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The Impact of Club Involvement on the Racial and Ethnic Diversity of Social Networks

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The Impact of Club Involvement on the Racial and Ethnic Diversity of Social Networks

Introduction

In the midst of the COVID-19 pandemic and the wake of the murder of George Floyd, the CSB/SJU¹ student senates released a joint call to action. One suggestion identified in this call to action was for students to attend club meetings and events in order to meet and learn from others of all different backgrounds. This was not a new notion. The missions of many clubs include the intention to educate the student body. However, this statement made me ask three questions. The first question was how students are making friends on campus. Are they making friends through their campus involvement or through other means? The second question was how racial and ethnic self-segregation was related to campus club and organizational involvement. Is club and organizational involvement a cause of self-segregation or is it a product of self-segregation? My third question was how race and ethnicity were linked to club and organizational involvement at CSB/SJU. In other words, does the intention and outcome of involvement differ based upon race and ethnicity?

I found that some students make friends through their involvement and other students' friendships precede their involvement. For a third group, the process happens concurrently. Shared interests as informed by one's cultural background plays a role in this process. The density of BIPOC social networks is influenced by the fly-in, scholarship cohorts, and involvement on campus. Introductions play a role as well. Sustained immersion in a group of majority White students was the reason why two BIPOC students had more White friends. I also

¹ The acronym CSB/SJU refers to the College of Saint Benedict and Saint John's University. These are two colleges in central Minnesota with separate campuses but a shared academic experience. For more information, visit <https://www.csbsju.edu>

found that self-segregation was prevalent on our campuses. Comfort, discomfort, and identity salience were major contributing factors. Respondents indicated that drinking environments are some of the most intensely segregated spaces on our campuses. BIPOC leaders shouldering the burden of inclusion also contributed to segregation. Lastly, I found three additional links between race/ethnicity and club/organizational involvement on our campuses. The first was that ideal percentages for the racial and ethnic diversity of students differed between students. However, White students were much more likely to say that the diversity of their campus clubs and organizations should reflect population-level demographics. I also found that clubs were incredibly important for BIPOC student inclusion. Lastly, respondents identified the Bennie/Johnnie split and the gendered expectations that accompany this split as relevant for both the subject of racial inclusion and club/organizational involvement.

This paper is organized in three sections. The main sections are making friends, student segregation patterns on campus, and additional links between race/ethnicity and club/organizational involvement at CSB/SJU. Covered under “making friends” are dense BIPOC social networks, sustained immersion as increasing white/BIPOC friend diversity, the primacy of friendships and campus involvement, and shared interests. Subheadings in the “student segregation patterns on campus” include self-segregation, drinking environments, comfort and discomfort in Involvement, Identity Salience, and Relegation of DEIJ labor resulting in segregation. Lastly, classified as “additional links between race/ethnicity and club/organizational involvement at CSB/SJU” are the topics of ideal organizational diversity percentages, the importance of cultural clubs/organizations for campus inclusion, and the Bennie/Johnnie split which explores the role of separate campuses and gender.

Literature Review

Club Importance

Astin (1984) discusses the links between student involvement and student success. He proposes that student involvement directly determines “the amount of student learning and personal development associated with any educational program” (1984). Astin defines student involvement as “the quantity and quality of the physical and psychological energy that students invest in the college experience” (1984). He explains that “Such involvement takes many forms, such as absorption in academic work, participation in extracurricular activities, and interaction with faculty and other institutional personnel” (1984). Astin compares his theory of involvement to other pedagogical theories such as such as resource theory, the individualized (eclectic theory), and the subject-matter theories (1984). These theories are often used by different levels of the administration in their respective battles to increase student success and their departmental budgets (1984). Astin proposes the theory of student involvement to explain student success (1984). He argues that “the effectiveness of any educational policy or practice is directly related to the capacity of that policy or practice to increase student involvement” (1984). By advocating for a theory of involvement, Astin shifts the dialogue away from the “what” of student development to the “how” of student development. He aligns his theory of involvement with theories of motivation but proposes that it is easier for faculty and administration to ask how to involve students rather than how to motivate students (1984). Astin’s theory of development builds upon the concept of a zero-sum game as he asserts “the time and energy that the student invests in family, friends, job, and other outside activities represent a reduction in the time and energy the student has to devote to educational development” (1984). Astin furthers his case for involvement’s importance when he draws the conclusion that “the factors that contributed to the

student's remaining in college suggested involvement, whereas those that contributed to the student's dropping out implied a lack of involvement" (1984). Astin discusses the links between residential status, extracurricular involvement, fraternity/sorority involvement, part-time on-campus employment, similar religious backgrounds, similar racial backgrounds, and similar town sizes to higher retention rates. He proposes that "The origin of such effects probably lies in the student's ability to identify with the institution. It is easier to become involved when one can identify with the college environment" (1984). However, some types of involvement tend "to isolate students from the peer group effects that normally accompany college attendance" (1984). These include athletic and academic involvement (1984). Athletic and academic involvement also predict "smaller than average increases in political liberalism, religious apostasy, and artistic interests and a smaller than average decrease in business interests" (1984). Astin concluded that "nearly all forms of student involvement are associated with greater than average changes in entering freshman characteristics" (1984). However, Astin notes that his earlier research "[suggested] that different forms of involvement lead to different developmental outcomes" (1984). Astin also noted that the influence of peer groups and the quality versus the quantity of involvement should be considered and explored further (1984). Astin's research proposes the importance of involvement for student outcomes and posits a theoretical justification for studying undergraduate extracurricular involvement.

Like Astin (1984) Elkins et al. (2011) focus on the increases in retention that accompany higher levels of involvement. They note that "Research has shown the inextricable tie between student involvement or engagement and persistence" (2011). However, Elkins et al. (2011) also link higher levels of participation and involvement directly to a perceived higher sense of community. They assert that "students with higher levels of participation in certain campus

involvement areas have a significantly higher perceived sense of campus community within the following factors: teaching and learning, history and tradition, diversity and acceptance, residential experience, and loneliness and stress” (2011). As a result, they conclude that “high levels of involvement in student activities contribute to a sense of campus community” (2011). They propose that “It is reasonable to assume that the knowledge of campus history and traditions gained from high levels of involvement in student activities may contribute to a greater sense of campus community” (2011). In this statement, they propose a theoretical mechanism where higher levels of involvement are transmitted into a greater sense of campus community. Elkins et al. inform us that “results suggest involvement contributes to a sense of community, but does so in a targeted way” (2011). This article suggests that involvement in different types of organizations, such as cultural versus non-cultural clubs, might have different effects on the experiences of students based on the type of club they are involved in.

Hood (1984) explores the links between participation and growth in undergraduate student development. Unlike Astin (1984) and Elkins et al. (2011), Hood (1984) focuses on the psychosocial benefits of extracurricular involvement. His research demonstrates that not only are retention outcomes greater for students with high involvement, but there are also social and personal benefits that accompany these benefits as well. Hood measured whether club involvement was related to increases on a number of psychosocial measures. He found that an improvement in the areas of tolerance of differences and quality of relationships was related to involvement in campus organizations (1984). Increases in confidence and sexual identity were also linked to greater involvement (Hood 1984). In summary, involvement in extracurricular activities was linked to an increase in “tolerance and acceptance of differences among individuals,” “self-confidence, and [a] capacity for mature, interpersonal relationships” (Hood

1984). As a result, Hood linked “participation in various types of extracurricular activities such as these provided by college unions” with “growth in certain psychosocial areas of development” (1984). Hood’s study further emphasizes the potentially positive benefits of club involvement.

Kuh et al. (2008) “sought to determine the relationships between key student behaviors and the institutional practices and conditions that foster student success.” They found that “Student engagement in educationally purposeful activities during the first year of college had a positive, statistically significant effect on persistence” (2008). However, they also incorporated an examination of different racial groups into their analysis. Kuh et al. discovered that “although African American students at the lowest levels of engagement were less likely to persist than their White counterparts, as their engagement increased to within about one standard deviation below the mean, they had about the same probability of returning as Whites. As African American student engagement reached the average amount, they became more likely than White students to return for a second year” (Kuh et al. 2008). Therefore, although the researchers concluded that “the effects of engagement are generally in the same positive direction for students from different racial and ethnic backgrounds” (Kuh et al. 2008), the greater correlation between African American student engagement levels and student success than White engagement levels and success suggests that involvement is more important for some racial groups than others. Kuh et al. delineated between first-year and second-year grades and persistence, noting that “engagement has a compensatory effect on first-year grades and persistence to the second year of college at the same institution.” These findings led the researchers to conclude that “while exposure to effective educational practices generally benefits all students, the effects are even greater for lower ability students and students of color compared

with White students” (Kuh et al. 2008). This research demonstrates that the positive effects of student involvement can differ based upon race.

Dense BIPOC Social Networks and Comfort/Discomfort in Involvement

D Augelli et al. (1993) noted that “problems of cultural adjustment, isolation from other African Americans, and problems of racism compromise the academic careers of African American undergraduates” at PWIs. Isolation is outlined as a common challenge because many BIPOC students “come from communities and high schools in which they were in the majority; on the college campus, however, they are a distinct minority” (1993). D Augelli et al. outline segregation as another barrier that students face. They demonstrate that African Americans have, on average, over eleven times the amount of African American peers in their networks as White students (1993). They also noted the residential segregation of Whites and African Americans. D Augelli et al. asserted that “African American students more often shared housing with other African American students than did White students” (1993). African American student well-being was not tied to the high schools they attended or their academic performance (D Augelli et al.). Instead, the authors concluded that “the experience of racial discrimination and harassment... may account for the differences students' general well-being and their attitudes about the university” (1993). On the campus the authors studied, they noted that “The two groups did not differ on their involvement in campus organizations nor in their degree of participation in campus groups” (1993). However, they did also caution that “individual campuses must be studied to determine the nature of their climate for diversity” (1993). D Augelli et al. concluded that “simple attendance at college does not eradicate differences in background, preparation, and subjective experiences between Whites and African Americans” (1993). D Augelli et al.'s work recognizes the qualitatively different experiences of BIPOC and

White students at PWIs. We also learn that the experiential differences of White and BIPOC students at PWIs have implications their well-being.

Dense BIPOC Social Networks and Club Importance

Fischer (2007) “explores racial and ethnic differences in adjusting to college and the consequences different adjustment strategies have on college outcomes.” She argues that “As the number of Hispanic and Black students enrolling in higher education expands, so does the need to understand what constitutes a successful transition to college for these students” (2007). This statement demonstrates a shift away from additive diversity towards a focus on inclusivity. Fischer outlines “minority status, socioeconomic disadvantage, and being a first generation college student” as the “three prominent factors that may affect adjustment and subsequent success in college” (2007). She extends D Augelli et al.’s assertions on the fundamental experiential differences of upper education at PWIs based upon race to the adjustment process by writing that “race and ethnicity have a fundamental impact on how college is experienced by minority students and therefore their adjustment process cannot be assumed to be the same” (Fischer 2007). Fischer found “strong evidence to suggest that the connections that students form to others on campus have numerous implications for their early college outcomes. This holds true across all groups but manifests itself differently with different racial groups” (2007). However, Fischer also relates early college outcomes to involvement in campus organizations. She notes that “Students who become more involved in various aspects of campus life not only are more likely to stay in college but also may perform better academically” (2007). She relates these factors to race by concluding that her research demonstrates “the existence of these significant cross-context effects on outcomes for Black and Hispanic students as evidence of the especially crucial role involvement plays in the success of these students in college.” It is clear

from Fischer's (2007) article that "how students adjust to college... operates somewhat differently across groups." It is also clear that these dynamics often incorporate a racial component. Fischer (2007) echoes Astin's (1984) call for investigation into quality versus quantity of involvement when she argues that "Future work should explore whether involvement in certain types of activities matters more for students or whether simply being involved is what improves outcomes for students." Her conclusions open up the pathway for the investigation into how cultural club and non-cultural club involvement differ in their effects on student groups.

Identity Salience

McNamara Horvat and Lewis (2003) conducted a qualitative study of young Black women in California high schools. They concluded that "the burden of acting white did not play a dominant role in the participants' lives" (McNamara Horvat & Lewis 2003). They argued that "this finding is due, in large part, to the diversity within the black peer groups" (2003). They connected their findings to involvement in extracurriculars by highlighting how "Although the participants also engaged in activities, their engagement did not appear to be part of a strategy that was aimed at camouflaging their academic success. Some saw engagement in particular activities as a way of trying out specific careers" (2003). The authors continued exploring their connections to extracurricular involvement by writing that "These young women were active members of their high schools, not because they wanted to deflect attention from their presence in advanced classes and their standing on the honor roll. They were involved in athletics, the student government, and the YBS program because these ventures represented genuine interests and concern" (2003). This study outlines the differing motivations that compel involvement in extracurricular activities, as well as its implications for self-identification. The authors also highlight the diversity within black peer groups, outlining how conclusions about experiences of

race and involvement cannot be generalized for others of the same race, let alone all those who fall under the categorization of BIPOC students.

Johnnie/Bennie Split

Beggs et al. (2004) further explore the differences in motivations for extracurricular involvement. The researchers concluded that there were differences in motivation between those who participate regularly in campus recreational sports and those who do not participate regularly in campus recreational sports (2004). However, they did not find a significant difference in the social factor. Beggs et al. discovered that the motivational differences were gendered. Women were more strongly motivated by intellectual variables than men (2004). These variables included “mental stimulation, cognitive learning, and the opportunity to use one’s imagination” (2004). The researchers noted that “the desire for challenge and competition are important motivational factors to all college students” (2004). This study suggests the need to delineate between campus recreational sports involvement and club involvement. This study also points to the different motivating factors of individuals for involvement or non-involvement and suggests that one weakness of my sample is that those uninvolved in campus clubs are under sampled. Lastly, this article suggests that gender should be considered during data analysis.

Methods

Between January 25th and February 22nd, 2021, I conducted fourteen interviews over Zoom conferencing technology. To recruit participants, I sent out recruitment emails to all cultural clubs and organizations asking for interview participants. Due to low response rates to these emails, I recruited the majority of my respondents through snowball sampling. Five

respondents self-identified as White, five identified as Hispanic or Latinx², three identified as Black, and one identified as Hmong³. I interviewed one second-year student, three third-year students and ten fourth-year students. Four respondents were Johnnies and ten were Bennies. At the end of this section, Figure 1 displays the racial and ethnic identification of students, their year of study, and whether they identified a significant mix of White and BIPOC students among their close friends.

I used an interview guide and organized interviews as loosely structured conversations. These interviews were slightly over an hour on average. I selectively transcribed the interviews based upon emerging themes I recorded in post-interview reflections. During transcription, I added to and edited the themes I had identified as new themes emerged. I also eliminated all identifying information and changed all student names to pseudonyms.

I catered the interview guide to focus on respondents' close friends rather than their acquaintances. Kusenbach (2003) noted that interviews are effective tools for measuring strong social ties but less effective at gaining insight into the interactions associated with weak social ties. Although interactions with acquaintances are relevant and at times referred to during student responses, the interviews were mainly centered around strong social ties to ensure the suitability of the chosen methods. It is worth noting that I would have liked to supplement my data with observations but was restricted by COVID-19 guidelines during the time of my research.

It is imperative to acknowledge those who were left out of the sample. This study disproportionately sampled Bennies, Sociology majors, seniors, and highly involved student

² During the text I refer to any who identified themselves under either of these categories as Hispanic/Latinx

³ I will employ the acronym BIPOC during the writing to refer to these groups and other racial and ethnic minorities on campus. BIPOC is an all-inclusive term referring to those who are Black, Indigenous, and/or People of Color.

leaders. The sample is in no way representative of the student body. A number of minority racial and ethnic groups were in no way represented, including Somalian and Native Indigenous students. Some were not sampled due to the nature of snowball sampling and others were not sampled due to their lack of club representation at the time the interviews were conducted. Many other cultural clubs never responded to my email outreach. To my knowledge, there are no varsity student athletes represented in the sample. As a result, these findings are preliminary, exploratory, and qualitative in nature.

Figure 1: Sample Demographics

Pseudonym	Racial/Ethnic Identification	Year	White/BIPOC Mix
Sue	White	Fourth	No
Nina	White	Fourth	Yes
Doug	White	Fourth	No
Fred	White	Third	No
Camila	Hispanic/Latinx	Third	Yes
Maria	Hispanic/Latinx	Fourth	No
Isabela	Hispanic/Latinx	Fourth	Yes
Chue	Hmong	Fourth	No
Alyssa	Black	Third	No
Alexa	Hispanic/Latinx	Fourth	No
Pandora	White	Fourth	No
Selena	Hispanic/Latinx	Third	Yes
Daisy	Black	Fourth	Yes
Trent	Black (from Bahamas)	Second	No

Note: respondents' racial/ethnic self-identification will be marked in the paper with a (W) for White, a (B) for Black, an (H/L) for Hispanic/Latinx, and an (H) for Hmong.

Research Findings

Making Friends on Campus

When talking with respondents about how they met and became closer to their closest friends, a number of themes emerged. These themes centered around fly-ins, first-year experiences, scholarship cohorts, dense BIPOC social networks, and trends in White and BIPOC-mixed friend groups.

The first theme was the importance of the fly-in for making early friends and getting used to campus. The fly-in is a recruiting process used by the office of admissions at CSB/SJU⁴ during which out of state students are flown to Minnesota to visit the campus for a few days. Alexa (H/L), a Hispanic/Latinx senior Bennie, outlined her experiences with the fly-in program as her first introduction to her scholarship cohort. Her statement is representative of many experiences because the scholarship cohort was an important factor in making friends for multiple participants. Alexa (H/L) said that

They flew me in here... if they want you to continue through the interview section they fly you out so you get to see the campus and for three days you are here and you also stay with someone who is in ILEAD⁵... I was introduced to a lot of things through ILEAD and through other ILEAD scholars.

Alyssa (B), a Black junior Bennie, also mentioned the importance of the fly-in. Although she did not meet a scholarship cohort, she was still able to connect with older students who she could relate to. This helped drive her decision to attend CSB/SJU and set her up to meet friends once she arrived on campus in the subsequent fall. She explained that

⁵ Respondents' references to ILEAD refer to Intercultural LEAD, a time-intensive scholarship program targeted at BIPOC students, including international students. Incoming students are recruited as part of a cohort that meets regularly. Chue (H) described it as a "scholarship of \$10,000. They required us to meet every Tuesday to just hang out with our cohort to chat and they invited different guests on campus like they had a study abroad session, we have financial aid sessions, many different sessions. So committee members are like the dean of students, Brandyn Woodard, these are like big people on campus obviously so like that was one of my biggest involvements because like I was really dedicated to that."

During the Involvement Fair first year, that's where I met a lot of people and a lot of groups. Specifically BSA⁶. I think that night of my fly-in they were having their black history event along with ASA⁷. I was able to meet a lot of seniors at the time and a lot of juniors.

If I'm being completely honest I feel like I got played. Literally cause on my fly-in it was nothing but Hispanics and Blacks and people from out of the country coming in so I'm like, woah. And then I come on campus on a cultural event weekend and I'm like woah. You know? And then I come on campus Monday morning and I'm like where's everyone at?

Alyssa's testimony highlights how her expectations of diversity at CSB/SJU based upon her fly-in experiences were at odds with reality. Maria (H/L), a Hispanic/Latinx senior Bennie, echoed Alyssa's sentiments, highlighting how the fly-in was important not just for making friends and meeting other students of color but also for her later feelings of being tricked into attending school at a PWI. She relayed the following:

I met a lot of my closest friends when I visited Minnesota for my fly-in. I did meet a lot of friends. I was drawn more to people of color and out of state students. Those are the people I just kind of got along with better. I feel like coming to campus was definitely different than the fly-in just because the fly-in I was with out of state students, so I was with people I automatically connected with.

I thought I had accepted coming to a school but I had accepted coming to a completely other school. And not only was it the fly-in program. I feel like coming here like we're just very tokenized.

Alyssa's experiences highlight the trends with the fly-in and why it is relevant for analysis. Due to the fact that many of her friendships were already being formed in the experiences leading up to college, the segregation of friend groups and social networks begins before students arrive on campus. Another way respondents indicated that social networks are segregating before campus arrival is through friendships retained from high school. Another area

⁶ BSA refers to the Black Student Association, a student-led campus club

⁷ ASA refers to the Archipelago Student Association

where the segregation of friend groups occurs is by meeting friends through cultural clubs shortly after arrival on campus. Camila (H/L), a Hispanic/Latinx senior Bennie, outlines the importance of cultural clubs as a space where the segregation of friend groups occurs. She reflects that

It kind of started off, being an out of state student, at the fly-in. You know I met a couple of people and when I came back I saw them here. And through them I'm like "hey, like nice to see you again!" And like build that friendship and like through them I met even more people but the majority of where I met my friendships were through clubs, like the ELAC⁸ club being one.

Others who did not enter college with friends or participate in a fly-in mentioned first-year experiences and retreats as crucial to the formation of their inner social circles. Selena (H/L), a junior Hispanic/Latinx Bennie, talked about how important her pre-orientation canoe trip to the boundary waters was for cementing early and lasting friendships.

Through my freshman year roommate I met Gregory. I met so many people through Gregory. My freshman year roommate introduced him to me on Collegebound as well... He had come over to see my freshman year roommate and he had brought with him Alyssa, who is my best friend. She is from California, he is from Nevada... It was probably just through Collegebound was the source, and then it just trickled.

Doug (W), a White senior Johnnie, also mentioned the importance of a first-year retreat for the early formation of friendships. This retreat was hosted by campus ministry specifically for first-year students.

The majority of the people that I spend a lot of time with now, I didn't necessarily meet them on FYRE⁹, on the First Year Retreat, but that is where I think I became more familiar with them and felt close with them to the point where I started to spend some time with them afterwards.

⁸ ELAC refers to Exploring Latin American Cultures, a student-led campus club

⁹ FYRE stands for First Year Retreat Experience

Sue (W), a White senior Bennie, identified residential proximity rather than retreat experiences as the most crucial factor to their friendship formation. She also identified her scholarship cohort as crucial to her friendships.

First and foremost women who live in my floor. Those people who were on my floors again in later years because we were like 'oh we should just live near each other again in later years again. So that was something that really bonded me with those people consistently even if I saw them around.

The third would be, I'm in the BONNER program. You even come in as a first year and your orientation is before the orientation of the school and so that way you meet people right out of the gate.

A number of other interviewees mentioned the importance of their scholarship cohorts. Chue (H), a senior Hmong Johnnie, outlined how important the Intercultural LEAD scholarship program was for meeting his closest friends. He also emphasized the importance of introductions and the density of BIPOC social networks at a small, liberal arts PWI.

A lot of us actually met through Intercultural Lead the scholarship program here at CSB/SJU. And we've been friends since before school even started because we did the interview process and everything because when I started school here I was the only person from my school that came here... So a lot of the friends I've met here was through, um, another Asian person here basically because the Asian people, it's kind of like um I met one person and it's like "oh, you don't know this person, oh let me introduce you to this person like come over let's hang out" and it's kind of just like a network thing.

Alexa (H/L) also emphasized how introductions contributed to the density of BIPOC social networks.

A lot of people didn't know [my roommate]... because she is much quieter, she goes home over the weekend... so when they see me I'd be like like 'oh this is my roommate.' And I feel like that's how I met a lot of people and you know, clubs and organizations and just like bringing people around.

Even Nina (W), a White senior Bennie, benefitted from the connections her friends were making in Intercultural LEAD even though she herself was not part of the cohort.

Yeah so in my orientation group there were a couple of people in ILEAD and so they ended up being the people I kind of just clicked with the most so through them I met a lot of other people that were in ILEAD so those kind of people, a lot of my friends freshman year were in ILEAD, especially like one person, she was in ILEAD and also lived across the hall from me and was also in my FYS and so I think it was just like spending a lot of time but we had initially met through a friend I had in my orientation group.

Introductions, cultural club involvement, fly-ins, and scholarship cohorts all contribute to the density of BIPOC social networks on campus. The density of campus BIPOC social networks was often naturalized. This naturalization and the resulting density of BIPOC social networks may be linked to the social practice of introductions mentioned by Chue (H) and others. For example, Alexa (H/L) shared that

My other roommate... I met her first year as well we met through mutual friends... and because she is also Latina it makes sense for us to have known each other and to be introduced to each other.

In the same vein, Trent (B), a Black sophomore Johnnie from the Bahamas, said the following:

I came here and I looked and basically all the BIPOC students know each other and, as a BIPOC student, you'll never not know another BIPOC student. Because like the clubs I said to you, you go to the clubs and it's mainly BIPOC students. 16% of the campus is BIPOC students. So it makes sense that 16% will know all of each other, you know?

Respondents made it clear that many self-segregating factors in friend groups started before students had started classes. The practice of fly-ins and the Collegebound canoe trip are two prime examples. Additionally, introductions, cultural club involvement, and scholarship

cohorts were forces relevant for analysis of the density of BIPOC social networks on campus. Although the density of these networks was often naturalized, White and BIPOC friend diversity was also present in respondents' friend groups on campus.

Sustained Immersion as Increasing White/BIPOC Friend Diversity

Although the number of White and BIPOC diverse friend groups were relatively rare in the sample, two out of the four BIPOC respondents indicated significant White and BIPOC diversity in their friend groups¹⁰. Both of these BIPOC students explained how consistent and significant time commitments to groups comprised of majority White students racially diversified their social networks. Camila (H/L) engaged in an athletic training program on campus that was majority White. During her commitment to this program, she integrated herself into her current group of friends. Camila (H/L) related that by

being a part of the training program, I was able to meet a lot of people through that, not just people in my grade alone but sophomores, juniors and seniors. And through them I met even more people. I'm living with the girls now that are in the training program. I guess we had that similarity, I don't know, that common thing I guess.

Camila (H/L) felt she had two distinct groups of friends. One were her friends from the training program, which was comprised of majority White students, and the other were her people of color friends. She shared that

I like to categorize it my white friends and my people of color friends... I would hang out with both of them almost every weekend, like one on Friday, one on Saturday.

¹⁰ This diversity refers to the specific type of diversity alluded to by individuals who consider a mix of White and BIPOC students to belong to those they deem their closest friends. These are not the only diverse friend-groups in the sample, but for the purpose of tracking how White students and BIPOC students mix at a PWI, I will employ this definition to delineate these four groups from other diverse or self-segregated social networks present on campus.

Isabela (H/L), a Hispanic/Latinx senior Bennie, on the other hand, integrated White people into her tight friend group during her experiences studying abroad. She wrote that

The people that I would call very good, you know close friends, three of those people I actually met through study abroad, my junior year. I think if it wasn't for that study abroad opportunity that made me get to know people on a more personal level, because those were really the only people that you know we knew in a foreign country and stuff like that so we got to know each other better and then when we came back on campus we just, you know, continued to hang out and talk and have developed our friendship that way.

The other two BIPOC students with significant White/BIPOC diversity in their friend group met their White and BIPOC friends in a variety of ways. Additionally, the one White respondent who indicated a significant mix of White and BIPOC friends met her friend through her first-year floor and through involvement with the BSA.

Friends or Involvement First? Both and Neither.

Early experiences, dense BIPOC social networks, and sustained immersion in majority White groups were not the only factors relevant for respondents' close friendships. As mentioned earlier, students also made friend through their involvement in campus clubs and organizations. For some students, although their friends were involved in the same activities as they were, friendship came first. For example, Alyssa (B), stated that

I would definitely say friendship [came first].

Chue (H), on the other hand, highlighted the role that his club involvement had for meeting people and making friends. He noted that

If it wasn't for club involvement, I wouldn't have met this many people in my life. Especially planning some of these activities and seeing the work behind it... I

think it is so much more than just having fun. Like how can we have fun but bring different people together?

Isabela (H/L) experienced her involvement deepening the friendships that she already had. She explained that

I think that the friendship came first and then kind of developed and then maybe created more experiences and memories together through these activities, yeah.

Daisy (B), a Black senior Bennie, shied away from categorizing either involvement or friendship as coming first. She said it was

Some involvement, some friendship through people in that involvement.

Each of my roommates have a different story of how we met. Class, connection through a class, organization, or club we were involved in, through mutual friends. It's a mixture of all of that.

It is clear from these testimonies that there is a wide array of student experiences. The diversity of student experiences informs us that there is no single formula for how one's club and organizational involvement interacts with meeting and making one's close friends. Some were friends before they were involved, and some made friends through their involvement. Others deepened their friendships through organizational involvement and experienced these processes concurrently

For some, their friends only became involved due to personal invitations. Participants shared that this was one reason why White students would attend cultural club events they may otherwise have not attended. Although friends resisted these invitations at times, invitations were perceived as one of the few ways that BIPOC students could involve White students in cultural club programming. Camila (H/L), a Hispanic/Latinx third-year Bennie, and Pandora (W), a

White senior Bennie, talked about the role that invitations to club and organizational events play in involving friends in the same activities. Camila (H/L) said that

I'm not gonna say that no white people show up to these events, but some do. That's because in they're in the close friends of these minority students. That's why they show up. Also, they could be showing up because they are very interested in other cultures.

Pandora (W) elaborated upon her own experience by sharing that

Some friends are (involved in the same organizations and events), some are not. Sometimes they will come to my events to support me, sometimes I will go to their events to support theirs. But for the most part I only have one other friend who is directly involved in Q+¹¹. The rest come when they want to support me.

Understanding the varied primacy of friendships versus involvement informs us that although White and BIPOC friend group diversity is not a guaranteed result of the diversification of clubs and organizations on campus, it is certainly possible. Nina (W), a White senior Bennie, was the only member to explicitly mention making friends with someone of a different race or ethnicity as a direct result of attending cultural club meetings. However, her friend later left the school due to having negative experiences at a PWI. Invitations also play a vital role in increasing the attendance of White students to events hosted by cultural clubs on campus.

Shared Interests

One research question I wanted to test was whether students were racially or ethnically diversifying their friend groups due to their involvement in activities based around shared

¹¹ Q+ stands for the Queer Proud Lavender Union for Students. As of the 2020-2021 academic year, Q+ was incorporated into a campus organization from its predecessor, PRISM, which was a student-led club.

interests. The data indicated that this was not the trend because students with mixed BIPOC and White friend groups tended to delineate their shared interests between their different friend groups. Music, food, games, and interest in social justice were all salient categories employed by respondents when they described the interests they shared with their closest friends. Camila (H/L), for example, listed music as a salient shared interest. However, she also explained that her music interests, although shared with her friends, divided her friend groups across ethnic lines.

Music is a big one that I feel like separates them both. Obviously I can't really listen to my Spanish music when I'm with um, my white friends. The only Spanish music I listen to with them is Hips Don't Lie by Shakira which is English.

Camila (H/L) also noted that

Food would be one (shared interest). I crave a lot of things. As Hispanics, here especially coming from... a lot of the people of color are out of state students, a lot of them are first gen even if they are from Minnesota, so we get like authentic food and stuff like that.

White and BIPOC respondents alike identified food and music as interests that they shared with their friends. However, the types of music, food, and recreation they preferred seemed to be culturally informed and relatively distinct. A number of White respondents, for example, mentioned playing board games in their responses. No BIPOC respondents mentioned this form of recreation. Doug (W) reflected on how music interests were racially and ethnically homogenous by using the example of jazz ensemble. He noted that

I would have to step further outside of college to understand why jazz ensemble is less diverse than the student body. And I think access to engaging in music I think as a lot more long-term activity is hard and I think that there's probably racial disparities in that and that a lot of times you would kind of be involved with that in college.

Some respondents explicitly linked culturally informed consumption patterns to self-segregation. Maria (H/L) explicitly linked culture to media consumption when she stated that

Most of my friends are Latino or Latina so we have the same culture practically. And it's very comforting to like be with someone that knows the same music as you or has watched the same movies growing up. Or like anything like that.

One other variable commonly identified as a shared interest between my respondents was an interest in social justice initiatives. This interest was demonstrated by those who were in the most racially and ethnically diverse friend groups and those who were in homogenous friend groups. For example, Sue (W), who had an all-White friend group, said that

My closest friends and I all share a passion for social justice. Just for humanity in general...But the cool thing about it is we all approach it at a very different angle so we're not all involved in the same things, we oftentimes have different involvements that attack, or address social injustice in different ways.

I also have friends who don't care about social justice so much. That's not their foremost concern or yeah that's not like their college interpretation I suppose. What do I have in common with those people? I think if I'm being honest it's proximity...I think proximity did a lot for that and consistency. I think being on the same floor as them on the first year and stuff.

Like earlier respondents, she emphasized comfort as an important factor. However, others such as Daisy (B), Nina (W), and Selena (H/L) all demonstrated a wide breadth of racial and ethnic diversity among their close friends and emphasized an interest and involvement in social justice initiatives. Daisy (B), for example, stated that

I see a lot more of my friends caring about the things that are happening in the world. So we are always talking about that. I mean I'm not saying that we don't take down time but like that's what we dedicate a lot of our time to. That's different than what I see in a lot of friend groups. Not all and not most but a lot. At least off campus. I still think that there are a lot of groups on campus, or I would say more like BIPOC groups of friends that I have that do more of the things that I do or that my roommates do or that my friends do on a day-to-day basis... Filling my spare time with the events that are going on with cultural

groups around campus. That's what these people do, that's what these people don't do. It's something that we can all choose. I know people and I love and cherish people on the opposite side of that. Or who don't dedicate as much time, or their time to do that stuff. And I think that means that they're at different portions in their life where they have to figure out what to do with their spare time, how to best do those things.

Political beliefs and an interest in social justice were both indeterminate of the racial and ethnic diversity of one's friend groups. Based on responses, these are not suitable factors for predicting whether one's involvement will be racially or ethnically diverse or homogenous. Respondents indicated that other broad categories of shared interests, such as music and food, encompassed a cultural character and were more often indicated as dividers rather than uniters.

Student Segregation Patterns on Campus

Respondents indicated that segregation, especially self-segregation, is perceived to be the norm on our campuses. This was reflected in the majority of the respondents' friend groups as well. Isabela (H/L) put it succinctly by stating that "I do think that our campus is diverse, but our friend groups are not. Those friend groups that do have our diversity in them are few and unique I would say." The self-segregation extends beyond social networks and close friends to one's roommates, who often racially and ethnically mirror one's close friends. Five out of fourteen respondents identified White and BIPOC diversity in their close social ties. These five were also the only five who identified a mix between White and BIPOC students among their roommates, although some lacked roommates. Although many normalized the lack of diversity in friend groups, others reacted with wonder. Fred (W) noted how

It's weird because like my whole friend group, we're all White. And it just happened that way. Like I definitely couldn't tell you why. And it definitely isn't because they're all White. Like I think it's more just based on interests and relevance. You know, like commonalities. For me it had nothing to do with race. I

guess that's hard for me to explain because I don't know it just happened that way. I think a lot of others would say the same thing. That's just where I fell in and that's just where I fit the most. As for as self-segregation goes, it's maybe sad to say it this way but it's almost natural. Cause people who are like us who look like us that's probably where you know we would say we filter in.

Chue (H) and other respondents backed Isabela's (H/L) statements on the homogeneity of friend groups with their own testimonies. Chue (H) explained that the

Majority of my friend group is like, the Hmong community here on campus. I'm pretty sure I'm friends with all of the Hmong students here on campus. I only have like what, less than twenty white friends that I would say I'm super close with, maybe even like less than ten that I would say like, I'm super close with. I have some Bahamian friends but they're not like, immediate friends that like I like message on the daily or who I hang out with constantly. These are friends I say hi to I give hugs to you know but like these aren't like friends who I'm constantly hanging out with. I would say the majority of them if not all is Hmong or Asian.

Isabela (H/L) extended this degree of segregation to cultural club events as well.

She noted that

I think that ethnic or racial groups and their involvement on campus are very much set, like, to their racial groups. You get me? Like the majority of people that participate with ELAC are usually Hispanic, the majority of people that HAIS is usually Hmong students and stuff like that. The few people that do participate outside are usually because of personal connections with people involved in those organizations or clubs and stuff like that that have a personal invitation to participate in these activities.

Although some naturalize the process and others react to wonder, it is clear that segregation is happening in friend groups and cultural club involvement.

Self-Segregation

Respondents overwhelmingly agreed that self-segregation was common at CSB/SJU.

Daisy (B) summarized common sentiments well when she commented that self-segregation happens

All the time. It happens simply just by who shows up to which meetings. By who's there all the time. Who feels welcome in the places in the town. Who feels like they can walk into any establishment and be welcome there. I see that a lot. And I think a lot of people find comfort with that, because we don't offer much after that.

Alexa shared that self-segregation is something students are often aware of as well. She noted that

Even within my friends we know and we realize that we tend to group together. We (Latinx and BIPOC students) all know of each other.

Doug (W) indicated personal invitations and friend recruitment as processes that perpetuated self-segregation. His perspective diverges from Camila and Isabela's (H/L) references of how invitations can integrate White students into cultural club spaces. His testimony illustrates a trend mentioned more widely by respondents of invitations contributing to self-segregation when viewed as an aggregate force. The reason that this is the case is because students most often invite their friends and roommates, who often share their own racial or ethnic identification. Doug (W) explained this process when stating

I think the leaders and participants in those experiences are probably White. And I think that might just be because of for me myself if I'm going to reach out to people that I want to come with me on those trips I think that I spend most of my time and most of my friends are White. And I think that if I was going to reach out to people that have that common connection or have some of the similarities that I listed earlier for that I think that might be true for the other leaders as well and I think that might be true of the relationship of like the diversity of the people leading, the people marketing a specific event, the people kind of reaching out

and trying to promote that is going to reflect pretty strongly the people who show up and the people that are involved with those specific experiences.

Maria (H/L) also talked about the role of inviting one's friends to the organizations and events one is involved in. She noted that

We all go to each other's events. Cause we hate it when we put all this work in and no one shows up and we know what it feels like so that's why we do what we can to go to other events. Even if you know you don't have time, even if you have to pull out your computer mid event and start working on some homework like you're gonna go.

An example of how invitations more often act as a segregating factor rather than a diversifying factor is intramural soccer. Even though Isabela (H/L) and Doug (W) both played intramural soccer, meaning there was no cultural component dividing the recreational practice like there were for consumption habits, Isabela and Doug's teams were still homogenous. Both attributed this to the fact that they were playing with their friends, who shared their same racial or ethnic identity. Isabela (H/L) and Doug's (W) comments suggest that recruiting friends to get involved likely fail to diversify spaces due to the racial and ethnic homogeneity of most friend groups. Isabela (H/L) shared that

My friend group always has this joke that we are the POC team of intramural soccer...Hispanic predominantly I would say, Mexican, some Hmong students I would say that kind of make up our group and a couple outliers. Compared to other groups or other teams that are maybe majority White and they have like one Black person in their group. I would say we are no longer the only POC soccer team but I do see it is kind of like racially or ethnically divided. You know usually I see that um Asian students have their group within the intramural soccer and then also like the Hispanics, their groups are mostly made up of the majority other Hispanic students etc. Then you do see other like predominantly White teams and stuff like that.

Doug (W) linked the lack of diversity on his soccer team directly to the process of inviting his friends to play. Doug's (W) also indicates that although intramural involvement may not diversify one's friend group, it may broaden one's weak social ties. Doug (W) shared that

My (soccer) team, it's kind of a mix of people that I've met throughout college that have expressed interest along with a few of my closer friends that were maybe a little interested and I felt more comfortable reaching out to them and asking them to come along and they felt more comfortable too because it was an invitation coming from a closer friend but what's kind of interesting with that I think is that our team seems to differ from the other teams involved with that activity. I would say that of all the activities I'm involved with, intramural soccer is definitely the most diverse. I think that kind of through that it has almost exposed me to a new community of students almost entirely different from the people that I typically involve myself with in class.

Although it has already been established that students practice self-segregation regarding their involvement in cultural clubs, Trent's (B) insights inform us that self-segregation also operates on the level of non-cultural clubs. He states

The clubs that are geared towards cultural diversity and appreciation and stuff, they are usually the more racially diverse clubs... For senate I would say its diverse to an extent, but not as diverse as (BSA and ELAC).

...if I can cite it properly. 16% of the I think both or just SJU campus is BIPOC students. The only club I mentioned that is close to being like that is [a STEM-based] club. For the other clubs, it's either way more BIPOC students in the club than is projected based on the campus wide statistics or way less. It doesn't reflect the school's makeup at all.

Trent (B) also outlined the visual impact of self-segregation in campus dining halls. This was a common theme mentioned by many respondents.

Whenever you go into the Reef¹² or Gorecki¹³ you see it all the time. You see it when you walk around campus you see it in classrooms. BIPOC students usually

¹² The Reef is the nickname for The Refectory, the campus dining hall at Saint John's University

¹³ Gorecki, in this instance, refers to Gorecki Dining Center at the College of Saint Benedict

sit with BIPOC students or talk with them. Whereas non-BIPOC students would always sit with non-BIPOC students and talk with them. You can see it on The Link bus¹⁴, you can see it in every aspect of our community.

Alyssa (B), however, cautioned against making judgements about the diversity of student groups based upon visual impact. She outlined the hidden diversity of BSA that others could miss from an etic perspective

Basically everyone who you perceived to be Black was a part of that group. Once you were involved you could see it is people from all over the world.

Students overwhelmingly agreed that self-segregation was present on our campuses. Self-segregation manifests in students' club involvement and dining hall seating. Invitations are one process that contributes toward the reproduction of self-segregation.

Drinking Environments

Drinking environments are pertinent when considering segregation on at CSB/SJU because these environments are dramatically segregated across racial and ethnic lines. Many respondents mentioned alcohol consumption as a leisure activity. Like soccer, this was a leisure activity identified by White and BIPOC students alike. Every respondent asked affirmed that drinking environments experienced high degrees of racial and ethnic self-segregation. Many respondents shared their own experiences attending parties filled with those who aligned with their own racial or ethnic identity. They also shared anecdotes of avoiding parties where the racial or ethnic identity of other part-goers was different than their own. For example, Alexa (H/L) shared that

¹⁴ The Link is the bus system that shuttles students between the campus of the College of Saint Benedict and Saint John's University

I would go only to the ones that were spaces or were apartments... that were all Hispanic boys or brown boys or Black boys or Bahamian or whatever. You know what I mean? Because I personally, I knew I was welcomed.

I would have never just heard of a party where I didn't really know somebody because likely it was gonna be White people and I just wouldn't have (gone). I didn't feel comfortable going to somebody's party who I knew was White until last year, before COVID obviously. The only reason I would go is because one of my friends who is like me would know them through like other ways and would be like oh no they're cool. Being here we have to think of our safety and I think that does impact who we party with, who we hang out with, whatever.

Daisy (B) elaborated that there were general delineations in where students of different racial and ethnic backgrounds would go to drink. She said that

But in the past years I think that you'll know who is going to end up at the bar and who is going to end up at a house party on the weekend, in Vincent ¹⁵or something. Usually the ones that are not at the bar, and this is not all encompassing, are BIPOC students. They're out, they're doing the same thing, they're just at a house, surrounded by people who, all kinds of people. White, Black, Asian people, they're there and they dig the music and they play different music and they have their own DJs and all that stuff. You'll typically find that that's where a lot of BIPOC students want to be versus Sal's¹⁶.

Isabela (H/L) and Selena (H/L) both emphasized how the COVID-19 pandemic had exacerbated the trend of racial and ethnic segregation in drinking environments. Isabela (H/L) also specified the degree of self-segregation at parties down to an ethnic level. She noted that

I think that is a big racial divide. And I think that is even more visible this year for example.

And the party culture is very divided like you'll have your POC parties and then like White parties very much. And even then when talking about POC if you go a step further even ethnically, where I would say very much like the latino population might party together and have their exclusive parties or the Hmong group are very exclusive or maybe one of the most exclusive groups on campus I would say is probably the Hmong community. And then same, with maybe like the

¹⁵ Vincent refers to Vincent Court Apartments, an on-campus housing option at Saint John's University typically occupied by seniors

¹⁶ Sal's refers to Sal's Bar, a popular dance bar in St. Joseph Minnesota across from the College of Saint Benedict

Bahamian population on campus. I think that even then when you go more in depth you can see that divide there as well.

And in so many different ways too, like at parties. We would always meet up at the same Flynntown ¹⁷house and we would always stay there. And we would never go into like St. Joe or go even to the bars. Like a lot of people were 21 and they still wouldn't go. Like I don't know.

Like Alyssa (B), Selena (H/L) linked the self-segregation of drinking spaces to comfortability. And like Camila (H/L), she noted the cultural differences prevalent in other forms of consumption such as music. However, parties are not only segregated on the basis of cultural identity markers. Rather, Alyssa (B) noted that the segregation of parties extends across racial and ethnic lines to also include campus involvement. Alyssa (B) introduced identification with the most prevalent racial or ethnic group in attendance as a salient reason why students may or may not feel comfortable attending parties even when they are welcome at those parties. She said that

definitely freshman year everyone was there, everyone was welcome. But then as time goes on you will see, you will hear about certain parties. Those will be hosted by different groups of people. I know the theater department will host parties for theater people. Members of the BSA will host a party and it won't necessarily be dedicated to Black students it will be open to all but in attendance you will just see Black students. Which is also intimidating to individuals who may have wanted to come but just simply didn't identify, didn't feel comfortable.

Drinking environments such as parties and drinking spaces are widely perceived to be segregated down to an ethnic specificity on campus. Groups of students who share involvement also party together. Although culturally influenced consumption patterns, such as the consumption of food and music, often happens in these spaces, drinking is an activity shared by

¹⁷ Flynntown refers to the lower campus housing area of Saint John's University typically occupied by upperclassmen

the majority of my respondents that is still segregated to the extreme. The segregation of drinking spaces is tied to the perceived racial or ethnic identity of the members drinking there.

Identity Salience

Identity salience was a factor overwhelmingly linked to self-segregation on our campuses in involvement spaces as well. Student's self-concept and identification holds implications for who they consider their closest friends and which campus clubs and organizations they are involved in. Alexa (H/L) linked her own group identity with that of her closest friends. She also linked her innate characteristics with her varied interests when she explained how

They are mainly people who look like me or are from other underrepresented backgrounds: women of color, men of color. Yeah I'd say, my closest friends at least are people who identify with similar groups as I do.

We are feminists, we care about BIPOC students and underrepresented students. We acknowledge our identities and our intersectionality and how it impacts us. In that sense we're interested in the same groups or the same things?

Trent (B) saw the identity markers and his involvement as the most important factors in his friendships. He noted that

The only interest I would say I share with them is the fact that we're in a few of the same clubs together and the fact that we're BIPOC students. Other than that, there's no like 'Oh, we love this specific sport or this game. No, it's mainly because we're in the same clubs and the fact that we're BIPOC students.

However, a lack of self-identification also had the potential to act as a significant deterrent for student involvement. This contributes to the segregation present in cultural clubs.

Trent (B) felt that a large determinant of involvement was

the perception of those clubs on campus. This divide occurs when students don't believe they can attend a specific club because they don't identify with what the club represents. That right there causes a divide. You know it's not even a

question of non-BIPOC students not wanting to attend clubs but other BIPOC students feeling that they can attend another club because they don't identify as that. But that for BIPOC students is like a minority perspective on it. Where the majority will go to all of the cultural clubs on campus.

Alyssa (B) agreed. She recognized that

That's where like the inclusivity is lacking on our peers' end, just simply thinking you can't be involved because you don't identify but it's never the case, it's actually highly encouraged.

Fred (W) detailed his own experiences feeling this way. He described how

it seems like it's in the name. Black Student Association. So like it doesn't make say, a White student or maybe a Latinx student maybe feel comfortable like being a part of something like that. Because based on the reputation and the name, it's like you don't know if you quite belong there.

Isabela (H/L) discussed her success working against self-identification acting as a factor that discourages involvement. She had successfully achieved a more diverse event attendance by catering her programming to groups that may not have otherwise attended. She asserted that

I think that our audience very much grew outside of our typical Latino Hispanic audience and expanded to club members of, for example, the Black Student Association, the African Student Association and a lot of the Senators were very much in attendance so our audience definitely expanded when we expanded our programming.

Isabela's (H/L) success demonstrates that it is possible to successfully diversify involvement spaces by utilizing tactics other than direct invitations. Another factor highlighted by respondents when considering self-identification and involvement was sexuality and gender diversity as opposed to racial and ethnic diversity. Pandora (W) explained its salience for her own involvement in Q+. She stated that

Without us there would be a lot of students who wouldn't feel seen on campus. Who wouldn't realize there were other people who even identify with them on campus. They wouldn't have the space to talk about their own identity with people who can kind of understand that. A lot of times it is just yeah, I'm feeling that too. What you're feeling, what you're going through is completely normal and a lot of people experience it.

Sue (W) highlighted how education was a crucial precursor to feeling comfortable as an ally in Q+. Sue (W) noted that

I took a sex and gender class and felt more equipped to have those conversations and to feel like I wasn't going to take up that space. Because sometimes because if you're uneducated you end up taking up more space than being an ally like because you have a lot of questions and I think that that takes personal growth to answer those questions before you step into that space, so that you're not controlling it to a certain extent.

Identity salience, or a lack thereof, is an important factor to consider for friendships and for involvement. This salience can be overcome through the diversification of programming or through educational efforts.

Comfort and Discomfort in Involvement

Invitations and identity salience are factors contributing to the self-segregation of involvement spaces. Another crucial theme that emerged was comfort and discomfort. Alexa (H/L) shared that

It would be nice to see more people, especially white people. How do you make them more comfortable to come in even though it shouldn't be our priority to make them more comfortable to come in.

Fred (W) talked about his own experiences of feeling uncomfortable at panel discussions. He felt personally challenged even though he was not being explicitly singled out. He questioned

Was it always the most comfortable? Probably not... Because you can't help somehow but feel like, you know cause you're a White person for somehow someone you're being singled out there. Even though they're probably not talking about you. I don't know it's a weird feeling. Like I shouldn't feel uncomfortable about it because you know that's not necessarily untrue. But at the same time you can't help but feel a little bit out of place.

Some BIPOC students, such as Alyssa (B), linked the discomfort of BIPOC and White students together. Alyssa (B) explained that

When I came onto campus I was like 'it's not diverse at all.' And some of my peers from Minnesota when they come onto campus they're like this is so diverse I've never seen so many Black people. I'm like hmm. So we're kind of feeling the same uncomfortability in a sense but we still choose to like, separate. I don't want that separation anymore. I want us to realize hey, like we're all kind of feeling the same thing it's just my perspective and your perspective so let's talk about it.

Maria (H/L) saw shared discomfort as a bonding factor that she and her friends could relate to. She noted that

We're all struggling like, pretty much all my friends are out of state. So we go through pretty much the same things. So it's like little stuff too sometimes like not being able to find a ride to the airport. Or not being able to go to the grocery store. Or missing your family. Little things like that, we all go through them so we like have each other to talk to or to give advice to or whatever we need.

Chue (H), linked self-segregation at the club level to perceived discomfort. He said

(The diversity in a club) is mainly that club's population. Because it's like a safety net for them. That's where they go to to connect with people who are like them. It's not like other people aren't welcome, like other people are welcome but I think there's a sense of uncomfortability with showing up to, like damn like, am I gonna be accepted you know? Like even like me sometimes like showing up to I showed up to my first Q+/PRISM meeting junior year... like knowing that it wasn't really for me.

Isabela (H/L) linked self-segregation more directly to comfort, rather than anticipated discomfort. She shared that

Even in our conversations we have this small kind of joke where it's like what you do at the end of the day when you are exhausted you come back to this self-segregation where, you know, you connect with people of your same group. Because it's exhausting to go outside of your group... You kind of have to come back and just be yourself in a more authentic way.

Comfort as a pull factor and perceived discomfort as a push factor was a common theme for many respondents. To overcome these forces, respondents adopted different strategies. Some saw desegregating friend groups as an intentional action. Alyssa (B) talked about taking an active role and making more connections as a result. She thought that

I would say a lot of people aren't taking the initiative to step out there even if you are being rejected like, if you know there is two options, either you're accepted or rejected so just put yourself out there...once I started interacting, I realized it wasn't like that across the board. So it's just taking initiative to make those connections instead of just brushing past people.

Selena (H/L), on the other hand, did not consciously make the effort to diversify her friend group. Rather, she discovered that she was an outlier. She shared how

I didn't even think about, oh, I'm friends with people from here and here. I just thought everyone was kind of doing that. And then I was like looking around and res life pointed out too that people don't mix. And I was like why? I am. Like my friends are... it's part of my identity to be culturally aware.

Students reported that discomfort functions as a deterrent to involvement and comfort serves as a pull factor. These anticipated feelings contribute to the racial and ethnic segregation of student clubs and organizations. Desegregation of these spaces and one's friend groups can

happen unintentionally for some, but it takes intentionality or sustained immersion in a group with a majority racial or ethnic identification different than oneself for most.

Relegation of DEIJ Labor Resulting in Segregation

Respondents noted that although not identifying with a group's perceived majority may deter involvement, education can act as an important variable in overcoming this deterrence. This is partially because education increases one's comfort in those spaces. Educating other students is the mission of some student organizations. However, many students expressed that the responsibility of educating their peers was a task offloaded to them by administrators (other than Brandyn Woodard, director of Intercultural and International Student Services). Alexa (H/L), shared that

I always say that they put too much pressure on multicultural spaces, intercultural spaces, clubs and organizations, clubs and organizations with if they are BIPOC students in general or they are underrepresented in the student population, international students or whatever... They put too much pressure on students to do that kind of work and they don't get anything for themselves.

Everything they do is half-assed. They expect students to pick up the rest of it and make it great. I get it you're creating advocacy and you're creating this and you're creating that but they are students at the end of the day.

For example, when she was asked about a multicultural space, she elaborated that

I was not asked to be in those conversations. I serve women from underrepresented backgrounds. Why is it that I'm not in this conversation? This is what I mean when I say they do things half-assed. They don't use their best resource when their best resource is students.

People of color, we talk about our experiences and we know what is wrong. The institution would know if they asked us. But they don't like to go out of their way to ask us.

In Alexa's (H/L) testimony, we witness the tension many BIPOC student leaders expressed. This is the tension between being considered the universities' best resource and lacking institutional support. It is clear from Alexa's (H/L) testimony that when the burden of inclusion is offloaded onto student clubs and organizations, BIPOC student leaders often end up bearing the brunt of DEI¹⁸ labor at low or unpaid wages. However, student leaders who "do the work" are often simultaneously denied access to other conversations where they feel they could contribute through their insight, experience, and willingness to provide feedback. Students detailed barriers to obtaining support from administrators and expressed feelings of frustration. Chue (H) echoed Alexa's (H/L) frustration with institutional support and tied it directly to the choices of administrators, as well as their political ideologies. He stated that

I wasn't as proud of my culture until I came here. Once I started getting involved, I was still kind of passive. Now my senior and junior year, in my job there is so much I have seen. This past year in general there was so much shit that happened behind the scenes with the presidents, with administration, that we're like not allowed to say that I was afraid would cost other administrators their jobs, it just made me hate administration like. I know hate is a strong word but I hate the president. I wouldn't say I hate the dean, because he can be all over the place but you definitely see the conservative views our administration has. If you pay really close attention you will see why so many professional staff has left... I just see all these things that happen and I'm like if I want to see something get done I'm gonna do it.

Maria (H/L) felt that the burden of DEI labor was in some ways inescapable because if she did not do the important work, she did not know who would. She noted that

Maria (H/L): Now it's more like I like what I'm doing and I want to keep doing it. Just because I feel like certain events I put on are really important and like the conversations that are started are really important because no one else starts them. I feel like me coming from being an out of state student and like low-income

¹⁸ DEI stands for Diversity, Equity, Inclusion, and Justice. This is a campus buzzword that has been elevated to even more prominence since CSB/SJU received a Mellon Grant.

or whatever I know what other students are gonna want to see here or attend so I just want to kind of do that for them.

Daisy (B), however, countered this narrative. Her close experiences with administrators and students had given her hope that others were doing the work. She shared

If I'm not gonna do it, who's gonna do it? I think that's the worst part about this school is I shouldn't have to think like that. I shouldn't have to tell myself that if I'm not going to do it what other person is gonna do it that's not gonna be a student. But, also, staying in Senate has made me realize that is actually kind of faulty. There are a lot of faculty and staff and administration that would do it. That are doing it and that's what makes me stay in Senate.

Unfortunately, as the colleges rely primarily on students to bear the brunt of DEIJ labor, students experience segregation as a result. This occurs because BIPOC students are, at times, relegated into certain roles, segregating the types of labor done by BIPOC and White students in clubs, employment, and organizations. Maria (H/L) discussed her own experiences of feeling trapped to certain roles and types of programming. She explained that

What I do want, and I want this really bad, is me, like, I'm the person of color and I'm put in the intercultural role. I want to see people of color in different positions, like program coordinator. I don't know because I love what I do, I love planning intercultural events but at the same time it's like okay, why me? Like why do I have to be like, you know? And it's a big job having to put on these events. And I'm very happy that I'm the one putting them on... because I feel like the conversations we're having are really important. But it's also a lot of work and it falls under me.. Like sometimes I wish I could make like a fun event that's like paint mugs or something. But it goes like, I don't know, having to have these tough conversations.

Sue (W) noticed a similar effect happening from an etic perspective. She observed that

In campus ministry we have a latinx ministry team. And so obviously all of the students on that team identify under the latinx, like, title or identity. But all of the students that are on my two teams identify as White race, unless you're considering ethnicity in that one of them are Jewish.

I think there's a racial divide in campus ministry because all the students of color, employees of color are on one team.

I think campus ministry has more representation because they do have that specific team. But then there are no Black students, there are no Asian students, there are no international students. And so I think it only has that specialized team that only allows that specific diversity that they hire for almost. So it's selective hiring... it feels like, targeted. That feels odd to target diversity sometimes, it feels like a weird goal.

In summary, BIPOC students are often relegated into certain roles in clubs and organizations. This relegation results in segregation. The labor is often unpaid and results in frustration with administrators. However, students continue the work due to its importance.

Additional Links Between Race and Ethnicity and Club/Organizational Involvement at CSB/SJU

Ideal percentages

Students held different visions for the ideal percentages of racial and ethnic diversity in the clubs and organizations they were involved in. Students responded with a variety of ideal percentage for their clubs and organizations (See: Additional quotes re Ideal Percentages). One issue that student leaders emphasized when considering the ideal balances of racial and ethnic diversity in their organizations is turnover. Three student leaders emphasized how turnover in changed the composition of clubs and organizations back to majority White spaces. Daisy (B) said that in her organization

This year it is one of the least diverse racially that we have had in a while. Seven people of color. I would say BIPOC students. On a typical year I would say there was no more than one to three, white people probably. There are eighteen as of right now.

Alexa (H/L) echoed this concern for another group experiencing similar turnover. She related that

this year it's majority white. Which is not a bad thing but it is also not reflective of what the school population looks like. I think that happens because people feel like they aren't listened to in those positions.

Alexa (H/L) also noted her increased comfort entering other spaces where she knew other BIPOC women were involved. This indicates that turnover could be important for the future diversity of these organizations. Alexa (H/L) said that

I know that it is a space for me (if I go to McCarthy Center events) because I know that (other BIPOC women) are involved... I would go to Senate meetings because I know others are involved.

Isabela (H/L) hypothesized that the effect of this homogenization could go either way. She stated that

But I think that if there was no people of color on Senate at the moment either two things. Either that triggers people of color to be like hey our voices should be in this group, let's try to get people here or it would scare people of color from getting involved.

There were significant differences between White student responses to the question of ideal percentages when compared to BIPOC student responses. These differences in White versus BIPOC responses may indicate differing operative definitions of inclusion. Four out of the five White students related the ideal percentages of their clubs and organizations to the demographic makeup of the student body or the United States. All three respondents who desired a reflection of the student body in their clubs or organizations also emphasized increasing access for those who wanted to be a part of their organizations. One White respondent thought their organizational makeup should reflect the demographics of the United States. Nina (W), who was

involved in the BSA extensively in her first year of college, was the only White student who did not set this as an ideal. She explained that

[Students in the Black Student Association] were saying it's good to have some spaces where it is mostly or entirely Black students. On one hand I think it should still be like majority Black or there should be like a different club at least or something that still is, just to kind of create that space for people...I don't know what the ideal mix would be, because it should be led by Black students who are experiencing this and stuff. It shouldn't be like White students taking over or something like 'Oh, here's what you need.'

After the interview, when I mentioned the trend of White students desiring a reflection of population-level demographics in their clubs and organizations, Trent (B) shared the following:

You won't hear BIPOC students say that. That is because clubs are our personal escape. It is our getaway from being 16% of the campus makeup.

Four out of five of the White students sampled responded that they would like their clubs and organizations to represent the student population or the population of the United States. At a PWI, both of these populations would be majority White. Therefore, if these students' ideals percentages were implemented in their campus organizations, all of those organizations would be majority White. For Trent (B), it was clear why BIPOC students would not give the same answer. This is because cultural clubs, which are spaces where minority students are in the majority, would cease to exist as a "personal escape." White students' emphasis on increasing access to predominantly White spaces as the ideal also points towards an integrative approach towards diversity. BIPOC students emphasis on the importance of cultural clubs for feelings of inclusion on campus suggests that BIPOC student inclusion is more heavily related to the presence and celebration of cultural practices than a deeper degree of integration into the predominantly White student body.

Cultural Club Importance for Minority Students

Like the current research on campus involvement, my research highlights the differentiated importance of campus involvement for the inclusivity of racial and ethnic groups. The participants of my study overwhelmingly emphasized the importance of club/organizational involvement and activity for the inclusion of minority groups on our campuses. Alexa (H/L) said

ELAC... it reminds you of home and your family because like, we all grew up in kind of the same way.

Maria (H/L) also emphasized their value, saying that

Where I have felt most included is through the clubs and organizations I have gotten myself involved in.

Daisy (B) agreed with Maria's (H/L) sentiment, stating that

Being involved in some of the things I get to do... going to some of these club and organizational meetings has helped me feel less alone in the things that I experience and less alone in my skin if that makes sense

Pandora (W) emphasized that clubs and organizations were important for the inclusion of queer/lavender students on campus as well. She explained that

our number one goal is to just to get the fact that there are queer people on campus to be realized by people. So whether people need to know that people with these identities exist, whether those with this identity need to feel like there are people there for them on this campus. So that is our number one goal to get inclusive policies inclusive language used stuff like that.

These comments suggest that cultural clubs and organizations are more important for the inclusion of minority student populations. This, and earlier testimonies about the comfort found in cultural clubs, illuminates that minority student involvement may differ from the involvement

of those who identify more closely with the majority. My respondents indicated that their involvement may differ in intention and outcome. Students also suggested that club and organizational involvement may be more important for those who do not naturally feel welcomed by or a part of the hegemony. Lastly, the triangulation of the different takes on ideal percentages in coordination with student testimony on the importance of cultural clubs suggests differing operative definitions of inclusion for White and BIPOC students.

Bennie/Johnnie Split: The Role of Separate Campuses and Gender

A final note when considering the hegemony at CSB/SJU would be the binary dividing our gendered and separate campuses. Multiple respondents suggested that the campus binary was tied to club involvement, racial/ethnic inclusion, and racial/ethnic identity. As Daisy (B) said,

I think also the off-balance between Saint John's/Saint Ben's and they don't run on the same thing but they kind of run on the same thing. That's kind of confusing because I do want the same inclusivity that I get here at Saint Ben's that I get at Saint John's.

Isabela (H/L) talked about stereotypes of Bennies and Johnnies. She said that

We always talk about what do we visualize when we picture a Bennie and a Johnnie. So how do we identify with being a Bennie or Johnnie? Do we feel like we fit in this image or identity or this label? I would say personally I would say I've always struggled to fit in this identity of a Bennie. I'm not what you picture when you think of a Bennie, right? I think that kind of is what you can see. When you think of a Bennie you think of a White female student because that is very much what the big population on campus are.

Selena (H/L) supported Isabela's (H/L) inclination towards the role of gendered stereotypes as a relevant factor for analysis. She stated that

My passion drives from, hey, I don't have to fulfill this stereotype of being a woman... when I was an RA and was basically told that I have to be a big

sister/counselor/friend then I'm like, look at the Johnnies. They literally look the opposite way for everything. And why is it on me to have to make sure that people are gonna make a diverse group of friends like I just did that not even knowing. Like what is it that has to change? I don't necessarily have the answer. I think it depends on what you are passionate about... and maybe awareness is the first stage? I don't know.

These responses suggest that an intersectional understanding is key to an analysis of club or organizational involvement and the racial or ethnic diversity of friend groups on campus.

Conclusion

For whether friendships or involvement came first, there was no definitive conclusion. As a result, the White/BIPOC diversity of social networks cannot be directly correlated with club or organizational involvement. As such, the widespread homogeneity of clubs and organizations cannot be classified as a cause or an outcome of self-segregation. However, the density of BIPOC social networks at CSB/SJU is still important when considering club and organizational involvement as a space for representation, introductions, friendship formation, and the deepening of friendships.

Segregation is prevalent on our campuses. It is visible in the dining halls, is informed by culturally influenced consumption patterns, recruitment practices, identity salience, and comfort/discomfort. BIPOC leaders shouldering the burden of DEI work is another factor that contributes to racial and ethnic segregation. Racial and ethnic diversification results primarily from spending time in groups with a majority racial or ethnic identity different than oneself.

As the research suggests, there are differentiated patterns of and benefits for racial, ethnic, and other minority group members involved in campus clubs and organizations. Clubs are overwhelmingly appreciated for their role in fostering an inclusive environment. This suggests a reason why involvement on campuses may produce different effects based upon racial or ethnic identity. As Beggs et al. (2004) suggested, gender was also identified as an important variable

when considering involvement patterns. The importance of cultural clubs for BIPOC students and the patterned differences in responses to questions about ideal racial and ethnic diversity in clubs and organizations provides evidence for differing operative definitions of inclusion employed by White students and BIPOC students.

The different views expressed by White student versus BIPOC students on the ideal percentages of racial and ethnic groups within club and organizational involvement have policy relevance for the college. These differing operative definitions of diversity inform us that White students may lean towards integration rather than inclusion as their default approach to diversity. The importance of cultural clubs for helping BIPOC students feel comfortable on our campuses highlights the error in this assumption. BIPOC student emphasis on the importance of homogenous cultural club involvement also provides more insight into the value of a multicultural space on our campuses for BIPOC and minority identified students.

This research outlines a number of areas for future research. Factors mentioned by respondents that were not the focus of this study included residential segregation and academic segregation by major. Other factors mentioned as relevant for involvement and contact across racial lines included professional development goals and access to mentors.

This research also yielded data about the ethnic homogenization of drinking environments on our campuses. Drinking spaces were regularly referenced as some of the most segregated environments on our campuses. Although blindly desegregating these spaces would benefit campus integration, it is unlikely that it would benefit campus inclusion. The level of segregation in drinking environments suggests their relevance for analysis when considering college racial and ethnic diversity, integration, and inclusion.

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Additional Quotations

Additional quotes re Making Friends

Alyssa (B): Initially when I first came to Saint Ben's and Saint John's it was on a fly-in. Some other students from my high school decided to come. That for starters, just having someone I knew here.

Because I didn't see any of them at all so I felt as if the diversity rate was lower than anticipated and then seeing for myself that 'oh, it is a little bit of people here, which was nice.'

First it was the fly-in, I was able to meet some of the board members. Then it was in the fall I was able to see more of the cultural groups on campus so I was able to connect more with them.

The shock. The shock in the sense of where are the same individuals I met and why wasn't I able to meet these individuals that I'm being introduced to. Or I'm like walking to the classroom like why didn't I get to see this side of CSB/SJU.

Maria (H/L): But then coming to campus it was a lot harder to make friends, yeah. I feel like the people I am connected to the most right now are the people who also are involved on campus like organizations and activities, I don't know clubs. Anything like that those are the people I get along with the most just because they know what it's like to be involved or just to do different things like have a job or like I don't know, be away from home there are different financial responsibilities, academic responsibilities.

Coming to the fly-in program they showed us a completely different CSB/SJU. They made it seem like campus was super diverse, like we had like constant events that were like, just, they represented us, they represented our culture. They just kind of sold us on this false, I don't know. But coming here it's really frustrating. I thought I had accepted coming to a school but I had accepted coming to a completely other school. And not only was it the fly-in program. I feel like coming here like we're just very tokenized. People of color are always getting flaunted on like different calendars like magazines like the school tends to reach out to them to help with events, with different programming. I don't know even with advertising. But like whenever it comes to our needs. Whenever it comes to transportation, or needing financial aid to help us or needing, I don't know, school supplies, stuff like that the school's never really there I guess.

Alexa (H/L): Another person I'm really close to I graduated from high school with. We played soccer together in middle school and high school together, so she has kind of always been my friend. She lived with me first year because we knew each other or whatever.

Selena (H/L): I met my closest friends actually freshman year. I'm a junior right now... I started by going to Colledgebound. First of all I'd never camped before... Before I came to Saint Ben's I came to an overnight or something? That's how I decided to come here. I remember the girls there, their energy was just like I like

to vibe with... I did collegebound, those two we hang out two times a week maybe and we're not even roommates. They're roommates, the two of them. And then I'd meet some people through them like their freshman roommates.

Chue (H): And it kind of just extended out and that's how the friendships became what they are today. Basically through, like, the programs here but I would say, in some sense that like partying definitely helped also.

Maria (H/L): I feel like we have a really strong community. Like we are there for each other. The community aspect is definitely there. The minorities on campus, we see each other and sometimes we run into each other and we'll definitely make that effort to talk to each other. Sometimes it feels sad, well at least for me, because I feel like I will never experience what other White Bennies experience here on campus. And even I had this event too talking about identifying as a Bennie. The truth is that a lot of students on the CSB campus, they don't identify as Bennies. It's like we pay the same amount in tuition, we eat in the same places, I don't know sometimes we go to the same parties and like we don't necessarily go through the same experience. And sometimes that feels excluding and it's like I live here, this is my home and I don't feel like I belong.

Additional quotes re Dense BIPOC Social Networks

Isabela (H/L): Maybe what a person's inner circle looks like very much depends or is very influenced by what year they are. My close friend group freshman year, 100% Latino. Senior year 75% Hispanic 25% mixed with Whites and Blacks for example. That has very much changed and might affect other people as well.

Additional quotes re Friends or Involvement First? Both and Neither.

Alyssa (B): (My friends) introduced me to new clubs they are a part of or showed me new perspectives since. Most of my connections have been through general meetings different groups on campus have had. Or simply hey, my friend is a part of something, you should meet her type of thing

Depending on how like the conversation is started if its something like BSA or group-related I would answer that but also try to connect on a personal level just so I can remember that person so that person can remember me. My goal is always to build some sort of networking communication so we can stay connected.

Trent (B): I mainly met them before I came here. Like a good amount of them from high school or other activities I participated in. The ones I met when I came here I met them by participating in clubs and organizations

Doug (W): would say club involvement came before friendship for all of the activities actually.

Fred (W): Initially my involvement. Cause through my involvement there then I became much closer friends with the people that I was working with. I was kind of

sifting through the types of people that I wanted to be with and then when I started getting more involved in the campus ministry side of things that's when I started running into more of my core friend group. We've kind of stuck it out from there. My involvement brought me there first initially and then the friendships I've built within it have just made it that much better I guess.

Maria (H/L): A little bit of both. Because like I said, people of color tend to come together. We kind of stand out, like a little bit more. So what would usually happen is I would see them around and I would be like 'oh hey, what's up, how are you?' But then when I would see them actually doing stuff then we would have to collab. And that's what happens usually is like because I am so close to my friends that are involved that I'll be like 'hey do you want to do this event?' and I'll just text them versus writing an email and later whenever they're like 'yes!' I'm like okay well I'll write this email.

Chue: I would say like majority of my immediate group of friends, for HAIS ¹⁹like one of my closest friends I'm always like come over, come on, attend HAIS meetings, even the Hmong Johnnies I'm like attend the HAIS meeting, come on, get involved. They're like 'nah fuck HAIS' because they feel like there is this divide in the Hmong community that extends way back between the males and the females just like that gender stereotype or whatever so there is that divide. There is also the sense of Johnnies that they are too cool to do anything other than party. For the Bennies there is like drama that gets brought up that they don't want to get involved too.

Additional quotes re Shared Interests

Alexa (H/L): Music is a really big one. Food we like, food we enjoy eating. Groups, food and drinking are my friends.

Sue (W): We're big movie people. We're huge \$5 Tuesday movies at Marcus theater so that was our big thing we would do our one time getting off campus when only one of us had a car early on. And now it's become more of like meals and games after dinner and stuff. Or running errands. I think it has taken on kind of a grown-up relationship. You get to tag along and do those things. But earlier on in my college years things I did with my friends were JEC events. That was something that was super important to us our first two years... those were really important events for our friendship because that's what we did on Friday and Saturday nights.

Doug: Lot of outdoor activities, hiking canoeing, you know. Going out into the arb. Always, you know we do a lot of cooking together. We like to do foods. A lot of the people I'm the closest with I have classes with, they're in my field of study. Not all of my acquaintances are in the same field of study as I am in so I'm not

¹⁹ HAIS refers to Hmong Americans Involving Students, a cultural club at CSB/SJU

going to run into them on a regular basis. But I guess going back to the hobbies is more like playing games together, watching movies too.

With jazz ensemble... some of the members in that have been in it for four years together. So I guess that repeated interaction, I've grown closer through that. And I would definitely say that's an activity where I think we all joined because we all had a similar interest but I think the majority of the friends I have made through there have been through just the process of doing that activity together and spending like a lot of time with each other over time.

Isabela (H/L): A big one (shared interest) is definitely sports. Intramural soccer I think of, a big part of my friend group is through that.

The second would be going back to ELAC, I'm very involved in that club. And so I think a lot of my friendships have definitely come out of that or go back to that in a sense.

Another thing I would definitely say is ethnicity is a big one. Or customs or traditions and stuff like that have a big part. Spanish mass is very big with us. Other traditions that kind of bring us together.

Sue (W): I think proximity is the only other thing. Although it seems like we have a small student body and everyone sees everyone I think it feels like you meet people and then you just see those same people for the next four years even though there are other pockets... I think you end up sticking with what was comfortable that you encountered your first couple of years here for the rest.

Nina (W): I think my values are important to me of like, respecting all humans equally. I have very strong political views, so when people have very different ones or again just aren't very passionate about it they can hear about kids being separated from their families at the border and kept in cages and they're just like 'well, okay, not my problem' that just really doesn't do it for me. So yeah, I'd say because of that that kind of has eliminated a fair amount of white students on campus, which is unfortunate.

Selena (H/L): My passions growing up were social justice because of racial discrimination that was brought even in Minnesota against my dad who has been here for seventeen years.

Even before Donald Trump I was aware of it. [The election] forever changed what I'm involved in and how I see people's characteristics too.

I don't think unless you're passionate about it do you get to meet people who are also passionate about it. And for me social justice is something I get to meet various different people because someone who is passionate about social justice will not look the same... that's kind of how I find a lot of my friends.

I find that people who are in certain majors or certain political positions are more likely to be inclusive of people who are different than them. I think it just goes down to your passions and I don't know how you become passionate about

something. That's how I find people who have different friends... that don't look like them are, typically just more open and have a certain outlook on life I think.

Additional quotes re Self-Segregation

Alexa (H/L): We're pretty okay in the diversity section, it could be better of course it could always be better but I think still a very big minority so we tend to realize like 'Oh hey, this person is going through the same things I am' so it's easier to like talk to them or try to be friends with them because we already just naturally have similarities opposed to like um, White people. It's kind of harder to, you bond over things but not the same things if that makes sense... Because you are bonding over different things the friendships don't allow you to get that much closer to each other because maybe there are other things that they just can't relate to.

Doug (W): Thinking back on FYRE it maybe seemed like students with more similar backgrounds, and I think race is a part of that, would seem to gravitate together. I recognized that when I was a participant on that trip in that if people had, whether it was explicit or implicit people I had seen in my tutoring sessions or during mass I kind of gravitated towards. I think that as a student leader that there were just a couple Black students when I was a leader my junior year and I do remember them spending more time together. The activities may be a little different in that it's like set in how it's divided. They set you at specific tables during meals, they assign you to specific small groups but in the free time I noticed that a little bit so I think that even if there is more diversity it's not necessarily indicative of like, I think there's still kind of a divide within the activity even if the makeup is more diverse.

Maria: And it's not a good feeling to have no one show up to your event. I try to do what I can to go to as many events as possible because I would like someone to come to mine and I also don't want anyone to feel like their events are unappreciated.

There's a lot of us because we all tend to clump together, like all people of color. But I have a couple that are really big campus leaders, like involved in multiple organizations. They put on a lot of programs. But then I have friends that do a little bit and then I have other friends that don't really do like anything other than school. I tend to gravitate towards those who do a lot because I also do a lot.

I feel like I see it happening a lot and it's really noticeable. I don't know if it's because I'm a person of color but I notice when people. Obviously I always sit with my same group of friends and we are all people of color and one time we were sitting there and this freshman she came up to us and was like can I sit with you guys? We obviously let her sit with us but it's like she did that because she was self-segregating. I feel like it happens all the time.

Trent: I would say, at one point and time I self-segregated myself. It wasn't anything so serious, it was moreso that I wanted to fit in that I decided to be around moreso BIPOC students. In a sense of words that did create a sense of

self-segregation. I've educated myself more and I'm trying to widen my social circle. As for other students, I see this every day.

Fred (W): In the Reef, you can kind of notice where people segregate themselves a little bit in the cafeteria. So it's like, all the White Johnnies sitting over here all the Hispanic Johnnies are sitting over there and then you got the Black Johnnies sitting in the middle. And there's really not much interaction between them. I like to think I know enough people, you know when I walk by I may not necessarily be sitting by them but I see someone I know I'm gonna go out of my way to say hello. Say how are you doing or stuff.

Selena (H/L): In both groups, I don't know how much people mix either. It's kind of troubling because I can empathize, but I can't sympathize with the difference. You can even look in the dining hall and people are grouped in what they look like with one another.

Chue: ...if you read the mission statements for these clubs, like our mission is to bring awareness and teach about our culture to the student population. But we never get any white students that show up. We rarely get other students of color that show up. And I think that's one thing that makes me really upset. Because we have student of color leaders here on campus who are like 'show up to this club and organization, support each other like,' but then you don't practice what you preach. You don't show up to a HAIS meeting, you don't show up to a BSA meeting, you don't show up to an ELAC meeting. So why are you preaching that way when you know damn well you don't practice it.

Additional quotes re Drinking Environments

Chue (H): Even on Snapchat, it is obvious. The Asian people when they do hangouts it is always within themselves. For the latinx community, majority of them are latinx. You see one or two Asian people who stand out. Even the house parties in St. Joe, you don't see students of color at those houses. It is White students. Even my first-year roommate the other day, he posted a snap on his story of the dancefloor²⁰ and that shit was packed. You see no BIPOC on the dance floor, it was all White people.

Camila (H/L): Last year, someone (wrote in the campus newspaper) that, obviously there are parties on campus, and when the people of color, whether it's the Bahamians or it's the Hispanics hosting parties it's like the only people that show up are freshman because they're freshman, but like all upperclassmen in the same classes won't show up there because they know we're gonna be playing our music and would rather go to like Sal's bar. It just shows the separation that some of these students are trying to make. And I feel like with that we can't have inclusivity. It's like, you can't even go out and try. Or same for Martin Luther King. When people won't go to these events, or will only go to these events because they're mandatory to one of the professors, like they excluded themselves

²⁰ Here Chue (H) refers to Sal's Bar when he mentions the dancefloor. Sal's bar is a dance bar known for its student presence.

from that and that doesn't promote inclusivity. So I feel like if they supported and would try to make an effort, not speaking for the whole frickin, White population... there would be more inclusivity on campus.

Isabela: I would say even from my own personal experience or from shared conversations with others like how I personally feel is that obviously we are in the middle of a pandemic, there is just no space for this like party/drinking atmosphere in large groups because of the chance of us spreading and stuff like that. But I do personally feel that the people that do get to get away with it or having large gatherings are majority students that live off campus. And who are these students who live off campus? Majority White students. So I constantly am seeing big gatherings of these students who live off campus who are majority White who have these gatherings. And usually the people in these places usually are also White or a few outliers but that have I seen, people of color to have done the same things this year I can't say that I have.

I think that very much shows what the drinking culture looks like at Saint Ben's/Saint John's...

Daisy (B): And I think you'll see a lot of White students who like to be at Sal's, and a lot of BIPOC students that like to be at Sal's, and to say I have never walked into Sal's is a lie. Or even the La ²¹ or any of them. But I would rather not. It's not somewhere I would want to end my night or maybe even start my night. So given that I'm a BIPOC student and I think being a female too I think the bar sometimes can just be a lot.

Selena (H/L): I personally have been with COVID since last semester. I chose to never go to the bar. It made me uncomfortable if I was with, by them, exposed to them. A lot of my, two of my close friends, their roommates even had to move out... either you are one way or the other about it and it has ruined some friendships... I didn't want to go at all this year to the bar. Last night I was with my friends at Krewe... then everyone went to the La. And that was my first time going... so I went and I don't want to go back again because it was terrifying. Even my one experience last night, at the La, it was completely White. I think there would have been one Black person that I saw. I think that is what it is typically like at the bars, especially from what I observe from people talking and also just my one experience last night. But I have gone to last semester a Bahamian party where I was the only White person there, someone who passes as White at least. And um, the parties are not only different with music, dancing, talking, but people group themselves... what's the quote? When you're drunk, the truth comes out. Your real self comes out to the surface. And I think that's just, it allows people to feel safe to be themselves when they're with people who are like them. I think I'm like people who are different than me. I feel comfortable being with people who don't look like me. That's the truth for me at least, even when I'm drunk.

²¹ The La refers to the La Playette, another popular student bar in St. Joseph Minnesota

Pandora (W): *I see a lot of students who do parties and it will be students of a similar racial background, or parties where people are of a queer background.*

Additional quotes re Identity Saliency

Alyssa (B): *Now, our treasurer is white. Our graphic designer was Hispanic. Pushing the ideal like you can be part of this group, you don't have to be Black to be part of this group. Also, being Black is not monolithic, it's not just one way of being Black. I feel like it's evolving. We can only do as much as we can as a student club and then we can just leave the information out for our peers to take or to become a part of. It's definitely evolving and becoming way more mixed which is what I want and like, as well as having Johnnies and Bennies as a part of the Board. Like that's something I want and it reflects the community we are trying to build.*

I feel like every group has representatives who specifically identify with the group which is good but I will always go back to my point of students thinking you have to identify with it to be a part of it.

Fred: *And the same thing can go for, like you know, clubs that are, that the Latinx community puts on. And it goes the same way. And it goes the same way for Whites too. I'm not excluding any of that. But like you see that and go obviously that's not for me because that's something they've put together. You know and so you kind of tend to stay away from that. You kind of avoid any involvement there. Like going to a meeting wouldn't hurt anything. But again it's hard. Because you don't know what's going to happen and you just don't know. It's the unknown that makes it different for people to take that step.*

Maria: *There are some clubs that feel excluding like on accident kind of. For example, BSA, there are a lot of students that kind of, even students of color are like 'ooh I'm not gonna go because I feel like it's for Black students.'*

Even ELAC there was a girl that was born in Mexico but she moved to Minnesota I think when she was like I don't know, three years old. And she doesn't know Spanish, she doesn't know a lot about the culture and she doesn't feel included there. So like I feel like these clubs are still excluding sometimes, even though they are mostly including.

Nina (W): *One of the things that came up at a couple of the meetings was about divisions between Black Americans, Caribbean, Bahamians and other African Students. People said we should stand together and focus on the similarities rather than our differences. Most of the students there were Black Americans, especially because the Archipelago Association was a thing.*

A student who was from Africa was saying the year before the voices of those from Africa had not really been heard, that it was more Black Americans.

Sue (W): *...here's my hot take. I think that we have too many. I think we've become so niche in our programming that it's only drawing in ten people. And so now those same ten people are loyal to their one thing but if you had more broad*

groups like, all the sustainability things... you don't want to take away that identity of being a part of like, the Black Student Alliance and there's one for the Bahamian students as well and so you don't want to take away those cultural identities and specific places but in the same sense it just requires more meetings for students to go to to support them. That goes for sustainability, that goes for women's things, that goes for RA events like are really sporadic. I think there needs to be more unity in programming so it is more marketable to more students and more students will show up. That's a theory I have that with less niche things more people would come and therefore it would create more inclusivity but I think right now we just create more and more divides. Like oh there's a for-life club so now we're gonna have a pro-choice club and now we're gonna have the Democrats and the Republicans and now we have one that's in between and like why don't you just have one in between and then break up into different meetings for Republicans and Democrats on different weeks? It would just make more sense, I don't know. I also think that the divide is a parallel to the way our nation is becoming as well so it's no surprise. But I think it would be better for us to be together more.

Isabela (H/L): We have very much dived into the culture and the experiences of Afro-Latinos and Black Latinos. That even very much on campus you are either Latino or you are Black. You are very much taken, stripped from one of those identities or highlighting that people can be both it can be Black and Latino and um that is something we have been working on very much this past semester...

ELAC would definitely not compare to the student population because the majority of the student population is White but the majority of the student population in ELAC is a minority. But I think that very much has to do with how do you get involved with a group right? Like how do you not say the wrong things or how do you not present yourself as uneducated I think there is like this even like being scared to be involved sometimes I feel like personally that happens or you just feel like you're an outsider in certain groups.

Pandora: I was kind of getting more interested in the social justice work this organization was doing on campus, and as somebody who had struggled with their sexuality in their past I kind of wanted to be there for others who were in the midst of what am I? how do I identify? And be able to help those people get those resources they need.

Additional quotes re Comfort and Discomfort in Involvement

Alexa (H/L): It would be nice to see more diversity in ELAC. Even though they do go to our galas. Those aren't the only ones that matter.

Fred (W): Just because obviously they are talking about injustice and all that stuff. And a lot of it is stemmed from racism, and you know oppression. Which White people are usually getting pinned on for. And for me it's like I don't take any of it personally you know? Just cause I try to understand where they're

coming from you know? Cause they have a right to everything they, all their opinions. But at the same time you know it's weird.

Camila (H/L): My friend said she feels kind of like an outcast. Me and my other friend said well, that's how we feel at a PWI. You gotta get out of your comfort zone with different cultures and stuff like that. You gotta get kind of comfortable with it. You won't really know until you give it a shot.

Trent (B): I was trying to get adjusted to the very unique demographics of CSB/SJU. The best way for me to feel, you know, integrated or fully welcomed was getting active in clubs and trying to meet people who were like me, who also want to meet new people.

Alyssa (B): There is a lot of self-segregation. I think it is literally by choice. It is a comfortability thing as well, for me just not feeling welcome in some groups or you just feel the weird animosity when there is no problem at all.

It (a multicultural space) is needed. If not, the institutions will continue losing those people. The institution has tried and connect with students but it is kind of hard on the student side to see the progress or to see any action being done. The safe spaces here are in the IISS offices, it is in a professional environment. I don't want to go there and just you know just be and try to hang out with my friends when I'm next to, potentially my RA is right there. Staff is all around so it's not very comfortable in that sense. Some of the prayer spaces I know in the sophomore housing, they're not very welcoming or known of, not a lot of people know about it. The lack of it is contributing to the lack of comfortability of minority students.

I felt that out the bag being with them was more comfortable, and then trying to connect with my other peers in class for example, it was kind of hard. I know for me if I tried to say hi or hangout I would get left on read or ignored. Sometimes individuals would just speak to me in class. I came to the conclusion if that's the dynamic, that's the dynamic unfortunately.

Maria (H/L): I would say it just comes naturally. Sometimes I would say I wish it wasn't like that, like I wish I didn't constantly think 'well this person doesn't look like me so I don't know if I will get together as well as with them as with another person.' Or also it's like instinct for me to, if I walk into a room and there is only one other person of color, to go to that person of color. That's where I feel comfortable. I don't like that sometimes, I wish it wasn't like that, but...

Selena (H/L): Is it self-segregation or is it self-preservation? I don't know if it's a choice sometimes. But I do see segregation. I don't know if that's a choice or the progression of not feeling safe around other people. So I don't know if it's self-segregation or not.

It is something I am actually pretty proud of. I have a very diverse group of friends. I have friends that are Black, that are Latinx, White, Canadian (laughs). Also the Bahamas are huge. It is something that I am really proud of that I don't stick to one group of people. I think mostly like I didn't even try freshman year. I just tried to get involved and met some amazing people along the way. And I was also aware of it my freshman year that that wasn't normal but I also knew that was me... I don't like to be around the same group of people. I would get overwhelmed that we have to do everything together. But we became aware of it that this is not normal to have friends that look not only very different from me but also from one another.

Isabela (H/L): I think personally after study abroad I would say my friend group has diversified a little racially speaking but before that I would say my freshman to sophomore year I would say 98% of my close friend group we were in the same racial group or ethnic group also.

Nina: Freshman year I would go to pretty much every Black Student Association meeting or went to most of them anyway. Most other clubs I've been to like, a meeting or two. The only one I consistently went to meetings was Black Student Association freshman year. I went a couple times sophomore year. The way it went coming back from abroad and getting shut down immediately it was kind of bad timing.

Additional quotes re Relegation of DEIJ labor resulting in segregation

Alyssa (B): From the outside its like oh yeah they're represented they have a group. But from the inside it's like we're still lacking for the institutional support. I feel like this year it is something they have worked on is talking and connecting with students directly so I would say the way it's important to me a lot of people would say it's simply important to have in general on campus for students, not just for me who is very passionate and want to see it but that passion is also being seen in those individuals.

Daisy (B): I stayed in there long enough to figure out that there is so much more hope in this world than just me living in a predominantly White space and area and absorbing all of that energy and negativity into my brain. And I wanted to finish it. And I didn't think that my work was done so that's why I'm here still I don't think that my work will be done by the time I leave but that is for other students that are just doing amazing things already, that's for them to do. I want to do the best that I can for the people that are here and for the people that will be here after me.

I also think that we had one person to deal with racial inequities, justice, diversity on campus that's pretty much it. We literally said be the soundboard for every single student that is having an issue and figure out all these things but then we're not gonna give you pretty much every thing that you ask for, so, that's what they do.

Maria: *I plan intercultural events and intercultural events make me feel included so I know what I'm talking about and like what it is I experience, what I need or what other people need. I just bring up Brandyn a lot because he is the one who helps with those events. He is the one who makes them possible in a way.*

There is only so much students can do, like campus leaders. We can put on events, we can do our jobs and whatever but we can't make people show up. And that's kind of like, I want to say like administration can help but to be honest they can't force students to come either. But I think what they did, to help inclusivity or everything was to hire Brandyn. Because Brandyn was that person to connect students to administration. And made that process a little bit easier and made it like it took away a sense of hopelessness. Like we're not communicating with administration and telling them what we really need. There's not a lot of people of color in administration. So they're the people that make these rules, like make decisions but like they don't necessarily know what we experience as students.

Trent: *We have a very serious lack of diversity. As you know, Brandyn Woodard just left. Brandyn was like, I think, one of the only BIPOC administrators here on campus. Losing him and knowing we only have like one or two BIPOC professors from what I'm aware of, it's a serious thing.*

Before all these calls have been happening, they (the cultural clubs) have been advocating and pushing for change here on campus. I don't think they're gonna fully, you know, jump on board or whatever until they see the administration, or different sectors of our community, you know, start to actually change from these calls for antiracism.

Maria: *We talked a lot about role model effect and how seeing women in important positions makes you want to push a little harder and get into those positions just because you don't see people like you, like being super successful and I feel like the fact that people of color are put into certain positions like me intercultural women's coordinator it's like, a little bit of hopelessness because like yes I'm being put in a position that's like really important but it's like, are we going to be constantly put into these like boxes or will we be given an opportunity to branch out and do new things.*

I want other people to have other positions too. Maybe in like more spread-out positions. Just so they aren't put in this box. I kind of like a wide range of leadership positions available.

Sue (W): *So yeah they work with some other White students but I would say that they're all closer than the rest of us because in turn they have to... I would say there is a level of separation.*

Additional quotes re Ideal percentages

Alexa (H/L): *No. That is a tricky way to see it, I don't think we should look at it through numbers. I don't think it should be a numbers thing. I don't think it should be a goal. I think it should be a feeling. The fact that I feel this way is not okay.*

Daisy (B): *I couldn't say a good percentage. Everyone has to do the work. If you're gonna do the work I don't really care what the color of your skin is what like your ethnicity is I don't care. There are tons of White people on this campus that support the things that I would feel completely comfortable having all of, all of them. Do I think there should be a Black voice, and Asian voice? Do I think there should be all these different voices? Yes. In a very perfect world I would have somebody from every single racial group we identify with on this campus. Or a ton of different groups. But I don't think that will ever be possible. Cause it would be kind of a weird criteria to fill out.*

Chue (H): *I wanna see white people show up. I wanna see Black people show up. I wanna see my Latinx community, my Latinx friends show up, like it's fun what everybody's doing like when we do our gender retreats and we are off campus for two nights bonding. I want to see different people show up, because lowkey I'm kind of tired of seeing my Hmong people. I see them on the daily like these are my friends. I wanna see new people come and just try new things cause like, it's funny and it's fun... I want it to be 70% other ethnic and 30% the ethnic, like the Hmong people if you think about HAIS. Like why do Hmong people have to keep showing up to HAIS when they know this stuff already.*

Maria (H/L): *I wanna say like fifty-fifty. I feel like it needs to be the balance of people explaining what they go through and answering these questions but there also needs to be people listening. They kind of need to educate themselves a little bit. It's a safe space, but it's also not a rant. We've gone through a lot, yes, but there are also positive things that come from that. It's really crazy to think that like coming from like low-income or whatever like my parents are immigrants like they can't even imagine being where I am now. So yes I'm going through all this and so are other people of color but we've come a long way.*

Isabela (H/L): *it is one of the few spaces that allows for inclusivity. Should it be the only space? No. I think I have been a big advocate in saying that cultural clubs should not be the spaces where students are being educated on these issues and stuff like that because these are student-run organizations and students are students so we have a lot of other things to do than educate other people on certain issues or advocate for diversity or push for an MLK Day and stuff like that. That was very much a student push. The more opportunities the university can create for this the less these student clubs their involvement would have to be.*

When we started the year I think there was like four or five Hispanic students. And those numbers have just changed because of people who, you know no longer continue or their position was just a semester long so they choose not to continue or whatever it is. But I think that if there was no people of color on Senate at the moment either two things. Either that triggers people of color to be like hey our voices should be in this group, let's try to get people here or it would scare people of color from getting involved.

I would say a visual, you can see a visual push for diversifying the student Senates, in the women's senate and in the men's senates over the past years. Since 2017 to now, 2020, I have definitely seen more of a push for more student of color

involvement in the Senate which I personally would say that when I look at it my freshman year that it was a very much predominantly Caucasian White ran government organization. Over the past years we've had Kistacia who was president of Senate... there were more Bahamian Bennies involved that year. We do currently have a Black president. I would say that we've been struggling in continuing that minority representation but it has been something that has been visible the last couple of years where you can see that there is a direct push to make it more diverse and have different people or have different groups involved for example in Senate for example. I do think that it can continue or should continue to be a diverse group because as our student population does grow I think that the issues that concern one group are not necessarily the same that specifically concern another. To have that diverse perspective is big. I know that it helps when it comes to administration issues... if there wasn't an out of state student on Senate or something or a person of color on certain issues like I think it very much affects the programming.

Daisy (B): For myself it was one of the most welcoming things because I saw the person that was running for president and vice-president (and thought) that's what I want to do. I want to be that and to do those things she was talking about doing. I didn't know that was possible, I didn't even know I could control that at the school, I didn't know I could get my foot in that door. So yes, for me.

Sue (W): Ideal to have the same representation we have in our student body. I guess that a realistic goal is as much of that diversity here to have that in everything you're a part of, to know that everyone is a part of things that they want to be a part of.

Doug (W): I think what I personally would feel comfortable with is if the activities I was involved with reflected the diversity on campus... what that would tell me at least is that all students on campus are having similar experiences and exposure and opportunity to be involved in the same things I'm involved with.

Fred (W): I would say as balanced across the school population as you can granted that the school population is waiting one way or the other as well. To me it would be fair to have equal balances across the scale and if that has to be a selection criteria then maybe that has to be but at the same time you also can't control who signs up for what. Which is another one issue then too but. I would say if X amount of people want to join this club then I think it's just you have to work with what you have

I would say that giving the people that probably don't have as much, doesn't have as much a percentage of the population in the school, as say the Whites do, I would say, you know, we're reaching out to the population that's not as big. Cause we already know that the population that is big we're gonna be getting people from there anyway. So I'd say make sure we're reaching out to the people that aren't as big on campus. Making sure that they know that they can be involved and that they have a right to be involved. There're a part of the school as well.

Pandora (W): *I think a good balance would be kind of be following either the demographics of the campus or more favorably the demographics of the United States so you can kind of get that break down. Cause even though our board is pretty White that's not how the US really is, it's kind of shifting towards, other groups are becoming much more prominent. Seeing that in our board would be going on the right trail because then the people whose voices need to be heard based on population groups, those voices would be represented there... I think yeah, the demographics of the United States (would be ideal).*

Nina (W): *But although I'm like 'Oh all the White students should go' it shouldn't be their job to educate all of the White students either. So I wish that like, more White students educated themselves and cared about the issues and wanted to be involved.*

Trent (B): *Being a non-BIPOC student you contribute to racial and ethnic diversity... there is a need and want for more non-BIPOC students to be active in these clubs... For BSA we need more non-BIPOC students. ELAC we need more non-BIPOC students. For the Senate and Engineering club, we need more BIPOC students. On one side we need more non and on the other side we need more BIPOC.*

I don't (have an ideal percentage in mind) but I don't think that for all the clubs I mentioned I don't think there is currently a balance for racial diversity in the clubs. Because it is either obscured on the higher end or obscured to the lower end. I don't have numbers but that is just the perception I have from observation and personal analysis of the organizations.

Doug: *I think that diversity in organizations will make me more aware of some of the challenges that other people face. I think that would make me more empathetic and understanding and knowledgeable and I also think that it would kind of change how I interact with this campus after learning more about how, a lot of my friends have the same experiences, same upbringing, same involvement on campus. And that doesn't really force me to do anything different about how I interact with others on campus. I think that more diversity of the students in those organizations could change that.*

Additional quotes re Cultural Club Importance for Minority Students

Alexa (H/L): *(Clubs) are the ones who do the most work. I think they are really important and don't get enough credit.*

Trent (B): *I think that [campus clubs] are at the center of campus inclusivity. I think that the way the administration treats or encourages those clubs to be well known around campus greatly drives the way we view inclusivity, cultural appreciation, and overall community living here at CSB/SJU. Many times we do things and it presents a one-sided perception of how we do community here on campus, leaving many of the BIPOC students to, you know, in sense of words, suffer in silence. So I think administration, or outside that the university, need to focus on getting those clubs better known, better appreciated, better highlighted,*

and, you know, better carried out because they are at the center of the way we do things here. I think we need to understand that.

Daisy (B): I also think that it broadened my own horizon. It made me have a better lens when it came to how I thought White people perceived me. I don't want to live my entire life afraid of what they think or what they think of you because people have told you they are kind of up here. It has broadened my own horizon and my own viewpoint to critically assess the things that people have said that have passed in my brain as normal. I wouldn't have gotten to learn that unless I got out there.

Camila (H/L): If we didn't have any of these cultural clubs, how would we all really get to know each other, or you know promote like, cultural diversity. There would literally be none. All there would be the Bahamians... we know the majority of the Black population are from the Bahamas. I feel like that would be the only thing that would really be seen. But not Hispanics or if you see an Asian person.

I feel like the clubs do a really good job of representing one's culture. They show the differences.

Chue (H): Even within the Hmong community it's like we have Asian club why do we need HAIS? Or we have the BSA why do we need ASA? But it's kind of like we want our group to be represented. You know? Asia club doesn't represent the Hmong community fully like we want them to. BSA doesn't represent the Archipelago Club like how it's supposed to. And that's why these different cultural clubs are branching away from one another you know? So that's why I thought my involvement here was important because I wanted it to be my mission for yeah we're Asian, but what kind of Asian are we? And that's why I came in, and I heard from upperclassmen that Hemeseth made a speech and he categorized all Asian students as international students, I was triggered cause it was like dude what the fuck? How can you be so dumb? And finding out that Q+ that was originally PRISM finding out that they were limited to what they could do on campus. Finding out their funding wasn't there because they were limited to how much they could do on campus. But sure enough when the drag show comes around all these people want to show up drunk, screaming and having fun, but when it comes down to fighting for these people, vouching for these people, where are they? I'll say everybody's real quiet, you know.

For a person who is not from the Caribbean or a person who is not like Black... people just make this generalization of okay these are all Black students like why are they arguing you know? But it's like so much more than that... it's like why is 5C arguing with HAIS, we're all Asian? But no it's kind of like there's different culture behind there. For the eyes you don't always see it but in the mind it's always there. Like, am I being inclusive enough? Are my other Asian peers who are not Hmong gonna be comfortable coming you know

Additional quotes re Bennie/Johnnie Split: The Role of Separate Campuses and Gender

Selena (H/L): *Otherwise when it comes to like segregation on campus, I've heard from some people it's like Bennies having to live on one campus and Johnnies having to live on another. That it would be different if we could mix. I don't know. That's kind of a debate. Even within Johnnies within St. John's campus it is where you come from and some Johnnies have to work and some Johnnies don't. I think it all goes back to what you're passionate about.*

Alyssa (B): *CSB/SJU we are separate with living. That is literally one actual barrier that keeps one student population away. I would suggest reviewing or looking at the whole Bennie Johnnie characteristics that they put on college students. I feel like that plays a big role no matter what race or ethnicity you claim. Simply having those ideals in your head.*