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Chosen Pamilya: Student-Based Retention Programming for Queer Pilipinx American College Students at UC Berkeley

In 2000, the United States Census Bureau estimated there were 1.9 million Filipinos in the US. In 2017, that number has grown to 2.8 million, a 47 percent increase in just under two decades, characterizing Filipinos as the third largest Asian subgroup in America behind Asian Indians and Chinese. Alongside their growth on a national scale, their presence within American universities continues to increase as well. As of 2012, 400,000 Filipino Americans are currently enrolled in American institutions of higher education (Hernandez 2016, 327). Despite being one of the fastest growing populations at both the national and post-secondary educational level, Filipino American students continue to be underrepresented within educational research. This is likely due to a number of factors, such as the ongoing homogenization of Asian Americans into a monolithic category as well as the model minority myth's conglomeration of Asians into high-achieving, apolitical, academically gifted learning machines. Fortunately, Asian American and ethnic studies scholars have contributed their collective efforts to combat the model minority myth as well as other frameworks that represent Asian Americans as a one-dimensional caricature.

In a not-so-distant realm of academia, thinkers in the field of lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, and queer (LGBTQ) studies have concerned themselves with critiquing cisheteronormative frameworks through which much of the western world is structured upon. Building upon the works of feminist scholars, LGBTQ disciplinarians have challenged patriarchal gender norms, disrupted binaries modes of sexuality, and continuously reframe the world through a queer lens. Within queer scholarship exists queer of color critique, a subset of

LGBTQ studies thinkers that extend, call out, and rearticulate mainstream LGBTQ thought so as to be more inclusive of non-white voices.

Through this paper, I seek to contribute to both schools of scholarship, in which I am particularly concerned with the experiences of student leaders who are in charge of developing retention programs and resources for fellow LGBTQ Filipinx American students at UC Berkeley. Using semi-structured interviews with queer Pilipinx American student organizers, this research draws upon my own personal experiences as a gay Filipino American undergraduate at UC Berkeley who has been involved in student organizing and retention event planning. Looking inwards, I find that this group is often overlooked at the institutional and scholarly level. Furthermore, aside from our underrepresentation in structural and academic discourse, queer Filipinx American undergraduates are situated at a unique locus of subjectification. As descendants of immigrants, uprooted and diasporically displaced by centuries of colonial and imperial regimes, and as members of the pan-ethnic "Asian American" category, observing the existence of queer Filipinx Americans may allow us to further unpack and disaggregate underlooked AAPI experiences. Thus, I interrogate how queerness, gender, and sexuality inform the ways queer Filipino American navigate higher education, how the experiences they faced as queer subjects growing up, be it positive, negative, or somewhere in between, affected their paths to college, and the factors that led them to do the programmatic work they are currently doing.

Literature Review

Studies on the intersection of race, ethnicity, and education have been a growing body of scholarship. Within Asian American studies and ethnic studies, scholars within the field have done well to investigate the social, cultural, economic, and political nuances of Asian Americans within the ivory tower. However, much less can be said about the lives of queer Asian American

students, let alone about LGBTQ Filipinx American undergraduates. Thus, I see my research as a need to fill this gap in the literature. However, before engaging with the body of knowledge that has dealt with LGBTQ Asian Americans in higher education, I'd like to briefly touch upon the work of Evelyn Nakano Glenn, who argues that citizenship is culturally constructed *vis-a-vis* structures and affects of cultural belonging. In her discussion of undocumented Asian Americans' movements to ascertain their acceptance and fundamental right to education, she writes that belonging is reproduced at the social level, and is therefore always relational: whether one feels as if they belong or not is contingent upon the boundaries, practices, and definitions of citizenship determined by that community (Glenn 2011, 3). Despite the limited scale of the undocumented students' movement relative to other calls for social justice, Glenn goes on to articulate that it is precisely at the margins of the fringes themselves where "we most see the possibility for change" (Glenn 2011, 16). In the same vein as, but without discounting the idiosyncrasies of, the undocumented immigrants' movement, I see the need to uplift and amplify queer Filipino American studies as significant. Indeed, the experiences of queer Filipino Americans disrupts normative and often taken-for-granted frameworks of queer subjectivity. By working at the margins, I follow in Glenn's steps to examine and move forward a social justice agenda, one that is rooted at the peripheries, as a demonstration of agency and an assertion to belonging.

At the crossroads of Asian American studies and LGBTQ studies, little has been said about the experiences of undergraduate students. Whereas the primary has done well to challenge the model minority myth's impacts on Asian American educational experiences and the latter has been historically concerned with the effects of bullying on LGBTQ students, the two have rarely come together to explore the lives of queer Asian Americans in college. Of the few scholarly

works tasked with expounding upon queer Asian American students, Anthony Ocampo and Daniel Soodjinda, at the intersection of race, ethnicity, sexuality, and education, study how sexual identity affects gay Asian American mens' academic experiences. Their research is informed by qualitative interviews with 35 gay Asian American males in the San Francisco Bay Area, centered around questions of what it was like to grow up queer and Asian in America's education system. Their findings indicate that, for their participants, education was a site of identity construction and resistance, a place where they learned, developed, and articulated what it meant to be queer and Asian (Ocampo and Soodjinda 2016, 482). More importantly, they found that their participants felt excluded in LGBTQ college spaces because they were either too cliquish or hostile towards students of color. As a coping mechanism, many participants excelled in the classroom in order to find acceptance and belonging elsewhere in the university. By living up to the stereotype that Asians were academically gifted, gay Asian American students were able to find social support in others who likewise did the same (Ocampo and Soodjinda 2016, 497). In other words, gay Asian American men exploited the model minority myth in order to avoid harassment, develop secure relationships, and fit within the norms of their social networks.

In another recent article, Jason Chan touches upon the function of masculinity in the experiences of queer Filipino American college students. Chan points out the absence of the experience of Asian American college men in the broader canon of Asian American studies and that empirical, qualitative research regarding the narratives of Asian American men remains needed—a likely result of the model minority stereotype (Chan 2017, 82-83). Chan's research yielded three prevalent patterns. First, participants' understandings of masculinity were complex and were highly situational which was particularly demonstrated by their corporeal performances of masculinity. Many of the men closely monitored their bodily behaviors in a given scenario. In

order to fit their perception of masculinity to environmental and social expectations, they would deepen the intonation of their voice, talk about things that were masculinized (i.e. sports), and dressed in baggier clothing. Second, their understanding of masculinity and sexuality stemmed from their immigrant parents. As sons of Filipino immigrants, the students mentioned how their understanding of both masculinity and queerness came from popular Filipino cultural discourse, mainly that of Filipino media. Others also described Catholicism as an additional influence on their masculinity, that in order to be a good son, one had to marry a woman and get a good job to support the family. Third, once queer Filipino male students arrived at college, they were able to more freely explore gender, sexuality, and masculinity. Less restrictive gender norms allowed them to feel more at ease with the way they presented their masculinity (Chan 2017, 87-90). Similar to Ocampo and Soodjinda, Chan finds that college presents a site of identity exploration. Given the vast opportunities for co-curricular, non-academic, and social engagement available to students, the college environment contains a multitude of "norms, values, and messages" about gender and sexuality, otherwise referred to by Chan as "microclimates" (Chan 2017, 90). These spaces, which includes classroom settings, residential halls, and student-led organizations, and the ways Chan's participants navigated them caused shifts in students' experiences with masculinity and led them to interrogate the saliency of masculinity and gender norms as queer individuals.

In a paper conducted by David Zapata Maldonado et al., the authors examine student-initiated retention projects (SIRPs) at UC Berkeley and the University of Wisconsin, Madison in order to critique existing theories on student retention. They contend that the current body of student retention theory fails to encapsulate the experiences and struggles of students of color. Through a qualitative study of SIRPs, defined as student organized, led, and funded

programs and support structures dedicated to the retention of students from historically underrepresented backgrounds (Zapata Maldonado et al. 2005, 606), in which they use a combination of structured interviews, participant observation, and traditional ethnography, their research challenges dominant theoretical frameworks of student retention. Their findings are as follows. First, students of color develop knowledge, skills, and social networks that help assist them with social mobility and increase their social capital (Zapata Maldonado et al. 2005, 620). Second, SIRPs boost students' ties to their racial and/or ethnic communities as well as other communities of color with which they do not explicitly identify (Zapata Maldonado et. al 2005, 623-624). Third, SIRPs instill student organizers of color with a critical consciousness that empowers them to contest, claim, and negotiate institutional structures (Zapata Maldonado et al. 2005, 625-627). Like Zapata Maldonado et al., my research is directly informed by student organizers themselves. However, my research is not designed to contribute to theories of student retention nor does the scope of this study mirror that which I seek to study. However, this research is in alignment with Zapata Maldonado et al. insofar as I aim to challenge and expand the current studies on student retention through a queer of color lens.

Looking towards further studies on queer Filipinx Americans within higher education, this research builds upon the works of those thinkers whose scholarship I have outlined here. While these pieces of literature have been integral in moving forward a sense of belonging and representation for Asian Americans, the scarcity of this work also speaks to the necessity for research that encapsulates the queer Filipinx American student experience from the perspective of those who do retention and programmatic work. Such observations remain sparse.

Methodology

This research is centered around the conversations I had with two informants. I have

specifically chosen to interview members of UC Berkeley's Pilipinx community, particularly individuals who have been involved with the registered student organization, Pilipinx Academic Student Services (PASS). As one of seven recruitment and retention centers housed within the *bridges* coalition, PASS seeks to remedy the underrepresentation of Pilipinx-identifying students within higher education ("PASS Mission Statement"). Since 1985, PASS, alongside the six other RRC's, has spearheaded major recruitment and retention events that have bolstered the numbers of Filipino students on the UC Berkeley campus. Within PASS, the Gender and Sexuality Awareness Component (GSAC) is tasked with planning, developing, and executing semesterly and annual programs dedicated to the retention of LGBTQ Filipinxs as well as Pinay (women of Filipinx descent) students. I have chosen to examine this space and the individuals who have occupied this role during my time as a UC Berkeley student for a number of reasons. First, GSAC is one of the few student spaces catered to gender and sexual minoritarian Filipinx subjects. As a queer Filipino American myself, never did I imagine there to be a collegiate space whose sole purpose was to meet the needs of queer Pilipinx students. As a rarity, GSAC offers valuable knowledge around a specific student experience that has yet to be empirically encapsulated in the literature. Related to this point, the second reason for choosing to investigate the GSAC space is contingent upon my own ties to the role. As the previous GSAC coordinator in my second year of college, I have deep ties to this community. While I no longer occupy the GSAC coordinatorship, I have continued to benefit from the space and am always grateful to GSAC in that it has fundamentally shaped the trajectory of my undergraduate and future endeavors. Thus, in choosing to interview the two people who have occupied this role since I departed the position, I seek to understand their own reasons and experiences that brought them to this work and to better understand the reasons as to why this work exists.

Key to my research, I have elected to conduct semi-structured, one-on-one interviews with my informants in order to generate a thick description of their experiences and reasonings that brought them to this work. Both interviews lasted between 90 minutes to two hours. Moreover, due to the sensitive nature of my interview questions, I used private interviews as a means of affording my participants the safest possible space to share their vulnerability--though, concomitantly, I acknowledge that my ability to facilitate a safe space is not solely contingent upon my abilities as an interviewer. That said, when approaching my participants for their request to be interviewed, I prioritized their needs and availability. In terms of recruitment, I met my informants through our shared work in PASS. Through my previous experiences within GSAC, I have developed close friendships with my informants. Knowing that I would be interviewing my peers, I acknowledge my positionality in being able to have these conversations in the first place. However, whereas traditional research encourages social and academic proximity from research participants, I see it as my role as an ethnic studies scholar to uplift these so-called biases; there is power in the lens through which I am approaching this research. As an "undistanced" researcher, I look to visibilize these precious conversations as a form of academic reclamation and activist scholarship. After they've confirmed their willingness to participate in this research, we set up a time and date. In accordance with social distancing policies, both interviews were conducted through Zoom. The questions I asked elicited their experiences with queerness growing up, navigating education, how they became involved with GSAC, the impact the space has had on them, and how they see this work moving forward. This research is not intended to be representative of the entirety of all queer Pilipinxs at UC Berkeley. Rather, my aim is to illuminate why and what factors bring these students to this line of work.

Data Collection and Findings

I interviewed two participants, both of whom occupied the Gender and Sexuality Awareness Coordinator position within Pilipinx Academic Student Services. Through our conversations, I learned about their experiences navigating queerness and, more broadly, their understandings of gender and sexuality while growing up. We also reflected on doing this community-centered work, how they became involved in the space, and evaluated the trajectory of GSAC's future possibilities. The two participants, who I refer to using the pseudonyms Jessica and Maria, are both current UC Berkeley undergraduate students. Jessica is a second year studying architecture and self-identifies as a bisexual woman. Maria is a fourth year studying social welfare and minoring in education, and self-identifies as a queer woman. Both are Filipina Americans and have been involved with PASS as the GSAC Coordinator, Maria from 2019-2020 and Jessica from 2020-2021. As 1.5 and 2nd generation immigrants, their definitions of home and their responses to my question of "where are you from" were complex. Jessica defines herself as being from Visaya, the central province of the Philippines. She also grew up in Los Angeles and, for a brief period in her life, Las Vegas. She currently resides in North Hollywood. Maria locates home in multiple places as well, including Makati and Parañaque, two districts within Metro Manila, Glassell Park, Hawthorne, and Lynwood, neighborhoods within Los Angeles, and Berkeley, California. In terms of family, both Jessica and Maria grew up in households led by motherly figures, meaning their mothers, grandmothers, and aunts heavily influenced their outlook on life. Both their mothers were the primary economic providers of their households which, as will be discussed shortly, was an important factor in shaping their understandings of traditional gender roles. Jessica is the eldest of seven siblings while Maria is the youngest child. Additionally, I acknowledge that the scope of my participants' backgrounds provides a niche cross-section of queer Pilipinx American experiences. It's important to

underscore that the GSAC role has been in existence for over a decade. Therefore, my findings are only representative of recent memories and are not telling of the entire scope of GSAC. Perhaps an interview with the original founder of GSAC and earlier GSAC coordinators would allow a more holistic purview of the impact and scope of this work. Nevertheless, my aim is not to discount the experiences of my participants. As fellow queer Filipinx Americans, I want to amplify their life histories of through this research. I view these conversations and the opportunity to provide a brief glimpse of their lived experiences as a form of illumination. Additionally, there are only so many individuals who have preserved the legacy of this work, so while I was not able to have more than two interviews, the remarks shared here are rich preservations of untold, needed stories.

The first common sentiment shared between the two was that queer social figures held a seemingly natural presence in their adolescence. In Maria's case, she grew up surrounded by many flamboyant gay men in the Philippines, otherwise known as "baklas" in Tagalog. From the young boys she would play with in the streets in Makati, to her mother's gay friends, queerness was seen as an organic, unquestioned mode of existence. In other quotidian contexts, Maria felt that queerness was expressed and accepted in her clothing. As a child, she found comfort in dressing herself without regard for feeling judged or read as too masculine or too feminine. Similarly, queerness was ordinary in Jessica's upbringing insofar as her family was also prevalent with LGBTQ-identifying aunts, uncles, and cousins. Though they may not have labeled themselves as acutely gay, queer, lesbian, bisexual, and so on, Jessica was accustomed to their non-heteronormative ways of being. When she moved to Los Angeles, Jessica was further exposed to queer community, leading her to understand queerness through a positively moralized lens. She recalls vivid details of Santa Monica Boulevard, a street filled with pronounced

symbols of queerness such as rainbow flags and gay couples holding hands. Jessica and Maria also point to the flourishing presence of women figures in their lives. Maria's mother had always been the breadwinner of her family. As an overseas Filipina worker, abbreviated as OFW, Maria's mother had worked hard to provide for her family. Moreover, she was raised by her lola, or grandmother, while her father resided at his sister's house. Coming of age within these circumstances, Maria always looked to her mother's messages and balikbayan boxes which contained gifts sent from America. Jessica had also grown up in a household spearheaded by women. As the daughter of a single mother and as the eldest daughter, Jessica found strength in femininity. As a result of growing up in household structures outside the norm of cisheteronmorative nuclear families, Maria and Jessica attribute a significant portion of their queer subjectivity to the fact that they grew up in "queer" households that also supported, accepted, and loved LGBTQ communities.

Another significant finding was that both participants attended all-girls private schools before attending UC Berkeley and that their educational experiences furthered their already positive outlook on queerness. Maria commented extensively about how attending an all-girls Catholic private school in the Philippines was a formative experience for her queer development. Looking back at this period in her life, it was there she learned to be unafraid of liking other women. She was empowered by the mere presence of her classmates, many of whom were in public same-sex relationships. School for her was a safe space to explore gender and sexuality without feeling judged by the masculine gaze. She didn't have to be ashamed about her body and found comfort in the presence of other women. Her all-girls school would also be where she connected with her first love, another girl she had spent much of her time with. She shares that although they were never in a romantic relationship, their bond was special beyond friendship.

For Jessica, her all-girls private high school in Los Angeles provided her with much of the same feelings of empowerment expressed by Maria. It also privileged her with resources, social networks, and a curriculum that openly supported gender and sexual minorities. She brings up that she was able to conduct primary research through a gender and sexuality course and that many of her classmates were raised by same-sex parents.

Third, and as an extension of the first two observations, both participants became involved in GSAC through the positive experiences they had with queer acceptance and queer home-making in their youth. In my conversation with Jessica, she shared how she was initially astounded by the fact that there was even a space dedicated to retaining queer Filipinx students. In her first year of college, she immediately signed up to become an intern for the GSAC Coordinator with the goal of continuing to learn and unpack her gender and sexual identity. Wanting to propagate the same queer love and energy she experienced throughout her life, Jessica applied to be on PASS staff and is the current GSAC Coordinator. In addition to wanting to cultivate safe spaces for other queer Filipinx American students, Jessica's involvement was also due in part to the supportive relationships she developed while in college. She shared that while GSAC programming is critical for building internal community among queer Filipinx Americans, this work also exists to cultivate mutual understanding and education for non-LGBTQ individuals. For Maria, her involvement with GSAC rested on a specific moment in which she experienced resonances of her childhood liberation. Each year, PASS puts on GSAC retreat, a weekend-long getaway meant to build intimate community for queer Pilipinx Americans. As soon as sign-ups for the retreat were released, Maria recalled immediately submitting her application. During the retreat, she remembered feeling right at home, and though she was quiet in sharing her thoughts, she found just as much value in merely existing and taking

everything in. After years without deep engagement with her gender and sexual identity, GSAC retreat embodied a nostalgia reminiscent of her empowering all-girl private school days: “It was the first time I could embrace myself internally again.” As with Jessica, Maria sought to extend these same feelings of love to other queer Filipinx students. She joined PASS staff as the GSAC Coordinator in the fall of 2019 and has since moved on to establish the GSA+ Committee for the *bridges* Coalition. In her current role as the Director of GSA+, Maria works in collaboration with PASS and other RRC’s to develop programs and disseminate resources for the broader queer of color community. Moreover, given that PASS is one of two RRC’s that has a position specifically catered towards LGBTQ students, Maria has also made it a mission of hers to help develop GSA+ positions for the other RRC’s that do not currently have such a role.

A fourth finding that was only shared by Maria, but is no less significant, was that the lack of queer of color spaces on campus necessitated GSAC’s existence. Yes, there are spaces on campus that address the needs of LGBTQ individuals, but Maria acknowledges that even in these spaces, there are still gaps and needs that remain unaddressed. Her perceptions of these other campus queer spaces, with their often inaccessible, predominantly White demographics, and their pedestilization of hyper-feminine, hyper-”out” subjects left little room for other queers of color who disidentify with these monolithic representations of minoritarian gender and sexualities:

> To have a [space] for queer/trans, Black, Indigenous, people of color, it’s because I’ve been a part of these spaces and because I’ve seen the beauty of it that makes me want to continue to do this work. So little spaces are held for folks with those identities. … It’s so important for these spaces to exist because if these spaces didn't exist, you leave people falling in between those cracks.

Analysis and Discussion

The individuals discussed in this study described the reasonings behind their participation and eventual leadership within queer Pilipinx American student organizing spaces. Based on our conversations, a significant motivating factor that led them to their current work for queer Pilipinx undergraduates was that they had, at some point in their upbringing, been exposed to individuals, groups, or institutions which liberated them to openly explore their gender and sexual identity. These people and places included primary and secondary educational institutions, specifically all-girls schools, as well as queer relatives and family friends. Moreover, both participants shared that queerness growing up was demarcated as a natural mode of subjectivity. While Maria grew up in the Philippines and Jessica came to define Los Angeles as her predominant site of upbringing, the two were surrounded by supportive communities that empowered them to take agency over their gender and sexual expression. It was precisely these positive interactions that moved them to do the work they are currently doing. As someone who has once been in their roles, I find resonances in the underlying impulses which have pushed them to do this work. Indeed, the need to do this work is rooted in collective and reciprocal love. Each of us were brought into this work in part due to the queer support given to us at specific moments in our lives. Like Maria, I was ushered into queer Pilipinx American programming after my first GSAC retreat in spring 2018. Maria also points out that such programming is driven by the lack of queer of color campus spaces. Without the existence of GSAC, queer Pilipinx American students such as Jessica, Maria, and myself would have to build community without institutional and organizational support.

Throughout the research process, I encountered few problems. Given that my initial expectations and my own personal experiences aligned with the findings, I see this work as

indicative of the commonalities between individuals serving queer Pilipinx American college students. That said, I am still curious about any particular struggles and adversities participants had to overcome in arriving to this work. While experiencing resiliency should not be necessary in order to occupy this role, as queer people of color, our communities often sustain violence, trauma, and harassment. To what extent do these factors play a role in shaping these students' approaches to such retention work? Additionally, I also recognize the present historical moment as its own unique variable of the research process. As a result of COVID-19, both interviews were conducted through the online video chatting platform, Zoom. At the time of our interviews, I noticed that both participants were situated at home with their families. This worried me slightly given that I was unaware if they had disclosed to their families their queerness, which, if they had not, could therefore increase their vulnerability. However, it seemed that both of them were protected by the privacy of their bedrooms, and as the interviews went on, it did not seem like they censored their words. Regardless, at any point in time during our talks, I made sure to let them situate themselves as needed in order to prioritize their protection.

Conclusion

Student-initiated retention programming for queer Pilipinx American students is often overlooked. Due to the lack of queer Pilipinx American students, they remain invisibilized within cultural, social, and academic discourse. This research has sought to alleviate such underrepresentation by examining the reasons behind why students do this work. For my two participants, my findings indicate that their family backgrounds played a significant role in determining their involvement. Also key was wanting to reciprocate and build similar communities of belonging which they had experienced as well. As for the limits with and possible future directions of this study, I've iterated before that the background of my

participants and my own understanding of the GSAC space is limited by the temporality at which I've become a UC Berkeley student. If I were to continue this study, I would want to reach out the initial founders of GSAC who turned informal, monthly gatherings between queer Pilipinx American students into an institutionalized space with *bridges*. That way, I may obtain a more holistic understanding of GSAC's history and what has invited previous coordinators to this work.

Appendix

Interview Questions

1. Introductions
    a. Tell me about yourself, any salient identities that you carry.
2. Family
    a. What was your family structure like growing up?
    b. What were some of the cultural factors that had an impact on your childhood experiences?
    c. Did you have any responsibilities or roles growing up? (If yes, what were they and why
    d. Who did you consider your community growing up? (i.e. friends, family, neighborhood, places, organizations, etc.)
    e. What is your relationship with your family like today?
3. Higher Education
    a. What was your relationship to pursuing an education growing up?
    b. What factors influenced your decision to apply and attend college? (i.e. socioeconomic status, immigration status, family background, personal goals, teachers, friends, media, etc.)
    c. What are you currently pursuing? What would you like to do with your education or what do you think is the purpose of education?
4. Experiences with queerness growing up
    a. Tell me about your experiences with queerness. When you think about your personal experiences of queerness and navigating that, what comes to mind?
    b. How do you identify with respect to gender and sexuality? (Follow-up if not already answered in the first question.)
    c. Can you recall any particular childhood memories that were critical to your understanding of queerness or sexuality? How would you describe those memories?
        i. For example, my brother would use “gay” as a derogatory term that led to a lot of internalized homophobia that, to this day, I am still having to unlearn and unpack. I also learned a lot about queerness in my Filipino household by watching Filipino dramas and cable TV and the image of the bakla. That was also a representation of queerness I internalized and I think am still processing.
    d. How was queerness treated in your household/family culture growing up?
    e. What are some struggles you have faced as a queer person?
    f. Does your family know about your queer identity?
        i. If yes, what are their thoughts about that?
        ii. If not, what factors keep you from sharing that part of yourself?
5. Queerness and UC Berkeley
    a. What have your interactions with the queer community been like at UC Berkeley?
        i. How would you characterize the queer community in UC Berkeley?
        ii. Do you feel that LGBTQ identifying people are supported at UC Berkeley?

   b. Did your sexuality or gender identity play a factor in choosing to attend UC Berkeley?
      i. For example, I have some LGBTQ friends who moved to Berkeley so they had more agency and freedom in expressing their queerness which would otherwise have been restricted if they attended college closer to "home".
6. <u>Queerness and Filipino American culture at UC Berkeley + GSAC</u>
   a. What have your experiences with queer Filipinos and Filipino Americans been like since you started attending UC Berkeley?
      i. How many other queer Fil Ams do you know attend Cal?
      ii. How did you meet them?
   b. What were your experiences with GSAC events and programming?
      i. What brought you to this work?
      ii. Why is this work important to you?
      iii. Why is this work important for other people?
   c. Do you think there are any limits to the scope of GSAC and its reach?
      i. For example, do you wish there are more resources that GSAC should offer that it currently does not? Financial limitations? Personal capacity?
      ii. How has COVID impacted the work you do?
   d. How do you envision GSAC expanding in the foreseeable future?

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