

I

A better understanding of the model minority myth of Asian American and Pacific Islanders can help move toward generating an authentic understanding of these students.

Deconstructing the Model Minority Myth and How It Contributes to the Invisible Minority Reality in Higher Education Research

Samuel D. Museus, Peter N. Kiang

Asian Americans and Pacific Islanders (AAPIs) are seldom the subjects of higher education research. This omission is evident in the finding that, over the past decade, approximately only one percent of articles published in five of the most widely read peer-reviewed academic journals in the field of higher education have given specific attention to Asian American or Pacific Islander college students (Museus, 2009). Similarly, research on AAPI faculty and administrators is sparse. Other examples of the exclusion of AAPIs from higher education research include the fact that some federal agencies do not even include these populations in their definition of underrepresented racial minorities—making it extremely difficult to find and acquire funding to empirically examine their profiles in meaningful ways—and also the reality that some scholars have excluded AAPIs from their studies of minorities in higher education because those researchers determined that they are not educationally disadvantaged (for example, Astin, 1982). As a result of this widespread omission, AAPIs can be considered one of the most misunderstood populations in higher education in the United States (Chang, 2008).

It has been argued that the exclusion of AAPIs from scholarly inquiry in postsecondary education is in part due to the pervasive influence of the

model minority myth on contemporary thought about the AAPI population (Museus, 2009). The model minority stereotype is the notion that Asian Americans achieve universal and unparalleled academic and occupational success. Although this myth has been cited as one reason for the invisibility of AAPIs in higher education research, the absence of empirical knowledge prohibits learning about this group and helps perpetuate that stereotype, thereby forming a vicious cycle that can perpetuate ignorance and distorted perceptions of the realities that this population of college students faces.

Although the model minority myth is often viewed as a harmless or even positive preconceived notion, it has also been associated with many negative ramifications. For example, Asian American studies scholars have long noted that the myth has been used strategically by opponents of equal opportunity policies and programs to support the notion of meritocracy with evidence that racial discrimination does not exist or impede the educational and occupational progress of racial/ethnic minorities (Suzuki, 2002; Uyematsu, 1971). Furthermore, just as the model minority stereotype can be associated with negative social ramifications, the myth can also be linked to negative individual consequences. There is evidence, for example, that Asian Americans experience substantial pressure to conform to this stereotype (Chan and Hune, 1995; Chou and Feagin, 2008; Lewis, Chesler, and Forman, 2000) and that this pressure can constitute a stressor that functions to impede Asian American students' willingness and desire to engage in learning processes (Museus, 2008).

It is becoming increasingly important that current levels of knowledge about AAPIs be deepened. Asian Americans, for example, are the second-fastest-growing racial group in the nation, and recent projections suggest that almost one of every ten residents will be of Asian descent by 2050 (U.S. Census Bureau, 2004a). Given the rapid growth of the AAPI population, it is imperative to develop a fuller understanding of this group, starting with an analysis of the underlying premises of the model minority myth and their association with the continuing exclusion of AAPIs from higher education research. Accordingly, we dedicate this chapter to deconstructing the model minority myth by identifying and discussing specific misconceptions associated with its pervasive perpetuation.

Although the model minority myth is often (re)presented as an oversimplified belief about AAPIs, we underscore its complexity and multifaceted nature in our discussion. We suggest that the myth is associated with five key misconceptions. We do not make claims about causality, but we believe that these misconceptions are inextricably intertwined with the model minority myth and that the demystification of each of these faulty assumptions is necessary to diminish the pervasive influence that the model minority stereotype has on contemporary thought about AAPIs. We also argue that the debunking of these misconceptions and the deconstruction of the model minority myth can aid researchers in moving beyond the exclusion of this population from postsecondary education research and toward an understanding of the realities that AAPI students face.

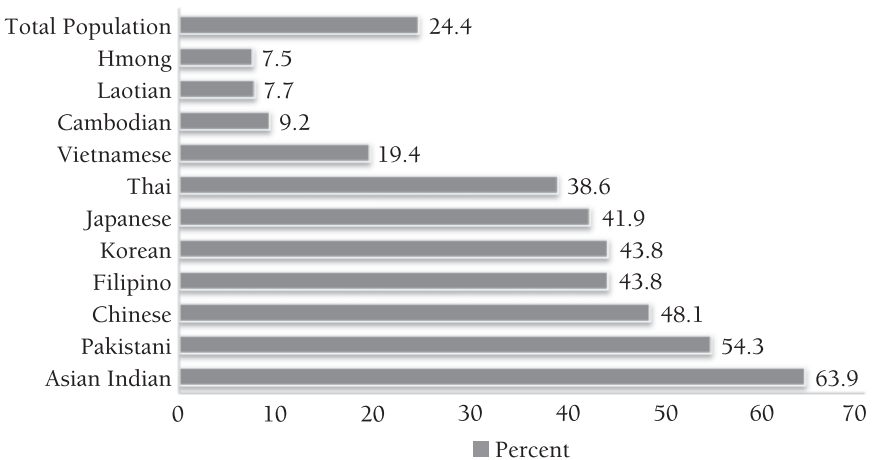
Five Misconceptions Associated with the Model Minority Myth

Five important misconceptions are commonly held with regard to Asian and Pacific American students.

Misconception 1: Asian Americans Are All the Same. Of all Asian college students who enter a four-year postsecondary institution, 71 percent will attain a bachelor's degree within six years compared to 67 percent of their white, 47 percent of their Latina/o, and 46 percent of their black counterparts (Berkner, He, and Cataldi, 2002). The preceding statement is an example of how discussions of student success in college often begin. For AAPI students and the institutions that serve them, this is also where these discussions typically end. Such racialized and oversimplified statements, however, mask the complexity and diversity that exist within each racial population. This practice of racializing and oversimplifying various groups is particularly problematic for AAPIs, who include many ethnic subpopulations that are socioeconomically disadvantaged and attain college degrees at much lower rates than other racial and ethnic groups (Chang and Kiang, 2002; Hune, 2002; Kiang, 2004; Museus, 2009). Frequently repeated statistics resembling those presented at the beginning of this section misrepresent Pacific Islanders and Southeast Asian Americans in particular by lumping them into an aggregate category with other ethnic populations of the same race and portraying them as achieving the highest levels of academic success; in fact, they have exhibited levels of educational attainment lower than other racial populations in the nation (Museus, 2009).

The frequent reporting of oversimplified, aggregated data is exacerbated by the fact that federal databases do not even include empirical college-level data that can be disaggregated by ethnicity or resident status and critically analyzed to uncover some of the ethnic and socioeconomic disparities within the AAPI population. Some scholars, however, have critically examined disaggregated national census data on educational attainment in the AAPI population (Hune, 2002; Museus, 2009; Teranishi, 2007). These analyses clearly and consistently indicate that Southeast Asian American populations hold college degrees at rates far lower than their East and South Asian American counterparts. Southeast Asian Americans also hold postsecondary degrees at rates lower than the national average (see Figure 1). Moreover, census data reveal great differences across various AAPI ethnic subpopulations in risk factors such as income levels, language, occupations, and poverty levels (U.S. Census Bureau, 2004b). Although the realities of diversity within the AAPI population are receiving increased attention by policy researchers and postsecondary scholars (for example, Chang and others, 2007; Hune, 2002; Museus, 2009; College Board, 2008), the pervasive assumption that AAPIs are a monolithic group is still prevalent in higher education.

Figure 1. Percentage of Asian Americans with Bachelor's Degree, by Ethnicity



U.S. Census Bureau (2004b).

Misconception 2: Asian Americans Are Not Really Racial and Ethnic Minorities. Both private and public funding agencies often exclude Asian Americans from their definitions of underrepresented racial/ethnic minorities, suggesting that AAPIs do not face challenges similar to those of other minority populations and therefore do not require the attention given to black, Latina/o, and Native American groups. Similar to these funding policies and procedures, Asian Americans are often not considered an underrepresented minority in higher education research and discourse (for example, Astin, 1982). This is congruent with findings that Asian Americans are viewed as “the new whites” or “almost white” by other groups (see Chou and Feagin, 2008, for discussion).

Although the struggles that various racial/ethnic minority populations face are unique, evidence does suggest that AAPIs face many challenges similar to those other groups of color because of their minority status. For example, Asian American college students frequently report experiences with racial prejudice and discrimination, pressure to conform to racial stereotypes, and difficulties posed by the cultures of predominantly white institutions (Cress and Ikeda, 2003; Lewis, Chesler, and Forman, 2000; Museus, 2007, 2008), which are challenges that black and Latina/o students at predominantly white colleges also report (Allen, 1992; Feagin, Vera, and Imani, 1996; Fries-Britt and Turner, 2002; Gonzalez, 2003; Hurtado, 1992; Lewis, Chesler, and Forman, 2000; Museus, 2008). Similarly, like their black and Latina/o peers, AAPI students face struggles with regard to navigating

multiple cultures and negotiating complex racial and ethnic identities (see, for example, Torres, Howard-Hamilton, and Cooper, 2003). Thus, contrary to common belief, it is clear that Asian Americans and Pacific Islanders are racial/ethnic minorities who share significant realities with other groups of color as a result of that status.

Misconception 3: Asian Americans Do Not Encounter Major Challenges Because of Their Race. In the previous section, we clarified that researchers have offered evidence that Asian and Pacific Americans face several challenges similar to their black, Latina/o, and Native American peers at predominantly white colleges and universities. However, many in the field fail to acknowledge that AAPIs face important barriers and difficulties that are worthy of attention. A recent case in point followed an online article published in *Inside Higher Education* in July 2008 focusing on a newly published book that analyzes the racism that Asian Americans face (Chou and Feagin, 2008). Several readers who provided public online commentary following the article rejected the notion that Asian Americans suffer from discrimination or they diverted the conversation to challenges that low-income white students face. One reader, for example, wrote, “Surely [the book] is a commentary on the divisive and dysfunctional identity group politics so prevalent on American campuses that some of our most successful students are now portrayed as victims because they are successful.” Another reader shifted the conversation away from the racism that Asian Americans face to discrimination that this person had experienced due to a geographical identity based on originating from Texas. This commentary then concluded with a rejection of the validity of the issues covered in the book based on faulty assumptions about educational attainment and income among AAPIs:

The problem with only assessing “racial” stereotypes is that you miss out on other stereotypes. For example, as a person from Texas, I am often made fun of by people of a liberal bent just for being from Texas. . . . This isn’t to say that there is some truth that Asians are stereotyped, and not everyone lives up to the average. But with a higher income per-average than Americans of European ancestry and a higher-rate of graduation and college attendance, it seems doubtful to me that the author’s conclusion [is accurate].

We do not deny that socioeconomically disadvantaged whites face challenges that require attention, but we offer the previous example as a manifestation of the reluctance of many to acknowledge that AAPI college students can face unique and significant race-related difficulties. As the example illustrates, even in the face of evidence that Asian Americans and Pacific Islanders do in fact experience unique challenging struggles, some among the readership of *Inside Higher Education*—presumably professionals in the field—are inclined to discount such evidence because it contradicts their common preconceived notions of the AAPI experience. The

person from Texas, for example, justifies the dismissal of the needs of Asian American college students by citing inaccurate assumptions and oversimplified statistics about the educational attainment and income of AAPI students. As previously mentioned, some ethnic subgroups within the AAPI population hold college degrees at rates far lower than the national population (Museus, 2009; U.S. Census Bureau, 2004b). Moreover, with regard to income, scholars have noted that, when various factors (for example, geographical region and household size) are taken into account, the per capita income of AAPIs is appreciably lower than their majority counterparts (U.S. Census Bureau, 1999). The quotations exemplify a common refusal, based on faulty assumptions, to acknowledge the needs of Asian American or Pacific Islander students in higher education.

Misconception 4: Asian Americans Do Not Seek or Require Resources and Support. Closely related to the assumption that AAPIs do not encounter challenges in college is the belief that they do not need resources and other support. This assumption can sometimes be a function of both preexisting notions of AAPI students' experiences and their infrequent use of campus resources. With regard to the latter, higher education administrators and staff often espouse the philosophy that "if we offer it, they will come," but this is not always an accurate assumption. Suzuki (2002), for example, described his experience at a university at which administrators and staff believed that Asian Americans did not use counseling services because they did not need support adjusting to college. After that university hired an Asian American counselor, however, many more Asian American students sought counseling services.

Indeed, research indicates that Asian American college students are less likely than students within other racial groups to seek out support services (Uba, 1994; Zhang, Snowden, and Sue, 1998). Instead, evidence suggests that AAPIs are more likely than the majority to use avoidant coping strategies in dealing with personal challenges (Chang, 1996; Jung, 1995). Thus, if Asian American and Pacific Islander undergraduates are not using campus resources, it does not mean that they do not require, need, or desire support. Higher education scholars and institutional researchers must develop far greater cultural competence in relation to understanding the perceptions, attitudes, and behaviors of these AAPI students.

Misconception 5: College Degree Completion Is Equivalent to Success. In 2003, the average annual income of a bachelor's degree recipient was \$49,900, which was 62 percent greater than the \$30,800 earned by their counterparts with a high school diploma (Baum and Payea, 2005). Such statistics confirming the economic returns of a college degree are not difficult to find. Indeed, evidence of the benefits of college is a primary reason that high school graduates choose to pursue higher education.

Again, however, such aggregated and oversimplified statistics can be misleading if the details are not examined carefully and critically. For example, those overall figures explain little about the relative success of various racial/ethnic subpopulations after college. Multiple studies have found that

Asian Americans with the same level of education earn lower wages and hold fewer managerial positions than their non-Asian American peers (Duleep and Sanders, 1992; Wong and Nagasawa, 1991; O'Hare and Felt, 1991; Woo, 1994). If this evidence is accurate, the belief that Asian Americans and Pacific Islanders do not need attention because they exhibit better outcomes than other groups, in the aggregate, is disturbingly misleading. Higher education researchers and educators must take greater responsibility for understanding and addressing why AAPIOs, especially in disaggregated categories, are not succeeding sufficiently in the workforce so that colleges and universities can more effectively prepare them to achieve equity in the workplace.

Conclusion

In preparing this opening chapter for a volume devoted to conducting research on and with AAPIOs in higher education, we have considered it necessary to target the continuing consequences of the model minority stereotype and the pervasive distortions inherent in aggregate AAPIO national, state, local, and institutional data. Frankly, such a focus is not a profound or passionate interest for either of us, but it represents an unavoidable contextual constraint that continually frustrates our own research pursuits. The concerns and critique we offer in this chapter are consistent with other new studies, such as the national report compiled by Robert Teranishi and colleagues for the College Board (2008). Given that the College Board itself was sharply criticized by some scholars less than a decade ago (Gándara, 1999; Kiang, 2002) for drawing inappropriate conclusions about Asian American success in higher education, based on aggregate data analysis in its influential report on minority student achievement (National Task Force on Minority High Achievement, 1999), its new report represents a significant positive shift in research assumptions and paradigms regarding AAPIO populations.

Other positive signs that may also indicate a slowly changing landscape for AAPIO educational research include the bold announcement by the University of California system in November 2007 that its next undergraduate application form would include, for the first time, twenty-three ethnic categories for AAPIO populations rather than the eight categories recorded previously. The University of California vice president for student affairs, Judy Sakaki, stated at the public announcement of the policy change, "My goal is for improved data reporting to spur greater accountability regarding overlooked populations in our student body" (University of California, 2007). By instituting this reform, data collection and analysis become possible for disaggregated Asian American populations, including Chinese (except Taiwanese), Taiwanese, Asian Indian, Pakistani, Japanese, Korean, Filipino, Vietnamese, Hmong, Thai, Cambodian, Laotian, Bangladeshi, Indonesian, Malaysian, Sri Lankan, and Other Asian groups. Expanded Pacific Islander categories include Native Hawaiian, Guamanian/Chamorro, Samoan, Tongan, Fijian, and Other Pacific

Islander groups. As Sakaki noted, “Our student data represent a chorus with many voices, and everyone wins when more voices, such as a Hmong student from Fresno and a Cambodian student from Long Beach, can be heard,” a perspective that we and the other authors in this volume also share.

The University of California system’s decision to value disaggregated AAPI data follows the conclusions and recommendations made by the U.S. federal government’s watchdog agency, the General Accounting Office (GAO), which released its own remarkable report in July 2007 about challenges that face specific Asian American and Pacific Islander subgroups, particularly Cambodians, Lao, Hmong, and Native Hawaiians (U.S. General Accounting Office, 2007a). Based on its analysis of U.S. Census and U.S. Department of Education data, the GAO found that “Asian American and Pacific Islander subgroups differ in their levels of academic preparedness, ability to pay for college, and their need to balance academic, employment, and family obligations” (U.S. General Accounting Office, 2007b, p. 2).

The 2008 report released by the College Board, the 2007 report issued by the GAO, and the University of California system’s expansion of AAPI categories reflect what we earnestly hope is an emerging breakthrough in higher education research, policy, and practice—one that finally responds to the critical analysis we have provided here, as well as to the critiques appearing in every major synthesis of Asian American educational research produced during previous decades regarding how aggregated Asian American data distort the diverse realities of Asian American and Pacific Islander students, families, and communities (Park and Chi, 1999; Pang and Cheng, 1998; Olsen, 1997; Weinberg, 1997; Nakanishi and Nishida, 1995; Lee, 1996; Trueba, Cheng and Ima, 1993; Trueba, Jacobs, and Kirton, 1990; Suzuki, 1977, 1989; Chun, 1980).

Contrary to this possibility that the perspectives regarding AAPIs in higher education research, policy, and practice are changing, however, the director of the National Coalition for Asian Pacific American Community Development recently asserted that old assumptions die hard. The director spoke at a national gathering of AAPI civic and community leaders, held in Boston in October 2008, about the severe impact of the 2008 economic crisis on AAPI populations, particularly in terms of housing foreclosures and access to credit for small business ventures and student loans. While noting that a drastic change in national politics and policy might result from the 2008 elections, she was careful to caution the audience that, even with the possibility of a dramatic, if not historic, change in presidential leadership, the myth of Asian Americans as a model minority was as pervasive as ever in Washington, D.C., and would assuredly continue.

Nevertheless, we assert that AAPI populations can no longer be ignored or misrepresented in higher education research. If postsecondary education scholars, policymakers, and practitioners are able to critically examine and reflexively transcend the stereotypic perceptions and misconceptions that

have historically dominated the field of higher education—a shift that we urge here and some recent and current developments may seem to suggest—then we must also ask what will be some fresh steps and new directions for developing a robust, proactive AAPI higher education research agenda. The visions and examples provided by other chapter authors offer important insights and examples in response to this challenging question.

References

- Allen, W. "The Color of Success: African-American College Student Outcomes at Predominantly White and Historically Black Public Colleges and Universities." *Harvard Educational Review*, 1992, 62(1), 26–44.
- Astin, A. *Minorities in American Higher Education: Recent Trends, Current Prospects, and Recommendations*. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass, 1982.
- Baum, S., and Payea, K. *Education Pays, 2004: The Benefits of Higher Education for Individuals and Society*. New York: College Board, 2005.
- Berkner, L., He, S., and Cataldi, E. *Descriptive Summary of 1995–96 Beginning Postsecondary Students: Six Years Later*. Washington, D.C.: U.S. Department of Education, 2002.
- Chan, K., and Hune, S. "Racialization and Panethnicity: From Asians in America to Asian Americans." In W. Hawley and A. Jackson (eds.), *Toward a Common Destiny*. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass, 1995.
- Chang, E. "Cultural Differences in Optimism, Pessimism, and Coping: Predictors of Subsequent Adjustment in Asian American and Caucasian American College Students." *Journal of Counseling Psychology*, 1996, 43(1), 113–123.
- Chang, M. "Asian Evasion: A Recipe for Flawed Solutions." *Diverse Issues in Higher Education*, 2008, 25(7), 26.
- Chang, M., and Kiang, P. "New Challenges of Representing Asian American Students in U.S. Higher Education." In W. Smith, P. Altbach, and K. Lomotey (eds.), *The Racial Crisis in American Higher Education: Continuing Challenges for the Twenty-First Century*. Albany, N.Y.: SUNY Press, 2002.
- Chang, M., and others. *Beyond Myths: The Growth and Diversity of Asian American College Freshmen, 1971–2005*. Los Angeles: Higher Education Research Institute, 2007.
- Chou, R., and Feagin, J. *The Myth of the Model Minority: Asian Americans Facing Racism*. Boulder, Colo.: Paradigm, 2008.
- Chun, K. "The Myth of Asian American Success and Its Educational Ramifications." *IRCD Bulletin*, 1980, 15(1, 2), 1–12.
- College Board. *Facts, Not Fiction: Setting the Records Straight*. New York: College Board, 2008.
- Cress, C., and Ikeda, E. "Distress Under Duress: The Relationship Between Campus Climate and Depression in Asian American College Students." *NASPA Journal*, 2003, 40(2), 74–97.
- Duleep, H., and Sanders, S. "Discrimination at the Top: American-Born Asian and White Men." *Industrial Relations*, 1992, 31(3), 416–432.
- Feagin, J., Vera, H., and Imani, N. *The Agony of Education: Black Students at White Colleges and Universities*. New York: Routledge, 1996.
- Fries-Britt, S., and Turner, B. "Facing Stereotypes: A Case Study of Black Students on a White Campus." *Journal of College Student Development*, 2002, 42, 420–429.
- Gándara, P. *Priming the Pump: Strategies for Increasing the Achievement of Underrepresented Minority Undergraduates*. Washington, D.C.: College Board, 1999.
- Gonzalez, K. "Campus Culture and the Experiences of Chicano Students in a Predominantly White University." *Urban Education*, 2003, 37(2), 193–218.

- Hune, S. "Demographics and Diversity of Asian American College Students." In M. K. McEwen and others (eds.), *Working with Asian American College Students*. New Directions for Student Services, no. 97. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass, 2002.
- Hurtado, S. "The Campus Racial Climate: Contexts of Conflict." *Journal of Higher Education*, 1992, 63(5), 539–569.
- Jung, J. "Ethnic Croup and Gender Differences in the Relationship Between Personality and Coping." *Anxiety, Stress, and Coping*, 1995, 8, 113–126.
- Kiang, P. "Stories and Structures of Persistence: Ethnographic Learning Through Research and Practice in Asian American Studies." In Y. Zou and H. Trueba (eds.), *Ethnography and Schools: Qualitative Approaches to the Study of Education*, Lanham, Md.: Rowman and Littlefield, 2002.
- Kiang, P. "Checking Southeast Asian American Realities in Pan-Asian American Agendas." *AAPI Nexus: Policy, Practice, and Community*, 2004, 2(1), 48–76.
- Lee, S. *Unraveling the "Model Minority" Stereotype*. New York: Teachers College Press, 1996.
- Lewis, A., Chesler, M., and Forman, T. "The Impact of 'Colorblind' Ideologies on Students of Color: Intergroup Relations at a Predominantly White University." *Journal of Negro Education*, 2000, 69(1/2), 74–91.
- Museus, S. D. "Using Qualitative Methods to Assess Diverse Institutional Cultures." In S. Harper and S. Museus (eds.), *Using Qualitative Methods in Institutional Assessment*. New Directions for Institutional Research, no. 136. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass, 2007.
- Museus, S. D. "The Model Minority and Inferior Minority Myths: Stereotypes and Their Implications for Student Learning." *About Campus*, 2008, 13(3), 2–8.
- Museus, S. D. "A Critical Analysis of the Exclusion of Asian American from Higher Education Research and Discourse." In L. Zhan (ed.), *Asian American Voices: Engaging, Empowering, Enabling* (pp. 59–76). New York: NLN Press, 2009.
- Nakanishi, D., and Nishida, T. *The Asian American Educational Experience*. New York: Routledge, 1995.
- National Task Force on Minority High Achievement. *Reaching the Top*. Washington, D.C.: College Board, 1999.
- O'Hare, W., and Felt, J. *Asian Americans: America's Fastest Growing Minority Group*. Washington, D.C.: Population Reference Bureau, 1991.
- Olsen, L. *An Invisible Crisis: The Educational Needs of Asian Pacific American Youth*. New York: Asian Americans/Pacific Islanders in Philanthropy, 1997.
- Pang, V., and Cheng, L. (eds.). *Struggling to be Heard: The Unmet Needs of Asian Pacific American Children*. Albany, N.Y.: SUNY Press, 1998.
- Park, C., and Chi, M. *Asian-American Education: Prospects and Challenges*. Westport, Conn.: Bergin and Garvey, 1999.
- Suzuki, B. "Education and Socialization of Asian Americans: A Revisionist Analysis of the 'Model Minority' Thesis." *Amerasia Journal*, 1977, 4(2), 23–51.
- Suzuki, B. "Asian Americans as the 'Model Minority': Outdoing Whites? Or Media Hype?" *Change*, Nov.–Dec. 1989, 13–19.
- Suzuki, B. "Revisiting the Model Minority Stereotype: Implications for Student Affairs Practice and Higher Education." In M. K. McEwen and others (eds.), *Working with Asian American College Students*. New Directions for Student Services, no. 97. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass, 2002.
- Teranishi, R. "Race, Ethnicity, and Higher Education Policy: The Use of Critical Quantitative Research." In F. K. Stage (ed.), *Using Quantitative Data to Answer Critical Questions*. New Directions for Institutional Research, no. 133. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass, 2007.
- Torres, V., Howard-Hamilton, M., and Cooper, D. *Identity Development of Diverse Populations: Implications for Teaching and Administration in Higher Education*. ASHE-ERIC Higher Education Report, 29(6). San Francisco: Jossey-Bass, 2003.
- Trueba, H., Cheng, L., and Ima, K. *Myth or Reality: Adaptive Strategies of Asian Americans in California*. Bristol, Pa.: Falmer Press, 1993.

- Trueba, H., Jacobs, L., and Kirton, E. *Cultural Conflict and Adaptation: The Case of Hmong Children in American Society*. Bristol, Pa.: Falmer Press, 1990.
- Uba, L. *Asian Americans: Personality Patterns, Identity, and Mental Health*. New York: Guilford Press, 1994.
- U.S. Census Bureau. *Money Income in the United States, 1998*. Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1999.
- U.S. Census Bureau. *U.S. Interim Projects by Age, Sex, Race, and Hispanic Origin*. Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 2004a.
- U.S. Census Bureau. *We the People: Asians in the United States*. Washington, DC: U.S. Government Printing Office, 2004b.
- U.S. General Accounting Office. *Asian Americans and Pacific Islanders' Educational Attainment. A Report to Congressional Requesters*. Washington, D.C.: General Accounting Office, July 2007a. Retrieved September 1, 2008, from <http://www.gao.gov/cgi-bin/getrpt?GAO-07-925>.
- U.S. General Accounting Office. "Information Sharing Could Help Institutions Identify and Address Challenges That Some Asian American and Pacific Islander Students Face." In *Highlights of GAO-07-925*. Washington, D.C.: General Accounting Office, July 2007b.
- University of California. "Asian American, Pacific Islander Data Collection Launches." University of California Newsroom. Berkeley, Nov. 16, 2007. Retrieved September 3, 2008, from <http://www.universityofcalifornia.edu/news/article/16826>.
- Uyematsu, A. "The Emergence of Yellow Power in America." In A. Tachiki (ed.), *Roots: An Asian American Reader*. Los Angeles: UCLA Asian American Studies Center, 1971.
- Weinberg, M. *Asian-American Education: Historical Background and Current Realities*. Mahwah, N.J.: Erlbaum, 1997.
- Wong, P., and Nagasawa, R. "Asian American Scientists and Engineers: Is There a Glass Ceiling for Career Advancement?" *Chinese American Forum*, 1991, 6(3), 3-6.
- Woo, D. *The Glass Ceiling and Asian Americans*. Washington, D.C.: U.S. Department of Labor Glass Ceiling Commission, 1994.
- Zhang, A., Snowden, L., and Sue, S. "Differences Between Asian and White Americans' Help Seeking and Utilization Patterns in the Los Angeles Area." *Journal of Community Psychology*, 1998, 26(4), 317-326.

SAMUEL D. MUSEUS is assistant professor of higher education and Asian American studies at the University of Massachusetts Boston.

PETER N. KIANG is professor of education and director of the Asian American Studies Program at the University of Massachusetts Boston.