on multiraciality but also to implement new frameworks in the discussion of race through developing instructional programs. Such initiatives are an innovative vehicle by which more mixed-race perspectives can be introduced to various levels of higher education. Hence, we agree with Gibor Basri, member of the BDRI steering committee, as he commented in Cockrell's article, that the BDRI initiative—and, we would argue, similar initiatives—is "proof . . . that if you provide incentive," incorporating diversity issues into the academic enterprise can be "an exciting and viable thing to do."

Conclusion

Conceptualizing how she understands her Black and Korean racial identity, Jungmiwha Bullock explained in the interview that

so-called mixed race has less to do with, for me, reinscribing socially constructed categories of difference that preceded our existence. It has much more to do with an honor, love, and respect for our parentage. When I say Black and Korean, it means mom and dad. No one tells you that you can only be your mom. My mom was not the only one who had me.

Bullock's understanding of her racial identity is just one of many mixed-race perspectives that typical frameworks on race used in research and in classroom curriculum tend to overlook. The emphasis on research in our recommendations is rooted in the understanding that "research informs institutional practice and policies" (Chang 2000, 169). Thus, it is with grounded optimism that advancing scholarship that paves new ground for research on multiraciality and simultaneously reworks the existing frameworks in which race is discussed in the classroom can serve as an effective means to educate the broader community as well as many mixed-race individuals. Although the specific recommendations we offer are all based on existing multicultural programs and initiatives at large elite research institutions, all higher education institutions can actively take part in this. Examining how to improve campus racial dynamics, education scholar Mitchell Chang asserts that each institution "will need to assess their own unique arrangements, situation, and needs to develop the most appropriate combination of tools and techniques"

(171) and our recommendations for the advancement of dialogue and awareness on mixed race should follow the same path.

As mentioned earlier, given that mixed-race Asian Americans are a growing number within the Asian American community and also comprise a sizable proportion of the mixed-race population, there is much at stake for our community in any discourse on multiraciality. As Michael Omi (2000, xii) claims, “multiraciality disrupts our fixed notions about race and opens up a new set of possibilities with respect to dialogue and engagement across, and beyond, the color line.” However, such potential is thwarted by political opportunists who co-opt the rhetoric of multiraciality to advance their own political agendas. We believe that it is through education that we can prevent future misrepresentations of mixed race and, consequently, be more constructive by focusing our attention on “dialogue and engagement across, and beyond, the colorline.”

Endnotes

¹ The term *mixed race* is used here interchangeably with the term multiracial to situate this discussion in an already ongoing conversation about the topic of describing so-called mixed-race peoples.

² The term *multiracial-identified* is used here to designate those mixed-race individuals who choose to identify with more than one of their racial heritages and as a means to emphasize that not all mixed-race individuals necessarily identify multiracially.

³ The National Asian Pacific American Legal Consortium was renamed the Asian American Justice Center.

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Confronting HIV/AIDS in the APA Communities: It's Time to Be Culturally Competent

by Long S. Le

At the end of 2005, less than 1 percent of the estimated number 476,095 persons living with HIV/AIDS in the thirty-three states with confidential name-based HIV infection reporting since 2001 were Asian Pacific Americans (APAs), according to Centers for Disease Control and Prevention (CDC 2006). Thus, for many Asians and non-Asians, HIV/AIDS in the APA communities is a non-issue: Because it is good news, why question it or evaluate it?

Unfortunately from my experience as a trainer in cultural sensitivity to human service providers, including HIV/AIDS case managers, there are very good reasons why we need to be cognizant—or, more accurately, culturally competent. First, when we primarily focus on the incidence rate, we, in turn, make that measurement the key basis in understanding HIV/AIDS-related issues in the APA communities. Yet even in doing so, there are factors that mask the underreporting of HIV/AIDS incidence. Of significance are cultural taboos and cultural barriers, which are relatively more “inherited” among APAs. These include fostering attitudes that emphasize sexuality only as it relates to the perpetuation of family line and that discourage uninhibited expression of sexuality such as HIV-related interpersonal communication and homosexuality (Chng and Collins 2000), and the deep-rooted concerns about shaming or burdening the family. Thus, one may hide his or her HIV diagnosis (Kitano 2000).

In fact, I hear from HIV/AIDS case managers the tendency among APA clients not to disclose their HIV status to their family and to intentionally use HIV/AIDS services located far from their homes and their ethnic communities. Importantly, these cultural factors may explain why APAs have one of the highest rates of late AIDS-related intervention. A study from the New York City Department of Health found 44 percent of AIDS cases among APAs were patients who were already infected with AIDS by the time they got a diagnosis, relative to 28 percent for

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Blacks, 24 percent for Hispanics, and 21 percent for Whites (HEP 2006). This may also explain why statistics from the City of Houston Health and Human Services show that more than 80 percent of all reported Asians' HIV/AIDS cases were AIDS-infected (S. Huang, unpublished data).

But what I think is the biggest underlying concern regarding HIV/AIDS in the APA community is complacency. That is, perceiving HIV/AIDS as a non-issue could reinforce many APAs to live up to the "model minority" and deny HIV/AIDS as a threat, or further ignore the cultural stigmas that have hindered HIV-prevention efforts thus far. Of course, such a view gives little incentive for government health agencies to fund culturally tailored programs specifically encouraging HIV testing among APAs, whose testing rates are relatively low even among at-risk populations, as well as increasing the limited use of HIV case management services among APAs (Yoshioka, Chin, and Manzon-Santos 1996). Worthy of note is the need for the CDC to further modify their data collection and surveillance tools to identify HIV trends within and across APA communities. For example, four out of the ten states with the largest APA populations do not report HIV/AIDS prevalence data to the CDC.

Clearly to me, there is little room for complacency, given the estimated number of HIV/AIDS cases among APAs almost doubled from 2001 to 2005—the highest annual percentage change in each of those years, according to the CDC (2006). Furthermore, APAs are often not represented in state and local HIV-prevention planning organizations (Bau 1998), and until this year due to lack of cultural awareness, five of the six U.S.-affiliated Pacific Islander jurisdictions were omitted in the definition of "state" in the Reauthorization of Ryan White Act that resulted in a shutout of funding. In serving APAs there is also little room for cultural ignorance, given the significant diversified growth since 1965. The term APA includes more than forty-nine ethnic groups who speak over one hundred languages and dialects, and each culture has a different view toward sex and HIV/AIDS. In fact, differences within one of the APA ethnic subgroup can be greater than differences between different APA ethnic subgroups.

By some accounts, for example, Thai immigrants are more receptive to HIV/AIDS outreach efforts because Thailand has had a high rate of infection that has led to some public discourse in that country, while the Chinese and the Vietnamese governments until recently refused to acknowledge HIV/AIDS as a domestic issue. Yet these governments still ignore particular groups, such as male sex workers, as populations at risk, which in turn has led male sex workers to mistakenly believe that their risk for HIV is low and whose industry has grown due to the increase of overseas male clients (Colby 2003).

Religion is also a factor. Catholic Filipino and Vietnamese immigrants more often shy away from sexual education because of church teachings on birth control and abortion. Among some Southeast Asian subgroups, the construction of Buddhist karma may not provide incentive to modify potentially HIV-risky behavior. In particular, Southeast Asian women who engage in prostitution-related activities may continue to do so in order to contribute to the family and/or to the Buddhist temples so as to gain merit and to reduce her suffering in this lifetime or the next (Loue et al. 1999). Moreover, self-esteem (i.e., not meeting the American

standard of beauty) has been observed to increase risky behaviors among gay APA men (even though they understand the risk), who may not practice safe sex if their partners meet that standard of beauty.

To me, the above ultimately suggests that in order to produce better outcomes in HIV prevention and to increase the quality of HIV-related services within and across APAs requires cultural competence. That there is a need for cultural competency—integrating and transforming the cultural knowledge (including language) of this population into specific practices, attitudes, standards, and policies. Therefore, agency or surveillance staff must be able to identify, learn, and explain new patterns of sexual practices within and across APAs relevant to HIV transmission. We currently know that among all reported Asian cases of HIV/AIDS, more than 80 percent are men and a little more than 10 percent are women (the remaining cases are children, transgendered people, and others not specified). However, when we look at those living with HIV/AIDS at the end of 2005, women make up about 16 percent and account for more than one quarter of all new HIV/AIDS diagnoses, according to the CDC (2006). Men having sex with men accounted for about 70 percent of APAs with AIDS, and heterosexual contact accounted for more than 50 percent among APA women with AIDS.

A trend that may cause the continually increasing number of HIV infections in the APA community is the growing presence of well-organized local brothels that are linked to a national operation using Vietnamese, Chinese, Korean, and Thai women smuggled into the United States. These brothels operate and rotate to the APA communities from city to city and state to state, according to journalistic accounts. According to a study, among Vietnamese men who had visited a female prostitute, 24 percent had visited twice or more in the prior year (Gellert et al. 1995). Interestingly, half of the encounters were outside the United States. Therefore, a related trend is the number of APA men who engage in high-risk sexual practices during return visits to their homelands in which HIV/AIDS infection is on the rise among Asian female and male sex workers. Such a trend suggests that the study of sexual behaviors and awareness of HIV/AIDS infection among APAs should include sexual behaviors and attitudes of Asian female and male sex workers whose clients are primarily overseas APAs. Existing data points to some major concerns. For example, among male sex workers in Vietnam who have sex with men visiting Vietnam, less than one-third believed that homosexuals are at increased risk for HIV (Colby 2003).

Lastly, while the noted sexual conservatism within this ethnic group may help decrease HIV infection, once sexually active, studies have found that behaviors among APAs appear to be similar to their non-Asian counterparts (Cochran, Mays, and Leung 1991). A study by Professor Jenny Yi (1998) on Vietnamese American college students regarding their knowledge and attitudes toward HIV/AIDS does raise concern about potential incidence of HIV/AIDS infection. The study found the group as a whole “fell far short” of the expected knowledge level set by the U.S. Department of Health and Human Services for students and staff. For example, less than 37 percent of the students responded correctly to the statement, “HIV cannot be cured if it is detected and treated early,” and less than 46 percent responded correctly to, “You can get HIV from using a public toilet.” Another key

misconception, ascribed to by 31 percent of respondents, is that “Asians are immune to HIV because it is a western epidemic that does not affect Asians.” Another concern found in the survey was that sexually active students were less knowledgeable than those who were not sexually active, and as a group, they were found to be uncomfortable discussing HIV and safe sex concerns with their sexual partners.

In the end, I think, while studies related to future incidence of HIV/AIDS among APAs are new and published in specialist journals, there should be a more systemic effort by the APA communities to competently integrate existing prevention knowledge within the communities’ routine public health care activities, youth programs, and community politics agendas. Today, HIV-prevention materials are more available in the major APA languages along with some education methodologies developed for APA communities, and all should be integrated in the communities’ overall health-quality strategy. Then, at the very least, HIV/AIDS education will reach those individuals who have little knowledge in this area, which will make disclosure, stigmas, intervention, and prevention of HIV/AIDS among APAs less problematic. This would also make the work of APA health-based centers less challenging, particularly those who want to address HIV/AIDS issues and raise awareness in their communities.

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