



CMSI RESEARCH BRIEF

Digital Stories in Asian American Studies and Co-Producer Knowledge in AANAPISI Contexts

by Shirley S. Tang, University of Massachusetts Boston

Shirley Suet-ling Tang (鄧雪齡) is Associate Professor of Asian American Studies in the School for Global Inclusion and Social Development at the University of Massachusetts Boston (UMass Boston)—a federally designated and funded Asian American Native American Pacific Islander-Serving Institution (AANAPISI) research university. Shirley is a national leader in developing a model of curricular innovation for digital storytelling in Asian American Studies, pedagogies of wholeness, and AANAPISI-centered knowledge production. She is a co-Principal Investigator for a five-year, \$1.75 million grant award from the U.S. Department of Education AANAPISI Program and has co-led collaborations on digital storytelling in Asian American Studies with AANAPISI community colleges in California as well as Massachusetts. She has nearly two dozen publications in print and received the Chancellor's Award for Distinguished Teaching at UMass Boston in 2016. She is the first woman of color in the university's history to achieve this honor. She holds a Ph.D. in American Studies from SUNY Buffalo and a B.A. degree in English with Honors from Chinese University Hong Kong.

Readers with any questions or comments may contact Shirley directly via email at shirley.tang@umb.edu

Asian American Studies Program
Website: www.umb.edu/asamst

Executive Summary

This research brief examines a long-term curricular commitment and complex pedagogical practice—digital storytelling in Asian American Studies—at an AANAPISI research university and analyzes the collective body of work represented by the cumulative archive of digital stories produced by AANAPISI students during the past dozen years. The report provides a discussion of sample critical issues and contexts pertaining to the experiences of low-income, urban Asian American students and shows how the co-produced knowledge base represented by the digital story archives relates to major policy challenges facing Asian American communities. Implications and conclusions of the study are presented to highlight AANAPISIs' unique and valuable role in defining, implementing, assessing, and reflecting on a local, regional, or national AANAPISI research agenda as well as the significance of commitments and practices beyond data disaggregation to ground researchers' or policy-makers' understandings of how AANAPISI students experience historically-situated, daily life realities of inequality.

Introduction

Asian American Native American Pacific Islander Serving Institutions (AANAPISIs) represent a small but noteworthy sector of Minority Serving Institutions (MSIs) within U.S. higher education comprised primarily

of a range of urban or island-based community colleges and four-year schools that enroll high percentages of low-income Asian American or Pacific Islander students. Data compiled by the National Commission on Asian American and Pacific Islander Research in Education and the Penn Center for Minority Serving Institutions (CMSI) show that AANAPISIs represent less than 1 percent of all colleges and universities in the United States, yet enroll 20 percent of all Asian Americans and Pacific Islanders (Teranishi et al., 2014; Conrad & Gasman, 2015). Moreover, AANAPISIs conferred 47 percent of all associate degrees and 25 percent of all bachelor's degrees to Asian American and Native Hawaiian Pacific Islander students in 2010 (California College Campaign, 2015). A listing of 23 currently funded AANAPISIs out of more than 150 eligible institutions is provided in Table 1 (see page 3).

Originally introduced for Congressional approval in 2002, the AANAPISI designation became law in 2007 (Park & Chang, 2009). To qualify, an institution's enrollment of undergraduate students must be at least 10 percent Asian American or Native American Pacific Islander and at least 50 percent of the student body must be



eligible for federal need-based financial assistance, such as Pell Grants and Federal Work-Study. Typically, such institutions are located within or near sizable, historically-constituted Asian American or Pacific Islander geographic concentrations. Despite the significant presence of Asian Americans, Native Hawaiians, and Pacific Islanders in the United States, the body of grounded research about educational equity by and for Asian Americans and Pacific Islanders that is available to scholars, educators, and relevant public and community constituencies continues to be relatively limited in scope and impact (Museus, Antonio, & Kiang, 2016).

As AANAPISI stakeholders well know, Asian American and Pacific Islander (AAPI) students have been thoroughly framed during the past half century by a hegemonic “model minority” Official Story which has so singularly focused on elite educational and economic success that the complex realities and critical challenges facing Pacific Islander, Southeast Asian American, and other urban and rural Asian American profiles have been rendered invisible. Ironically, 2016 represented the 50-year anniversary of the U.S. News and World Report article that introduced the initial manipulative portrayal of Asian Americans as a “thrifty, law-abiding and industrious people ambitious to make progress on their own,” amidst militant African American community demands for racial justice in cities across the country in December 1966 (“Success Story of One Minority Group in U.S.,” 1966). Over time since then, flawed research and distorted reporting—typically characterized by a lack of disaggregated data or a narrow set of evaluative indicators such as test scores and median family income levels—have cumulatively created breathtaking data disparities that have repeatedly positioned Asian Americans and Pacific Islanders as a homogeneous aggregate group, while marginalizing voices and perspectives of numerous under-served communities. As educational researchers Mitchell J. Chang and Peter N. Kiang (2010) have noted: “Although AAPI enrollment has increased steadily since the mid-1960s and comprises the largest proportion of overall undergraduate enrollment on some campuses, there has not yet been a commensurate level of research on this population. The

deleterious impact on students related to this oversight which renders AAPIs invisible, exacerbates problems with mental health and exclusion from educational resources and opportunities” (p. v-xi).

In articulating the imperative of conducting research about Asian American students in higher education nationally, Museus and Chang (2009) write, “There is no quick fix to meet this challenge, and until significant advances in establishing a body of knowledge on Asian Americans in higher education are made, researchers studying this population will need to employ *creative* [emphasis mine] strategies” (p. 100). They further argue that “without deep empirical knowledge about Asian Americans in higher education, it is unreasonable to expect higher education faculty, administrators, and staff to be well equipped to fully understand their unique challenges and, thus, to serve that student population effectively.” The National Commission on Asian American and Pacific Islander Research in Education (2008) similarly notes, “We must develop methods to critically and effectively study what is truly happening to our young people both in formalized education and informally in the culture at large” (p. 31).

Current federal and state-level policy reforms addressing data disaggregation in public health, such as California’s State Assembly Bill 1726 signed into law in September 2016, provide important improvements in public data collection and analysis that may extend further to include K-12 and higher education domains in the future. Nevertheless, the diversity and complexity of Asian American and Pacific Islander populations suggest the need for “creative” and fresh approaches to research by and for new generations of Asian American individuals, families, and communities.

While researchers’ data collection priorities have begun to include information on the detailed origin of Asian Americans and Pacific Islanders, those institutions with access to research and policy resources are typically not sites where under-researched populations or communities are concentrated. Moreover, much of the nation’s

TABLE 1: Institutions Receiving New AANAPISI Awards in 2015 and 2016

	City/State	Type	Part A (2015–2020)	Part F (2016–2021)
<i>American River College</i>	Sacramento, CA	Two-Year		X
<i>Bunker Hill Community College</i>	Boston, MA	Two-Year		X
<i>California State University, East Bay</i>	Hayward, CA	Four-Year		X
<i>California State University, Sacramento</i>	Sacramento, CA	Four-Year		X
<i>Century College</i>	White Bear Lake, MN	Two-Year		X
<i>Coastline Community College</i>	Fountain Valley, CA	Two-Year	X	
<i>CUNY Hunter College</i>	New York, NY	Four-Year		X
<i>Evergreen Valley College</i>	San Jose, CA	Two-Year	X	
<i>Highline College</i>	Des Moines, WA	Two-Year	X	
<i>Irvine Valley College</i>	Irvine, CA	Two-Year	X	
<i>Middlesex Community College</i>	Lowell, MA	Two-Year		X
<i>Mission College</i>	Santa Clara, CA	Two-Year	X	
<i>Mt. San Antonio College</i>	Walnut, CA	Two-Year		X
<i>Northern Marianas College</i>	Saipan, MP	Four-Year	X	
<i>Peralta Community College/Laney College</i>	Oakland, CA	Two-Year		X
<i>Pierce College</i>	Lakewood, WA	Two-Year		X
<i>Richland College</i>	Dallas, TX	Two-Year	X	
<i>San Francisco State University</i>	San Francisco, CA	Four-Year		X
<i>University of California, Irvine</i>	Irvine, CA	Four-Year		X
<i>University of Illinois at Chicago</i>	Chicago, IL	Four-Year	X	
<i>University of Massachusetts, Boston</i>	Boston, MA	Four-Year	X	X
<i>University of Minnesota, Twin Cities</i>	Minneapolis, MN	Four-Year		X
<i>University of Nevada, Las Vegas</i>	Las Vegas, NV	Four-Year	X	X

educational policy-making priorities and investments as well as theory-building and knowledge production are shaped by elite and primarily private interests and constituencies. This is particularly the case in settings—including Massachusetts—where such interests and constituencies often uncritically define the institutional profiles of not only the researchers but also students who are conveniently sampled as research subjects in many studies that claim broader applicability than they deserve.

As an alternative, this research brief insists that Minority Serving Institutions, including AANAPISIs, have a unique and valuable role to play in research as well as advocacy, community capacity building, and policy development, precisely because of their fidelity with student profiles and their family and community realities. In short, AANAPISIs have an essential role to play in defining, implementing, assessing, and reflecting on a local, regional, or national AANAPISI research agenda.

From this vantage, the University of Massachusetts Boston (UMass Boston) as an AANAPISI research university has a responsibility to address the “oversight” noted by Chang and Kiang (2010) in order to produce research that expands knowledge about Asian American educational equity.¹ In the following sections, then, I highlight the research and policy relevance of one particular, long-term, curricular commitment and complex pedagogical practice—digital storytelling in Asian American Studies—at UMass Boston, with a service area that includes substantial urban, low-income Vietnamese American, Chinese American, and Khmer American communities. UMass Boston is the only AANAPISI research university in New England, having received its official federal designation originally in 2008 and three successive five-year funding awards from the U.S. Department of Education in 2010, 2015, and 2016. Specifically, I highlight the significance of connecting the programmatic development of digital storytelling in Asian American Studies at UMass Boston with the need for quality AANAPISI-focused educational research and some of the critical issues and contexts facing low-income, urban Asian American students.

Recognizing AANAPISI Institutional and Community Contexts

The University of Massachusetts Boston is a Minority Serving Institution recognized as the most diverse, public university in New England, enrolling 13,000 undergraduates, 12% of whom were Asian American and 55% of whom were students of color in Fall 2015. As an AANAPISI commuter university, UMass Boston enrolls high-need Asian American students who typically come from local, low-income, immigrant families and under-resourced communities. Roughly seven out of ten entering Asian American freshmen are the first in their families to pursue post-secondary education. With no history or infrastructure of residence halls at UMass Boston, many Asian American students live at home in immigrant family households and where they also shoulder heavy family responsibilities.²

The Asian American population of metro Boston has continually grown in size and complexity during the past four decades, with Chinese, Indian, Cambodian, Vietnamese, and Korean individuals comprising the top five Asian American ethnicities statewide (Asian Americans Advancing Justice, 2013). Although Massachusetts (MA) is the nation’s 14th largest state in terms of population size, its Cambodian American population is currently the second largest in the country, following California, and its Chinese American population is currently fifth largest in the United States, following California, New York, Texas, and Hawai’i (Center for American Progress, 2015). Recently arrived refugees and immigrants from Myanmar (Burma), Bhutan, and Nepal have settled in large numbers in MA where their distinctive cultural, linguistic, and psycho/sociopolitical profiles will also increasingly intersect with local AANAPISIs such as UMass Boston, Bunker Hill Community College in Boston, and Middlesex Community College in Lowell. Census data from 2013 show that nearly 7% of all Bhutanese and 6% of all Nepalese in the United States reside in Massachusetts (Center for American Progress 2015; MA Department of Public Health, 2015).

Roughly two-thirds of the Asian American population in Massachusetts is foreign-born; nearly half are low income, and while three-quarters have graduated from high school, less than half have acquired a bachelor's degree (Lo, 2012). With poverty rates for Asian American families in Boston (27%) being twice as high as those for White families (13%), the family and community profiles of AANAPISI students reflect realities of economic struggle, linguistic isolation, limited educational achievement, and low social capital in relation to the dominant structure and culture of U.S. society (Boston Redevelopment Authority, 2014). For example, nearly four out of ten Cambodians in MA have less than a high school diploma compared to one out of ten for the overall population. This education gap is even more extreme in relation to graduate or professional degree achievement, with only 3% of Cambodian Americans in MA attaining such a degree. Vietnamese Americans, the other large Southeast Asian refugee-profile population in MA, has similarly low attainment levels, particularly in the local neighborhood where UMass Boston is located. When one considers that graduate degrees represent minimal qualifications for entry into educational research and policy-making professions, the barriers for these populations, in particular, to gain direct access to research and policy domains are glaring. The role of AANAPISIs as engines for undergraduate and post-baccalaureate educational achievement, therefore, is all the more urgent, albeit poorly acknowledged.

The implications of such stark and striking local Asian American community profiles have gone largely unrecognized by funders, policy-makers, and private educational institutions while AANAPISI students continue to be under-resourced and under-researched. Given that Asian American and Pacific Islander data disaggregation may be critically necessary but not compellingly sufficient as a driver of equity-centered transformational change in higher education policy and practice, this research brief suggests that the insights and findings from other “creative” research approaches should also merit focused attention and robust investment.

Digital Storytelling in Asian American Studies

For the past thirteen years, I have led a long-term programmatic effort at UMass Boston to craft innovative ways of studying, documenting, and teaching about Boston's Asian American communities based on a commitment to what is known as “co-producer knowledge,” which focuses on developing critical research approaches and generating socially contextualized data that reflect the voices, histories, and cultures of marginalized, under-researched populations (Weichselgartner & Truffer, 2015; McGeachie & Power, 2015). Through a complex pedagogical practice embedded in an upper-level course titled “Asian American Media Literacy” (AsAmSt 370) that is dedicated to digital storytelling in Asian American Studies, I have worked closely each year with AANAPISI students to document and disseminate their living histories and grounded visions to public audiences via exhibitions, community workshops, local film festivals, research conferences, and online venues. Selected examples of co-produced digital stories presented below reveal fresh dimensions of Asian American migration stories, transnational family histories, and a broad range of critical community issues ranging from health disparities and depression to racial harassment and veteran status to intergenerational trauma, resilience, and educational persistence. The 150+ stories co-produced thus far in our digital archives document and clarify struggles by younger generation Asian Americans, many with immigrant/refugee family backgrounds, who are growing up in racially-mixed, working-class neighborhoods while seeking higher education through AANAPISI access and opportunity.

This collection of Asian American Studies digital story co-productions represents an original, empirical contribution to Asian American educational research, documentation and archival development. The availability and convergence of multimedia tools, consumer electronics, and social networking platforms such as YouTube and Facebook have enabled a new generation of students and community members to conceive of and claim their own private “real life real stories” as coherent,

contextualized, publicly-shared digital products (Tang, 2010). In turn, these stories represent intense, individual narrations of inequality, marginalization and resilience that contribute to a new media knowledge database about AANAPISI students. This is noteworthy, both in terms of the critical application of digital media technology and in relation to the narrative content by an under-resourced, under-researched MSI profile whose voices and family/community documentation would otherwise not be recorded institutionally in any way.³

Critical AANAPISI Themes, Contexts, and Challenges

The digital stories in our archives are products of a particular profile of AANAPISI students who are children of urban, working-class, under-resourced, under-researched, and/or refugee/immigrant families. These students often do not have the elite status and legacy wealth or family income and personal means to attend private or residential universities. Instead, they have financed their education, in part, by taking on significant personal debt through student loans, while also typically working 20-40 hours/week for minimum wage in service industry, community agency, and work-study jobs. The personal realities reflected in their digital stories make visible the policy realities that define highly stratified structures of education and employment.

In addition, many digital stories in Asian American Studies also implicate the burdens of health disparities, particularly for refugee/immigrant families limited by barriers of language, culture, and race. Furthermore, their stories portray the economic, emotional, and spiritual costs experienced by family members living with and dying from liver cancer, hepatitis B, diabetes, dementia, PTSD, and other critical issues of health and mental health policy and practice in Asian American communities.

Based on a grounded thematic analysis of our archive of digital stories co-produced through AsAmSt 370 over the past thirteen years, we have identified several critical themes and social issues pertaining to the everyday experiences of AANAPISI students. Table 2 presents an

overview of sample research themes and shows how the co-produced knowledge base represented by the digital story archives directly relates to the policy challenges facing Asian American communities in Boston and in the larger society. The following sections provide a brief discussion of sample themes, together with specific references to representative digital story examples that are, in most cases, accessible online for viewing.

TABLE 2: Critical Research Themes and Social Policy Issues in Co-Producer Knowledge Digital Stories Archives—Thematic Analysis

<i>AANAPISI Digital Stories</i>	<i>Critical Research Themes</i>	<i>Social Policy Issues</i>
Digital Storytelling in Asian American Studies Archives	Missing parents due to war, family separation, sickness, and low-wage work	Educational achievement gap Civic engagement gap
	Health and mental health concerns, body image issues, suicide, and women’s health	Health disparity gap Elderly care gap
	Isolation and racism in school and community	Immigration reform policy gap
	Intergenerational gaps/trauma	Veterans’ postwar well-being
	Abusive relationships	
	Migration/immigration—language and cultural barriers, low-income/poverty issues	
	Military/veteran experiences	

AANAPISI Family Contexts: Missing Parents

The importance of family context and the reality of “missing parents” is one of several critical issues that most clearly emerge from our emic (i.e., from the perspective of the subject) thematic analysis of the digital story archives. Indeed, many stories in our Co-producer Knowledge archive challenge prevailing ideas about Asian American family structures that dominant experts espouse. Too often, studies link Asian American educational achievement with assumptions about two-parent family structures, high family expectations, and robust family networks of influence and support (Park, et al., 2010; Yee, et al., 2007; Caplan, Whitmore, & Choy, 1989). A widely publicized Pew Research Center report (2012) similarly highlighted national American Community Survey data from the 2010 census showing that 80% of Asian American children are growing up in a household with two married parents, compared to 63% of all American children. The importance of understanding how missing parents and immigrant family separation affects student success is referenced in some research literature on Latino and Caribbean American students, but little has been done with Asian American populations (Foundation for Child Development, 2012; Hidalgo, 2005; Suárez-Orozco & Suárez-Orozco, 2001). Yet, these AANAPISI students have revealed personal narratives about missing parents and family separation due to war, sickness, and low-wage work that directly challenge mainstream research and policy studies. This is one of many examples that clarify how and why AANAPISI students’ digital stories and our larger commitment in Asian American Studies to co-producer knowledge represent relevant sources to inform and challenge existing research, policy, and practice.

To illustrate this thematic finding more fully, Henry Ho’s digital story, *My 2009 Experience* (see right), provides a particularly vivid depiction of the challenges and problems faced by AANAPISI students.⁴ Through a series of vignettes depicting the challenge faced by each of his family members during the year 2009, Henry introduces the audience to the real-life experience of a Chinese immigrant family in Boston.

Henry Ho’s digital story, “My 2009 Experience”

With Henry’s straightforward voice narration in the background, texts explaining specific contexts appear before or superimposed over images of every family member’s life in struggle: his mother who lost her job (amidst the 2008 national recession), one brother deployed on active duty in Iraq and a second brother failing in high school, his Alzheimer-ridden grandmother, and, finally, his father, who passed away shortly after being diagnosed with liver cancer. In the final scene, Henry puts on his father’s sushi chef robe and makes sushi for the first time in his life. In this five-minute, narrated, first-person story, Henry not only draws attention to a range of health, social and economic issues that affect the Asian American population—including liver cancer, dementia, elder care and job loss—but he also reflects on his role as the eldest U.S.-born son in a Chinese immigrant family. When Henry dons his late father’s work uniform, he symbolically conveys his private intention to take on such daunting responsibilities and legacies as the oldest adult male of his family, in the midst of severe, uncontrollable circumstances. Henry’s digital story is important because it captures both the urgent needs as well as the resilient visions of AANAPISI students in relation to

family roles, cultural expectations and socio-economic conditions. This specific theme of missing parents carries great weight and significance for AANAPISI students, especially among the second generation and for the young men.

AANAPISI Contexts of Language, Culture, and Tradition

A primary commitment of national AANAPISI program support from the U.S. Department of Education has specifically prioritized the learning needs and challenges of immigrant students with limited English proficiency. Many co-produced digital stories in the Asian American Studies archive provide compelling examples of what UMass Boston colleagues have described in their own research and teaching as “anguish as a second language” (Kiang, 2002).

Farida’s⁵ digital story, for example, hauntingly highlights the language and cultural barriers facing AANAPISI immigrant students. Her voice narration offers a vivid portrayal of how social isolation in middle and high schools deeply affect the visceral experiences of non-English-speaking immigrant students. She recalls and reenacts an instance when her teacher assigned a writing exercise in class and she was unable to understand her instructions: “All of a sudden this pain started in my tummy. I started feeling dizzy. I had no idea what was happening. I could feel my body feeling so hot. My face was becoming red. I felt the sweat on my forehead. I couldn’t speak to the teacher. She kept on asking me something but I was unable to understand and I couldn’t speak either. I was just sitting and started crying because I couldn’t express what I felt and was unable to get help.” This sense of inability to express oneself—or helplessness—has been a difficult challenge for many immigrant students. Farida then describes another dramatic experience when she was left alone in a classroom during a fire drill until the teacher remembered and returned to take her out of the building. All of a sudden out of nowhere [I heard] this sound . . . not a bell but something even sharper than a bell . . . I was panicked . . . everyone left the class. I looked around, stunned, not knowing what was going on . . .

but again I was unable to speak or even ask that question.”

Despite these challenges, Farida finds strength and peace in her cultural and spiritual traditions. Her narrative includes still and moving images highlighting the importance of her Muslim identity and cultural practices. Her digital story begins with video footage of her praying during class breaks in the student center and directly references her mother who has encouraged Farida to finish her college education and taught her to persist through the family’s cultural and spiritual traditions and gendered expectations. She says, “Whenever I feel weak and discouraged, she encourages me and also teaches me how to be a good Muslim and follow the Islamic religion to be able to find some peaceful moments within me. If it had not been my mom, today I wouldn’t have been able to find peace. I wouldn’t be able to speak to anyone or express my feelings. It’s only because of her that I learned about the Islam religion and how to pray. Today no matter how stressful I might be, I know where to find peace.”

Through Farida’s digital story, the issues of complexity and meaning of data disaggregation become clearer in relation to both the needs and strengths of AANAPISI immigrant students. The long-lasting effects of lived experiences with linguistic isolation in educational settings such as those that Farida viscerally portrays counter not only model minority stereotypes of Asian American educational achievement, but also the simplistic, deficit-focused, diagnosis-based responses to immigrant students’ learning needs that often underlie practices of institutional assessment and tutoring or writing center services. Farida’s digital story clarifies the emotional dimension of English language learning rather than the technical. Moreover, she explicitly links her immigrant cultural and spiritual traditions with her educational persistence, and thereby highlights the issues and impacts of cultural responsiveness for curricula, pedagogy, and student support services in AANAPISI contexts that institutional forms of data disaggregation are unable to reveal.

AANAPISI Challenges to Address Women's Health, Mental Health, and Help-Seeking

Many AANAPISI students' digital stories in the archives speak directly to the cold statistical reality that Asian American young women have one of the highest rates of suicide of any racial/ethnic group in the US, and highlight the critical knowledge gap regarding why this is the case and/or how to intervene (Augsberger, Yeung, Dougher & Hahm, 2015; Kaminsky 2014; Kramer, Kwong, Lee & Chung, 2002; Matsuoka, Breau & Ryujin, 1997).

Frances' 2008 digital story (see right), for example, is an intense exploration of depression, suicide, and help-seeking behavior that resonates deeply with the experiences of many Asian American young women.⁶ "I wanted an end to pain and anger," she begins, distancing herself from the typical "I have to try harder because of my family" narrative that has been well documented in literary texts, films, and research studies on second-generation immigrant children (Portes, Fernández-Kelly & Haller, 2009; Kibria, 2002; Suárez -Orozco & Suárez-Orozco, 2001). Frances' counter-story then merges text with line drawings of a razor-blade, a wrist, and an attempt at suicide as the screen turns red. Throughout her digital story, Frances depicts the struggles of a local Asian American young woman against both sexism and racism in her predominantly white metro Boston neighborhood, and she sharply highlights the disparity between family expectations and traditional cultural norms for Asian American young women and their lived experiences. In doing her best to cope with the pressures and challenges at home and in school, she concludes that her life is not worth sustaining. "I am giving up," she admits, and, fully acknowledging the cultural stigma that compounds her model minority counter-story, she further reveals, "I still have not asked for help."

Research by Charmaraman (2015) suggests that students attending public institutions across the nation have experienced significantly more cyber bullying than those in private colleges. This was especially

Frances K. Chow's digital story, "[Untitled]"

the case for students in community colleges and also significantly more for Asian American students overall than for any other racial group sampled. Given the institutional and population profiles of those most at risk, according to Charmaraman's data, the relevance and urgency of AANAPISI research collaboration and advocacy seems obvious. Furthermore, existing online resources such as Frances' digital story not only offer profound insight regarding dynamics of bullying for Asian American girls and young women, but also provide the possibilities of intervention and education through its accessibility via the digital story archives. Like Farida's example, Frances's digital story also establishes the expectation for culturally responsive learning environments in AANAPISI settings, including critically important support service units such as counseling centers. At the same time, just as the services of a campus Writing Center may not well serve Farida, the interventions of a campus Counseling Center may be irrelevant to Frances who has still "not asked for help."

AANAPISI Challenges to Address Men's Burdens of Isolation, Identity, and Racial Harassment

As suggested by the digital stories of Farida and Frances, research indicates that Asian American late high school and college students experience significantly more social isolation and exclusion as well as depression and anxiety than other racial groups, and that students' experience of discrimination in school and community can significantly affect their mental health (Alvarez, Juang and Liang, 2006; Chou, Asnaani, & Hofmann, 2012; Cokley, Hall- Clark, & Hicks, 2011. Museus & Kiang, 2009; Suyemoto, et al., 2009). Numerous examples of AANAPISI digital stories have documented the theme of isolation and racism through a variety of narratives depicting racial harassment in school and community, frustrations with language inequality, the effects of the loss of loved ones to racial violence, police brutality, the absence of caring teachers, school personnel and other institutional staff, and the value of culturally-relevant school curriculum or after-school programs.

Most recently, the White House Initiative on Asian Americans and Pacific Islanders with collaborating federal agencies released a landmark report in August 2016 on behalf of the Asian American and Pacific Islander Bullying Prevention Task Force. The report details critical information gathered from a two-year national documentation process about the experiences and dynamics faced by AAPI students who have been bullied and how schools, families, and communities have been responding. The report also makes clear recommendations for follow-up action by federal agencies, including the Departments of Justice, Education, and Health & Human Services.

Students from all AAPI communities are subjected to all types of bullying (physical, verbal, and social). AAPI students stated that stereotypes and assumptions about culture and religion, limited English proficiency, and religious attire were most often associated with the bullying they experienced . . . AAPI students and parents

may not be well-informed about or use resources and avenues of remediation that are available at the school, school district, community, local, state, and Federal levels and need access to such information in a language they understand . . . AAPI students often do not talk to parents because of concerns that parents were too busy and overworked, cultural and generational gaps, and their inability to communicate effectively due to language barriers. Many students also noted they did not talk to teachers or other school staff because of the perception that school officials would not respond, the fear of retaliation by the school or other students, and language barriers in reporting the incident. (AAPI Bullying Prevention Task Force, 2016).

Hung Nguyen's digital story, "Finding the Fierce Gaysian Within"

Amidst the backdrop of this national context, many digital stories in the Asian American Studies archive reveal critical issues facing young men and boys of color in urban environments long before they are able to consider accessing higher education opportunities. Hung's 2013 digital story, "Finding the Fierce Gaysian Within" (see above),

for example, charts the difficult journey of a Vietnamese American young man coming to terms with his cultural and sexual identity and reveals the vulnerabilities that reflect critical intersections of racism, homophobia, economic disparities, and educational and other inequalities experienced by many youth of color in U.S. society.⁷

Hung's narrative makes direct reference to his family's refugee migration experience from Vietnam to the United States and honors the older generation's sacrifices as part of the legacy of war and relocation. At the same time, he addresses cultural and language barriers and challenges the heterosexist norms in his home culture: "The cultural expectation of putting family first forces me to put myself second. The language barrier between my mother and I make things awkward," he summarizes. "Mom, I don't know why I'm gay . . . No, my friends are not sick like me and I don't have a sickness . . . I'm not gonna get a wife," he tells his mother.

Hung's family photos flash across the screen as he narrates, "Growing up as a young Gaysian wasn't easy. My parents divorced in 2000. My Mormon brother tried to convert me and my other brother physically abuses me for being gay." The sequence of family photos is followed by a video of a long hallway filmed from a first person perspective. As Hung narrates, the camera approaches the family room of his house: "One day he [Hung's brother] walked into my room and found my pink notebook. In this notebook, I was expressing my feelings towards this boy . . . What are you doing? Why are you doing this? My brother grabbed me by my arm and made me kneel in front of my grandparents' altar." The camera zooms into Hung's grandparents' altar and slowly pans across the shelf, capturing the tea and incense used as offerings to his ancestors. The scene immediately cuts to a dark, blurry view in which only Hung's legs are showing. Here, Hung recounts a painful moment in this encounter with his brother: "He stripped me of my clothes while tears are streaming down his face. He tells me I am not a girl and I need to beg for forgiveness . . ." The silhouette of his shorts then drops to the ground. This scene immediately cuts to Hung,

now as a young adult, standing in front of his grandparents' altar and praying with lit incense held in both hands. The immense pain, guilt and humiliation Hung experienced were never addressed. Hung narrates, "I didn't know what to do. I just endured the pain and hid it."

In addition to domestic abuse, Hung also experienced bullying at school and on the streets. Paper balls were thrown at him on the school bus every day, causing Hung to find other means of transportation to avoid those student peers. Hung recounts a traumatic moment of violence on the street when the students from his school physically attacked him for being gay: "One time they jumped me as I was walking home. All I could remember from this day was blood streaming down my face. A stranger stopped and gave me a ride home. I was scared and I hated school and no one at home knew what was going on. The kids saw my sexuality as a weakness and I closed myself from the world and my peers." The narration is voiced over a long stretch of a dark street in Hung's neighborhood. It is filmed in an eerily similar method that resembles the first hallway scene when Hung's brother punished him for being gay. This scene is followed by images of Hung crouching into a fetal position and sitting in the dark. These expressions of loneliness, isolation and helplessness were Hung's response to all the physical and emotional abuses he had to endure for his sexual identity—at home, in the school, and on the street.

At the age of sixteen, Hung sought mental health support on his own and met a counselor who introduced him to Massachusetts Asian and Pacific Islanders for Health (MAP for Health). MAP for Health became a safe community space for Hung. In Hung's digital story, the intimate scene of members of MAP for Health singing happy birthday to him depicts how MAP for Health became an alternative family for him. He reflects, "The people at MAP helped me love myself. They reminded me that regardless of who I am, I am not alone and most importantly, I am loved." MAP for Health is where he met Sarath, a Southeast Asian American youth worker who also identifies as a gay Asian. Hung says, "I see myself in Sarath . . . He taught me that we are not really alone

and that there are a lot of other gaysians out there and not all of us are silenced. He has paved the way for so many of us to believe in ourselves.” The images of Sarath working with young people at MAP for Health are followed by video footages of Hung leading workshops and community-wide events. Sarath inspires Hung to create safe spaces for other marginalized young people.

Hung’s digital story clearly shows that in the context of addressing the educational disparities that affect AANAPISI students, the intersectional dimensions of students’ lives must be fully embraced and engaged. Furthermore, given the close geographic proximity of most AANAPISIs to local Asian American or Pacific Islander community contexts where a wide range of community-based human service agencies, cultural centers, and grass-roots organizations typically operate, there are rich opportunities for active, ongoing AANAPISI collaboration and partnership with leaders, programs, and services of relevant community organizations—such as MAP for Health in Hung’s digital story example.

AANAPISI Issues of Categorization and Belonging

Like Hung’s example, in “Wear I Fit” (2009), Pratna similarly presents a moving story bringing together the intersecting issues and impacts of race, urban realities, and family history facing boys and young men of color from the perspective of a Cambodian American young man who has grown up struggling with a lack of belonging and becoming increasingly aware of his “outsider” status, both in his home culture and in the society-at-large (see right).⁸

Pratna’s narrative begins with his critical insights on the politics of fashion, drawing the connection between “Wear I Fit” and the deeper questions of “Where I Fit” or “Where do I belong?” Pratna describes how he does not “fit in” in detail throughout his digital story. The question, “So where do I belong?” is immediately followed by a black screen with the text, “A Cambodian American. Am I a Cambodian?”

Pratna Kem’s digital story, “Wear I Fit”

Pratna is seen wearing a t-shirt with the Angkor Wat, a national symbol of pride for Cambodians globally, as he narrates, “I mean, I look like one.” This line is immediately countered as he says, “But I wasn’t born there. I don’t speak the language. And I don’t wear the clothes.” Pratna is then seen wrapping a traditional Cambodian sarong around his body, clumsily and confused. He recognizes that his physical features resemble his Cambodian ancestors, but he struggles to find his place of belonging within the Cambodian community because he does not identify with the language or the culture. He poses a second question to his viewers: “Am I an American?” Pratna looks down at his sweatshirt on which the word “AMERICA” is imprinted in large, capital letters. He says, “I was born here. I read, speak, and write in English. I vote, but I look different.” Pratna, in his AMERICAN-adorned sweatshirt, touches the flesh on his arm as he says, “I’m brown. Not brown like morning coffee, brown like dirt roads my mom traveled barefoot to reach refugee camps.” Pratna understands that his brown skin makes him unaccepted by the American society, and, here, he engages with a deep analysis of critical issues such as racism and (not) belonging.

Pratna further reflects on his family history of genocide and refugee resettlement through a series of close-up shots focused on the bodies and flesh of his family members. Pratna reveals the physical scar deeply etched onto the side of his father's stomach as he narrates, "Brown like dried blood and scars etched into my father's flesh. Brown like the orbs of honey in my sister's eyes. I'm an outsider." Pratna is seen trying to put on sneakers, but they do not fit. He says, "Though I try to fit in, my feet cannot fill the shoes of expectations and obligations to my family." In the following scene, Pratna is seen struggling to put on pants, but he falls over. He reflects: "I try to fit into the status quo only to find that membership is exclusive. Yeah, I try to fit in but regardless of how many outfits I wear, or how many layers I put on, I still struggle to find my place." Pratna's hidden narrative reveals his own insights on what it means to not be accepted as a young man of color in U.S. society in relation to critical issues of race, urban realities, and refugee/immigrant family background.

AANAPISI Recognition of Student Veterans

AANAPISIs represent important institutions for the new generation of Asian American and Pacific Islander young women and men who are currently serving, have served, or are considering to serve in the U.S. military. The digital stories of Asian American student veterans reveal multiple, intersecting dimensions of their identities in relation to culture, language, gender, race, immigrant/refugee family backgrounds, citizenship, and religion, together with their critically important status as students and as veterans.

Richard's 2011 digital story (see right), for example, deeply explores the intergenerational irony of his decision to enlist and go to war. Richard is a second-generation Cambodian American and U.S. Marine Corps combat veteran who served in Iraq prior to his GI Bill-supported matriculation at UMass Boston.⁹ Following a series of moving scenes about his mother's survival in Cambodia and her sacrifices in raising three sons in the United States by herself, Richard's digital story shifts

Richard Sann's digital story, "Where the River Runs To"

to a dramatic reenactment of the interaction he had with this mother before he went into the Armed Forces Career Center. In this scene, he is explaining to his mother that he would be getting a paid salary and opportunities for travel. This scene ends with his mother breaking down in tears and Richard joining the military. Using his own digital footage from Iraq, intercut with family archival photos and video, Richard later centers the voice of his refugee mother through an audio interview he conducted for the digital story project, in which she exclaims:

I tried to run from Cambodia, from the war. I don't want my kid to live in war anymore. I'm TIRED OF WAR. That's why I'm in America. And I don't know why the war run after my kid again. It's so sad. But I can't stop you . . . You were going to go anyway.

Like Richard's story, other examples of student veterans' digital stories have similarly expanded the research base for understanding the experiences of AANAPISI students in the military. Several of these co-productions, for example, specifically represent diverse voices

of student veterans who served in Iraq and Afghanistan, including: a Korean American man documenting the camaraderie invested in his day-to-day training prior to being commissioned as a U.S. Army officer; a Vietnamese American who enlisted in the U.S. Marine Corps, despite the intense disapproval of his father whose own war experience as a soldier in Vietnam had been so painful; and a Chinese American woman exploring the intergenerational and cultural conflicts in her working-class immigrant family that led her to leave home and enlist in the Army at age 18. These digital stories produced through Asian American Studies coursework provide rich documentation to address the complete absence of research about the experiences, needs, and assets of post-9/11 Asian American or Pacific Islander veterans (Tsai & Kong, 2012), while directly reflecting the “real-lives-real-stories” of student veterans in AANAPISI contexts.

AANAPISI Impacts: Transforming Violence, Intergenerational Trauma, and Educational Disparities

Finally, Linda’s digital story (2013) uses “running” as a theme to capture the violent consequences of war, genocide, and refugee resettlement and to juxtapose how violence has affected both refugee parents and U.S.-born children in ways that further widen the rift between generations.¹⁰ In the opening scene, Linda is running through a forest covered in fall foliage. She narrates, “I am running away from you, Pa. The abuse is too much for me to handle. Stop yelling at Mommy and stop yelling at me. And stop drinking!” Linda falls over and hangs her head low. This scene is immediately followed by a dramatization of her father in his teen years who is also running. Linda reveals that her father, whose money was stolen from Thai soldiers, was unable to return to Cambodia to his mother. He ran by foot to Khao I Dang, a refugee camp in Thailand where many survivors of the Killing Fields fled. She zooms in on a worn-out local newspaper article that features her father’s life experience during the early years of resettlement in the United States.

The newspaper story, dated back in 1997, is titled, “STRANGERS AND FICTION: Asians in a bad American dream,” and details her father’s post-camp relocation to East Boston. The paper recounts various forms of urban violence—car vandalism, physical assaults, verbal abuse and more—and references high unemployment rates and unaffordable housing costs. Although Linda expresses her new-found understanding towards the refugee resettlement context, she fast-forwards to her own birthday parties during this period and particularly her fears of the aftermath of the parties when everyone left and her family was alone with her father. To Linda, the father is a violent man behind closed doors. In this scene, Linda is lying under her covers, the only protection between her father’s violence and the shrieks of pain from her mother and baby brother. Her fear of her father, as well as her anger towards his violence, pushed her to isolate herself from her own family. This was her way of running away from him. She developed anxiety and eating disorders and had difficulty focusing in school.

At the climax of the video, Linda engages her father in a conversation in which he reveals the violence he experienced during the genocide: “They bring my dad to kill.” Her father is seen crying with Linda as he retells the story, which is painful and difficult to share. Linda’s narrative, which has consistently declared her desire to run away from her father, makes a shift here as she repositions her direction: “I am running towards my father. I want to understand why did he hurt me and our family so much? I want to be able to let this go and forgive him.” After learning about her father’s history as well as the larger historical context of the Cambodian genocide and U.S. refugee resettlement, Linda begins to connect the dots and recognizes, in her words, “the mental instability within the Cambodian American community.” She delves into her father’s own post-traumatic stress disorder (PTSD) and the way in which U.S. health practitioners dealt with her father’s trauma. For Linda, the PTSD medication prescribed to her father should have been complemented by holistic and culturally competent approaches. In the last scene of her digital story, Linda’s feet, which have constantly been

moving, comes to a halt as she expresses her desire to stop running, and to heal, from the pain inflicted by violence:

Because of the genocide, the displacement, and loss of our Khmer people, my dad and I were living this cycle of running away from the ones we were supposed to love and care for. His traumatic experiences remain a legacy in my life today. I will remember the pain I felt but I want to begin to heal.

Linda's story of violence and resilience reveals the traumas and equality disparities facing Southeast Asian American families. Her family story challenges the dominant assumptions of Asian Americans' migration to the United States to achieve the so-called American Dream. In fact, the long-term consequences of loss, violence, isolation, and racialized marginalization are clearly articulated by both the father and daughter. Their difficulty in communicating directly with each other, with the exception of Linda asking him about his past during the digital storytelling process, not only reflects a typical generational gap, but also illustrates the difficult conditions of PTSD within a Cambodian American refugee family context due to the history of genocide, forced migration, and resettlement during the 1970s, 1980s, and 1990s. In Linda's complex intergenerational story, language, culture, displacement, family trauma, violence, healing, and educational purpose come together in a seven-minute co-production (not available on-line for privacy protection).

Linda further pursued her desire to heal with the Cambodian American community after finishing her digital story. Two years later, she graduated with her Bachelor's degree in economics and a concentration in Asian American Studies through which she produced multiple projects which documented local Cambodian American community stories that are typically invisible in the mainstream. Linda immediately entered into a graduate program focused on educational transformation and continuously worked as a teaching assistant with several Asian American Studies faculty and continued to engage and connect with other Asian American students who share similar AANAPISI profiles and

narratives. Linda completed her Master's degree in Education in 2016 at UMass Boston and is now proudly part of the three-plus percent of Cambodian Americans in Massachusetts who have completed graduate degrees (Institute for Asian American Studies, 2014). Linda is no longer running away from her father or the violence that has been inflicted on her community for decades. Instead, given the unique resources and opportunities through Asian American Studies courses in her AANAPISI context, she has created a new pathway to better understand her community and its complex, cross-generational legacy of violence and trauma. She is now purposefully moving towards her community to heal together through research, teaching, and knowledge co-production. As of fall 2016, with her master's degree completed, Linda is teaching a course on "Asian Women in the US" as an adjunct instructor at UMass Boston while continuing to contribute to the longer-term development of the digital storytelling in Asian American Studies platform at UMass Boston with AANAPISI program support.

The power of Linda's digital story co-production and the purpose with which she has transformed her own AANAPISI educational pathway offer compelling examples of individual impact within a particular programmatic context and institutional environment. Her case also serves to explain why efforts and investments to approve and implement educational policies of data disaggregation for Asian American and Pacific Islander populations are necessary, but not sufficient in AANAPISI research, development, and practice. For example, according to the U.S. Census, 31.5% of Asian Americans in Massachusetts aged 25 and older had attained a graduate or professional degree in higher education, compared with 17.5% of Whites, 6.3% of Latinos, and 7.3% of Blacks. Disaggregated by ethnicity, however, the percentage of Cambodians in MA with a graduate or professional degree is only 3.7%, as noted above (Lo, 2012). This is a necessary analysis that should compel policy-makers, practitioners, and advocates to intervene and invest in the process of Cambodian American higher education attainment in Massachusetts.

But how? What are key issues and barriers that affect Cambodian American educational disengagement? What are meaningful, relevant, and impactful resources, networks, and commitments that enable Cambodian American post-secondary educational achievement? Appreciating and analyzing the process, product, uses, and impacts of Linda's digital story in Asian American Studies offer an AANAPISI student- and community-centered commitment that reaches beyond data disaggregation alone. Indeed, I suggest that this is a fundamental research and policy/praxis question about ways of knowing and meanings of being for AANAPISIs and other MSIs.

Implications and Conclusions

At UMass Boston, digital storytelling in Asian American Studies has evolved during the past decade to provide a platform for self-discovery, deep connection, and reflective learning and teaching about Asian American histories, families, and communities. Our co-produced student digital story products from the archives are being used in local, national, and international venues as fresh counter-story sources that address critical social issues in Asian American communities. Over time, the Asian American Studies digital story archive has expanded to become an important and reliable knowledge base that highlights themes of family migration, war, violence, intergenerational dynamics, social justice, disability access, health disparities, race, class, and gender inequity from the vantage points of first- and second-generation Chinese, Vietnamese, Cambodian, Filipino, and Korean American students, and others. The digital products in the archive represent powerful resources for analyzing educational exclusion, economic exploitation, health disparities, and other manifestations of inequality that high-need, under-researched Asian American individuals, families, and communities undeniably experience in metro Boston (Asian Americans Advancing Justice, 2013).

In other words, they reflect the major policy issues facing Asian American and Pacific Islander communities in specific localities and

intersect with the national agenda items articulated in the action plans of every federal agency (White House Initiative on Asian Americans and Pacific Islanders, 2016) –not just the Department of Education—to comply with the U.S. President's Executive Order 13515 (2009), which seeks to increase the participation of Asian Americans and Pacific Islanders in Federal programs from the Department of Labor to the Department of Justice to Health and Human Services and the National Institutes of Health to the Department of Commerce, Small Business Administration, and Veterans Affairs.

From a more modest AANAPISI research perspective, the building of our digital story archive in Asian American Studies represents a compelling example of how a sustained curricular commitment yields a body of work through which the qualitative becomes quantitative—recognizing both the integrity of individual stories of 10-20 students cross-sectionally each year and the broader policy and praxis implications that 150+ stories reveal collectively and longitudinally for our AANAPIS campus context over the span of more than a decade.

More broadly, this sustained, labor-intensive, AANAPISI student-centered commitment to not only produce powerful digital narratives, but to also cumulatively build a digital archive of original work addressing educational issues, demonstrates four lessons worth considering nationally or in other local higher education contexts.

First, the co-production process of digital storytelling in Asian American Studies creates opportunities for individual AANAPISI students to contribute directly to Asian American educational research, documentation, and archival development. With the co-production structure of a semester-long course, individuals are able to “become their own research project” and take direct responsibility for locating and digitizing old family photographs and documents as well as interviewing family members or other relevant informants whose voices and perspectives add rich detail and critical context for the narrative. Without such a curricular and pedagogical expectation from

the course, it is unlikely that any of the compelling content captured in our digital story archives would have ever been gathered, much less composed for the explicit purpose of documentation and story-sharing. Furthermore, the digital technology mode of production and sharing is highly accessible, and therefore effective, for use by the current digital native generation of youth and young adults.

Digital Storytelling in Asian American Studies thus represents a fresh, “creative” approach to research that involves the direct participation of students as knowledge co-producers and a model of innovative practice that addresses complex and intersecting critical issues facing AANAPISI students. At the same time, this allows for development of an important and legitimate knowledge base created by Asian American students to supplement—and challenge—dominant narratives about Asian Americans and Pacific Islanders in educational research. These co-produced AANAPISI student stories reflect the historical dynamics and burdens as well as the intersectionality of multiple institutional and systemic inequalities in daily life that are difficult to capture, and otherwise do not appear, in the information sources that are typical of data about groups and subgroups in traditional research and policy studies.

Second, AANAPISI institutional settings, by definition, have direct access to large numbers of under-resourced, under-researched, community-centered stories with past, present, and future historical significance due to the population profiles of Asian American and Pacific Islander students who enroll at AANAPISIs. Clearly, expanding the reach and impact of Asian American Studies within AANAPISI settings deserves greater attention and investment, not only for the purpose of ensuring community documentation, but also in support of educational access and opportunity for under-served populations. Indeed, AANAPISI student insights and knowledge co-production in Asian American Studies at UMass Boston have been foundational to current work by Museus (2014) and colleagues, for example, on Culturally Engaging Campus Environments (Museus et al., 2012).

Third, the curricular and pedagogical model of digital storytelling in Asian American Studies co-production at UMass Boston has also led to piloted examples of AANAPISI supplemental grant-funded institutional collaborations and co-productions with additional AANAPISI student digital stories, particularly by Pacific Islander community college students in California, as well as other collaborative projects, including a NEH-funded faculty development initiative with Bunker Hill Community College in Boston—an AANAPISI community college and top feeder school for UMass Boston. Regrettably, the majority of AANAPISI campuses do not have robust Asian American Studies programs or courses dedicated to Asian American media literacy and co-production. But there are many ways to affirm, gather, and archive Asian American and Pacific Islander students’ stories by providing intentional, structured, and sustained support. The power of AANAPISI students’ voices, visions, and co-producer knowledge can and should be accounted for far more systematically by all of us, whether or not we individually work in official AANAPISI institutions.

Finally, despite forty plus years of ardent critique against model minority distortions and aggregate data conflation in educational research about Asian Americans and Pacific Islanders, much of the advocacy agenda still centers on demands for policy commitments to disaggregated data collection and analysis, as the recent state campaign of California AB 1726 and the national White House Initiative on Asian Americans and Pacific Islanders’s ICount movement have demonstrated (Teranishi, Lok, & Nguyen, 2013). Yet, even if fully endorsed and implemented, the core findings of disaggregated data analysis will likely still be limited to exposing inequalities that have previously already been identified as needing interventions and investments. Federal, state, municipal and institutional data, even if disaggregated to accommodate Asian American and Pacific Islander demands, will still not likely ground researchers’ or policy-makers’ understandings of how AANAPISI students experience historically-situated, daily life realities of inequality. Achieving data disaggregation, then, is one important step in a process of striving to gain educational equity, but hardly the end-goal, in and of itself.

Regardless, the inequities revealed by data disaggregation for students, families, and communities served by AANAPISIs are closely tied to the realities documented through the co-production and archival development of digital storytelling in Asian American Studies within AANAPISI contexts, as the example of UMass Boston has sought to model by investing in “moving images that move people to make movements.”

ENDNOTES

¹ The campus context of UMass Boston enrolls only a handful of Pacific Islander students overall, so the critically important and particular issues for Pacific Islander students are not engaged directly in this brief.

² On-campus housing is slated to become an option at UMass Boston in 2018.

³ In forthcoming work, I describe and reflect more fully on the curriculum and pedagogy invested in the co-production process of digital storytelling in Asian American Studies, and what I refer to as “pedagogies of wholeness”. Although there are important technical dimensions of the digital co-production process for students in AsAmSt 370 to gain exposure to and expertise with scripting, sound recording, and video editing using the iMovie software platform, the core aspects of learning, production, exhibition, and reflection are narrative story-centered: what is the story that needs to be told, what is the context for the specific story, what are the details that make it meaningful and powerful, etc. The one-semester course curriculum and pedagogy are designed explicitly and intentionally to support powerful first-person narrative storytelling in digital format and in ways that are consistent with the larger student-centered and community-centered purposes of our academic program in Asian American Studies.

⁴ See <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=SjSJBblt0dk>

⁵ This student’s name has been changed to “Farida” for privacy reasons. For protection of the student’s family members, this digital story is part of the Asian American Studies archive but not available on-line.

⁶ See <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=exs3xHKNKxw>

⁷ See <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=RSyTWrpIyw>

⁸ See https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=nR1ZW_EAjB4

⁹ See <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=CLRWMyyqOU4>

¹⁰ For protection of the student’s family members, this digital story is part of the Asian American Studies archive but not available on-line.

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