

“Why is this still happening?”: The Role of Archival Interaction in Ethnic/Racial Identity Development and Institutional Sense of Belonging in Korean American Students

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DEDICATION

First and foremost, to my mom, dad, and brother who have constantly struggled to fit into a white America but thrived nevertheless.

Secondly, to all the students of color who felt like they never belonged. You do belong.

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INTRODUCTION

I first discovered the power that archives had as an undergraduate student at a small liberal arts college in rural Massachusetts. As a working, low-income student of color at Smith College, it was not only difficult to stay on top of my studies, but also, to fit into an environment that was predominantly affluent and white. I was not the only one who felt this way. In fact, many students of color also found themselves struggling to adjust into the academic and social environment at Smith College, where the majority of the students, faculty, and others in positions of power did not reflect their racial and ethnic identities, socioeconomic status, or even shared in the feelings of exclusion that were oftentimes experienced by students of marginalized backgrounds. It was at the juncture of these experiences that a friend of mine and I got together with a group of students with shared experiences and began a project that continued to impact me throughout my time at Smith College, as well as my decision to join the field of information.

Our conversations of feeling like we did not belong at Smith College because of our race and socioeconomic background led us to organize around understanding the history of people who looked like us and shared our experiences at Smith College. Naturally, this led us to the college archive because of its role in preserving institutional memory. It was here, buried in the boxes of the college archive, that I was empowered by the photographs of protests, the correspondences between students and their attorneys, and press releases of their demands to the college to put their promises of racial and socioeconomic justice into practice. However, questions emerged from this experience. Why was this information not widely accessible to the Smith College community, especially the students of color who this would impact the most? Furthermore, besides the “firsts” of Smith College history (e.g., first Black American student, first Asian student, etc.) whose experiences were tokenized for the benefit of the college and used as a display of how far they have come in terms of diversity, why was there no effort in complicating the identities of these students?

This research project stems from these personal experiences of not having access to content that reflected my heritage or racial and ethnic identity at my undergraduate institution. I became interested in how seeing one's heritage reflected within academic spaces would affect racial and ethnic identity development, which in turn could impact sense of belonging in students of color. Thus, this thesis addresses the following research question: How does interacting with archival materials that reflect one's racial and ethnic identity, specifically for students who have been minoritized, impact one's sense of belonging on campus? In examining this research question, I investigate the roles that academic institutional archives play in fostering racial and ethnic identity exploration among students of color and further investigate how these experiences interacting with archival materials impact their sense of belonging at their institution. Beginning with my own community, I examine these questions through the experiences of Korean American students to understand how this archival interaction impacts their racial and ethnic identity development and sense of belonging at the University of Michigan (U-M).

LITERATURE REVIEW

In order to better understand the relationship between the interaction of archival content reflecting one's racial and ethnic identity, racial and ethnic identity development, and sense of belonging, it is imperative to explore these concepts in multiple fields of study. I utilize research in the fields of psychology, sociology, Asian American studies, and archival science to set the backdrop for this thesis.

SENSE OF BELONGING

Joseph A. Anistranski defines sense of belonging in his 2018 dissertation to be “In line with Hagerty, Lynch-Sauer, Patusky, Bouwsema, and Collier” in that it is “the experience of personal involvement in a system or environment so that persons feel themselves to be an integral part of that system or environment. A system can be a relationship or organization, and an environment can be natural or cultural.”¹ For the purposes of this research, it is important to understand sense of belonging in the context of academic institutions and how strong sense of belonging contributes to students' ability to socially and academically thrive at their institution. Thus, I want to begin by taking a look at sense of belonging in academic institutions in the context of student persistence and retention.

The United States Department of Education National Center for Education Statistics defines student persistence as “the act of continuing towards an educational goal (e.g., earning a bachelor's degree).”² Sense of belonging as a predictor or influencer of student persistence has been a topic of study in the field of psychology for several years.³ However, currently emerging with this study of sense of belonging is a movement to complicate the “traditional” definitions of sense of

¹ Joseph A. Anistranski, “What Are the Respective Roles of Developmental Tasks in College Student Belonging? Testing a Balance-Integration Framework” (Ph.D., The University of Wisconsin - Madison, 2018): 2, <http://search.proquest.com/docview/2059813994/abstract/5356F4EB0AA74470PQ/1>.

² United States. Rhode Island Board of Governors for Higher Education. Rhode Island Office of Higher Education. Postsecondary Retention and Persistence: A Primer. <http://www.ribghe.org/7attach1061207.pdf>.

³ Samuel D. Museus, Varaxy Yi, and Natasha Saelua, “How Culturally Engaging Campus Environments Influence Sense of Belonging in College: An Examination of Differences Between White Students and Students of Color,” *Journal of Diversity in Higher Education*, September 25, 2017, <https://doi.org/10.1037/dhe000069>.

belonging to better fit into understanding the experiences of students of color in higher educational institutions.

There was much discussion in the literature of Vincent Tinto's Student Integration Model⁴ and the counterarguments to this model. For example, in his 2011 dissertation, Robert C. Bachini states that,

Tinto's work builds on Van Gennep's theory that individuals go through three stages when transitioning from one status to another within a culture: *separation*, *transition*, and *integration*; that is, the student must separate from the family household, make the transition to a new environment, and integrate into the college community.⁵

Bachini furthermore states, by summarizing Samuel Museus et al.⁶ that Tinto's theory is based on the "underlying assumption that racial minority students must separate from their traditional cultural traditions, values, and customs and adopt those of the predominantly White culture of their respective campus".⁷ Dawn R. Johnson et al., Museus et al., Ainstranski, and many more scholars, however, contend that Tinto's theory not only shifts the responsibility of belonging from the institution to the individual student, but also, that it is not a good fit for students of color, who oftentimes come from communities that thrive off of interdependency, strong connections with families, and support from family-like structures both within and outside of the academic setting.⁸

One of the firsts to contest Tinto's integration model was Hurtado and Carter in 1997. Ainstranski states that "Hurtado and Carter (1997) established the importance of considering underrepresented students' experiences when testing

⁴ Leaving College, accessed April 13, 2019,

<https://www.press.uchicago.edu/ucp/books/book/chicago/L/bo3630345.html>.

⁵ Robert C. Bachini, "An Intercultural Perspective on Filipina/o American Persistence: Implications for College Success" (Ph.D., University of Hawai'i at Manoa, 2011): 17,

<http://search.proquest.com/docview/955181144/abstract/4936A1D77BE44C01PQ/1>.

⁶ Samuel D. Museus, Andrew H. Nichols, and Amber D. Lambert, "Racial Differences in the Effects of Campus Racial Climate on Degree Completion: A Structural Equation Model," *The Review of Higher Education* 32, no. 1 (August 27, 2008): 107-34, <https://doi.org/10.1353/rhe.0.0030>.

⁷ Bachini, "An Intercultural Perspective on Filipina/o American Persistence", 19.

⁸ Dawn R. Johnson et al., "Examining Sense of Belonging among First-Year Undergraduates from Different Racial/Ethnic Groups," *Journal of College Student Development* 48, no. 5 (September 2007): 525-42,

<https://doi.org/10.1353/csd.2007.0054>; Museus et al., "Racial Differences in the Effects of Campus Racial Climate on Degree Completion."; Ainstranski, 2018.

models of belonging.”⁹ Aninstranski explains that Hurtado and Carter found both social and academic factors influencing sense of belonging in Latino students, with campus climate particularly impacting their experiences.

In their structural equation model, experiencing a hostile climate negatively predicted sense of belonging. This indicates the potential for underrepresented students to experience a sense of belonging differently based on their experiences on a predominantly-white campus. In turn, underrepresented students may emphasize different components of their development in committing to completing a degree and developing a sense of commitment to the institution.¹⁰

Many others followed Hurtado and Carter in conducting research about how students of color developed a sense of belonging in academic institutions to complicate the concept of sense of belonging in a more culturally sensitive way.¹¹ From these studies, several factors were identified to contribute to sense of belonging in students of color. Marybeth Hoffman et al. found that “‘sense of belonging’ to the institution stems from perceptions of ‘valued involvement’ in the collegiate environment” where valued involvement was defined as supportive peer relationships and compassion in faculty relationships.¹² Johnson et al. echoed Hoffman et al. in finding that interaction with peers and faculty, such as encouragement or support from peers and faculty, were factors of sense of belonging. They also found that campus and resident racial climates were influencers of sense of belonging in students of color, as were co-curricular involvement.¹³

Another factor of sense of belonging proved to be one’s development of a strong ethnic and racial identity. This factor is not studied widely within the emerging trend of studying sense of belonging in students of color. However, some research suggest that ethnic and racial identity were strong precursors to feelings of belonging at an

⁹ Aninstranski, “What Are the Respective Roles of Developmental Tasks in College Student Belonging”, 18.

¹⁰ Ibid.

¹¹ Ibid.

¹² Marybeth Hoffman et al., “Investigating ‘Sense of Belonging’ in First-Year College Students,” *Journal of College Student Retention*; London 4, no. 3 (2003 2002): 250-251.

¹³ Johnson et al., “Examining Sense of Belonging among First-Year Undergraduates from Different Racial/Ethnic Groups,” 527.

academic institution. For example, Bachini's research tried to understand the experiences of Filipino/a students at the University of Hawai'i in terms of college success. Bachini conducted semi-structured interviews with twelve participants and found that "For all participants, a cultural sense of *belonging* was found on campus. The development of a strong ethnic identity, however, served as a prerequisite for a sense of belonging and social networking opportunities to develop."¹⁴ On the other hand, Anistranski's research found that their study "did not reveal direct connections between identity factors and students' sense of belonging."¹⁵ However, Anistranski also notes the majority of the participants in this study identified as white. It was interesting to see these two studies, one more qualitative and the other more quantitative in nature, in contrast with each other.

Sense of belonging is not just important to students' will to persist in their academic careers. Some research studies within the field of psychology have shown a relationship between sense of belonging and better physical and mental health. Cara Hale et al. conducted a study with a sample of 247 college students to determine whether different variables were predictors of health perceptions and actual physical symptoms in college students. Sense of belonging was one of the variables studied. The study found that "Men who reported higher belonging tended to report fewer physical symptoms", which was "...in contrast to the lack of association between belonging and physical symptoms for women. For women, belonging was associated with health perceptions (and not physical symptoms)."¹⁶ They concluded by stating that "belonging was significant in the prediction of physical health, indicating that a social network or close circle of friends is important to college students."¹⁷ Racial or ethnic identity, however, was not a factor in this study.

¹⁴ Bachini, "An Intercultural Perspective on Filipina/o American Persistence", 124.

¹⁵ Anistranski, "What Are the Respective Roles of Developmental Tasks in College Student Belonging", 60-61.

¹⁶ Cara J. Hale, James W. Hannum, and Dorothy L. Espelage, "Social Support and Physical Health: The Importance of Belonging," *Journal of American College Health* 53, no. 6 (May 2005): 280, <https://doi.org/10.3200/JACH.53.6.276-284>.

¹⁷ Hale et al., "Social Support and Physical Health: The Importance of Belonging."

Michelle Samura, on the other hand, looked specifically at the Asian American population in their research, “Remaking Selves, Repositioning Selves, or Remaking Space: An Examination of Asian American College Students’ Processes of ‘Belonging’”. In their literature review, Samura found that sense of belonging in students was closely related to a variety of outcomes, one of them being mental health.¹⁸ However, she also states that while there is this emerging trend of delving deeper into sense of belonging among college students, there is still a gap in understanding belonging in students of color.¹⁹ Derek Kenji Iwamoto and William Ming Liu also chose to study the Asian population in the United States by combining measures of racial and ethnic identity, as well as Asian values “...in predicting psychological well-being...of Asian Americans and Asian international college students.”²⁰ They found that these attitudes significantly predicted wellbeing in this population of students.

It is clear from the aforementioned literature that sense of belonging is an important area of study not only for understanding students’ persistence in academic settings, but also, for their overall mental and physical health. It also highlighted the lack of research conducted on specific pockets of communities of color. Furthermore, as mentioned above, the role of racial and ethnic identity in sense of belonging is an area of study that is limited.

RACIAL/ETHNIC IDENTITY DEVELOPMENT

Defining racial and ethnic identity has proven to be somewhat difficult in that there is little consensus on their meaning and distinction. For example, Alicia Fedelina Chávez and Florence Guido-DiBritto discuss the conflict of the term “racial identity” amongst scholars where “Some meanings are derived from its biological

¹⁸ Michelle Samura, “Remaking Selves, Repositioning Selves, or Remaking Space: An Examination of Asian American College Students’ Processes of ‘Belonging,’” *Journal of College Student Development* 57, no. 2 (March 2016): 135, <https://doi.org/10.1353/csd.2016.0016>.

¹⁹ Ibid.

²⁰ Derek Kenji Iwamoto and William Ming Liu, “The Impact of Racial Identity, Ethnic Identity, Asian Values, and Race-Related Stress on Asian Americans and Asian International College Students’ Psychological Well-Being,” *Journal of Counseling Psychology* 57, no. 1 (January 2010): 87, <https://doi.org/10.1037/a0017393>.

dimension...and others from its social dimensions”.²¹ Some scholars utilize race and ethnicity, and subsequently racial and ethnic identity, interchangeably²² while others distinguish them only when discussing identity but not in terms of other psychological aspects and processes (i.e., socialization).²³

Beverly Daniel Tatum echoes the conversation in the field of race and ethnic studies in her book *Why Are All the Black Kids Sitting Together* by defining both race and ethnicity in relation to psychological processes while acknowledging the fluid nature of these social constructs that have real-life impact on people’s lives. Tatum states that an “ethnic group is a socially defined group based on cultural criteria, such as language, customs, and shared history...”²⁴. Specifically, racial identity development, on the other hand, might refer “to the process of defining for oneself the personal significance and social meaning of belonging to a particular racial group” (e.g., Black, Asian, Latinx, etc.).²⁵ Joane Nagel also speaks to the fluid nature of ethnic identity and its boundaries by stating that “The location and meaning of particular ethnic boundaries are continuously negotiated, revised, and revitalized, both by ethnic group members themselves as well as by outside observers.”²⁶ These outside observers might be the government who is trying to regroup people for logistical or political purposes, such as restructuring the United States Census.²⁷ However, even in Nagel’s research, “Asian”, a term that would perhaps be considered as a racial category by many, is referred to as an ethnic identity.²⁸

²¹ Alicia Fedelina Chávez and Florence Guido-DiBrito, “Racial and Ethnic Identity and Development,” ed. Jovita M. Ross-Gordono and Joellen E. Coryell, *New Directions for Adult and Continuing Education* 84 (1999): 40.

²² Yoonsun Choi et al., “Race-Ethnicity and Culture in the Family and Youth Outcomes: Test of a Path Model with Korean American Youth and Parents,” *Race and Social Problems*; New York 6, no. 1 (March 2014): 69, <http://dx.doi.org.proxy.lib.umich.edu/10.1007/s12552-014-9111-8>.

²³ Sabine Elizabeth French, Brett Russell Coleman, and Melissa Lee DiLorenzo, “Linking Racial Identity, Ethnic Identity, and Racial-Ethnic Socialization: A Tale of Three Race-Ethnicities,” *Identity* 13, no. 1 (January 1, 2013): 2, <https://doi.org/10.1080/15283488.2012.747438>.

²⁴ Beverly Daniel Tatum author., *Why Are All the Black Kids Sitting Together in the Cafeteria?: And Other Conversations about Race /*, Third trade paperback edition., vi, 453 pages ; vols., vi, 453 pages ; (New York : Basic Books, 2017, 2017), 96.

²⁵ Ibid.

²⁶ Joane Nagel, “Constructing Ethnicity: Creating and Recreating Ethnic Identity and Culture,” *Social Problems* 41, no. 1 (1994): 153.

²⁷ Ibid.

²⁸ Ibid.

The research conducted by Sabine Elizabeth French et al. in 2013 observe that race and racial socialization, a psychological process in which parents convey information regarding race,²⁹ have been more frequently used to “refer to African Americans with respect to the power differential inherent in a racialized society” while “ethnic identity and ethnic socialization have been used to refer to a variety of minority groups, typically Latino Americans and Asian Americans, but also in some instances African Americans.”³⁰ However, regardless of this distinction, French et al. claim that parent socialization of their children in teaching them about group membership involves both race and ethnicity. Yoonsun Choi et al. in 2014 echoes this sentiment in stating that “there is no clear solution for conceptually and empirically distinguishing the terms” race and ethnicity, and decide to combine both terms as race-ethnicity or racial-ethnic “because the constructs of the study include the issues related to both race and ethnicity.”³¹ One important distinction that Jean Kim makes between racial and ethnic identity is the relationship to oppression and racism that follows racial identity: “...racial identity describes how people deal with the effects of racism, eventually disowning the dominant group’s views of their own race and developing a positive self-definition and positive attitude toward their own group” while ethnic identity is not necessarily “closely tied to oppression and racism.”³² For the purposes of this research, I will use ethnic and racial identity interchangeably as many of the participants were fluid in their definitions of race and ethnicity, often combining the two or referring to both when responding to questions.

Racial and ethnic identity development models have roots in the works of widely-cited psychologists such as Erik Erikson and Jean Phinney.³³ These scholars

²⁹ Choi et al., “Race-Ethnicity and Culture in the Family and Youth Outcomes,” 70.

³⁰ French et al., “Linking Racial Identity, Ethnic Identity, and Racial-Ethnic Socialization,” 2.

³¹ Choi et al., “Race-Ethnicity and Culture in the Family and Youth Outcomes,” 69.

³² Charmaine L. Wijeyesinghe and Bailey W. Jackson, *New Perspectives on Racial Identity Development: Integrating Emerging Frameworks*, Second Edition (NYU Press, 2012), 139.

³³ Bachini, “An Intercultural Perspective on Filipina/o American Persistence”; Eunai K. Shrake and Siyon Rhee, “Ethnic Identity as a Predictor of Problem Behaviors Among Korean American Adolescents,” *Adolescence*; Roslyn Heights 39, no. 155 (Fall 2004): 601-22; French et al., “Linking Racial Identity, Ethnic Identity, and Racial-Ethnic Socialization”; Chávez and Guido-DiBrito, “Racial and Ethnic Identity and Development”; Negin Ghavami et al., “Testing a Model of Minority Identity Achievement, Identity Affirmation, and Psychological Well-Being among Ethnic Minority and Sexual Minority Individuals,” *Cultural Diversity and Ethnic Minority Psychology* 17, no. 1

all summarize Phinney's ethnic identity formation model in similar ways, stating that Phinney's model is based on Erikson's ego identity theory and "views the formation of ethnic identity as a developmental process involving exploration and commitment."³⁴ Phinney's model is also based on the idea that secure ethnic identity development occurs when an individual from a minoritized group learns to resolve "two primary issues or conflicts", the first being "stereotypes and prejudices toward their group" and the second being "the presence of contrasting value systems."³⁵ Phinney's ethnic identity development model is not necessarily separate from other racial identity development models and they are in constant conversation with one another. Furthermore, while there are racial identity development models that are solely based on race (e.g., Asian, Latino, etc.), there are also combined models that serve to understand both racial and ethnic aspects of identity development.³⁶ For example, Atkinson, Morten, and Sue's Racial/Cultural Identity Development (R/CID) Model offers five different stages "of what oppressed individuals encounter as they struggle to understand themselves."³⁷ The five stages are the conformity stage, the dissonance stage, the resistance and immersion stage, the introspection stage, and the integrative awareness stage.³⁸ Similar to how Jean Kim described the distinction between race and ethnicity, the R/CID Model offers these stages within the context of those who have encountered oppression.

There have been racial identity development models for different races³⁹, including Asian Americans. Jean Kim developed the Asian American Racial Identity Development (AARID) Model in the 80s through her research with Japanese American

(January 2011): 79–88, <https://doi.org/10.1037/a0022532>; Pratyusha Tummala-Narra and Nina Sathasivam-Rueckert, "The Experience of Ethnic and Racial Group Membership Among Immigrant-Origin Adolescents," *Journal of Adolescent Research* 31, no. 3 (May 2016): 299–342, <https://doi.org/10.1177/0743558415592178>; Tatum, "Why Are All the Black Kids Sitting Together in the Cafeteria?,"

³⁴ Shrake and Rhee, "Ethnic Identity as a Predictor of Problem Behaviors Among Korean American Adolescents," 604.

³⁵ Charles R. Ridley and Andrew Case, "Ethnic Identity Development," in *Encyclopedia of Multicultural Psychology*, by Yo Jackson (2455 Teller Road, Thousand Oaks California 91320 United States: SAGE Publications, Inc., 2006), <https://doi.org/10.4135/9781412952668.n92>.

³⁶ Ridley and Case, "Ethnic Identity Development".

³⁷ *Ibid.*

³⁸ Ridley and Case, "Ethnic Identity Development".

³⁹ See for examples: Ridley and Case, "Ethnic Identity Development".

women.⁴⁰ As Kim writes in her chapter on the AARID Model in *New Perspectives on Racial Identity Development: Integrating Emerging Frameworks*, “racial identity describes how people deal with the effects of racism, eventually disowning the dominant group’s views on their own race and developing a positive self-definition and positive attitude toward their group.”⁴¹ Kim observes that research involving identity development for Asian Americans have largely focused on ethnic identity development theories rather than race.⁴² Kim postulates that this might be the case due to the claim “that for Asian Americans ethnic/cultural identity may develop before racial identity”, as well as due to the subtler types of discrimination and racism that Asian Americans experience compared to people from other racial groups.⁴³

The AARID consists of five different stages: 1) Ethnic Awareness Stage, 2) White Identification Stage, 3) Awakening to Sociopolitical Consciousness, 4) Redirection to an Asian American Consciousness Stage, and 5) Incorporation Stage.⁴⁴ The first stage occurs when an individual enters the school system, as well as their interactions with family members and relatives.⁴⁵ The second stage is when an individual begins to undergo oftentimes painful experiences of being different from their (white) peers.⁴⁶ The third stage involves a shifting of worldviews when Asian Americans “realize that they are not personally responsible for the way White racism has impacted them.”⁴⁷ Asian Americans are able to transform their self-image by gaining a social and political understanding of their identities.⁴⁸ During the fourth stage, while the individual has not yet as Asian American, the individual begins to move out of the reactionary nature of the previous stage and learn more about what it means to be Asian American.⁴⁹ The last stage is when the individual achieves

⁴⁰ Wijeyesinghe and Jackson, *New Perspectives on Racial Identity Development*.

⁴¹ Wijeyesinghe and Jackson, *New Perspectives on Racial Identity Development*, 139.

⁴² *Ibid*

⁴³ *Ibid*, 140.

⁴⁴ *Ibid*.

⁴⁵ *Ibid*, 145.

⁴⁶ Wijeyesinghe and Jackson, *New Perspectives on Racial Identity Development*, 145-6.

⁴⁷ *Ibid*, 147.

⁴⁸ *Ibid*.

⁴⁹ *Ibid*, 148.

“confidence in one’s own Asian American identity.”⁵⁰ While the AAIRD Model is a milestone in terms of better understanding the ethnic and racial development of Asian Americans, it is limited in the sense that it was based from research on only one ethnic group (Japanese American women) and seems to refer to Asian Americans who have experienced growing up in predominantly white communities. While this does echo some of the participants’ experiences in this research study, there are many who have spent the majority of their formative years in non-predominantly white environments.

Moving forward, how does sense of belonging, as well as ethnic and racial identity development relate to the archives? More specifically, what kinds of roles does and could an academic institutional archive play in the various phases of ethnic and racial exploration that students of color experience throughout their college life that ultimately contribute to a better and more positive sense of belonging at their academic institution?

ARCHIVES, SENSE OF BELONGING, AND RACIAL/ETHNIC IDENTITY

The relationship between archives and specifically ethnic and racial identity development, and consequently sense of belonging, has not been a topic that has been widely researched within the archival science field. Literature on this relationship was difficult to find. However, one key piece of research on this topic is “‘To Suddenly Discover Yourself Existing’: Uncovering the Impact of Community Archives” by Michelle Caswell et al.⁵¹ Caswell et al. conducted qualitative research on how a community archive, the South Asian American Digital Archive (SAADA), played a crucial role in the academic work and personal lives of South Asian American students and educators. Caswell borrows the term “symbolic annihilation” from media studies “to denote how members of marginalized communities feel regarding the absence or misrepresentation of their communities in archival collection

⁵⁰ Ibid.

⁵¹ Michelle Caswell, Marika Cifor, and Mario H. Ramirez, “‘To Suddenly Discover Yourself Existing’: Uncovering the Impact of Community Archives,” *The American Archivist* 79, no. 1 (June 1, 2016): 56–81, <https://doi.org/10.17723/0360-9081.79.1.56>.

policies, in descriptive tools, and/or in collections themselves.”⁵² Symbolic annihilation can be seen, for example, in an academic institution’s archive where there is little to no collection on communities of color compared to its collection on perhaps sports history or their white student population. Another example might be in the way a student of color in an institution’s history is tokenized to represent an entire race or ethnicity of people, or the way in which photos of students of color are not captioned with names but only descriptors of their perceived race or ethnicity.

Caswell et al. continue by stating that symbolic annihilation in “mainstream” or institutional archives can be counteracted with a new concept they coined called “representational belonging” which “describes the affective responses community members have to seeing their communities represented with complexity and nuance.”⁵³ In an interview with Pilar Castillo, “an archivist at the Social and Public Art Resource Center, Castillo stated that having a more complex and nuanced representation of oneself within archival space only furthered one’s dedication to “this foreign place...you become a better citizen toward it. You have a mutual goal in creating a good society.”⁵⁴ So then, if there is a lack of complexity and nuance in the representation of people of color within institutional archives, not only are people of color themselves suffering from this lack, but the communities and societies in which they live. Caswell et al. found more responses from the participants of their study expressing that further misrepresentation from archives, as well as libraries and museums, resulted “in anger at, alienation from and disinterest in these cultural institutions.”⁵⁵ Furthermore, their research found that these experiences of being excluded or misinterpreted within archival spaces had “severely negative consequences on one’s sense of belonging or place in the world.”⁵⁶

Other than the work of Caswell et al. in these two pieces of literature, more

⁵² Caswell et al., “‘To Suddenly Discover Yourself Existing’: Uncovering the Impact of Community Archives,” 68.

⁵³ Ibid, 75.

⁵⁴ Michelle Caswell et al., “‘To Be Able to Imagine Otherwise’: Community Archives and the Importance of Representation,” *Archives and Records* 38, no. 1 (January 2, 2017): 19, <https://doi.org/10.1080/23257962.2016.1260445>.

⁵⁵ Ibid, 14

⁵⁶ Ibid, 15

archival literature on the relationship between archives and collective memory was found. In a paper published in 2013 called “Invoking ‘Collective Memory’: Mapping the Emergence of a Concept in Archival Science”, Trond Jacobsen, Ricardo L. Punzalan, and Margaret L. Hedstrom examined the way in which the relationship between archives and “collective” or “social” memory has been an emerging topic of study in multiple disciplines, including archival science.⁵⁷ Through several different analysis methods, Jacobsen et al. states that although it is tempting to declare that archives and memory are directly linked, as Hedstrom and many others implicate in their research, “the terms and conditions of this relationship are not clearly understood.”⁵⁸ In other words, this idea that archives are memory and vice versa needs to be complicated. On the other hand, works of Harvey-Brown and Davis-Brown⁵⁹ cited by Jacobsen et al. argue that archival-related work does “directly influence social memory”.⁶⁰ Through the various rebuttals in between these two sides of the spectrum, Jacobsen et al. conclude that in general, the research that currently exists show a “growing desire to assess the function of archives and archivists in society and to expand the conceptions of archival significance and memory.”⁶¹

The idea of collective memory stems from the belief that archives and archivists are not working within a neutral space and have direct influence in shaping this collective memory. Joan M. Schwartz and Terry Cook write in “Archives, Records, and Power: The Making of Modern Memory” that archives originated from the need of governments and institutions to control public memory for their benefits. They state that:

Archives have always been about power, whether it is the power of the state, the church, the corporation, the family, the public, or the individual. Archives have the power to privilege and to marginalize. They can be a tool of

⁵⁷ Jacobsen, Trond, et al. “Invoking ‘Collective Memory’: Mapping the Emergence of a Concept in Archival Science.” *Archival Science*, vol. 13, no. 2-3, 2013, pp. 221, doi:10.1007/s10502-013-9199-4.

⁵⁸ Ibid.

⁵⁹ Harvey-Brown, Richard, and Beth Davis-Brown. “The Making of Memory: The Politics of Archives, Libraries and Museums in the Construction of National Consciousness.” *History of the Human Sciences*, vol. 11, no. 4, 1998, pp. 17-32, doi:10.1177/095269519801100402.

⁶⁰ Trond, et al., “Invoking ‘Collective Memory’: Mapping the Emergence of a Concept in Archival Science.”

⁶¹ Ibid.

hegemony; they can be a tool of resistance. They both reflect and constitute power relations.⁶²

Caroline Brown analyzes Schwartz and Cook's work by stating that they "shake complacent archivists free from their shackles of neutrality and impartiality" and put archivists in a position of immense power that controls things such as "appraisal, description and providing access" to archival material.⁶³ Elisabeth Kaplan argues that "we are what we collect, we collect what we are" as per the title of her research, which examines the creation of the American Jewish Historical Society and their very specific agenda in beginning collections to build their archives.⁶⁴ Kaplan states that "The archival record doesn't just happen; it is created by individuals and organizations, and used, in turn, to support their values and missions, all of which comprises a process that is certainly not politically and culturally neutral."⁶⁵ If archives are not neutral spaces, then what voices and experiences are being excluded from the archives? Kaplan further warns that despite the positive intentions that the founders of the archives, both currently and throughout history, "unintended effects can arise from archival activity with the best intentions."⁶⁶ These unintended effects are perhaps the erasure of marginalized experiences throughout history. How does this absence affect identity formation, and ultimately sense of belonging, for those who belong to those marginalized communities?

There were a couple of research articles that talked about the connection between collective memory, the archives, and identity. Huiling Feng states in their study that "Collective memory is the link connecting archives and identity" and contends that an archival system that covers a broad spectrum of society must be

⁶² Schwartz, Joan, and Terry Cook. "Archives, Records, and Power: The Making of Modern Memory." *Archival Science*, vol. 2, no. 1-2, 2002, pp. 13.

⁶³ Brown, Caroline. "Memory, Identity and the Archival Paradigm: Introduction to the Special Issue." *Archival Science*, vol. 13, no. 2-3, 2013, pp. 86, doi:10.1007/s10502-013-9203-z.

⁶⁴ Kaplan, Elisabeth. "We Are What We Collect, We Collect What We Are: Archives and the Construction of Identity." *The American Archivist*, vol. 63, no. 2000, pp. 126-51.

⁶⁵ Kaplan, Elisabeth. "We Are What We Collect, We Collect What We Are: Archives and the Construction of Identity," 147.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*

established in order to “provide legitimate and adequate foundation in citizens’ identity”.⁶⁷ Feng asserts that without the archives to reflect one’s experiences, it delegitimizes and declares one’s identity as unimportant within the community or larger society. To further support this connection between the archives and identity, Eric Ketelaar states that “The user and the archivist are alike construct stories that establish who they are and who they are not, where they fit in and where they do not, who belongs to them and who does not...the user *finds* meaning and *makes* meaning in an archive or a record and those meanings help him or her in structuring and restructuring the relationship between the self and the world and thereby in the formation of his or her identity.”⁶⁸ Furthermore, as Clara Lee Brown cites, Erikson postulates that it is imperative to be “surrounded by a supportive social environment so that they can appropriately develop a positive sense of who they are.”⁶⁹ However, if students of color are not receiving the kind of supportive social environment they need in order to thrive, particularly in higher education institutional settings, this could have detrimental effects on their levels of success, happiness, and well-being. A chapter within the educational journal entitled *New Directions for Adult and Continuing Education* by Alicia Fedelina Chávez and Florence Guido-DiBrito elaborated on the importance of understanding “the culturally constructed nature of educational environments and to develop an awareness of the effect of our own racially and ethnically defined sense of self, of learning, and of education.”⁷⁰

While the aforementioned research originate from a multitude of disciplines outside of the archival science field, the lessons learned from this breadth of literature could be applied to the practices within archives. Some questions that continue to remain unanswered are: How do college archives contribute to the dominant culture within higher educational institutions that actively repress,

⁶⁷ Feng, Huiling. “Identity and Archives: Return and Expansion of the Social Value of Archives.” *Archival Science*, vol. 17, no. 2, 2017, pp. 97, doi:10.1007/s10502-016-9271-y.

⁶⁸ Ketelaar, Eric. “Cultivating Archives: Meanings and Identities.” *Archival Science*, vol. 12, no. 1, 2012, pp. 27, doi:10.1007/s10502-011-9142-5.

⁶⁹ Lee Brown, Clara. “Heritage Language and Ethnic Identity: A Case Study of Korean-American College Students.” *International Journal of Multicultural Education*, vol. 11, no. 1, 2009, pp. 4.

⁷⁰ Chávez and Guido-DiBrito. “Racial and Ethnic Identity and Development,” 44.

misrepresent, or symbolically annihilate the experiences students of color, and specifically for this thesis, Korean American students? What are the actual experiences and reactions to the lack of representation for Korean American students at academic institutions as seen in archives?

RESEARCH DESIGN

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

Qualitative methods were used for this research because I felt that experiences involving complex concepts like ethnic/racial identity and sense of belonging required a way to capture the nuances of those experiences from participant-to-participant. There are various ways to conduct qualitative research. One such methodological approach is the “walkthrough” approach, which some may refer to as cognitive walkthrough⁷¹, usability testing, or contextual inquiry.

Light et al. elaborate on the history of the walkthrough approach, particularly in the academic setting, and attribute its beginnings to fields “grounded in software engineering and oriented towards improving the quality of code and user experience.”⁷² By acknowledging the relational aspects of technology use, as well as incorporating frameworks from cultural studies and ethnographic traditions, Light et al. suggest a new rendition of the walkthrough approach.⁷³ Another example of this approach is the “media go-along” method introduced by Kristian Møller Jørgensen, which combines observations and interviews together in a “natural setting” that is comfortable for the participant.⁷⁴

However, the methodology required for this study is somewhat different than these interpretation of the walkthrough approach in that its purpose is not to evaluate interfaces or designs, but rather, borrowing from the grounded theory approach, to understand and analyze the reactions that emerge from interacting with the chosen archival material. This understanding and analysis will then be

⁷¹ Lars-Ola Bligard and Anna-Lisa Osvalder, “Enhanced Cognitive Walkthrough: Development of the Cognitive Walkthrough Method to Better Predict, Identify, and Present Usability Problems,” *Advances in Human-Computer Interaction*, 2013, <http://dx.doi.org/10.1155/2013/931698>.

⁷² Ben Light, Jean Burgess, and Stefanie Duguay, “The Walkthrough Method: An Approach to the Study of Apps,” *New Media & Society* 20, no. 3 (March 2018): 885–86, <https://doi.org/10.1177/1461444816675438>.

⁷³ *Ibid.*, 886–87.

⁷⁴ Kristian Møller Jørgensen, “The Media Go-along: Researching Mobilities with Media at Hand,” *MedieKultur: Journal of Media and Communication Research* 32, no. 60 (June 23, 2016): 18 p.-18 p., <https://doi.org/10.7146/mediekultur.v32i60.22429>.

interpreted in the context of ethnic identity, which is suggested by research to be associated with sense of belonging in students of color.

The design of the interview and walkthrough was developed in multiple iterations in conversation with the thesis advisor and another master's student. The structure of the protocol was designed based on questions found in sense of belonging measures,⁷⁵ as well as the research of Maitner et al. as cited by Sara Douglass et al.⁷⁶ Angela T. Maitner et al. found that,

...individuals processed the same information differently depending on which identity was contextually salient for them, showing that identity salience does indeed impact the way people perceive and evaluate the world around them. Subtly influencing identity salience could therefore have powerful consequences for the way people process information during intergroup negotiations, conflicts, or compromises, when social identities are salient.⁷⁷

Based on this finding, I primed participants by beginning the interview with questions on their ethnic/racial identity, their experiences of feeling different throughout their childhood, as well as their experiences as a Korean/Asian American student at U-M. I specifically wanted to think about their sense of belonging at U-M within the context of their ethnic/racial identity. Some sense of belonging questions, such as whether participants felt like they were valued by U-M, were crafted based on sense of belonging measures found in various research.⁷⁸

In preparation for the walkthrough portion of the interview, I met with archivists from the Bentley Historical Library, the official university archive for U-M with a heavy collection focusing on Michigan, who showed five alumni files on Korean students who had attended U-M in the early 20th century. The only two criteria in choosing objects to show participants from these alumni files were the

⁷⁵ Bachini, "An Intercultural Perspective on Filipina/o American Persistence", 138.

⁷⁶ Sara Douglass, Yijie Wang, and Tiffany Yip, "The Everyday Implications of Ethnic-Racial Identity Processes: Exploring Variability in Ethnic-Racial Identity Salience Across Situations," *Journal of Youth and Adolescence* 45, no. 7 (July 1, 2016): 1396-1411, <https://doi.org/10.1007/s10964-015-0390-1>; Angela T. Maitner et al., "Identity Salience Moderates Processing of Group-Relevant Information," *Journal of Experimental Social Psychology* 46, no. 2 (March 2010): 441-44, <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jesp.2009.11.010>.

⁷⁷ Maitner, "Identity Salience Moderates Processing of Group-Relevant Information," 444.

⁷⁸ Anistranski, "What Are the Respective Roles of Developmental Tasks in College Student Belonging?"; Bachini, "An Intercultural Perspective on Filipina/o American Persistence."

age of the object and diversity of format in the objects. Hypothesizing that participants might not have interacted with archival materials on Korean students prior to the 1960s based on my own surprise of the availability of such objects, I wanted to choose the oldest objects from the files to show participants. Moreover, I wanted to ensure that participants had a different variety of objects to interact with; therefore, a variety of registration records, postcards, and newspaper clippings (one with a photograph) were chosen.

Participants were given a total of seven objects to interact with during the walkthrough. In the beginning of the walkthrough, I explained that in this section of the interview, participants will be asked to look at some objects I scanned from the Bentley Historical Library and that they should think out loud. I assured them by saying that there is no right or wrong answer. Once I explained the initial instructions, I laid out the photographs of the objects taken from the alumni files in front of them and asked participants to choose the top three most compelling objects to discuss. There was no particular order in which the objects were laid out in front of participants. However, after the first four interviews, I tried to lay the objects down in a way that would put the object with the picture farther away from participants. The reason for this was due to P04's response that she chose the objects partly because of the way they were laid down that made some catch her eye. While P01, P02, and P03 had other reasons for their choices in the archival objects, P04's response was the first that talked about the layout of the objects. Therefore, to ensure that participants were not choosing certain objects, particularly the object with the photograph, based on proximity. The only other participant to state proximity of object to them as a reason for choosing the objects was P07.

Some participants chose to talk about each object in detail before moving onto the next, while other participants talked about their top three altogether. Regardless of the methods participants used in talking about these objects, I asked prompting questions throughout the entire walkthrough.⁷⁹ Some of these questions

⁷⁹ See Appendix A for Interview Protocol.

were more observational, asking participants to describe the object; other questions were more deductive, asking participants whether they could make inferences on who the audience of the object was or the lives of the subject of the object. These questions were loosely based on the document analysis guidelines for teaching with archival material from the National Archives and Record Administration.⁸⁰

Upon completion of the walkthrough, participants were asked to reflect on the experience. Furthermore, they were asked if they had experience with any archive prior to this interaction, as well as whether they were familiar with Korean student history at U-M. They were also asked whether they felt this activity helped impact their sense of belonging at U-M in any way and if they thought this activity would help others' sense of belonging.⁸¹

ARTIFACTS FROM THE BENTLEY HISTORICAL LIBRARY

Prior to interviewing participants for this study, I consulted with archivists from the Bentley Historical Library on whether they held material on Korean students at U-M. To my surprise, they were able to show me four alumni files on Korean students from the early 20th century, which had been collected because the President of U-M required information on the first Korean student to attend U-M for a speech. The people in these alumni files were Pyungtoo William Lee, In Choon Park, Dr. Mary Jane Woo, and Ilhan New.⁸²

Preliminary searching online did not produce any results on Pyungtoo William Lee or In Choon Park. However, through searching online in both English and Korean, I was able to find information on Ilhan New⁸³ and Dr. Mary Jane Woo, who later married

⁸⁰ "Document Analysis Worksheets," National Archives, August 15, 2016, <https://www.archives.gov/education/lessons/worksheets>.

⁸¹ See Appendix A for Interview Protocol.

⁸² University of Michigan. Alumni Records., "Alumni Files, 1845-1978.," Pyungtoo William Lee c '19-'20, no. 005409227 (n.d.); University of Michigan. Alumni Records., "Alumni Files, 1845-1978.," In Choon Park e '18-'20, no. 005409227 (n.d.); University of Michigan. Alumni Records., "Alumni Files, 1845-1978.," Mary Jane Woo, no. 005409227 (n.d.); University of Michigan. Alumni Records., "Alumni Files, 1845-1978.," Il Han New, no. 005409227 (n.d.).

⁸³ Family name pronounced "Yu" not "New".

Dr. Ilhan New in 1925.

Dr. Mary Jane Woo was actually born and raised in the United States but initially gave up her citizenship to marry Ilhan New.⁸⁴ However, Dr. Woo was not ethnically Korean; she was ethnically Chinese.⁸⁵ Dr. Woo met Ilhan New during her studies in becoming a physician in pediatrics at the University of Michigan.⁸⁶ She was offered a professorial and pediatrics head position at Severance Hospital at Yonhui University, later known as Yonsei University; however, she refused the position to start a pharmaceutical company with her husband.⁸⁷ Different from his wife, Ilhan New crossed the Pacific Ocean during the Russo-Japanese War in 1904 and settled in Nebraska.⁸⁸ He attended Hastings High School as the only Korean student and was even a part of the football team.⁸⁹ He moved onto the University of Michigan where here earned a bachelor's degree in business administration in 1919.⁹⁰ New was one of the founders of the Detroit-based Chinese/Asian food company, La Choy, in 1922.⁹¹ Furthermore, during his time in the United States, he was also a part of a military operation organized by the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) called Project NAPKO that put efforts into "...recruit[ing] and train[ing] 55 Korean Americans and Korean prisoners of war for infiltration into Japanese-occupied Korea, and ultimately into Japan itself..." prior to the official surrender of the Japanese empire on August 15th, 1945.⁹² He also began one of South Korea's conglomerate pharmaceutical companies called Yuhan Corporation (유한양행).⁹³ Despite criticisms of being a wholesaler rather than a pharmaceutical manufacturing company, Yuhan Corporation ranked number one in sales in South Korea in 2017.⁹⁴

⁸⁴ University of Michigan. Alumni Records., "Alumni Files, 1845-1978.," Mary Jane Woo, no. 005409227 (n.d.).

⁸⁵ "유일한," accessed April 1, 2019, <http://www.pharmstoday.com/news/articleView.html?idxno=99561>.

⁸⁶ Ibid.

⁸⁷ Ibid.

⁸⁸ 이해진, "2019 유일한 그는 누구인가?," accessed April 1, 2019, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=E3JPffT4a1E&feature=youtu.be>.

⁸⁹ Ibid.

⁹⁰ University of Michigan. Alumni Records., "Alumni Files, 1845-1978.," Il Han New, no. 005409227 (n.d.).

⁹¹ Anne Soon Choi, *Korean Americans* (Infobase Publishing, 2007), 47.

⁹² Jim Anderson and Lcdr Usnr, "A Tale of Two Semi-Submersible Submarines" 58, no. 4 (2014): 11.

⁹³ "유한양행," accessed April 1, 2019, <http://www.yuhan.co.kr/Main/>.

⁹⁴ 류지민, "매출 1위 유한양행 '빛 좋은 개살구' - 매일경제," mk.co.kr, accessed April 1, 2019, <https://www.mk.co.kr/news/business/view/2017/01/35422/>.

The information provided here on the lives of Dr. Mary Jane Woo New and Ilhan New is not complete, as there are a multitude of things that they contributed to South Korea and the United States. While this information was not provided to any of the participants during the interview, it is important to know that so little is known about these two significant figures in both United States and Korean history at the University of Michigan.

DATA COLLECITON & ANALYSIS

PARTICIPANT RECRUITMENT

The process of recruiting participants involved identifying various Asian-interest organizations and departments throughout U-M, as well as the use of personal contacts. Utilizing the Maize Pages, which lists all active organizations at U-M, I contacted Asian-interest student organizations through email and social media platforms, such as Facebook. Interestingly, but not surprisingly, the most responses were received after posting about the research on the Korean Students Association Facebook page. In addition to student organizations, an email advertisement was sent out to all undergraduate students at one U-M school. Lastly, I contacted peers to spread the advertisement to people who they thought might be interested in participating in this study.

The initial screening survey was sent out during the recruitment process.⁹⁵ The target population was undergraduate students who identified as Korean American. However, from personal experience of seeing how the term “Korean American” could exclude people who most undoubtedly are a part of the Korean American community but may not feel comfortable with the term (e.g., Korean adoptees or people of mixed race and/or ethnicity), I used the term “Korean heritage” to describe the target population for this study. Furthermore, in multiple locations, I listed the specific identities that might be included within the broad term of Korean heritage students. While I did not exclude Korean international students in the

⁹⁵ See Appendix B Screening Survey.

wording of this study, I specified that this study was for Korean heritage students who have spent a substantial amount of time during their formative years in the United States.

Upon completion of the screening survey, I chose ten participants that represented a wide variety of backgrounds and experiences. Out of the 32 survey respondents, these ten were contacted by email to schedule an interview time and date.⁹⁶ Unfortunately, not all of the contacted ten responded to the interview scheduling email; thus, six more survey respondents were chosen and contacted. Ultimately, a total of eight participants were interviewed.

PARTICIPANT DESCRIPTION

All eight participants (coded P01 - P08) were undergraduate students at the University of Michigan in different years. Five participants identified as female while three identified as male. Korean language ability was varied among the participants, though language was not a factor in analysis. Five participants were born in the United States while two immigrated to the United States before the age of 10, and one after the age of ten. One participant identified as mixed race while another identified as mixed ethnicity. None identified as Korean adoptees.

	Age	Gender	Race	Ethnicity	Year	Citizenship
P01	21	F	Asian	Filipino Korean	3	US
P02	20	F	Korean-American	Korean	2	US before 10
P03	22	F	Asian	Asian (Korean)	4	US before 10
P04	20	F	Asian	Korean-American	3	US
P05	20	F	Asian	Korean	2	US after 10
P06	18	M	Asian	Korean	1	US
P07	21	M	East Asian	Korean	3	US

⁹⁶ See Appendix C for Invitation Email.

P08	18	M	White Asian American	Korean French Scottish British	1	US
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***Note: The race/ethnicity sections were copied directly from how participants identified. Some are hyphenated because the participants chose to hyphenate their identities while others did not choose to hyphenate.*

DATA ANALYSIS APPROACH

Upon receipt of transcripts of the audio-recorded interviews, there were several steps I followed to analyzed the data. First, I began by conducting a read-through of all eight participant transcripts without noting analysis (i.e., highlighting or coding). After completing the read-through, I used my initial understanding of the data set to create codes. Then, in order to ensure that there were no other codes I was missing, I conducted a semi-formal clustering activity with the transcripts of two participants following these steps:

- ▶ Aggregate all quotes from both transcripts into thematic clusters, with a maximum of seven quotes in one cluster (tier 1);
- ▶ Create summative statements of these clusters (tier 2);
- ▶ Aggregate tier 2 summative statements into another level of clusters (teir 3);
- ▶ Create codes based on tier 3 clusters.

Through the combination of the pre-created codes and the clustering activity, a codebook was created, which you can see in Appendix D. Using this codebook, I coded all eight transcripts in NVivo 12.

FINDINGS

The purpose of this study is to understand the impact of archival interaction on the ethnic/racial identity development and sense of belonging of Korean American students at U-M. In other words, it is not a study on ethnic/racial identity development or sense of belonging. However, it was important to understand the contexts in which the participants of this study were coming from, as well as currently experiencing in order to better understand their interaction with the archival material and what kind of impact it could have on their ethnic/racial identity and sense of belonging. Therefore, the findings will first discuss the aspects that have impacted their sense of belonging within the different spheres of their lives at U-M. Then, it will discuss the factors that have impacted their ethnic/racial identity, both within and outside the context of U-M. Lastly, the findings will examine the ways in which these participants' experiences on their sense of belonging and ethnic/racial identity come into conversation with the archival materials.

SENSE OF BELONGING

POSITIVE INFLUENCES IN SENSE OF BELONGING

When asked if participants have felt like they belong at U-M in general, seven out of eight participants (87.5%) stated that they do feel a sense of belonging. The most significant factor that contributed to a strong sense of belonging in most of the participants was organizational participation. Regardless of the strength of sense of belonging, all participants responded that participating in organizations on campus has contributed greatly to their sense of belonging at U-M. For example, P01 stated that,

If I'm being honest, if I was just here and I didn't have those clubs and I was just focused on studying, I feel like I would feel a little lost. But I feel like the clubs have given me a sense of community and friends.⁹⁷

⁹⁷ P01. Andrea Kang. Interview. Ann Arbor, MI, February 25, 2019.

This sentiment was echoed by all participants. Six participants reported that the organizations they were involved with were either ethnicity/race-related affinity groups or groups that had a substantial representation of Korean and/or Asian American students. P01 and P02 were particularly involved with the Korean Student Association (KSA) at U-M, as well as an Asian-interest sorority.⁹⁸ P05 was involved with a professional organization for Asian communities while P07 expressed interest in being more involved with KSA.⁹⁹ P08 stated that while he was not a part of any organizations on campus as a transfer student, he was involved in a predominantly Asian research team.¹⁰⁰ P04 reported that she was heavily involved as a member and leader of her predominantly Asian church.¹⁰¹ From these responses, it was clear that participating in organizations or groups that reflected one's ethnic and/or racial identity played some kind of role in the strength of belonging in participants.

P03 and P06 on the other hand participated in organizations that were a bit different than the other participants. For example, P06 stated that while he had joined a fraternity and a sports team on campus, he was one of the few Asian students in particularly the sports team.¹⁰² P06 reported that while this was “not necessarily something I feel bad about...”, he nevertheless felt that it was “the farthest I feel like ever” from other Korean and/or Asian people.¹⁰³ There was less general commenting on whether or not this impacted P06's sense of belonging; it would be interesting to interview P06, as well as other participants, again for more empirical measures of sense of belonging based on the psychological tests that exist in the field. Unfortunately, due to the lack of expertise in psychology, as well as time, this kind of measurement was not possible for this research. Another example is P03's participating in a traditional Korean musical group that surprisingly had very little Korean ethnic representation in the organization. P03 described the

⁹⁸ P01; P02. Andrea Kang. Interview. Ann Arbor, MI, February 27, 2019.

⁹⁹ P05. Andrea Kang. Interview. Ann Arbor, MI, March 1, 2019; P07. Andrea Kang. Interview. Ann Arbor, MI, March 13, 2019.

¹⁰⁰ P08. Andrea Kang. Interview. Ann Arbor, MI, March 15, 2019.

¹⁰¹ P04. Andrea Kang. Interview. Ann Arbor, MI, February 27, 2019.

¹⁰² P03. Andrea Kang. Interview. Ann Arbor, MI, February 27, 2019.

¹⁰³ P06. Andrea Kang. Interview. Ann Arbor, MI, March 1, 2019.

traditional Korean musical group saying that,

There's very little Koreans. I will tell maybe 10% is Korean. They're all diverse. There are people who's interested in the culture. I guess that's the huge difference. In the club, they understand more about Korean culture and the language. They're more interested..."¹⁰⁴

Here, P03's sense of belonging was not necessarily impacted by the representation of Korean ethnic participants but rather the respect and interest in Korean language and culture. While P03 was not probed on whether participants in this traditional Korean music group particularly identified as Asian, it was clear from P03's comments that respect and interest of her own ethnic and/or racial background was a contributing factor to the level of belonging she felt in this organization.

NEGATIVE INFLUENCES IN SENSE OF BELONGING

Despite representation not being contributing factors in both P03 and P06's responses, representation still played a crucial role in sense of belonging for other participants. This representation was especially highlighted when talking about sense of belonging in the classroom. Participants were asked whether their sense of belonging differed within the various spheres of their lives at U-M (e.g., organizations, social groups, classes, specific school, etc.). P01's response was an insightful summation of what some of the other participants felt when she said that,

I think when I am in my classes, I'm reminded that this school is very Caucasian...And there are a lot...There is still a little bit of a lack of diversity in the classrooms. And in [redacted: U-M academic program], I guess, it's a little different just because...it's a small cohort. Everybody is very, very conscious of social justice issues and race ethnicity issues because that's what makes up the core of our studies in [redacted: U-M academic program]. But it's also interesting because in other classes, before I used to be a [redacted: different U-M academic program] major, very heavily white male. So there I never really felt exactly like I belonged. There wasn't really a sense of community there. That's what I felt like. It almost lacked in that sense.¹⁰⁵

¹⁰⁴ P03.

¹⁰⁵ P01.

P01 went on to explain that she also would feel uncomfortable from time-to-time speaking up in her classes that were predominantly white and male “just because you do start to feel a little outnumbered again, you don’t want to rock the boat too much.”¹⁰⁶ From P01’s experiences alone, it becomes evident that a lack of Korean/Asian representation stifles student participation in class, which is a crucial component of a student’s education. Subconsciously or consciously having to worry about “rocking the boat” instead of the content of the class is an exhausting exercise that seems too common in students who are from traditionally underrepresented communities. P08 also stated that while his “research team is predominantly Asian. My classes are predominantly Caucasian, my friend group is predominantly Asian. So to tell you ironically, the sense of belonging increases in the two groups with Asian people, and the one demographic group, the Caucasian, I feel very isolated.”¹⁰⁷ There were times throughout the interview when P08 stated that he did not particularly feel that ethnic or racial representation played a factor in his weak sense of belonging at U-M. However, this observation shows that it impacts his sense of belonging in some form.

Participants’ responses were similar in that when asked about their sense of belonging in general, the majority of participants stated that they do feel that they belong at U-M. However, when asked about sense of belonging in a more targeted manner, separating their experiences into different spheres, participants’ answers began to veer from a simple yes to a more complex explanation of belonging and not belonging. In other words, students’ experiences of belonging is much more complicated than what appears on the surface; these sets of questions on sense of belonging only grazed the surface.

SENSE OF BELONGING INFLUENCES OUTSIDE OF ETHNIC/RACIAL IDENTITY

Ethnic and racial representation was not the only contributing element to

¹⁰⁶ P01.

¹⁰⁷ P08.

P08's sense of belonging at U-M. When asked about whether or not he believes U-M values him as a student, his response was, "I definitely do not think so." While this reaction was surprising at first, hearing his experience as a working class transfer student at U-M gave clarity to his response. From not being provided with services that other non-transfer students received in a timely matter to feeling that U-M does not prioritize transfer students in the same way as non-transfer students, P08 explained that the ways in which he felt devalued by U-M affected his sense of belonging at the institution. Furthermore, P08 mentioned how he had difficulty fitting in with the rest of the student body because he was of working class background.

I'm not coming from a very unfortunate family, but I come from a family that is blue collar. Everyone's blue collar. I'm just trying to make it here. Those stressors are...were not as big, back when I was at my previous institution...but it's amplified now because of academic pressures. There are moments where those stressors do take the better of me. Those are [the] times I question myself.¹⁰⁸

Socioeconomic background was not something that this research incorporated into its analysis. However, P08's experiences delineate how identity is not just isolated to ethnicity and/or race; it is an intersection of experiences and backgrounds that cannot be compartmentalized or isolated for study. Furthermore, P08's experiences show how there are multiple factors that contribute to sense of belonging that is not just isolated to ethnic and/or racial representation on campus.

One factor that did, however, contribute to P08's, as well as other participants', sense of belonging at U-M was the feeling that he was contributing to something larger than himself. For example, P08 talked about how he tutored other students as a side job.

I just tutor kids that I've taken classes from, and...I think it actually increases my sense of belonging, because I started to develop a relationship with my students, but sometimes I don't even charge them because I just appreciate their ability to even help me...with my rent and stuff like that...I feel like it's rewarding. It's helping people and I'm able to minimize my financial

¹⁰⁸ P08.

stressors.¹⁰⁹

Regardless of P08's negative experiences at U-M as a working class transfer student, his ability to help others have increased his sense of belonging in his community. P08 also had similar sentiments when he talked about his participation in his predominantly Asian research group: "My sense of belonging there is perfectly fine. I'm contributing to the group, and I think it's great."¹¹⁰ While P08's sense of belonging in this research group could have more to do with the fact that it is predominantly Asian, his ability to contribute to the group is also a factor that should not be ignored. Other participants' responses could also be interpreted to understand sense of belonging within the context of one's ability to contribute to something larger than oneself. For example, P01 stated that she felt a strong sense of belonging in KSA because she has "ingrained myself in the club [and]...done a lot of work"¹¹¹ while P02 talked about how she feels that people in her organization would "notice if I'm not here."¹¹² These responses point towards the fact that the ability to contribute lasting impact within a community is an important factor to sense of belonging.

Form these participants' responses, it was clear that participation in organizations that consisted of higher levels of Korean/Asian representation and having a sense that one was contributing to her or his community were both factors in stronger sense of belonging. Juxtaposed to this was a weaker sense of belonging due to a lack of Korean/Asian representation in the classroom. However, this representation was not the only factor in sense of belonging demonstrated by P08's experience as a working class transfer student, as well as the responses from P03 and P06 in their own organizational experiences.

ETHNIC/RACIAL IDENTITY

While participants were not empirically measured for the strength in their

¹⁰⁹ P08.

¹¹⁰ Ibid.

¹¹¹ P01.

¹¹² P02.

sense of ethnic/racial identity/ies, based on their responses, there was much variance on how participants felt about how they described themselves. When participants were asked how they described themselves ethnically and racially, some were quick to say that they described themselves racially as Asian American and ethnically Korean while others hesitated, with one participant admitting to looking up what ethnicity and race meant prior to the interview. Two significant contributing factors to participants' sense of ethnic/racial identity were organizational participation (e.g., clubs, school prior to U-M, etc.), similar to sense of belonging, and other people or family.

POSITIVE INFLUENCERS TO SENSE OF ETHNIC/RACIAL IDENTITY

Five participants especially focused on how various organizations and their participation within them shaped their ethnic/racial identity. For example, P04 talked about her experience at an international school affiliated with the United Nations where the majority of students were citizens of different countries. "I think since I was really young, especially being at an international school, we celebrated cultures a lot."¹¹³ P06 mentioned that prior to his time at U-M, he "attended a Korean catholic church so that's where my sense of [ethnic/racial identity and]...my connection to being Korean comes from..."¹¹⁴ P08 also mentioned his experiences growing up in a Korean church, although he mentioned that he felt some dissonance with other children at his church.¹¹⁵ P01 talked about how her connections with someone she had met through a contact at an organization her mother had told her about. This led P01 to participate in various Asian American organizations both outside of and within Michigan.

So, I became part of this organization. A lot of them were older Asian Americans...But I started attending a lot of those workshops. Through my mentor that I met in Michigan I got involved in this youth leadership center with Asian Pacific Islander American Vote (APIA Vote). I think that's when I really started to develop this understanding of racial identity as an Asian

¹¹³ P04.

¹¹⁴ P06.

¹¹⁵ P08.

American...because it talked a lot about Asian American identity in particular, social justice. So, I think that's really...I don't know if I would have otherwise understood that a lot before. And once I came to Michigan, I like joining different organizations...which focused a lot on like Korean aspects and the heritage and stuff like that.¹¹⁶

To P01, these organizations gave her not only the experiences needed to shape her own ethnic/racial identity, but also an understanding of the political nature of the term “Asian American”, which was coined in the 1960s for solidarity purposes.¹¹⁷ For P01, the way she described her racial identity and ethnic identity were very clear in that racially she identified as Asian American while ethnically she identified as Filipino Korean. No other participants delineated their racial and ethnic identity in this defined way.

Another contributing factor to participants' sense of racial/ethnic identity were other people or family members around them. For example, P02 stated that she “didn't really...identify as being Asian or Korean until...high school, cause all up to eighth grade, I was kind of...interacting with...variety of group of people.” For P02, identity was not at the forefront of her mind until she reached high school where she “was the only Korean American in my school besides like this one other kid...”¹¹⁸ It was not until she came to U-M that her sense of ethnic/racial identity became stronger through interacting with people from various Asian-interest organizations. Another examples is P04, who once again talked about her experience at her international school and how she felt a need “to not identify with being American more than I felt the need to identify with being Korean” due to the fact that the majority of the students at her school were not “American”.¹¹⁹ When probed to define what she meant by “American”, she responded that she meant white people. It was interesting to hear P04's experiences at her international school; it was a reflection of what one's experience could look like if placed in an environment where people of

¹¹⁶ P08.

¹¹⁷ Kat Chow, “If We Called Ourselves Yellow,” Code Switch: NPR, accessed April 1, 2019, <https://www.npr.org/sections/codeswitch/2018/09/27/647989652/if-we-called-ourselves-yellow>.

¹¹⁸ P02.

¹¹⁹ P04.

color were the majority. For other participants, however, while they were not fortunate to attend a school that was predominantly students of color prior to their time at U-M, they mentioned how their families played a role in their “Koreanness”. For example, P07, who is of mixed race, talked about how his mother and grandmother were influential in teaching him about Korean culture through food and the Korean people they would invite to their home. P06 also talked about how his ethnic/racial identity was something his parents wanted “to instill on me really early. I knew I was a Korean. I mean, just the other traditions, growing up as Korean, eating Korean food.” For these participants, their ethnic/racial identity were a combination of interactions with other people outside of their homes, as well as the socialization process their parents consciously put them through. These results show that developing a positive sense of ethnic/racial identity requires interactions with people or spaces that allow for positive reinforcement of one’s ethnic/racial identity.

NEGATIVE INFLUENCERS TO SENSE OF ETHNIC/RACIAL IDENTITY

While the majority of these organizational experiences and interactions with other people and family positively impacted participants’ sense of ethnic/racial identity, there were other experiences that impacted their sense of ethnic/racial identity in negative or jarring ways. Some participants talked about how they became more aware of their ethnic/racial identity because people around them made them feel different. For P02, identifying as Korean/Asian American was something that she did not want to do because her primary educational environment was one

where...the kids were kind of...making racist jokes. But then that didn’t register to me as...racism, it was just something we brushed off. But I knew I was different from other kids and it wasn’t something that I really wanted to talk about. When teachers are like, oh being Asian American like in class or something, and I was just like hoping don’t call on me. Like I don’t want to talk about it. It was that kind of like something that I didn’t really want to identify as myself.¹²⁰

¹²⁰ P02.

Feeling different for P02 forced a distance between her exploration of her ethnic/racial identity. Similarly, P01 talked about the typical experience that many children of color have, which is “the lunchbox moment where my mom would pack some kind of Korean food or rice and they would just be like, ‘Oh my God, that’s so gross. What is that?’ Small little moments like that.”¹²¹ P05 talked about her experience in the first grade on how “the biggest point, when I realized that I was Korean was when I moved to Austria or right before that process. Because I was so different from everyone else around me, so I was like, ‘Oh, I’m different and I’m Korean or Asian.’”¹²² P03 associated her ethnic identity in relation to how well she fit in as an immigrant to the United States at such a young age, stating that during her primary education, she “felt like [I was]...just Korean. I didn’t feel like I was American.” She further explained that it was not until middle and high school “when I started to feel like, ‘Oh, I could fit in with these people.’ Then it was to the point like even without...citizenship, I still felt like an American. I guess what after I got that citizenship, it really solidified that. I could just say, ‘I’m actually an American.’” Similar to how participants found positive sense of belonging through organizational participation, they also found outlets to explore and build their sense of ethnic/racial identity through organizations. Furthermore, through interactions with other people and family members, their sense of ethnic/racial identity was strengthened. However, experiences of feeling different or feeling like they were the only person in their ethnic/racial group contributed to delayed exploration of their ethnic/racial identity.

ARCHIVAL WALKTHROUGH

FEELING CONNECTED TO ARCHIVAL MATERIAL

The level of demonstrated enthusiasm in interacting with the archival material was different across the participants. However, all found at the very least one aspect from the small selection of materials that was intriguing to them for

¹²¹ P01.

¹²² P05.

various reasons. The most salient reason for interest in the materials was finding a connection with the content of the materials to their personal interests or lives. Finding connection to these materials not only allowed participants to see themselves reflected in the history of the institution, but also gave them the space to learn more about the history of their past community. In other words, feeling connected to the material they interacted with gave them the space to imagine their predecessors' lives in the past and how that impacted them in their current positions at U-M. This exploration, as well as, the ability to see themselves reflected through these materials helped participants solidify that Korean people contributed to U-M in ways that were often not advertised or widely known throughout the institution, as well as feel a stronger sense of belonging at U-M.

P01 frequently linked her knowledge of the street names and areas in Michigan to the addresses she found in the objects one, two, and three.¹²³ P02 connected with object seven on Dr. Mary Jane Woo's naturalization because she herself was going to be naturalized as a United States citizen within the week. Likewise, P06 was interested in the same objects as P02 because her father's struggles in obtaining a green card and finally gaining citizenship after 19 years of living in the United States. Furthermore, P06 expressed that she found object four interesting because of its "connection to Michigan, I love seeing that and because I relate to that, my coming here especially, missing Asian food..."¹²⁴ P05 was also interested in the activity because "it related to Michigan particularly."¹²⁵ P08 connected with the food aspect of object four as well, stating that "...food is a good thing, brings people together. That's good. That's what I want happening."¹²⁶ Lastly, while P04 did not necessarily talk about the personal connections she had with the objects, she expressed that she would find it interesting "if something related to Korean heritage, like were on display, not in the context of a Korean center, I think that would impact me."¹²⁷ Regardless of the ways in which participants found connection to the archival

¹²³ See Appendix E for Archival Material.

¹²⁴ P06.

¹²⁵ P05.

¹²⁶ P08.

¹²⁷ P04.

materials, the ability to connect with the materials on a personal level fueled a slew of emotions, such as curiosity, surprise, and excitement. The amount of questions the majority of participants asked throughout the walkthrough was also evidence of a higher level of engagement in the materials themselves. Finding connection to these materials in different ways allowed participants to see themselves reflected in the institution's history, which meant that the predecessors of their white peers were not the only ones who contributed to the institution's history and establishment. In other words, they, too, as Korean Americans, had a hand in building the institution, which in turn meant that they also belonged at U-M.

LACK OF CONTEXT & KNOWLEDGE AROUND ARCHIVAL MATERIAL

Beyond these positive reactions to the objects themselves, there was a feeling of lack of context on the chosen materials, which spoke to the overall lack of knowledge around Korean/Asian American history both in general and at the university. This lack of context was expressed in multiple ways. For example, some participants mentioned that they were confused at the lack of context or information surrounding the artifacts. P04 said that she was,

Confused because like the things that I was taking away from them did not seem to align in a way that made sense to me. Like Korean, University of Michigan, repatriation, they just seemed really random together. Intrigued because there were random like I want to know why. Yeah, like just like the history behind it. Curiosity, I think especially with like the college form, just wanting to know that person's story.¹²⁸

Part of this confusion seemed to stem from not having a historical background on the conditions that surrounded object seven and the narrative that was written about Dr. Mary Woo. However, the other part of this confusion seemed to stem from a combination that was unimaginable for P04. "Korean, University of Michigan, [and] repatriation" were all subjects that was not natural in P04's eyes. This unimaginable, unnatural combination could potentially be explained by the fact that there is little

¹²⁸ P04.

knowledge or education surrounding the Korean population in the United States, other than Hawai'i and potentially Philadelphia, during the earlier half of the 20th century.

Several participants were surprised and shocked at the fact that there were Korean students in the early 20th century, let alone material on them. P01 stated that “I think that's crazy. 1916, over 100 years ago. I just feel like a lot of people don't think that Asian Americans had any, or even Korean Americans or Koreans had any presence on this campus until very recently.”¹²⁹ “That’s crazy”, “that’s so cool”, and “that’s shocking” were all phrases that P01 frequently used throughout the walkthrough, particularly when discussing the age of the content. P02 echoed these sentiments by stating that,

I was kind of surprised because I didn't think the University of Michigan would have that much archival materials from like Korean American students, especially back in like the 1900s and I just didn't expect that. I guess I didn't think about it that much that there would be Korean American students who also attended the school like way before I was born.¹³⁰

P07 also commented on object four that 1934 “seems really early to me”¹³¹ while P04 expressed that it was difficult imagining Korean people within the context of U-M during the earlier half of the 20th century.

I think like thinking about the date, it was like 1934 or something and trying to imagine Korean nationals going to the University of Michigan. I wasn't really aware that that was a thing. Okay, I'm not sure if it was common or not. Yeah. When I think about University of Michigan, the first thing that I think is not like Korean. That was kind of shocking.¹³²

Both P05 and P06 shared in this reaction by stating that “I didn’t...realize that there were Koreans way before, way back then, who were studying at Michigan or studying at these like American institutions”.¹³³ “I had no idea [that there were Korean people

¹²⁹ P01.

¹³⁰ P02.

¹³¹ P07.

¹³² P04.

¹³³ P05.

since the 1930s], not exclusively. I knew they were here for a while but I wouldn't have guessed 1930s."¹³⁴ The reasons for this reaction of shock and surprise could have multiple contributing factors. One possible explanation is that participants only know about Korean/Asian American history within the context of what their parents or grandparents have passed onto them throughout their childhood. For example, P01 talked about how her own knowledge of Asian American students in universities in the United States were limited to the 1970s and 1980s: "...a lot of my understanding of that time period also comes from my parents because they were college students during that time."¹³⁵

Another reason for lack of knowledge that some participants stated Korean/Asian American students themselves, among students of other ethnic/racial identities, are simply not interested in learning about these histories:

I think just a lot of times we don't put much effort into thinking about the past...But then also half of that is thinking...we don't have a past here because we don't know about it unless you actively take classes to learn about the Asian American history, then you probably wouldn't [know]...Also, most people don't take the time to look at archives or like actively search for these things out.¹³⁶

Similarly, P08 stated that people do not know about Korean/Asian American history because "They don't want to. They really don't want to hear about [it]."¹³⁷ Personal lack of initiative and interest in Korean/Asian American history by those who identify with these communities could be a possible factor in the lack of knowledge in this area. However, another explanation could be that there is little emphasis on a wider institutional level to acknowledge or even learn about the existence of Korean/Asian Americans, and other people of color, and have programs, courses, or events around educating communities about these histories. While both P01 and P08 stated previously that it could be a personal problem of interest, they also highlighted the fact that structurally, there were barriers to gaining more knowledge about

¹³⁴ P06.

¹³⁵ P01.

¹³⁶ P01.

¹³⁷ P08.

Korean/Asian American history.

One significant structural barrier that some participants talked about the lack of classes available on Korean/Asian American history and the ways in which they were programmed to fit into the rest of their academic schedule. P02 agreed with what she heard other students say, which was that,

...it was unfair for us to learn about our culture or heritage...[through] elective courses. Whereas like other students, if they want to learn about their culture, like especially like white students or African American students, it's not considered an elective, but it's like an actual course. I think that was also something that kind of like draw my attention with this too.¹³⁸

Making courses on African/Black American history available to all students as a course that is not an elective is a significant step in showing the importance of such a course. Making a course an elective subtly reminds students that the subject matter of that course is interesting but not crucial to one's education at their academic institution; this was the point of frustration for P02 when it came to courses on Korean/Asian American history. The fact that she was interacting with archival material related to her own ethnic/racial heritage for the first time was a reminder that her history was not a priority. Furthermore, P02 stated that looking at these objects from the Bentley Historical Library not only further sparked her interest, but also, made her "feel like we had more of an impact on America than what our education system let us know, which kind of sucks."¹³⁹ In other words, seeing herself reflected in a selection of materials from an institutional archive made P02 feel that Korean Americans were more woven into the fabric of American society than she had previously understood. While she did not discuss the implications of this realization, it could be interpreted that seeing people of similar ethnic/racial background integrating and contributing to the communities of which she is now a part demonstrates that she too has a stake in these communities and that she too belongs.

¹³⁸ P02.

¹³⁹ Ibid.

P02 went on to explain that the reason why “...we’re just not taught a lot about it [Korean/Asian American history] in class”¹⁴⁰ was due to the racial dynamics within the country.

It's obvious that one racial group basically it's like funding the whole like political system, educational system, like social aspects and everything. And I think also depending on like people, whoever's in charge or like who has power, tend to focus like the education system more on what their interests are.¹⁴¹

This lack of representation of Korean/Asian Americans in leadership was reflected during her elementary school years when her Chinese American principle made it possible for everyone to learn Chinese with no other alternatives. “I can’t even think of like one person who was in charge of like the education system or like even in the media. And I think that is also an aspect as to why we’re not very well represented and why we don’t learn about it [Korean/Asian American history] as much.”¹⁴² This lack of representation does not stop at the national level; it continues to trickle down to the various communities within the United States, one of which is the U-M community. P01 said that the reason why she felt she did not know about Korean/Asian American history on campus specifically was because,

We take what's told to us...It was like the bicentennial my freshman year...They were bringing up a lot of different archives and celebrating different people. And the first Black or African American woman who came to the school or they were trying to celebrate diversity. But they didn't really bring up much about Asian Americans, so you kind of just assume that there isn't much about us in the past, kind of based on what other people have decided to pull out from the archives or showcase...a lot of what we process and understand about our history is told to us from people who don't really or might not really understand what our history means to us.¹⁴³

P01 continued stating that she was “pretty sure there’s not that many Asian Americans sitting in big offices that operate the University of Michigan.” This was

¹⁴⁰ P02.

¹⁴¹ Ibid.

¹⁴² Ibid.

¹⁴³ P01.

disappointing to P01 because she felt that she was genuinely interested in learning more about the history of her community as it related to U-M. Interacting with the selection of archival material that reflected part of her own ethnic/racial heritage was a powerful one in that it showed “the resilience of our community” over a 100 years ago. This knowledge, especially of the fact that they existed and thrived so long ago, was “reaffirming in a sense of we do belong here, and there are people here who have done it before us in a much more difficult context and circumstances...”¹⁴⁴ However, it was not solely interacting with the materials that some participants found powerful. For example, P04 felt that it would impact her sense of belonging at U-M more significantly if the information she saw through the selection was displayed “not in the context of a Korean center...dedicated to sort of advancing the knowledge of Korean heritage and celebrating that...but [rather] in the context of the university” where it is more externally recognized.¹⁴⁵ In other words, this more public display of support of such a history would be a symbolic gesture that P04’s ethnic/racial identity matters, and that she matters.

As participants reflected through the archival walkthrough, they attempted to understand why there was a lack of information around Korean student history at U-M. The level of reflection shown by participants during the walkthrough demonstrated that, whether consciously or subconsciously, these subtle messages of who is a priority at U-M and who is not were at the very least in their minds prior to this activity. Furthermore, this level of reflection showed that the archival walkthrough provided participants the space to explore aspects of their ethnic/racial identity through these materials in a way that the institution had not.

SENSE OF BELONGING

When participants were directly asked whether this walkthrough session impacted their sense of belonging at U-M or if they thought it would impact others’

¹⁴⁴ Ibid.

¹⁴⁵ P04.

sense of belonging, the majority replied positively. One response to seeing archival material about Korean students was that “even though I don’t know these people, like personally, like University of Michigan does have a root in Korean American students being here.”¹⁴⁶ Therefore, being able to see herself reflected in the history of her institution helped her feel like she belonged at U-M. P06 had stated that he already had a strong sense of belonging prior to the activity and felt that this activity only strengthened it, “just because the university, [through the this collection of archival materials on Korean students], they acknowledge that. I feel like not a lot of universities would...talk about their Korean students and their achievements.” While P06 had not personally seen or experienced events where archival content on Korean students at U-M were highlighted or displayed, he still felt that U-M did a better job than other universities. Furthermore, P06 stated that he believed this kind of activity would help others gain a sense of “appreciation...from seeing something like this, seeing other people going through similar things...I feel like if you can see someone follow a path similar to you then you’ll feel a better sense of belonging...”¹⁴⁷ This sentiment of physically being able to see examples of similar experiences displayed in historical documents was something that other participants stated as a contributing factor to feeling more of a sense of belonging at U-M. P03 felt that their sense of belonging slightly increased and that others might benefit by using the past as a gauge on the social progresses that have been made.¹⁴⁸

On the other hand, P05 felt that perhaps being exposed to such material could impact people in a less positive way, stating that “I think the more exposure they get to these materials, they would maybe feel that they were still experiencing the same thing or maybe it’s still unfair for them or they’re not getting as much resources or as much help...I think exposure to this might make some people feel less involved or less engaged.”¹⁴⁹ Furthermore, P07 felt that while this information from the archive might help change people’s behaviors to act differently, it would not actually impact

¹⁴⁶ P02.

¹⁴⁷ P06.

¹⁴⁸ P03.

¹⁴⁹ P05.

sense of belonging. P07 felt that people's actions were a more important factor in stronger sense of belonging and that these materials were a means for people to change the way they act.¹⁵⁰

Another interesting response that was different from other participants was P08's emotional reaction to particularly object five. The conclusion P08 deduced from this particular object, which was a letter asking for the whereabouts of In Choon Park, was that this was a potential "missing persons case".¹⁵¹ Besides some postcards addressed to people who the Alumni Office at the time thought would know Park, there was no other information included in Park's Alumni file. P08 felt that the inaction or lack of interest in the university to find answers to the whereabouts of Park aside from these postcards influenced his sense of belonging in a negative way.¹⁵² When asked whether his sense of belonging at U-M has changed after interacting with these objects, he said that "I'm just questioning it. And...these [made me] question it more so I know I don't feel good...They are U of M alumni...The letter with the missing person, I think that was really disheartening. If I had known about that, and I was police on the force, I'd try to find anybody I could. They should at least give it a try."¹⁵³ After seeing with object five, P08 went into detail on how he felt that anger and sad that the institution, the larger community, and the nation did not prioritize people of color, particularly in missing persons cases: "Wow. Someone went missing and no one went looking for him. You know that just grinds my gears a bit. If it's like a white little girl, shit, police would be everywhere right? ...But a little Asian girl goes missing, any racial minority goes missing, seems like there's now buzz. Of course, he's [Park] not like a young, little girl or boy, but still life. Still, lots of life to live."¹⁵⁴ P08's reaction to this particular archival object and the lack of context and information around further institutional action proves that merely providing participants with archival material that reflects their ethnic/racial identity is not

¹⁵⁰ P07.

¹⁵¹ P08.

¹⁵² Ibid.

¹⁵³ Ibid.

¹⁵⁴ P08.

enough in increasing sense of belonging at an institution; it must be provided not only with more context, but demonstrate the ways in which the institution itself shows through action how the subjects of these artifacts are valued.

To summarize, participants felt the most interest in material that they found some form of connection, whether that their interest in food, the knowledge of specific places, or citizenship status. However, participants also felt that the lack of context and knowledge on Korean/Asian American history in general and specifically at U-M contributed to confusion and shock at information they discovered through the archival walkthrough. When probed about why there might be this lack of context and knowledge, participants responded that understanding this history vicariously through their family's experiences, the lack of interest in learning this history, and structural barriers due to lack of representation were all factors. Ultimately, this lack of knowledge on the impact that Korean students have made at U-M and within the United States contributed to feelings of disappointment and a craving for more information. However, despite these negative feelings, the majority of participants felt that interacting with archival material that reflected their ethnic/racial heritage was a positive experience that contributed to their sense of belonging at U-M.

LIMITATIONS

As with many studies, there are limitations to this research. The first is that my understanding of the literature within the fields of psychology and sociology are limited in that I am trained in neither field. Understanding concepts within these fields are from the perspective of a novice with limited course experience in taking sociological history courses. However, this fresh perspective also allows for newer interpretations and possibilities to apply the research within these fields to that of archival science.

As with most forms of qualitative investigation, the findings of this research are not meant to be generalizable. Instead, they serve to provide a nuanced view of the impact of archival material on participants' ethnic/racial identity and sense of belonging that is grounded in the participants' own words and reflective processes. A second limitation was the scope of the research. It was limited to one academic institution and focused on a singular racial and ethnic group. The findings of this study could be further supported by a larger-scaled study that could be conducted at multiple institutional settings within a variety of communities. Furthermore, this study only considered archival impact on sense of belonging within the context of ethnic/racial identity. However, as particularly P08's interview showed, identity is not isolated to ethnic/racial identity; it is fluid, ever-changing, and involves a multitude of non-compartmentalizable aspects. Therefore, there must be more research conducted on how other aspects of identity, such as socioeconomic class or gender identity, impact sense of belonging and the level of archival influence could have on students with identities of underrepresented or minoritized backgrounds. Lastly, this research was limited to qualitative data collection methods. Given the existence of validated survey instruments for measuring ethnic/racial identity and sense of belonging, further research could employ a mixed methods research design, where quantitative measures are used in conjunction with qualitative measures in conversation with each other.

IMPLICATIONS

This research found that a stronger sense of belonging at an academic institution was influenced by multiple factors. The first was organizational participation in Korean/Asian-interest groups or other organizations that were heavily represented by Korean/Asian Americans (e.g., church, research team, etc.). The second was a sense that the individual was making contributions to their community/ies as an active member. However, some factors in a weaker sense of belonging were the lack of representation in classrooms, as well as socioeconomic background. In terms of ethnic and racial identity, some participants in this study had a deeper level of reflection of their ethnic/racial identity than other participants. Furthermore, while participants described themselves differently, their sense of ethnic/racial identity were positively affected by participation in various entities (e.g., school, Asian-interest organizations, church, etc.) that were, again, heavily represented by Korean/Asian Americans or other people of color. Another factor in a strong sense of ethnic and racial identity were the ways in which some participants were socialized by their parents and other family members, as well as peers. However, some experiences that negatively impacted participants' sense of ethnic and racial identity were when they were made to feel different from their peers due to lack of representation or actions from peers that differentiated them from the majority.

When the participants for this study were asked to interact with archival material that reflected their ethnic/racial identity, they were not approaching this activity with a blank state. They brought with them not only the experiences of feeling a strong sense of belonging within their communities, but also experiences that amplified their differences as Korean heritage students. When an individual visits an archive, they too come with a load of experiences and knowledge that inform the ways in which they interpret the information found. As the archival walkthrough portion of the interview demonstrated, the interpretation of the archival material could be either a positive influence or a negative one. For these eight

participants, finding a point of connection in the objects was crucial in their level of interest and enthusiasm when interacting with the objects. However, as they delved further, many discovered a lack of context and more in-depth knowledge of the subjects of the objects; this was not only displayed through participants' feelings of confusion, but also through their shock that Korean people existed in the spaces they now occupied. In other words, their interactions with the archival material produced complicated emotions that were both positive and negative: positive because they were able to see themselves reflected in the institution's history, and negative because their desire to learn more was only met by lack of context and information about the real lives behind these artifacts.

Another finding of this study was that participants needed a safe space to explore their ethnic/racial identity. While some participants were able to find this safe space prior to beginning their time at U-M, others were only able to find this space once they entered college. For those who are still in the beginning stages of their ethnic/racial identity development, as the literature review revealed, finding a space to explore their identities is crucial in their overall development as people. For the participants of this study, many found that space within organizations. However, not all were involved with organizations on campus. An archive, then, can become an important space for those who have not been able to find a place to explore their ethnic/racial identity. In terms of sense of belonging, it was clear from participant responses that the archival activity did in some way impact their sense of belonging or that it would impact others' sense of belonging at U-M. This impact was shown in the ways in which participants reflected on the factors that influenced their sense of belonging. From feeling that they were only able to marginally learn about Korean American history in Korean American courses, which were limited to begin with and categorized to be on the periphery, to tokenizing Korean American history as being different from the "mainstream" institutional history, participants actively reflected on the ways in which discovery of these archival materials highlighted these disparities at their institution. While some felt that the existence of these materials in the institution's archive was enough evidence that the institution cares about the

Korean American community, all participants talked about how they had never seen this history prior to this experience. Therefore, in conjunction to being a space for students of traditionally underrepresented or minoritized backgrounds to explore their ethnic/racial identity, institutional archives must also act in partnership with the wider university for sense of belonging to be increased. This partnership can be within the context of events, such as U-M's bicentennial, which some participants mentioned when they talked about how there was nothing on the history of the Asian American community at U-M while other communities were highlighted. Another partnership could be with academic departments to work on developing curriculum that show Korean/Asian American students that they too are valued.

Lastly, the results of this study show that there needs to be more research on the role that institutional archives play in contributing both positively and negatively to the experiences of not only Korean/Asian American students, but also, other students of color within the university. Furthermore, there must be an effort around collecting material on students of color and correct context around those materials. For example, based on limited research, I found that Dr. Mary Jane Woo (New) was not Korean and that she was actually ethnically Chinese who was born in the United States. In addition to this, I found that Ilhan New was also a crucial figure not only in contributing to the Korean economy after the Korean War in establishing Yuhan Corporation, but also in United States history as a recruit for the Central Intelligence Agency. While some might distinguish the role of a curator to be separate from that of an archivist, there must be a reexamination of the role an archivist plays in collecting contextual information that correctly verifies the ways in which an object is processed and labeled. Without this contextual information, finding aids might contain mislabeled or misidentified information, such as one's ethnicity or race. Mark A. Greene and Dennis Meissner redefined the guidelines for archival processing by stating that there needs to be a prioritization of "getting collection materials into the hands of users", with less item-level description and more finding aids with

enough information for use.¹⁵⁵ Perhaps adapting a “more product, less process” (MPLP) approach to processing archival material will give archivists more time to provide finding aids with more accurate information for users to utilize for further research.

A recent systematic literature review on the roles of archivists found that archivists are now in a position where they must decide how to adapt these different needs of users that continue to arise from a constantly changing world.¹⁵⁶ Among the more traditional aspects of what the role of an archivist entails, Evgenia Vassilakaki and Valentini Moniarou-Papaconstantinou argue that one such challenge that “has further supplemented archivist’s role of collecting, organizing and preserving archival material...” is “the challenge to respond to political and social issues through an understanding of the history of the archives and records...On the whole, archivists could embrace the power of knowledge to exercise a level of influence...”¹⁵⁷ This challenge is among many other emerging roles, such as archivists as educators, librarians, researchers, and digital archivists.¹⁵⁸ The findings of this research on Korean/Asian American students at U-M has shown the ways in which their needs in terms of ethnic/racial identity and sense of belonging are being met largely through their interaction with organizations, as well as how they are not being met through factors such as lack of context around the archival material they saw during the walkthrough. If there is an agreement on the new roles of archivists that are emerging, particularly in responding to political and social issues vis-à-vis archival material as Vassilakaki and Moniarou-Papaconstantinou suggested, then it is clear the steps archivists can take in supporting not only students like the participants of this study, but also other students of color throughout their academic institution. One such step is reimagining the archivist by redefining who can be an archivist. In a 2006 demographics survey of the archival field in the United States, the Society of

¹⁵⁵ Mark Greene and Dennis Meissner, “More Product, Less Process: Revamping Traditional Archival Processing,” *The American Archivist* 68, no. 2 (September 2005): 208–63, <https://doi.org/10.17723/aarc.68.2.c741823776k65863>.

¹⁵⁶ Evgenia Vassilakaki and Valentini Moniarou-Papaconstantinou, “Beyond Preservation: Investigating the Roles of Archivist,” *Library Review*; *Glasgow* 66, no. 3 (2017): 110–26, <http://dx.doi.org/10.1108/LR-09-2016-0077>.

¹⁵⁷ *Ibid.*

¹⁵⁸ *Ibid.*

American Archivists found that only 1% of archivists identified as Asian. “Symbolic annihilation” does not begin with archival collections; it begins with the demographics of the archival workforce and who is and is not represented.

CONCLUSION

This research has shown that interacting with archival material that reflects the participants' ethnic/racial identity has allowed space to further explore their ethnic/racial identity, as well as feel a stronger sense of belonging at their academic institution. While the original research question was focused on understanding the impact of such archival material on ethnic/racial identity development and sense of belonging, this study showed that the archival walkthrough allowed participants to explore what it meant to be Korean American during the early 20th century, the history of Korean Americans on campus, and what that meant in terms of their own sense of belonging within the same communities as their predecessors. This space for exploration and imagination was crucial for participants in understanding their place at their university. The ways in which participants reacted to the archival material they saw elucidated how the archival material both “symbolically annihilated” their experiences and helped participants feel “representational belonging.”¹⁵⁹ With the lack of context, as well as lack of knowledge on Korean American history within the wider university setting made participants feel that their experiences were not important to the institutional history and community. However, the fact that these records existed and seeing that there were Korean students at U-M at such an early time made participants feel that their experiences were being captured in a way that they did not know existed. These conflicting and complex emotions show that there are many factors that contribute to sense of belonging in Korean American students.

This research adds to the archival science field a nuanced perspective on how institutional archives can contribute to either a space for Korean American students to explore their ethnic/racial identity through institutional history, as well as how archives can contribute to a hostile environment by “symbolically annihilating” the

¹⁵⁹ Caswell et al., “‘To Suddenly Discover Yourself Existing’: Uncovering the Impact of Community Archives”; Michelle Caswell et al., “‘To Be Able to Imagine Otherwise’: Community Archives and the Importance of Representation.”

experiences of Korean American students on campus. Furthermore, it is crucial that archivists in the field reflect on their practices and how their own biases can contribute to this hostile environment alongside the institution in which they work. Lastly, the participants of this study are from one ethnic/racial group, while some identified as mixed-race or ethnicity; it is imperative that further research is done to understand the role of institutional archives in the sense of belonging all students of color feel at their respective academic institutions.

In regards to the letter sent to the missing Korean alumni in 1932,¹⁶⁰ P08 emotionally responded by asking “Why is this still happening?”¹⁶¹ While his comment was referring to the lack of interest in understanding the whereabouts of this potentially missing alumni in contrast with the level of interest he thought a white alumni would receive, this comment also summarizes the feelings of helplessness, confusion, anger, and frustration at the lack of context and knowledge around this particular letter, as well as other archival material. I hope that with this study, including future studies, communities of color will stop having to ask ourselves “why is this still happening?”

¹⁶⁰ See Appendix E for Object 5.

¹⁶¹ P08.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX A | INTERVIEW PROTOCOL

PURPOSE OF INTERVIEW

The purpose of this interview is to get a better understanding of your thoughts on your ethnic and racial identity, your sense of belonging at the University of Michigan (U-M), and lastly, a sense of how you interact with the archival material that will be presented to you.

First, I'm going to ask a set of questions to gain a better understanding of who you are as a person, your thoughts on your heritage, and lastly, your sense of belonging at U-M. Then, I am going to give you a set of artifacts from the Bentley Historical Library and ask you to talk me through your thoughts as you interact with the material. I may ask some questions during your talk-through. At the end of your interview, I will ask you questions that reflect on your interaction with the archival material and your previous answers.

CONFIDENTIALITY

After recording and transcribing your interview, I will be using your interview to compare results with other interviews, to write my master's thesis, and to present them to my master's thesis defense committee. There is no plan yet of publishing my research, however, if an opportunity presents itself, my research, which includes references to your interview, may be published. I will be sending the sound recording of this interview to a transcription services company but we will be the only ones to know your personally identifiable information. Anything used in my thesis will be anonymized.

If at any point in the process (during the interview or even after the interview), you feel uncomfortable about the information you have shared or sharing your

information, I will stop all activity and consult with you on how to move forward with the data collected thus far.

CONSENT

Do you have any questions regarding the terms of confidentiality? Do you have any questions about the consent form? Do you consent to moving forward with the interview process and recording it?

QUESTIONS

Opening Questions

1. Please tell me a little bit about yourself, where you come from, and how you got to the University of Michigan.
 - a. Are you from Michigan? How does U-M differ from your home?
2. How would you describe your racial and ethnic identity?
 - a. When did you begin identifying yourself as _?
3. What experiences would you say shaped your racial/ethnic identity?
 - a. [If guidance/probing needed] -- When did you first become aware of your Korean heritage? After this first realization, have you thought about your identity in relation to your Korean heritage?
4. Do you feel like you belong at the University of Michigan? How do you know that you do/do not belong at the University of Michigan?
5. What contributes to how you feel in terms of belonging here? Are there any aspects that you find challenging or supportive?
6. Part of being a student at U-M is being involved with student organizations, social groups, and classes. Do you feel that your sense of belonging differ across these spaces?
7. Do you feel that the University of Michigan values you as a student? Why or why not?

Intervention

[Frequently remind participants that they can take their time looking at materials and that there is no right or wrong answer]

1. This next section, I want you to take a look at some objects that have been scanned from the Bentley Historical Library. As you look at them, walk me

through your thoughts. It can be anything that you are thinking. There is no right or wrong answer. There is absolutely no judgement from me either! Your responses can be statements or questions. You may ask clarifying questions, but sometimes, I may not answer you questions because I don't want to influence your responses.

- a. Choose an object that interests you the most. Could you begin by describing the object?
 - i. [If prompting needed] What is this object? What's going on in this object?
2. [Make sure that respondents answer these questions]
 - a. What type of object is it (document, photograph, etc.)?
 - b. When do you think this object was created?
 - c. Who do you think this object is about?
 - d. Who do you think the audience of this object is?
 - e. Is there anything unique about the object?
 - f. Why do you think this object was created?
 - g. Based on what you learned about this object, can you make any inferences on Korean people's experiences during this time?
 - h. What does it tell you about life at U-M during this time?
 - i. Do you have any questions based on seeing these objects?
3. What was your thinking process on the order in which you chose the objects to describe?
 - a. Why was _ object the most compelling to you?

Closing Questions

1. What was your overall impression of this activity?
2. How did you feel looking at these objects?
3. Prior to this experience:
 - a. Have you had any interactions with any archive?
 - b. Were you familiar with the history of Korean students on U-M campus?
 - c. What do you think contributed to your knowledge or lack of knowledge in Korean American history at U-M?
4. After looking at these objects, did you learn anything about the history of Korean Americans at U-M? If so what? If not, what did you know before and has your previous knowledge changed in any way?
5. After interacting with these objects, how do you feel about your sense of belonging at U-M? Has it changed at all? If so, how? If not, why not?
 - a. Do you think that interacting with more of these types of materials and history could impact your or other people's sense of belonging at U-M?

APPENDIX B | SCREENING SURVEY



Thank you for your interest!

I am a graduate student from the University of Michigan (U-M) School of Information conducting a study for a master's thesis. This study hopes to better understand how interacting with a college archive could contribute to sense of belonging at an academic institution for students of color, particularly for those with Korean heritage.

The purpose of this quick survey is to see if you would be interested for an interview that can further capture your experience at U-M. Please proceed with the survey if you are an undergraduate student who:

- Identifies as someone with Korean heritage (AND)
- Have spent a substantial amount of time in your formative years living in the United States, please proceed with the survey

(This includes, but is not limited to, people who were born and raised in the United States, raised in the United States, identify as a Korean adoptee, and/or have mixed racial and/or ethnic identity/ies).

Your participation in this survey is completely voluntary. If you feel uncomfortable or do not wish to answer a question at any point during the survey, you may skip the question or stop taking the survey with no consequences. The survey should take around 5-10 minutes.

Please note that your participation is not anonymous. You will be asked for contact information and other identifiable information for the purpose of contacting you to set up an interview if you are chosen to participate in the study. However, I will be the only one to access this information, which will be stored on the Qualtrics Survey platform through U-M.

If you have any questions or concerns, please contact me at ankang@umich.edu.

Do you identify as someone with Korean heritage? (This includes, but is not limited to, people born and raised in the United States, raised in the United States, identify as a Korean adoptee, and/or have mixed racial and/or ethnic identity/ies)

Yes

No



Thank you for your interest. This survey is only for those who identify as students of U-M with Korean heritage.

If you believe there has been a mistake, I apologize for the inconvenience. Please contact me at ankang@umich.edu for further direction if you do identify as someone with Korean heritage and would like to participate in the study.

Thank you again for your time and participation.



***Note: If participants chose “no” to the first question above, they were led to this page.*



What is your name (last, first)?

What is your U-M unickname?

What is your age?

What is your gender?

Female

Male

Non-binary/third gender

Prefer to self-describe

Prefer not to say

What is your race? (Can be more than one).

What is your ethnicity? (Can be more than one).

What is your grade level at the University of Michigan?

First-year undergraduate

Second-year undergraduate

Third-year undergraduate

Fourth-year undergraduate

Other

Do you speak Korean at home?

Yes

No

Sometimes

Other

Please answer the following questions on your Korean language speaking and understanding proficiency.

	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly Agree
I can speak a few common words in Korean language.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
I can speak a couple of full sentences in Korean language.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
I can fully convey my thoughts in Korean language.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
I cannot speak Korean language at all.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
I can understand a few common words in Korean language.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
I can understand a couple of full sentences in Korean language.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
With some difficulty, I can generally understand a casual conversation in Korean language.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
I can fully understand a conversation in Korean language.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
I cannot understand a conversation in Korean language at all.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

Please answer the following questions to the best of your ability.

	You can select more than one yes, no, or unsure option for all of these questions.		
	Yes	No	Unsure
I was born in the United States.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
I was raised in the United States before the age of ten until now.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
I was raised in the United States after the age of ten until now.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
I identify as a Korean adoptee.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
I identify as mixed race and/or ethnicity.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>



Thank you for your interest and completing the survey. If you are selected to continue onto the interview phase of the study, you will be contacted through your U-M email account so please make sure to check your email account.

If you have any further questions, please contact me at ankang@umich.edu. Thank you!

APPENDIX C | INVITATION EMAIL

Dear [redacted: participant name],

Thank you for taking interest in being a part of my master's thesis research. I am excited to invite you for an interview!

The interview should take no more than 60 minutes but I have scheduled an extra 15 minutes in case it does run over. [Please fill out this Doodle](#) to select an interview time slot. Your name will only be visible to me. If none of these times work for you, please let me know via email or call/text at [redacted: phone number].

I have attached a copy of the consent form to this email. Please read the consent form prior to the interview so that you are fully aware of what you will be asked to do and what will happen with the information collected. If you have any questions, please do not hesitate to contact me or ask at the interview. I will have a copy for you to sign when we meet in person.

Thank you!

Best regards,

Andrea

APPENDIX D | CODEBOOK

PARENT CODE	CHILD CODE	DEFINITION	NOTES/EXAMPLES
Sense of Belonging		Discussion of sense of belonging in general	
	Other People	Sense of belonging impacted based on other people's influences	
	Representation	Sense of belonging impacted based on ethnic/racial representation (or lack there of)	
	Institutional Treatment	Sense of belonging impacted based on treatment of interviewee from an institution (e.g., school, U-M, etc.)	
	Contribution to Society/Community	Senses of belonging impacted based on contribution made to interviewee's community or society at large	
	Organizational Participation	Sense of belonging impacted based on interviewee's participation in an organization	
Sense of Ethnic/Racial Identity		Discussion of ethnic and/or racial identity in general	
	Other People/Family	Sense of ethnic/racial identity impacted through other people or family influence	
	Representation	Sense of ethnic/racial identity impacted by ethnic/racial representation (or lack there of)	
	Organizational Participation	Sense of ethnic/racial identity impacted by interviewee's participation in an organization	
Archives		Discussion of archival materials or archives in general	
	Demonstrated Interest	Interest in archival material based on various factors (e.g., number of questions they ask)	
	Finding Connection	Discussion on feeling connected with an archival object in some way	"I liked this one because it had to do with food and food is close to my heart"
	Discovery of New Information	Discussion of acquiring new knowledge through archival object(s)	
	Emotional Response	Response to archival object in an emotoinal way via expression (of words or attitude)	(e.g., shock, surprise, incredulity, etc.)
Lack of Knowledge			
	Korean/Asian American History	Expressing lack of knowledge to Korean/Asian American history	
	Korean/Asian American Student History	Expressing lack of knowledge to Korean/Asian American Student history at U-M	
	Other	Discussion of not knowing about classes, programs, events, etc. on Korean/Asian American history at large and on campus at U-M	(e.g., classes, programs, events, etc.)
Ethnic/Racial Representation			
	Prior to U-M	Discussion of ethnic/racial representation at interviewee's school and/or neighborhood prior to their U-M experience	
	U-M Classes/School	Discussion of ethnic/racial representation at U-M (within classes, their school, and/or the entire university)	
	U-M Organizations	Discussion of ethnic/racial representation at organizations that the interviewee participates in at U-M	
Attitudes			
	Isolation	Discussion about feeling alone or isolated from their peers or larger group/community	
	Feeling Different	Discussion about feeling different from their peers or larger community	

APPENDIX E | ARCHIVAL MATERIAL

OBJECT 1

(11) 1919-20
Sept. 26 1919
Month Day

IF ENROLLING IN UNIVERSITY FOR FIRST TIME MARK CROSS (X) IN THIS SPACE.

1894

GRADUATE

Pyungtoo William Lee
FIRST NAME MIDDLE NAME LAST NAME

715 Lawrence st. Phone No. 372-M
NUMBER AND STREET IN ANN ARBOR

Home Address: Pyeng Yang Korea.
NUMBER AND STREET CITY OR TOWN STATE

Home residence has been in above named State continuously for approximately 20 years. If previously enrolled in University, give year of entrance. 7 months (CROSS OUT ONE)

Date of Birth: April 28, 1896 Place of Birth: Pyeng Yang Korea
MONTH DAY YEAR TOWN STATE

Parent or Guardian's Name and Address: Rev. John Pyeng Yang Korea

OBJECT 2

12

Names and LOCAL ADDRESSES of two adult acquaintances at your home residence.

Rev. C. D. Morris Wonju, Korea
NAME ADDRESS

Bishop H. Welch Seoul, Korea

Are you self-supporting? } Wholly. } Answer is not obligatory. Requested for statistical purposes only. If you are willing to answer, cross out two. Thank you.
 } In part. }
 } No. }

Old students whose home address has changed since their last registration will please state former home address here

Degrees already received: B. A. Christian Wesleyan Uni. June 1919
WHEN

Occupation of Father: Missionary

Is he or she a Yes

OBJECT 3

1916 SUMMER 6 SESSION L. S. & A. \$21.00

June 30 21
MONTH DAY

IF ENROLLING IN UNIVERSITY FOR FIRST TIME MARK CROSS (X) IN THIS SPACE

new

22 Han New
FIRST NAME MIDDLE NAME LAST NAME

114 N. Hayes
NUMBER AND STREET

105 Henry Detroit Mich
NUMBER AND STREET CITY OR TOWN STATE

Home residence has been in above named State continuously for approximately 3 years months

If previously enrolled in University, give year of entrance

Date of Birth Dec. 13 1894
MONTH DAY YEAR

Place of Birth Peking Yang Korea
CITY OR TOWN STATE

Parent's or Guardian's Name and address Ky. New
NAME ADDRESS

Form 397(4-19-16)1500

alpha.
The Orient -- Ohio Version! *4-27-71*

By Sandi Gould

ARCHMOLD, Ohio (UPI)— There's a world of difference between the exotic Orient and this typical American small town in northwestern Ohio, but they have one thing in common—food.

Archbold, population 2,500, is the world's largest producer of canned Chinese food. That includes China.

To meet the growing popularity of Cantonese dishes in American homes, 28 different Chinese food specialties are cooked up, canned or freeze-packed, and rolled out with assembly line speed and precision in the seven and a half acre plant of LaChoy Division, Beatrice Foods, Inc.

The whole thing started back in 1920 as the brainchild of two University of Michigan students. Wally Smith wanted to sell fresh-grown bean sprouts in his Detroit grocery store. Ilhan New, a Korean had the know-how to produce them.

During the next 10 years, the two men grew sprouts, put

them in glass jars, later in cans, and incorporated their business.

LaChoy grew and moved into larger headquarters in Michigan, finally settling here at the beginning of World War II. Archbold was chosen because it is strategically located on the main railway line between New York and Chicago.

With the expansion came the invention of machinery and special equipment to clean the bean sprouts, peel fresh onions, fry chow mein noodles continuously, and clean and dice large quantities of celery.

The firm not only puts up Chinese foods in metal cans and glass jars but also in frozen food packages. Among the latter are egg rolls, chicken, beef and shrimp chow mein, sweet and sour pork, fried

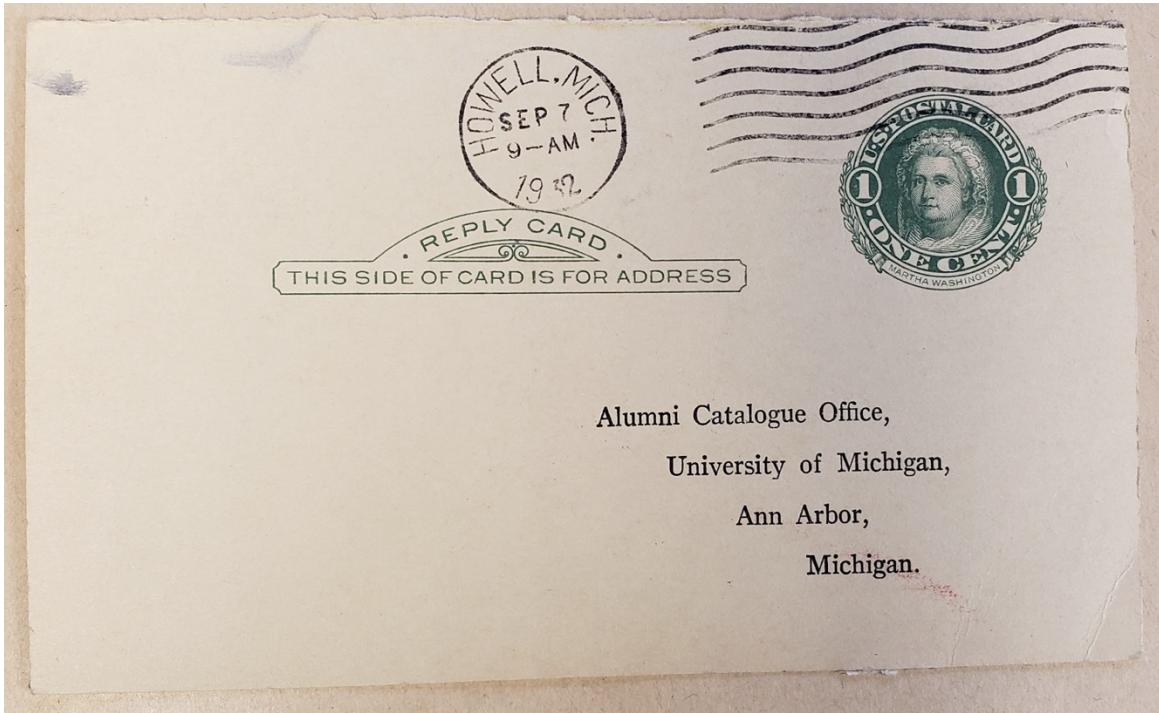
rice and dinner combinations.

With the specially-designed equipment, up to 1,800 egg rolls can be produced, packaged and frozen, and up to 120 packages of chow mein, fried rice, sweet and sour pork and dinners can be turned out per minute.

More than 5,000 tons of celery from the famed celery beds of Michigan are used each year for the chop suey and chow mein products. Fresh mushrooms come from Pennsylvania, and cattle and poultry from markets near New York and Chicago.

The community is one of the largest cattle auction centers between New York and Chicago, and also is a major poultry center. In 1968, more than 100,000 beef cattle were sold to the company.

OBJECT 5



For the records of the UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN, Ann Arbor.

Name in full In Choon Park

Degree, Years B.S. 18-20

Present Address _____

→ _____

If deceased: _____

Date of Death _____

Place of Death _____

Age of Death _____

Please inform us in the space below who will furnish us with the above data if you are unable to do so.

Name Henry Chung & Co.

Address 12,600 Block Woodrow Wilson Ave
Detroit, Michigan

This card filed by Grace Soyka
Howell
Mich.

Address _____

Form 2785

Remarks: Do you happen by chance to know of the above. His father's name is Young Park and we have been addressing him to his father at Seoul, Korea. His mail is unclaimed there now and we are trying to locate him. Perhaps you could refer us to someone who could help

OBJECT 6



Free Press Photo
AMERICAN AGAIN. Dr. Mary Woo, a native of Colorado and a graduate of the University of Michigan, lost her citizenship when she married Ilhan New, a Korean pharmacist. She was repatriated in Federal Court Monday.

Sept. 11 - 1934

Woman Physician Is a Citizen Again

**Korean's Wife Is Naturalized
in a Class of 245**

Dr. Mary Woo New, a physician and surgeon at Seoul, Korea, and former Detroit, Monday was repatriated by Federal Judge Arthur J. Tuttle with a class of 245 new citizens. This is the first class naturalized since July 30.

Wade M. Becker, naturalization examiner, disclosed that approximately 1,000 new citizens will have been naturalized by Oct. 1, making them eligible to vote in November.

Mrs. New, formerly Miss Woo, was born in Greeley, Colo. She attended the University of Michigan, Cornell University and the University of Colorado.

She lost her citizenship by marrying Ilhan New, former student at the University of Michigan, one of the founders of the La Choy Food Products Co., and now head of a firm in Korea manufacturing pharmaceutical supplies. Dr. New will return with her husband to Korea within the next several weeks.