

**THE SUM OF MYSELF:  
ADDITIVE IDENTITIES IN UNIVERSITY STUDENTS**

**By  
Lindsay Schroeder**

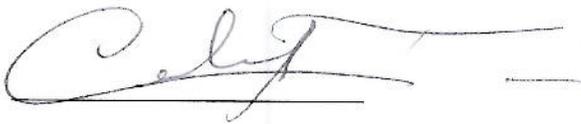
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**Approved by:**

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read 'Celestino', with a long horizontal flourish extending to the right.

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### Abstract

With the increasing presence of minority students on U.S. campuses, providing adequate resources for their academic success as well as comfort on campus is an important contribution to their retention. Although the needs of racial/ethnic minority students (and more recently LGBTQ students) are often being considered, students who identify with two or more marginalized populations seem to be overlooked. The purpose of this study was to examine the campus experiences and identity hierarchies of students at the University of Arizona who identify as Asian American, African American, Native American, or Chicano/Hispanic as well as lesbian or gay. Recruitment only elicited three participants, but all discussed their tendency to choose either their ethnic identity or their sexual orientation as a guideline for campus involvement, friendships, and expression. The racial groups were picked based on the University's format of individual cultural centers at the beginning of the study. However, effective July 1, 2009, the University will be creating a Community Center that encompasses the aforementioned centers as well as others, including LGBTQ. University budget cuts have caused the elimination and transformation of many campus programs, which could relay a seemingly negative message regarding its concern for students. Conversely, based on the participant's interviews, the Community Center could be a significant step in creating a more inclusive environment for students with multiple minority identities.

## Introduction

### *Problem statement*

According to the U.S. Department of Education, approximately 25% of student enrollment at 4-year institutions consists of minority students (DE, 2005); “minority” is defined as Latino (Hispanic), African American (Black), American Indian (Native American) and Asian American. Furthermore, based on information from the National Center for Education Statistics (2007), the total percentage of all minority groups matriculating into degree granting institutions continues to increase each year. With the growing number of minority students present on campuses, it is important that postsecondary institutions better understand students from diverse ethnicities and cultures so that they are able to provide effective resources to serve these students’ heterogeneous needs.

More specifically, the University of Arizona reports, as of Fall 2008, that minority student enrollment has been gradually increasing with the University’s total student enrollment since Fall 1983 (University of Arizona [UA], 2008). With almost 30% of the student population self-identified as African American, Asian American, Hispanic, or Native American, the University of Arizona’s minority student population is above the national average of 25% (DE, 2005). However, with a total student enrollment of almost 40,000 students (approximately 10,500 of which are self-identified racial/ethnic minorities), the University population still appears to be overwhelmingly Caucasian, despite Arizona’s population of less than 60% White and almost 30% Hispanic, which is double the nation’s Hispanic percentage (United States Census Bureau, 2009).

Extending beyond race and ethnicity, students who identify as lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgendered, or questioning may also be considered a minority, given their position in the social-cultural/political structure. While University of Arizona statistics on these students are

minimal compared to student information regarding race and ethnicity, the Dean of Students Office touched on this topic during its 2006 Campus Climate Survey (UA, 2006). Of the 10.1% return rate, 4% of students described themselves as bisexual, 1% as gay, and 1% as lesbian. Although the University has provided information pertaining to the race/ethnicity and sexual orientation of its students, respectively, the intersection of these characteristics in University of Arizona students has yet to be investigated. Currently, there is no information regarding the number of students who identify as racial or ethnic minorities in addition to identifying as gay or lesbian.

### *Purpose*

The purpose of this study is to investigate the conflicts University of Arizona students from multiple minority populations (ethnic/racial and sexual orientation) may face while attending a predominantly White, heterosexual campus. While some college campuses have created single multicultural centers intended to serve all minority students on campus, the University of Arizona has elected to uphold individual centers.<sup>1</sup> The African American Student Affairs (AASA), Asian Pacific American Student Affairs (APASA), Native American Student Affairs (NASA), and Chicano Hispano Student Affairs (CHSA) are all units relevant to this study, but they are only a selection of the student affairs centers on campus. During the 2007-2008 academic year, the University of Arizona made an addition to their campus cultural centers by creating a center for the lesbian, bisexual, gay, transgendered, and question (LBGTQ) student community. Although the establishment of these centers may provide assistance to students with backgrounds in the aforementioned ethnic and cultural categories, students who identify with more than one of these cultures may be conflicted or feel excluded.

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<sup>1</sup>Due to immense budget cuts imposed on the University, most of the separate cultural centers will be merged and redesigned to create a multicultural community center effective July 1, 2009. This change did not have any effect on my study as it was conducted prior to the announcement of this campus transformation.

Through one-on-one semi-structured interviews, I will examine identity hierarchies students may form on a predominately heterosexual European-American (White/Anglo) populated campus when they identify as an ethnic minority in addition to identifying as gay or lesbian. Additionally, I will look at their reasons for using or avoiding any of the aforementioned student affairs centers. I believe that a student's involvement in culturally focused organizations, such as the student affairs centers previously mentioned or a club such as PRIDE Alliance, will foster their personal comfort in identifying with marginalized populations. Furthermore, their awareness of the ethnicities and sexual orientations of the majority of students on campus may encourage them to seek familiarity through these clubs and centers.

### Literature Review

#### *Identities and Legitimacy*

The formation of minority identities often results from the societal rules of stratification among individuals and groups whose characteristics differ from the dominant norm of White and heterosexual. While there are different ways to generalize these identities such as through roles or group membership, Stets and Burke (2000) propose that to understand self identity, social identity theory and identity theory must be examined as related concepts rather than separate. These ideas explain a person's ability to evaluate him or herself resulting in self placement within a social group or role, respectively. However, to provide a clearer picture of identity, Stets and Burke propose that both theories reinforce the structure of society by positing each person's willingness to abide by the expectations and rules set by the social group or social role with which that person identifies.

Another way in which Stets and Burke (2000) offer relativity of the two theories is through their concepts of identity salience. Identity salience is the activation of (social identity

theory) or likelihood of activation of (identity theory) an individual's identity. In this study, possible identities that participants may name include gender, sexual orientation, and race or ethnicity. Despite the differences between the two theories' ideas of salience, they "...agree that an identity has no effect without activation" (Stets & Burke, 2000, p. 231).

Predicting the activation of an identity and its corresponding behavior may be possible when one is aware of the hierarchy of one's identities (Stryker, 1968). Identities may be ranked in their order of most salient to less salient. For example, in this study, participants may have salient identities such as a racial or ethnic identity; gender identity; and gay or lesbian identity. However, the degree of salience each participant attributes to these identities may determine their behavior in situations during which more than one of their identities becomes relevant. In a classroom discussion about television shows that feature openly gay characters, a gay, Native American student could encounter an internal conflict. As a gay citizen, the student may feel strong positive feelings about the inclusion and acceptance of these pop culture characters, but the student may also experience negative feelings since most popular gay characters are Caucasian. According to Stryker, the student's more salient identity would predict the student's reaction to the discussion.

A third theory germane to the identity theories is legitimacy theory. Legitimacy theory posits that some behaviors or identities are more socially accepted than others. Individuals typically assess situations they find themselves in to determine which identity is most legitimate, that is, has the best likelihood of being accepted (Walker et al, 1996). In the case of students with multiple identities, for example students who identify as sexual minorities in addition to ethnic minorities, legitimacy theory would predict that these students would be more likely to activate their ethnic identity on campus due to the greater support and acceptance that this category,

ethnicity, receives on campus. Much of this support is evident through the consistent, longer-term funding for the various student affairs centers that cater to the different racial and ethnic groups versus the recent center that supports LGBTQ students.

### *Student Minorities*

Proposing that society is more receptive to ethnic minorities than to the members of the LGBTQ community is supported by the results found in a study performed by Holley et al. (2008). In this study, Holley et al. examined the attitudes of university undergraduates toward lesbian, gay, and bisexual (LGB) students along with African American, Asian American, First Nation, Latina/o, and White students. They found that students were more likely to feel discomfort around LGB students than any of the racial or ethnic groups. The sample used for their study was drawn from a large public university in the Southwestern United States. Furthermore, the majority of Holley et al.'s sample identified as White (almost 75%) and an even larger majority of the sample identified as heterosexual (91%). The similar location (Southwest) and White majority undergraduate population of the University of Arizona campus (UA, 2008) may indicate similar attitudes toward marginalized students at this campus as were found in Holley et al.'s study.

Although strong negative attitudes toward minority students may not be explicit, this does not mean that hostility does not exist or that it is not perceived, especially by minority groups. Research has found that students of ethnic minorities as well as those who identify as LGBT may report an unfriendly or less accepting campus environment even if White heterosexual students do not have the same perception (Ancis, Sedlacek, & Mohr, 2000; Waldo, 1998; Hurtado, 1992). The results from Waldo's (1998) survey study of one large public university's general campus climate (GCC) and LGB campus climate (LGBCC) revealed that

members of the Greek System, White undergraduates, self-identified Christians, and international graduate students had the most negative attitudes toward LGB students. However, Waldo did not examine the ethnic differences within the LGB sample because of the already small sample size.

Hurtado's (1992) study of campus racial climates examined data from 1985-1989 based on the accounts of Black, White, and Chicano students. While her report uses data from over 20 years ago and excludes Native American and Asian American students, it is still important to note some of her findings. Hurtado found that Black and Chicano students were more likely to perceive a low priority of improving diversity relations within their four-year institutions. Moreover, Black students perceived higher levels of racial tension than the other two racial groups and Chicano students had the lowest perception "that their institution had student-centered priorities" (p. 554). A possible reason for these perceptions may be feelings of isolation and exclusion on campus due to their marginalized group statuses.

### *Multiple Marginalization*

Though Waldo (1998) did not report differences in his results, he acknowledged that there were a small number of students who identified as lesbian, gay, or bisexual, in addition to identifying with a minority ethnic group. Students who identify themselves, and are identified by others, as having more than one socially subordinate characteristic may face several different forms of discrimination rather than just one. While a White woman may encounter sexism or a White gay male may encounter homophobia, students who are categorized by two or more minority characteristics may be met by double (Beale, 1972, as cited in King, D., 1988, p. 46) or multiple jeopardy (King, 1988), respectively.

King explains her multiple jeopardy model as “interactive” to depict the ways multiple forms of discrimination often occur simultaneously. King emphasizes that multiple subordinate traits in an individual should not be thought of as additive and individual, but instead as interrelated. One example she refers to are Black women. King points out the exclusion of Black women during suffrage debates. She states that Black women were excluded from the women’s argument because of the movement’s focus on White women and their exclusion from the arguments for Black citizens to vote because of the focus on Black males. Rather than counting oppressions as individual, King proposes marginalized identities to be accounted for all together.

Contrarily, Ward (2004) proposes that having multiple marginal identities may be treated as “...layered, or additive” (p. 84). She posits that “counting oppressions may remain...an important political strategy” (p. 84). Ward’s study was conducted in a Latino health organization which aims to specifically provide services for the gay and lesbian communities. She describes this organization as run primarily by gay men of color, but also employing lesbians of color. After becoming a trusted member of a Latino health organization, Ward finds sexism to be the most prominent form of oppression faced by Latina lesbians. These results support her theory of an additive approach to multiple subordinate identities within individuals. With most employees and volunteers of this organization identifying as gay or lesbian as well as Latino(a), gender became the most obvious contrast between its members.

### Current Study

While Hurtado (1992) examined racial minority groups and Waldo’s (1998) report focused primarily on his findings of students who identified as lesbian, gay, or bisexual, this study will focus on members of ethnic and racial minority groups who also identify as lesbian or

gay. Interviews will focus on each student's personal identity awareness as well as on how they identify when interacting with other students. Furthermore, I intend to keep both King's (1988) and Ward's (2004) theories regarding multiple subordinate ideas in mind when approaching these students. However, since the majority of student affairs centers and organizations provide resources for singular aspects (i.e. race, gender, sexuality) of a student's identity, I predict that most interviewees will also view their characteristics as additive rather than interactive.

Through these interviews, I expect to find that ethnic identities will be more salient to most students than their sexual orientations due to the external visibility of this characteristic and often times, a more socially acceptable minority feature, as opposed to being a gay male or lesbian. Part of this acceptance may be due to the duration of time each of these social traits has been in the public eye and on this campus. Student ethnic cultural centers on the University of Arizona campus were established as early as 1989 (NASA), whereas the Office of LGBTQ Affairs was not established until 2007 (University Communications, 2008).

## Methods

### *Questionnaire*

The short questionnaire used as a guide during interviews was composed of open-ended questions intended to cover the interviewees' ethnic identity and sexual orientation as well as any other subordinate identity they may have wanted to discuss. Furthermore, the questions were also meant to elicit any experiences they may have faced on campus as a result of these identities. As advised by Bowleg's (2008) article regarding interviews with Black lesbian women, some of the questions were designed to avoid presuming that interviewees considered their identities additive rather than intersectional. Bowleg notes that through her experience, asking an additive question will most likely elicit an additive answer from the participants. For

example, asking students if they have ever felt disadvantaged because of their gender, race, and/or sexual orientation represents an additive approach to questioning. Alternatively, students were asked to identify their sexual orientation and race or ethnicity followed by asking if the participant considered him or herself a minority, but not in a specific category. All participants answered yes, which is when the question, “Have you ever felt disadvantaged?” was presented, without leading participants with reasons as to why, i.e. due to their races, genders, or sexual orientations.

### *Recruitment*

All contact with students about this study was done by correspondence through email, a common means of communication among contemporary college students. The first students contacted for interviews were students who openly identified as lesbian or gay as well as Asian American, African American, Native American, or Chicano/Hispanic. These students were found due to their active membership in organizations such as PRIDE Alliance and a progressive fraternity on campus. Four students were emailed through this initial method, which resulted in two interviews. Subsequent interviewees were found by using the snowball method (asking interviewees for references of other potential participants). However, of the eleven students contacted using the snowball method, only three students responded with interest in participating. Of those three, one did not show up for an interview and another stopped responding to emails seeking a time to meet. Thus, only one interview was completed of these three students.

Additionally, emails were sent to the student presidents of SPRITE and PRIDE Alliance along with the directors of Native American Student Affairs (NASA), African American Student Affairs (AASA), Asian Pacific American Student Affairs (APASA), and Chicano/Hispanic

Student Affairs (CHSA) regarding this study. The student presidents and directors were asked to contact any students who they thought might be interested in participating in an interview for this study. This approach elicited no responses.

### *Interviews and Participants*

Each participant was a student at the University of Arizona and self-identified as lesbian or gay in addition to a racial or ethnic minority group. Two of the participants identified themselves as gay and one participant identified herself as a lesbian. Two of the participants considered themselves to be Asian American while the third participant described himself as Mexican. At the beginning of each interview, the students were given the opportunity to choose their own aliases to be used in presenting the results of this study.

Interviews were held in private locations, such as student offices or private campus conference rooms, on campus and lasted between ten and thirty-five minutes. Upon completion, the interviews were transcribed and reviewed for common themes and opinions held by the students.

### *Limitations*

Due to the extremely small sample of students who participated in interviews, these results may not be applicable to similar populations, that is, one may not be able to generalize them to other populations or institutions. However, while the number of participants is limited, their opinions regarding aspects of the University of Arizona's campus climate are still important. Their feelings of comfort and acceptance on campus are still of importance to the issues of diversity and multiculturalism at this institution.

## Results

### *Choosing One*

Based on the self-descriptions offered by the students, the three participants identified as being either gay or lesbian as well as within a marginalized racial/ethnic population. While all of the students described instances during which their race or their sexual orientation had made them feel like a minority, none of the participants discussed situations in which they felt their identities intersected. Rather, each participant seemed to choose either their race/ethnicity or their sexual orientation as being most salient.

Both male participants were actively involved in campus organizations, such as PRIDE Alliance, that strive to meet the needs of the LGBTQ students at the University of Arizona. Although the students identified with different ethnic or racial groups, neither was involved with organizations that dealt with issues from their racial or ethnic backgrounds. Although both students had heard of the campus cultural centers, such as Chicano/Hispanic Student Affairs (CHSA) and Asian Pacific American Student Affairs (APASA), both of the male students stated their discomfort when visiting these centers. Mike stated, "...at APASA...I just feel awkward 'cause I feel like I don't have as much in common with other people." Similarly, Stephen explained, "I visited the Chicano/Hispanic Student Affairs center once because my brother's a part of it, but.... the first time I went, I didn't really, like, click with the people who were there..."

Alternatively, the third participant, Subject 45, stated that she frequently visited APASA because she felt comfortable. When asked why, she stated, "...just other people like me, they understand, um, and they're not, not everybody's as judging." Although she mentioned she had visited the Office of LGBTQ Affairs, she cited its formal setting as her reason for losing interest. When asked if she would visit the Office of LGBTQ Affairs again if its layout conformed to one

similar to APASA, she said that she would be more willing to visit, but would "...probably still go to APASA more..."

### *Discrimination*

While the participants' campus involvement and friendships seemed to reflect their comfort within certain groups of people, their avoidance of other groups of people is an example of the difficulty of possessing multiple subordinate identities. When expanding on his reasons for choosing to not get involved with CHSA, Stephen stated:

"...mainly, like Hispanics are more prejudice against gay, GLBTQ population and I felt that way with my family how when I came out to them and like, where they are now, like, it's been a really long process for them....but like I don't want to go through that over again, like, if I become part of like, the Chicano/Hispanic Student Affairs, and then all of sudden they know that I'm gay..."

Risking discrimination from one's own family and peers was also a concern for Subject 45, whose parents do not know she identifies as a lesbian: "...I'm going to tell my parents someday. My goal was to do it at the beginning of this year, but...I'm kind of scared, I feel like I'm going to get disowned or something." Additionally, Subject 45 expressed that she maintained a "don't ask, don't tell" policy about her sexual orientation with her friends, most of whom she described as Asian and heterosexual. Although she did not explicitly state her reasons for using this method, they may be similar to those which keep her from telling her family.

### *Public Displays of Expression*

Having conveyed some discomfort in being open about their sexual orientations among their respective ethnic and racial groups, participants also discussed how they felt amongst the rest of the student population. On a campus perceived as predominantly White by all three

participants, and heterosexual by one participant, the students expressed their awareness of how other students perceived them in regards to their sexual orientation. Two of the students mentioned their experiences simply walking in public with their significant others. Displaying a gesture as simple as hand holding, Subject 45 described it feeling as though "...everyone's looking at you, questioning, talking to their friend about it." Stephen explained it in a similar way, "...it's like a different experience, like, people look at you and some people, like, don't care, but like, you still get some stares from other people."

Outside of displaying a same-sex relationship on campus, Mike discussed his tendency to change his behavior when at his campus job:

"I work...with athletes, um, so like, that's always interesting because, um, I mean, sports is a very like, masculine culture...so, like, I'll find myself, like, being really aware of like, the things that I say and um, the way that I talk...when I'm around new people, like, my voice will lower and things like that."

When asked why, Mike reasoned, "...I think a lot of it is just...subconsciously not wanting to be judged and things like that....when I'm around new people, like, I'm very aware of what they think of me."

### Discussion

As predicted, all participants seemed to take an additive approach to their multiple subordinate identities. However, only one of the participants described her race as the most salient identity, over both her gender and sexual orientation. The other two participants did not list their ethnic identities as most salient. Rather, both male participants explicitly stated their discomfort in settings of high concentrations of students who shared their race or ethnicity, such

as the student affairs centers on campus. Furthermore, Stephen described the majority of his friends as “[m]ainly White.”

In addition to the current segregated layout of the University student affairs centers, participants may have felt pressured to focus on only one of their identities because of the possibility of discrimination. Two of the three students feared the reactions from their ethnic communities. This fear accounted for Subject 45’s involvement in Asian American organizations that do not typically discuss issues such as sexual orientation and gender and Stephen’s involvement in LGBTQ organizations that focused less on race and ethnicity. Alternatively, although Mike expressed his uneasiness around students of the same race or ethnicity, he also discussed his displeasure with the gay student population. While most of his campus involvement revolves around being self-identified as gay, he stated that he often felt confined by the “...very narrow definitions of...what it means to be gay.” Though the other participants appeared to find a social group with which they were comfortable surrounding themselves, Mike’s predicament is another avenue for further research. His lack of comfort and conformity to the Asian American and University gay populations, respectively, can likely be compared to that of biracial or multiracial students or others who feel as though they do not fit into one clean socially accepted category.

Despite the dilemmas the participants have faced from their peer groups and families, none of the participants felt disadvantaged on campus in terms of their treatment or access to programs and services. However, the stares perceived by the interviewees and monitoring of self behavior suggests a social disadvantage for these students. Being hyperaware of one’s own actions or modifying familiar habits in the presence of other students to avoid judgment does not convey comfort on campus. According to a Needs Assessment Survey for UA LGBTQ and

Allied Students, Staff, and Faculty conducted by the Office of LGBTQ Affairs in 2008, 47.7% of respondents were interested in a campus program for “Hate/Bias Incident Reporting and Support” (Office of LGBTQ Affairs, 2008). Though the University of Arizona’s Commission on the Status of Women is working to create clearer policies and procedures for hate crimes and bias incidents (Commission on the Status of Women, 2009), the University’s current deficiency in lucid policies may contribute to the social segregation felt by students who identify as lesbian or gay.

### *Difficulty in Finding Participants*

Of the fifteen students individually contacted about this study, only three interviews were completed. Although more than three students expressed interest, contact was eventually lost or they did not show up for an agreed meeting time. A possible reason for their reluctance may have been due to the context of this study, i.e. an honors thesis. Since interviews are held by a fellow University student, the professionalism of the interviews may have seemed questionable. Students may have also had concerns about the confidentiality of their identities and sexual orientations due to the interviews being held on campus and with a student peer.

Students who did choose to participate may have done so due to their current involvement in organizations that embrace the open expression of sexual orientation or ethnic cultures. For example, two of the students noted their leadership roles in the University of Arizona’s PRIDE Alliance and another student discussed her frequent use of the Asian Pacific Student Affairs center. Moreover, these students were also open about their sexual orientation to their groups of friends which meant they had no risk of identity exposure if overheard during the interview or later questioned about it.

### *Implications*

When an institution is perceived as making diversity on campus one of its priorities, Hurtado (1992) found more positive perceptions of race relations on campus from Black, Chicano, and White students. Additionally, she reported that perceptions of racial tension decrease as perceptions of institutional commitment to diversity increases. While the University of Arizona has several student resource centers committed to various categories of diversity on campus, its recently announced plans to change and merge these centers may adversely affect student attitudes. Due to the elimination of many staff positions and space of the four racial and ethnic cultural centers in order to save money may convey lowered student-centered priorities and other institutional priorities. Future plans aside, since the director of LGBTQ Affairs left during the Fall 2008 semester, the University's hiring freeze has prevented the center from searching for a new director. Rather, the Associate Dean of Students has been assigned as the interim director in addition to his current full-time position (Thompson, 2008). This lack of a permanent full-time leader for LGBTQ Affairs may also lead the student body, specifically minority students, to perceive itself as being a low priority to the University.

The social discomfort felt on campus by the participants suggests the need for more effort toward the acceptance of students of all lifestyles, in particular students who identify with the LGBTQ population. The new community center, comprised of NASA, APASA, AAFSAA, CHSA, Women's Resource Center, and ASUA Pride Alliance (Hill, 2009), could be a possible solution to an increase in acceptance. Combining these campus organizations may also lead to a decrease in discrimination felt by students who identify with more than one subordinate identity. The community center could offer events that incorporate all or many of the different students who may visit the venue, which may cultivate a better understanding of different populations. Furthermore, the combination of these student affairs divisions could produce a more

intersectional approach to identity and raise awareness of students who are members of multiple marginalized groups.

Although budget cuts are inevitable, the University should develop ways to demonstrate to its students that they are still a significant and meaningful part of the institution. While honest communication is important, effort should be invested in retaining minority students and maintaining school pride. This is especially vital during a time in which President Shelton and Provost Hay have announced that budget cuts "...will result in fewer class offerings, larger class sizes in the future and increased time to degree for our students" (Shelton, R. N. & Hay, M, personal communication, February 2, 2009), creating a seemingly sterile environment for all students. When promoting new organizations, such as the community center, interviews and articles could focus on its benefits, such as the increase in the concentration of leadership and possible increase in diversity acceptance among students, rather than on the centers that will be taken from students in the community center's formation.

### Reflections

My interest in this topic derived from the growing presence of fellow University classmates and peers facing multiple jeopardy. As an active member of the Asian Pacific American Student Affairs (APASA) center, I also noticed the lack of new students visiting the events given by the center. Through this study, I had hoped to find information that could help APASA and other centers better serve diverse student populations and communicate a more inclusive message to the entire campus. I believed I would be able to understand the needs and desires of unique students through the interviewing process.

Initially, I had the intention of interviewing at least 8 students, but unfortunately was unable to recruit enough of participants. While I am extremely appreciative for the students who

were willing to participate, I am slightly disappointed I was not able to obtain the viewpoints of any students from the African American or Native American populations. Despite the lack of participants, I believe the interviews I was able to conduct provided a clearer picture of the identity struggles and decisions double or triple minority students must face on this campus.

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