

Double Jeopardy

Asian and Pacific Islander College Students at the Intersection of Sexual Violence and Anti-Asian Racism

FROM THE DOUBLE JEOPARDY STUDY

A multi-campus mixed-methods investigation of sexual violence, sexual harassment, and anti-Asian discrimination experienced by API women students across the University of California system, January 2022 through December 2023.

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA, LOS ANGELES

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BY THE NUMBERS

Findings from a survey of 370 API women student victim-survivors across all ten UC campuses (2022 to 2023).

77%

experienced sexual harassment during their time at UC

65%

reported a rise in SVSH incidents since the pandemic began

40%

did not seek any support after an SVSH incident

1 in 5

reported increased microaggressions since the pandemic

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

Launched in response to the surge of anti-Asian hate crimes during the COVID-19 pandemic, the Double Jeopardy Study investigates the intersection of anti-Asian racism and sexual violence experienced by Asian and Pacific Islander (API) students within the University of California (UC) system. By examining this “double jeopardy,” the study uncovers the intricate ways students cope with the compounding effects of sexual violence and anti-Asian racism, and underscores the need for nuanced, comprehensive responses that address these interconnected issues.

Sexual harassment is the most common form of sexual misconduct experienced by surveyed API students, with many students experiencing multiple forms of sexual violence; this is a situation that has worsened since the onset of the pandemic. A significant portion of API students hesitate to seek support, hindered by stigma and a lack of awareness about available resources. Cultural factors, intergenerational differences, and cross-national cultural nuances also influence how API students perceive and respond to sexual violence and sexual harassment (SVSH). API students additionally face gendered and racialized discrimination, including everyday microaggressions, particularly against Asian women, exacerbating their post-pandemic physical and mental health challenges. Persistent barriers to reporting SVSH and accessing support services compound the obstacles survivors face when seeking the help they need to heal.

KEY POLICY DIRECTIONS

To address these challenges, this brief puts forward four sets of recommendations for California state legislators and UC administrators:

- **Expand culturally appropriate and responsive resources** through dedicated mental health funding, tailored support groups, and CBO partnerships.

- **Increase transparency over student mental health and student services** by expanding UC data reporting requirements and publishing annual needs assessments.
- **Expand access to confidential resources** by codifying the role of confidential advocates and embedding them in identity-based centers.
- **Develop an anti-racist response to SVSH** by mandating implicit bias and cultural sensitivity training across grievance procedures.

While this study and its recommendations focus on the UC system, with suitable adaptations these recommendations can be applied across all colleges and universities in California, contributing to a more inclusive and safe educational environment for all students.

BACKGROUND

Since the onset of the COVID-19 pandemic in early 2020, anti-Asian racism and violence have risen significantly across the United States, particularly impacting Asian and Pacific Islander (API) communities. A study by the Center for the Study of Hate and Extremism found a 339 percent increase in anti-Asian hate crimes between 2020 and 2021. On college and university campuses, evidence suggests that female students, gender minorities, and second-generation immigrants are disproportionately affected by discrimination. Despite increasing public awareness of anti-Asian racism, hate crimes, and xenophobia, there remains an insufficient exploration of their intersection with sexual violence and sexual harassment (SVSH) within API populations, including among university students.

WHAT IS SEXUAL VIOLENCE AND SEXUAL HARASSMENT (SVSH)?

Sexual violence refers to any sexual act in which one person did not give consent or was unable to consent, including but not limited to sexual assault, relationship violence, and stalking.

Sexual harassment refers to unwanted and inappropriate acts of a sexual nature that interfere with a person's employment or education, or that create an intimidating, hostile, or offensive workplace, educational, or social environment.

Together, SVSH is an umbrella term used to describe the range of behaviors and actions prohibited by college and university codes of conduct.

Discriminatory beliefs and stereotypes about marginalized groups are known to contribute to both racism and sexualized violence. Oppression that manifests through gender discrimination, racism, and

xenophobia significantly increases the risk of sexual violence: power imbalances heighten the vulnerability of those with less societal power to unwanted sexual contact or attention.

Asian American women (AAW) are especially vulnerable. They often find themselves caught between the pressure to assimilate with the perceived expectations of White culture (in order to lessen feelings of alienation) and the pressure to live up to the model minority myth, all while reconciling differing cultural expectations and responsibilities such as those between academic environments and home settings. This gives rise to a state of “fractured identity” that can adversely impact the mental health and help-seeking behaviors of female API college and university students.

However, the absence of comprehensive data on these intersecting health and social problems significantly limits our understanding of their scale. This lack of information restricts the development and availability of evidence-based advocacy tools and culturally appropriate services for API students who have experienced sexual violence. This policy brief summarizes the key findings of the Double Jeopardy Study with three aims: (1) to inform state policymakers and UC administrators, (2) to recommend specific actions that improve API student access to culturally appropriate SVSH resources, and (3) to enhance overall campus responses to SVSH.

ABOUT THE STUDY

Between January 2022 and December 2023, researchers from the University of California, Los Angeles (UCLA) conducted a research study across all ten UC campuses using a three-pronged mixed-methods design:

01 ONLINE SURVEY

Administered to API female students who reported experiencing SVSH during their time at the university. The survey focused on SVSH experiences, help-seeking behaviors, and encounters with discrimination.

02 IN-DEPTH QUALITATIVE INTERVIEWS

Conducted with participants selected from the survey sample, designed to gain deeper insights into personal experiences and the impacts of SVSH.

03 TRANSMEDIA STORYTELLING

Used to share participant narratives through an online platform (www.doublejeopardystudy.org), enhancing public awareness and engagement.

KEY FINDINGS / SURVEY

WHO TOOK PART

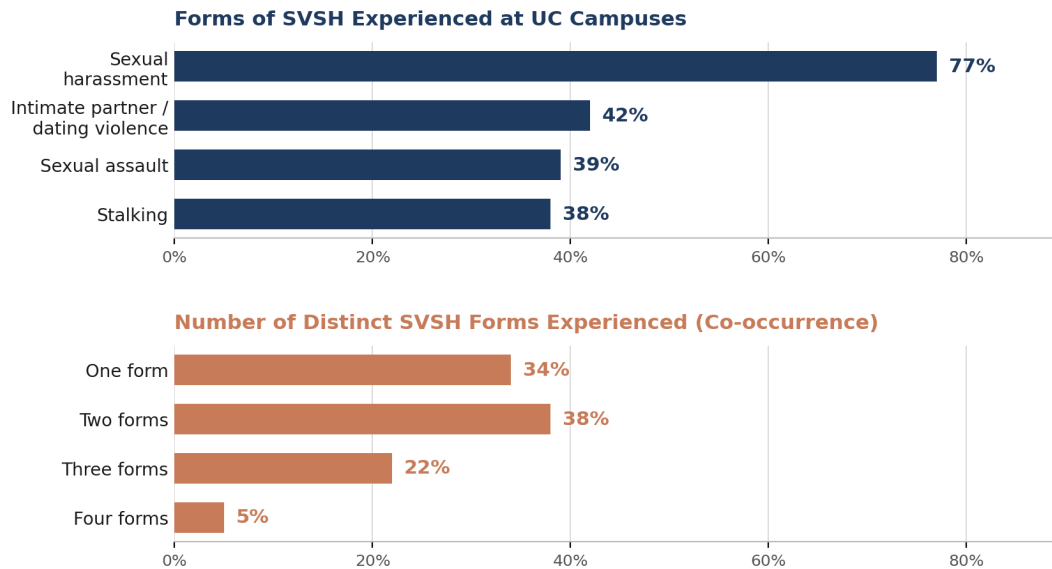
The majority of survey participants were between 21 and 25 years old. Forty-one percent identified their ethnicity as Chinese, followed by Korean (14%), Indian (12%), Vietnamese (11%), and Japanese (9%). Sixty-four percent identified as heterosexual, 18% as bisexual, 9% as gay or lesbian, and 6% were unsure about their sexual orientation. The vast majority identified as cisgender women, while 3% identified as non-binary. Thirty-nine percent of participants were international students; 61% were domestic students.

A NOTE ON ELIGIBILITY AND REPRESENTATION

This study was open to individuals aged 18 or older who identify as women of Asian or Native Hawaiian/Pacific Islander (NHPI) heritage, who attended or graduated from a UC campus within the past year, and who experienced sexual violence or harassment as students. Because the NHPI sample was limited, language and results may yield a narrower depiction of these communities' experiences. Furthermore, because the study used a convenience sampling method and focused solely on student victim-survivors, the findings may not be universally applicable. Interpretations should take these limitations into account.

Sexual harassment is the most common form of SVSH experienced by survey participants.

Close to 80% of participants reported having experienced sexual harassment at some point during their time at a UC campus, making it the most prevalent form of SVSH in this sample. API student victim-survivors also faced a range of other forms of SVSH, including dating violence and intimate partner violence (42%), sexual assault (39%), and stalking (38%). Sixty-five percent (N = 240) experienced more than one type of SVSH incident (Figure 1). Among the 285 students who experienced sexual harassment, 40 also experienced stalking, 39 also experienced sexual assault, 34 also experienced intimate partner violence and stalking, and 32 also experienced intimate partner violence and sexual assault.



Source: Double Jeopardy Study survey, UCLA (N = 370 API student victim-survivors).

Figure 1. Forms of sexual violence and sexual harassment experienced by API student victim-survivors, and the prevalence of co-occurring forms (N = 370).

API students reported increased exposure to SVSH since the onset of the COVID-19 pandemic.

Survey results indicate that 65% of API student victim-survivors self-reported an increase in incidents of SVSH since the start of the pandemic. Significant increases were reported in exposure to stalking (57%), sexual assault (49%), and intimate partner violence or dating violence (40%).

A notable 40% of API student victim-survivors did not seek any support following SVSH incidents.

Non-engagement with both formal and informal support sources was about 40%. Through open-ended responses, students cited multiple reasons for not seeking support, including a preference for handling personal matters independently, fear of further harm from the perpetrator or others, limited personal time to seek help, and uncertainty about what to do or how to proceed.

Almost one-third of API student victim-survivors reported declines in their physical and mental health since the onset of the pandemic.

Twenty-seven percent of students described their post-pandemic mental health as “bad” or “very bad.” Nearly 30% reported symptoms of depression, such as persistent sadness or loss of interest, based on the CES-D scale administered through the survey. The GAD-7 anxiety screen further revealed that 60% of these students reported mild anxiety and 16% reported moderate anxiety.

One in five API student victim-survivors reported increased exposure to microaggressions since the start of the pandemic.

In response to questions about microaggressions, 20% of students reported elevated exposure since the beginning of the pandemic. The most frequently encountered type of microaggression was exoticization

or assumptions of similarity, including being assumed to speak a language other than English and encountering stereotypes suggesting homogeneity within their racial group (i.e., the assumption that all people in their group are the same).

KEY FINDINGS / INTERVIEWS

Family collectivism and sexual violence among API student victim-survivors.

Many API students described family collectivism as a highly valued concept within their cultural framework, emphasizing the weight placed on collective identity and familial honor. Individual actions are often interpreted as reflections on the entire family. Consequently, incidents such as sexual assault can be particularly challenging to navigate within these cultural frameworks. The imperative to uphold family honor can produce a culture of silence around sensitive topics like sexual violence; openly addressing such issues might be viewed as a threat to the family's reputation, which can leave survivors feeling isolated and unsupported. This dynamic was cited as a factor that contributes to a reluctance among survivors to report or openly discuss incidents of SVSH:

“In Asian culture, we’re really like a collective. So everything that we do is reflected on family. And let’s say if you got into this accident, or you got into this sexual assault situation, then your whole family, like everyone’s just going to look at you in the way that you’re a bad person. So you don’t want that to be you, and that’s normally why you choose not to come out, because you don’t want to first dishonor your parents.”

— Study participant

Intergenerational cultural differences in addressing SVSH.

Many API families view sexuality as a “taboo” subject, hindering open discussion and education. Generational gaps in views on gender roles and sexuality can create a cultural divide between API college students and their parents. Such generational division can lead to a lack of understanding and support for survivors of sexual violence from their families, exacerbating feelings of isolation and shame. In many cases, participants described how their families minimized or outright denied the SVSH incidents they experienced, compounding the negative effects on their mental health and well-being:

“Because there’s so much shame around like rape and sexual assault. Who can I talk to? And because of that cultural background, I grew up with my mom telling me, like your worth, your

value is to be pure and not have sex until you're married. And I carried that with me and I believed that. But then when that happened to me, I just felt so depressed. I was suicidal."

— Study participant

Cross-national cultural complexities in API student SVSH.

The immigrant experience significantly shapes how many Asian students perceive and respond to SVSH. First, the challenges of cross-national differences (e.g., perspectives on consent and sex) and visa-related challenges (e.g., restrictions and limitations associated with F-1, J-1, or H1B visas in the U.S.) impede the access of international students to essential resources. The complexities of visa requirements, coupled with the difficulties of navigating various U.S. systems, often create significant barriers to accessing necessary support services.

Second, experiences of hardship and discrimination faced by parents during their own immigration process can profoundly influence students' views on seeking external assistance. These historical family experiences often foster a strong sense of self-reliance within the family unit, making students reluctant to seek outside help for fear of exposing familial vulnerabilities or appearing incapable of handling challenges independently.

Lastly, students shared how their own personal immigrant experiences, coupled with exposure to varied cultural perspectives on sexual violence and feminism, significantly shape their perception of and response to SVSH. This influences how students interpret and approach instances of SVSH, including their willingness to seek help or engage with support services.

Intersectionality: the compounded experience of racism, fetishization, and microaggressions among API student victim-survivors.

One common form of sexual objectification was the fetishization of API women, which produced cumulative mental distress. Incidents of fetishization were reported across various settings, including public spaces, academic environments, and intimate relationships. These incidents are often fueled by harmful stereotypes that label API women as "submissive" and "obedient," while simultaneously categorizing them as either "hypersexualized" or "unattractive." These stereotypes not only objectify but further victimize survivors:

"So many comments like 'I've always wanted a subservient person, like a China doll.' Very explicit things like that. [Men] always ask me, 'Where are you from? I've always wanted to be with a Korean woman.' [...] I've heard way too many things like that probably from men of all races honestly."

— Study participant

Discrimination and objectification within API students' own communities.

Participants emphasized the silencing effect of patriarchal norms in API cultures, which elevates the risk of intimate partner violence, especially with male partners of a similar racial background. Intra-racial discrimination, particularly colorism targeting API students with darker skin tones, poses additional challenges for student victim-survivors. This discrimination, prevalent among students of Southeast or South Asian descent, further marginalizes and victimizes survivors and exacerbates the trauma of sexual violence:

“I feel sometimes as a person of color, sometimes the men, when they’re people of color too, they think women of color are less than them, and they think they should go for white girls or things like that. They label us differently and group us differently too. I think that makes it even harder because you don’t even have people who are within, who have the same backgrounds as you supporting you.”

— Study participant

Diverse coping mechanisms in response to microaggressions and discrimination.

Survivors reported a wide range of reactions and coping strategies in response to microaggressions and discrimination. While some individuals felt empowered to voice their experiences, others experienced increased feelings of marginalization and isolation. The ability to recognize and understand microaggressions also varied, adding to the complexity of these experiences:

“I think that awareness is super important because a lot of people don’t realize what a microaggression is or what it can sound like, just like calling it the kung flu and [...] ‘Oh, you’re so pretty’ — add a qualifier here — ‘for an Asian girl.’ They are microaggressions and they do hurt because it’s disguised or it’s dressed as a compliment.”

— Study participant

Additionally, the model minority myth contributes to the silencing of experiences with racism and microaggressions:

“I would always see [...] we’re the ‘model minority’ [...] it would kind of be about Asians being stereotyped that they don’t stand their ground, that we don’t stand up for ourselves. Or even other minorities being like, oh, you guys don’t even experience racism. You guys are paid just as much as white people. You shouldn’t be complaining.”

— Study participant

Significant barriers to reporting and accessing resources for API student victim-survivors.

Survivors faced significant challenges in reporting SVSH experiences and accessing healing resources, encountering obstacles like difficulty finding a trustworthy and supportive confidant. Many feared blame from parents and “social backlash” from peers if they disclosed their SVSH experiences. The lack of support from both peers and families deters survivors from seeking necessary help and exacerbates the impact of trauma. In addition to limited social support, negative perceptions surrounding on-campus support services (including SVSH complaint offices and on-campus counseling services) further diminish trust in the reporting process. These perceptions contribute to an overarching distrust and reluctance to report incidents:

“I also have heard that if something happens to you, you shouldn’t report it to the university [...] the university could try to cover things up or deal with it internally.”

— Study participant

Furthermore, survivors may lack awareness of confidential resources and support options, or they may doubt that their experiences and situations warrant formal reporting.

RECOMMENDATIONS

These four recommendations are directed at California state legislators and UC Regents and administrators. Each addresses a barrier that API student victim-survivors named in the study, and each pairs a legislative lever with a campus-level action.

RECOMMENDATION 01 Expand culturally sensitive and responsive resources across the UC system.

In interviews, survivors identified a need for safe spaces and tailored resources for API survivors. The current one-size-fits-all approach does not account for the unique experiences of API students, including international students.

CALIFORNIA STATE LEGISLATORS

- ▶ Add provisional language for state funding for student mental health services that requires the UC to designate a portion of the funding to expand culturally sensitive and responsive resources for marginalized students.
- ▶ Request progress reports from each UC campus on how it is increasing access to culturally responsive services.

UC REGENTS & ADMINISTRATORS

- ▶ Allocate funding to develop SVSH programs and outreach tailored to API students, including support groups and regular free classes that support survivor healing, such as mindfulness and meditation.
- ▶ Partner with local community-based organizations and develop grant programs that serve UC students.
- ▶ Increase access to on- and off-campus therapists who have experience working with API survivors of SVSH.
- ▶ Diversify and expand each campus's mental health workforce commensurate with the student population.
- ▶ Maintain updated referral lists of off-campus providers covered by student health insurance, plus free or low-cost providers organized by student needs and background (for example, providers who have experience working with API populations and SVSH survivors).
- ▶ Expand free telehealth mental health services to all students regardless of insurance type.

RECOMMENDATION 02 Increase transparency over the UC's approach to student mental health and student services.

The UC system is highly fragmented, and decisions about mental health funding and access lack transparency. For example, each campus is required to have an Advocate Office for Sexual and Gender-Based Violence, known as CARE, which provides confidential advocates, peer educators, and free student programming. However, budget determination for these offices is not transparent, and CARE offices often apply for various external funding to support their work, leading to staff shortages and unmet student needs.

CALIFORNIA STATE LEGISLATORS

- ▶ Increase public transparency by expanding the UC's current data reporting requirements as a condition of state funding for student mental health services. The data should include: total student mental health spending on each campus and where funding is allocated; the number of students receiving on-campus support services disaggregated by demographic categories (race/ethnicity, age, gender); and the number of mental health and other student support staff disaggregated by demographic categories.

UC REGENTS & ADMINISTRATORS

- ▶ Publish accessible, user-friendly budgets on each campus website that detail funding sources and allocations for student services.
- ▶ Conduct and publish annual campus needs assessments and student services evaluations to be used to improve access and programming. Assessments should address how and when students access resources, current barriers to access, the proximity of resources in relation to one another, and how resource offices and centers coordinate with each other to support students.

RECOMMENDATION 03 Expand access to confidential on-campus resources at UC campuses.

API student victim-survivors shared negative perceptions of non-confidential campus resources, alongside uncertainty about which services are available to them. Confidential advocates are crucial support persons who inform students of their rights and options, assist them in reporting to campuses and police, and help them access other resources. However, the availability of these advocates is extremely limited.

CALIFORNIA STATE LEGISLATORS

- ▶ Build upon Senate Bill 493 (Jackson, 2019–2020) and amend Section 66281.8 of the Education Code to further define the role of a confidential advocate, the services they shall provide, and the process by which colleges and universities may designate a staff member as confidential.

UC REGENTS & ADMINISTRATORS

- ▶ Mandate an appropriate confidential advocate-to-student ratio for each campus.
- ▶ Facilitate campuses in designating at least one confidential staff member at each women's/gender resource center, LGBTQIA+ center, international student center, and other student identity-based centers. UC Davis is the only campus in the UC system that has both its LGBTQIA+ and Women's Resource centers designated as confidential, in addition to its CARE office.

RECOMMENDATION 04 Develop an anti-racist response to sexual violence and sexual harassment.

API student victim-survivors expressed the need for greater awareness of microaggressions and increased education on the intersections of racism and gender-based violence.

CALIFORNIA STATE LEGISLATORS

- ▶ Further amend Section 66281.8 of the Education Code to require employees engaged in SVSH grievance procedures to receive implicit bias and cultural sensitivity training in addition to the required trauma-informed practices training.

UC REGENTS & ADMINISTRATORS

- ▶ Update all mandatory student SVSH training to include sections on implicit bias and the intersection of racial and ethnic discrimination and sexual violence.
- ▶ Require all staff who interact with SVSH survivors to complete implicit bias and cultural sensitivity training.
- ▶ Mandate community review of translated SVSH policy and resource materials to ensure these documents are fully accessible to all students.
- ▶ Require all campus SVSH websites to include specific resources for API students, similar to UC Berkeley's SVSH resource website that lists a wide range of specialized and identity-based survivor resources.
- ▶ Create formal campus-level student advisory committees to consult and advise on campus SVSH policies, responses, and resources.

CONCLUSION

The Double Jeopardy Study sheds light on the complex intersection between anti-Asian racism, sexual violence, and the unique challenges faced by Asian and Pacific Islander students within the University of California system. The findings underscore the ways in which cultural dynamics, racism, and microaggressions shape how API students encounter SVSH and navigate barriers to resources and support.

The recommendations for policymakers and administrators presented in this brief aim to address these challenges by advocating for culturally responsive services, increased oversight of mental health

resources, and an anti-racist approach to addressing sexual violence and sexual harassment on university campuses. While this study focuses on the UC system, these recommendations can serve as a model for all colleges and universities.

FOR MORE INFORMATION

Study materials, participant narratives, and additional resources are available at www.doublejeopardystudy.org.

APPENDIX

This appendix provides full survey participant characteristics, detailed survey findings, and contextual demographic data on the University of California student population during the study period.

TABLE 1 DOUBLE JEOPARDY SURVEY PARTICIPANT CHARACTERISTICS (N = 370)

Category / Variable	N	%
RACE (multiple choice)		
Asian	367	99.19
NHPI	4	1.08
ETHNICITY (multiple choice)		
Chinese	153	41.35
Korean	51	13.78
Indian	45	12.16
Vietnamese	39	10.54
Japanese	34	9.19
Filipino	25	6.76
Indonesian	16	4.32
Thai	11	2.97
Taiwanese	8	2.16
NHPI	4	1.08

Category / Variable	N	%
Laotian	3	0.81
Cambodian	2	0.54
Bangladeshi	1	0.27
Hmong	1	0.27
AGE GROUP		
18–20	31	9.87
21–25	140	44.59
26–30	78	24.84
31–35	23	7.32
36–40	42	13.38
CAMPUS		
UC Los Angeles	119	32.16
UC Berkeley	47	12.70
UC Santa Barbara	33	8.92
UC San Diego	30	8.11
UC Irvine	29	7.84
UC Riverside	29	7.84
UC Davis	28	7.57
UC San Francisco	26	7.03
UC Santa Cruz	18	4.86
UC Merced	11	2.97
NATIONALITY		
Domestic	227	61.40
International	143	38.70
SEXUAL ORIENTATION		
Straight	238	64.32

Category / Variable	N	%
Bisexual	65	17.57
Gay or lesbian	33	8.92
Not sure yet	23	6.22
Non-binary	11	2.97
SVSH EXPERIENCED (multiple choice)		
Sexual harassment	285	77.03
Intimate partner / dating violence	154	41.62
Sexual assault	145	39.19
Stalking	139	37.57
CURRENT PHYSICAL HEALTH		
Very bad	18	4.86
Bad	37	10.00
Moderate	128	34.59
Good	151	40.81
Very good	36	9.73
CHANGE IN PHYSICAL HEALTH SINCE COVID-19		
Worse	112	30.27
Same	194	52.43
Better	64	17.30
CURRENT MENTAL HEALTH		
Very bad	33	8.92
Bad	68	18.38
Moderate	155	41.89
Good	92	24.86
Very good	22	5.95
CHANGE IN MENTAL HEALTH SINCE COVID-19		

Category / Variable	N	%
Worse	129	34.86
Same	174	47.03
Better	67	18.11

TABLE 2 DOUBLE JEOPARDY SURVEY FINDINGS (N = 370)*Item-level prevalence of SVSH behaviors during time on campus, and self-reported change since COVID-19.*

SVSH item	Yes, on campus	More since COVID-19
SEXUAL HARASSMENT		
Displayed, used, or distributed inappropriate sexual or suggestive materials	59.20%	22.54%
Made remarks about your appearance, body, or sexual activities that made you uncomfortable	69.20%	36.34%
Made unwanted attempts to establish a dating, romantic, or sexual relationship	62.00%	30.14%
Threatened retaliation for not being romantically or sexually cooperative	46.80%	20.28%
Sent unwelcomed sexual comments, jokes, or pictures via text, email, or social media	50.50%	16.90%
SEXUAL ASSAULT		
Attempted unwanted fondling, kissing, rubbing, or removal of clothes (no penetration)	67.30%	24.01%
Completed unwanted fondling, kissing, rubbing, or removal of clothes (no penetration)	44.05%	30.59%
Attempted non-consensual penetration or oral sex	45.14%	21.71%
Completed non-consensual penetration or oral sex	44.59%	14.47%
Recorded, photographed, or distributed intimate or sexual images without consent	28.11%	12.50%
INTIMATE PARTNER / DATING VIOLENCE		
Emotional abuse (gaslighting, threats, isolation, degradation)	54.57%	24.68%
Financial abuse (withholding money, sabotaging credit, preventing work)	27.76%	29.87%
Physical violence by partner	35.33%	23.38%
Forced sexual activity by partner	43.22%	22.08%
STALKING		
Watched or followed from a distance	57.84%	26.54%

SVSH item	Yes, on campus	More since COVID-19
Spied on with a listening device, camera, GPS, or other technology	25.95%	22.65%
Unwanted phone calls or messages	49.46%	23.95%
Unwanted emails, instant messages, or social media messages	53.78%	26.86%

TABLE 3 UC STUDENT DEMOGRAPHICS, 2021 AND 2022

System-wide undergraduate and graduate student counts and shares for context on the API population at the UC.

Group	2021 (N)	2021 (%)	2022 (N)	2022 (%)
UNDERGRADUATE				
African American	9,886	4.3%	10,124	4.4%
American Indian	1,025	0.4%	1,149	0.5%
Asian	79,999	34.7%	82,271	35.7%
Domestic unknown	6,000	2.6%	5,826	2.5%
Hispanic / Latino(a)	57,944	25.1%	58,404	25.3%
International	26,962	11.7%	24,496	10.6%
Pacific Islander	575	0.2%	533	0.2%
White	48,138	20.9%	47,604	20.7%
Subtotal	230,529		230,407	
GRADUATE				
African American	3,196	5.0%	3,253	5.1%
American Indian	442	0.7%	415	0.7%
Asian	12,523	19.6%	12,508	19.6%
Domestic unknown	2,545	4.0%	2,472	3.9%
Hispanic / Latino(a)	7,522	11.8%	7,661	12.0%
International	18,284	28.6%	19,602	30.7%
Pacific Islander	229	0.4%	251	0.4%
White	19,266	30.1%	17,636	27.6%
Subtotal	64,007		63,798	
Total	294,536		294,205	

TABLE 4 INTERNATIONAL STUDENT NATIONALITY AT THE UC, 2022

Country of origin	Students	Percent
China	20,970	54%
India	4,543	12%
South Korea	1,994	5%
Taiwan	1,429	4%
Canada	1,013	3%
Japan	592	2%

Note: 159 other countries each accounted for 1% or less of the international student population (e.g., Indonesia, Iran, Vietnam, Turkey, Mexico, Brazil, UK, Singapore, Bangladesh, Thailand, Malaysia).

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