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Fanning the FLAMEs: Balancing Advocacy and Compliance in an Anti-DEI

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Abstract

FLAME (Fiercely Leading as Multicultural Educators) is a student organization associated with NAME (National Association of Multicultural Education) that fosters diversity and inclusion, particularly for students who aspire to be educators. Through collaboration between faculty, graduate researchers, and undergraduate students, this research explores the role of multicultural student groups such as FLAME in maintaining or enhancing inclusivity and equity in higher education in the wake of SB17, Texas' newest anti-diversity, equity, and inclusion (DEI) legislation. Through community-engaged scholarship, the authors investigate the educational experience of systematically marginalized students and provide one possible pathway for faculty, staff, and students to ensure equitable educational support and an increased sense of belonging for students of all backgrounds. Findings suggest that the intentional use of multicultural student groups can serve to mitigate negative effects of anti-DEI legislation.

Key Words

multicultural student groups, diversity, equity, anti-DEI, third space

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D iversity efforts in higher education are facing upheaval as several states implement restrictive anti-Diversity, Equity, and Inclusion (DEI) measures (Wong, 2023). According to The Chronicle's DEI Legislation Tracker (Hicks, 2024), state lawmakers have introduced at least 39 bills since the beginning of 2024 meant to eliminate or restrict higher education's diversity, equity, and inclusion programs in 19 states. So far, of those introduced, six have passed. The Texas legislature recently passed Senate Bill 17 (Dey, 2023), which bans Texas universities from

orientation" (para. 9, Creighton Higher Education,), state 2023). Texas universities may no longer train faculty or staff to advocate for underrepresented student higher populations, and student programs that have long provided support for minority students have been assed. dismantled to comply with the new legislation. Gary Bill 17 Bledsoe of the Texas NAACP has said of the legislation, from "make no mistake these bills are anti-Black and anti-Volume 1. Issue 2. pp. 7-24

"conducting training, programs, or activities that

advocate for or give preferential treatment on the basis

of race, sex, color, ethnicity, gender identity, or sexual

Latino" and added that the goal of anti-DEI legislation is "to establish a permanent underclass of citizenship for Black and Brown people without regard to your talent or education" (para. 2, Belt, 2023). This leaves advocacyminded faculty at a crossroads where advocacy efforts may jeopardize their career.

Utilizing Yosso's (2005) theory of community cultural wealth (CCW) these policies can be examined as legislated oppression that can be countered through the use of resistance and navigational capital. To find a path forward, the authors utilized community-engaged scholarship as a means to hear from those most impacted by anti-DEI bills: university students. Community-engaged scholarship provides an avenue to amplify the voices of marginalized communities and positively impact real-world decision-making. In keeping with this tradition, this research effort has been a collaboration between academic researchers (one faculty member and two graduate students) and community stakeholders (affected university students) to address issues of marginalized populations in higher education and the challenges that anti-DEI legislation exacerbates for diverse student populations.

This study offers faculty and staff a new avenue as they grapple with how to best support social justice initiatives while staying within the confines of these new legislative restrictions. Relying upon Yosso's (2007) theory of CCW as a theoretical framework, the researchers encourage higher education employees to counter the legislative narrative that frames discussion of race as problematic and instead to focus on maintaining and building upon the cultural wealth that our students bring to campus.

Research Questions/Problem Statement

Within the context of these challenges to DEI efforts in higher education, the researchers seek to provide guidance for faculty, staff, and student leaders hoping to support diverse student groups while complying with the legal boundaries imposed by Texas SB17 through the exemplar of community-engaged scholarship with an on-campus student organization. FLAME (Fiercely Leading as Multicultural Educators) is a student organization established five months before SB17 took effect at a Hispanic-serving institution in Texas. The mission of FLAME is "to provide future professionals with the support to become equitable and inclusive educators that can serve the diverse populations of students in the state of Texas" (FLAME. 2024, para. 2). FLAME is open to any students regardless of race, ethnicity, sex, gender or religion. The founding student officers created the student organization as a way to "respect and appreciate cultural diversity; to promote the understanding of unique cultural and ethnic heritage; to promote the development of culturally responsible and responsive curricula; to facilitate acquisition of the attitudes, skills, and knowledge to function in various cultures; to eliminate racism and discrimination in society; and to achieve social, political, economic, and educational equity" (FLAME, 2024, para. 7). These statements of diversity are now explicitly restricted under SB17 for university programs; however, an exception applies to student groups who do not receive direct funding from the university. This notable exception opens an avenue for faculty to support student-led diversity efforts.

Higher education employees in Texas have effectively been silenced in discussions of race, ethnicity, gender, and sexuality. This study explores student perceptions of this silencing and the role of a specific student group and its faculty advisors in fostering an environment where social justice issues such as these can be openly discussed. We further seek to provide an example of how the joint efforts of students and advisors can support the cultural wealth and sense of belonging of current university students and future educators. The researchers are specifically interested in answering the following research questions:

1) How do students perceive SB17?

2) How do students characterize their interactions with FLAME?

3) How can FLAME help support community cultural wealth in the university setting?

Theoretical Framework

Yosso's (2005) Community Cultural Wealth Model (CCW) challenges traditional views of cultural capital, which often emphasize the advantages held by dominant groups in society. Yosso introduced this theoretical model as part of her broader work in Critical Race Theory (CRT) to highlight and validate the strengths, knowledge, and skills possessed by marginalized communities, particularly communities of color (Yosso, 2005). CCW posits that communities of color possess a wealth of cultural knowledge, skills, abilities, and networks that often go unrecognized or undervalued by mainstream society. This theoretical model identifies six forms of capital that comprise community cultural wealth: aspirational capital, linguistic capital, familial capital, social capital, navigational capital, and resistance capital. Figure 1 offers a visual representation of the six components of CCW.

Aspirational capital refers to the ability to maintain hopes and dreams for the future, even in the face of real and perceived barriers. This form of capital is important for resilience, as it allows individuals to envision possibilities beyond their current circumstance and to move toward accomplishing longterm goals (Morales, 2010). Linguistic capital refers to the intellectual and social skills attained through communication experiences in more than one language, dialect, or style. Bilingualism and codeswitching are examples of linguistic capital that enhance communication skills (Gándara & Contreras, 2009). Familial capital refers to the cultural knowledge nurtured among kin that carries a sense of community, history, memory, and cultural intuition, and it fosters a sense of belonging and commitment to the community. It often includes references to ethics, values, and social support (Perna & Titus, 2005). Social capital refers to networks of people and community resources that provide instrumental and emotional support. Social capital is essential to helping individuals navigate social institutions and gain access to resources and opportunities (Stanton-Salazar, 2011). It emphasizes the importance of mutual aid and collective strength within communities. Navigational capital is associated with the skills and abilities to maneuver through social institutions that were not created with communities of color in mind. This includes the ability to navigate educational and professional environments, often

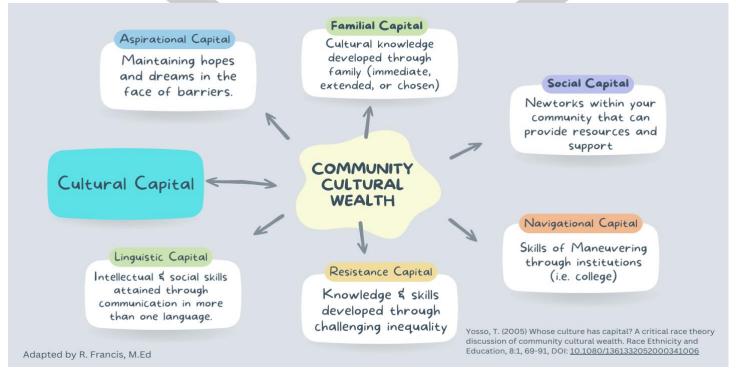


Figure 1

Wright-Davis et al.: Fanning the FLAMEs © 2024 Texas Journal of Multicultural Education Volume 1, Issue 2, pp. 7-24 DOI: 10.70144/cw010202cs requiring a high level of understanding of both overt and covert rules and expectations (Museus & Quaye, 2009). Finally, resistance capital is the knowledge and skills fostered through oppositional behavior that challenges inequality. Resistance capital is developed through experiences of fighting against social injustice and is rooted in a legacy of resistance within communities of color. This form of capital plays a role in advocating for oneself and one's community (Solórzano & Delgado, 2001).

Yosso's theoretical model challenges educators to recognize and build cultural wealth that students from marginalized backgrounds bring to the classroom. By acknowledging and valuing these forms of capital, institutions can better support and empower marginalized communities, leading to more equitable outcomes for all people. CCW also underscores the importance of community strengths and resilience, promoting a more asset-based approach to understanding and engaging with communities of color. CCW offers a comprehensive and inclusive way of understanding the strengths and resources that exist within marginalized communities. By recognizing and valuing these diverse forms of capital, educators, policymakers, and community leaders can foster more inclusive and equitable environments that empower individuals and communities.

While the CCW model is a suitable theoretical guide for this study, community-engaged scholarship (CES) works as the conceptual guide due to its emphasis on recognizing and leveraging the strengths and assets within marginalized communities. While many models of CES exist, DaCruz (2018) proposed a unifying model of critical CES that links research with community to address real world problems. It is this model that we use to drive our research. DaCruz's model includes six components:

- 1. a focus on real-life social problems that are defined with or by the community
- 2. scholarly investigation of these real-life social problems or public issues
- 3. community-university partnerships that are collaborative and reciprocal and in which

community partners have shared authority in defining success

- the generation of knowledge to address and improve public issues that is collaboratively developed by universities and communities
- the utilization of institutional resources and knowledge to address these real-life social problems
- 6. the production of scholarship with relevance to faculty members' research agenda and teaching practice.

Community-engaged scholarship acknowledges that the community possesses specialized knowledge and offers a unique perspective in research (Blanchard et al., 2009). To adhere to the principles of communityengaged scholarship, the researchers utilized the six key components outlined by DaCruz (2018). In alignment with the first component, addressing community-identified issues, the research team met with the FLAME student organization to explore the motivations behind its establishment, notably the passage of SB17. During this meeting, a lack of tailored services to marginalized students was identified as a significant issue, and the potential for initiating a research study to examine the bill's full impact on students was proposed. This paper, co-authored by a faculty member and two graduate students, also focuses on the second component, scholarly research, and the sixth component, integration with faculty scholarship. The third component, fostering a collaborative and mutually beneficial communityuniversity partnership, and the fourth component, collaborative knowledge production, were addressed through monthly meetings with the FLAME student group. These meetings were aimed at listening to community concerns and gaining a deeper understanding of the context in which students were responding to questions. The findings were subsequently shared with the student group officers to aid in planning for future academic years. The fifth component, utilizing institutional resources for the public good, was a complex aspect of this project since all affected individuals are enrolled students at the

university and already have access to university resources.

Literature Review

The concept of community cultural wealth (CCW) introduced by Yosso (2005) provides a framework for understanding the unique assets that marginalized communities bring to educational settings. This summary of the literature explores the application and impact of CCW in higher education, focusing on how it recognizes and leverages the strengths of students from underrepresented backgrounds to foster academic success and institutional change. This review includes both seminal theoretical foundations for CCW and more recent empirical studies from the past 20 years. Two main areas emerged from the literature review: K-12 pedagogical practices and college access and retention. We discuss example studies that reflect these two areas along with critiques of CCW.

CCW Pedagogical Practices in K-12 Schools

One of the most foundational theoretical principles for CCW can be found in culturally relevant pedagogy, which was developed within K-12 classrooms. Ladson-Billings (1995) advocates for culturally relevant pedagogy that acknowledges and builds upon the cultural wealth of students from diverse backgrounds. This method of instruction involves using rigorous and relevant teaching strategies that are anti-oppressive and inclusive of all cultures. Ladson-Billings' culturally responsive pedagogy also serves to bring real-world issues into the classroom while prompting students to be open-minded and have respect for the differences in their experiences.

Incorporating CCW into curriculum and pedagogy has been shown to create more inclusive and validating educational experiences for K-12 students and also guide teacher development. One classroom strategy that has been utilized to support young learners' community cultural wealth is *testimonio*, which is a storytelling tradition born out of Latin American communities (Reyes & Curry Rodríguez, 2012). The purpose of *testimonio* is to create a space for individuals to confront sociopolitical oppression within a communal setting. The individual's story is valued but also woven into a communal narrative. In a 3rd grade classroom, testimonio was utilized for children to explore their cultural and linguistic lives outside of the classroom (DeNicolo et. al, 2015). In this the testimonios classroom, served as а counternarrative to negative messages the children were receiving about their immigrant families. Another study explored a college-preparatory program for high school students titled Young Black Scholars (Jayakumar et al, 2013). The researchers in this study used interviews and surveys to gain an understanding of the students' perceived CCW. The study revealed that students who had a stronger understanding of their own CCW were more motivated to attend college and saw a college degree as a form of resistance.

While studies show the benefits of CCW on students, there is also evidence that the utilization of CCW can assist in teacher reflection and pedagogical development. One particular study examined how a sixth-grade teacher learned about her students' cultural wealth through the students' written family histories (Jimenez, 2020). The teacher, who had recently learned about critical pedagogies, hoped to establish classroom activities that supported CCW. While the teacher's goal was to help students recognize their own CCW, the use of the family histories reshaped her perspective of the students and allowed her to confront the deficit-based views she had been carrying into the classroom.

College Access and Retention

In regard to institutions of higher education, much of the research is focused on bringing students into the university setting and supporting them throughout their academic program. Clemson University established a program for rural Black and Latinx students titled Emerging Scholars, and researchers utilized focus groups to identify key areas of CCW that assisted students with navigating their college experience (Boettcher et al, 2022). The researchers identified four main components of CCW that assisted students in their college access journey: familial, social, aspirational, and navigational. Additionally, students who were able to replicate these four components, especially social capital, were more likely to be academically successful. At New Mexico State University, researchers created a study that examined Latinx students from farmworker families and their utilization of CCW for college entrance and persistence (Bejarano & Valverde, 2012). The study was developed out of an academic program similar to Clemson University's Emerging Scholars program. The academic support program at New Mexico State University was titled the College Access Migrant Program. Over a five-year timespan, researchers collected data on students' CCW and identified "familia and pedagogies of the home" as a key asset to the students upon entering university. Pedagogies of the home are defined by Delgado Bernal (2001) as "the communication, practices and learning that occur in the home...and serve as a cultural knowledge base that helps...negotiate the daily experiences of sexist, racist, and classist microaggressions" (p. 624). Similar to the Emerging Scholars program at Clemson, researchers at New Mexico State University found that students who were able to replicate that familial capital at the university were more likely to persist.

Challenges and Critiques

While CCW provides a powerful framework for recognizing the strengths of marginalized students, it also faces some challenges and critiques. Bensimon (2007) argues that simply acknowledging cultural wealth is insufficient without addressing the systemic barriers that impede student success, such as the legislative changes we have seen in the state. Furthermore, the application of CCW in predominantly White institutions and state institutions subject to legal restrictions on diversity, equity, and inclusion (DEI) may require significant cultural shifts and structural changes to be effective (Yosso, 2005). With legal restrictions, students must become change agents and use their voices through student-led organizations with the support of faculty members who are willing to show support. While the literature explores ways that students can feel empowered by having an inclusive learning environment, there is a notable lack of research on student empowerment in anti-DEI environments. The research also lacks information on how student-led campus organizations can help students to feel empowered, learn to use their voice, and feel like they have a safe space to express themselves without the fear of judgment or preconceived notions.

Gaps in Literature

The existing literature indicates that developing pedagogical practices and student support programs that recognize and leverage CCW can enhance student success. For example, mentoring programs that connect students with faculty who have similar cultural backgrounds can provide valuable support and guidance (Crisp & Cruz, 2009). However, there is little to no research focused on how student-led organizations can support CCW. Harper and Hurtado (2007) suggest that creating an institutional culture that respects and celebrates diversity can improve the campus climate for marginalized students. Our study hopes to play a role in filling the gap in the literature and provide guidance to educational practitioners who seek to support students' CCW.

Methodology

Context and Participants

Participants in this study were students enrolled at a Hispanic Serving Institution in Texas during the Spring of 2024. This spring semester is the same timeframe that SB17 went into effect. On college campuses across the state, faculty and students alike were questioning the vagueness of the law and concerned about advocating for underserved populations while also staying in compliance with the law (Svoboda, 2023; Zahneis, 2024).

Purposeful sampling was used to recruit participants who were members of FLAME.

Participation in the survey was through voluntary response only. All participants (n=18) responded to open-ended questions in Qualtrics at a location and time of their choosing. The university historically boasts a significantly larger student enrollment of females than males with annual reports indicating only 11-12% male student enrollment over the past decade (TWU, 2024). Gender demographics of respondents were in line with demographic trends of the university with a higher percentage of female respondents (n=13) than male (n=4) and with 1 respondent identifying as nonbinary. Respondents ranged in age from 19 to 46 with an average age of 31.2. Racial demographics reflected the multicultural makeup of the university with fewer White participants (n=4) and a higher percentage of respondents identifying as Hispanic (n=9) and Black (n=5).

Research Design and Data Collection

Qualitative descriptive study was utilized due to its ability to provide an in-depth summary of a phenomenon in everyday terms from a first-hand perspective (Sandelowski, 2000). It is also an appropriate study design for novice qualitative researchers and allows for a smaller sample size (Magilvy & Thomas, 2009). By using the descriptive study methodology, we were able to explore how FLAME members describe what influenced their decisions to join the student organization, what their experiences have been like, and their needs in the future.

Data was collected through a digital survey with 26 open-ended questions, 9 of which were related to demographics (see Appendix). Ethical guidelines were strictly followed regarding participant consent, confidentiality, and data protection. Informed consent was obtained from all participants, and their identities were anonymized during the analysis and reporting of findings. Students responded to each question in a location of their choosing and submitted their survey electronically.

Since Yosso's community cultural wealth model was used as our conceptual and theoretical

framework, the survey questions were based upon the six forms of capital first identified by Yosso in her study of asset-based community cultural wealth. Additionally, questions were categorized to reflect the 3 research questions: experiences with SB 17, experiences with FLAME, and future FLAME needs. The objectives of the survey were to allow us to better understand how the FLAME student organization can support students as they build upon their own assets and capital.

Data Analysis

The researchers utilized a deductive-inductive thematic approach to coding. The initial set of deductive codes included the six forms of cultural capital that served as our framework and guided the development of survey questions. During deductive thematic coding, responses were organized into these six categories to better understand the role of multicultural student organizations and how they can support students in building upon their own cultural wealth and assets. Thematic inductive coding was then applied to responses to identify new categories and reemerging themes in student responses as proposed by Braun and Clarke (2006). Responses to open-ended questions were manually coded by the researchers using in vivo and axial coding process (Saldaña, 2021). During an initial round of in vivo coding, researchers independently coded the data to reflect the exact words and phrases used in survey responses in order to preserve the perspectives of the participants. Axial coding was then conducted by researchers to reorganize codes and identify connections between existing categories. Researchers met remotely to engage in the iterative feedback loop until consensus was reached and dependability of findings were supported by using intercoder reliability measures (O'Conner & Joffe, 2020).

Key Findings

Blanchard et al. (2009) posits that one of the primary tenets of community-engaged scholarship is the sharing of the unique knowledge produced when academics and communities work collaboratively. DaGarza (2018) echoes this stance in her call to integrate CES with faculty scholarship. It is toward this goal that we share our findings. The first research question addressed student perceptions of the state's anti-DEI legislation. The second research question addressed students' interactions with the multicultural student organization, FLAME. The third research question addressed how the community cultural wealth of students is supported by multicultural student organizations. Our deductive-inductive thematic analysis yielded three themes that directly aligned to our research questions:

- 1. Fear is the New Reality
- 2. The Power of Collective Voice
- 3. Creating a Third Space

The themes that emerged highlight the perceptions of university students toward anti-DEI legislation and the role of multicultural student organizations. Table 1 presents an overview of these themes and illustrative quotes that reflect our findings.

Table 1

Deductive Coding Results and Research Questions Correspondence

Theme	Illustrative Quotes
Fear is the New Reality	As a future Black, female educator, I am afraid for my students.
	As a Mexican-American/Indigenous woman, I am afraid for my children and grandchildren.
	I have seen administration and professors limit themselves in what they say because they do not want to be seen as crossing a line. It has established a level of fear which hampers how they impact students.
	SB17 has instilled fear in our faculty. They are even less willing to discuss race or discrimination which I think is part of the intention of the bill.
The Power of Collective Voice	Power in numbers. Build a big enough community that with all our collective voices, we can make a difference.

	hearing student voices is powerful.
	It's comforting when others ask me about my culture and I teach them about mine.
	l try to speak up.
	Encouragemembers to advocate for themselves and provide resources to help them resist inequity. We have been made to feel uncomfortable about asking for what we deserve.
	Get loud.
	be a voice of truth. [Do] not be afraid to discuss how race, ethnicity, and language impact us.
The Need for a Third Space	l am often the only black student in my class which can be uncomfortable.
	I was the only person of color in the space.
	In multilingual settings, translanguaging naturally arises. For me, it manifests itself in informal interactions with friends and family, where I can transition between languages or dialects with ease, depending on the situation.
	members are encouraged to utilize their entire language repertoire.
	I try to find community and maintain the relationships I have with people who understand/have influence.
	Creating spaces where everyone feels comfortable expressing themselves authentically can be simple.
	Students feel comfortable sharing when they are with like-minded individuals. A[n] open conversation amongst students will prompt change.
	a safe space to share experiences and get advice.

Theme 1: Fear is the New Reality

Fear as a new reality repeatedly emerged as a theme including observations of faculty modeling fear, a fear of the future, and a reversal of social justice progress. One student expressed concern about faculty's willingness to advocate for students of color

These research questions focused on how students

saying, "SB17 has instilled fear in faculty. They are even less willing to discuss race or discrimination which I think is part of the intention of the bill." Another goes further saying, "I have seen administration and professors limit themselves in what they say because they do not want to be seen as crossing a line. It has established a level of fear within those employed, which hampers how they impact students." These statements indicate that in only the first few months of implementation, SB17 has had a negative impact on the academic community, harming student/faculty relationships and advocacy efforts for marginalized students. In addition to fear for their present academic situation, students expressed concern for the future. Fears were driven by their own perceptions of how the bill impacted them as marginalized students, but even more interesting was their foresight in considering how this bill will oppress future generations: "As a Mexican-American/Indigenous woman I am afraid for my children's and grandchildren's future." Students also expressed frustration that social justice progress is being undone by those with privileged backgrounds. Repeatedly within the student responses, their thoughts moved beyond frustration and into the realm of fear. One student recognized the threat SB17 holds for her individually, but also expressed how quickly the bill reverses work universities have done to support marginalized students: "As a future black, female educator, I am afraid for my students. This bill pushes students of color back so far." This fear of reverse progress was echoed and expanded upon by another student who considers the bill an act of aggression: "It appears that we are moving backwards instead of forward. Students of color have been fighting for equality for years and to create a bill that specifically attacks diversity shows that we are trending backwards." These statements provide a clear answer to the first research question which asks how students perceive SB17.

Theme 2: The Power of Collective Voice

The theme focused on collective voice directly correlates to the second and third research questions.

characterize their interactions with the FLAME multicultural student group and how the organization can continue to support students. The power of collective voice was addressed in a variety of responses including references to silencing, speaking up, listening to others, and advocating for the future. Figure 2 illustrates the development of this theme in student responses. Students reported that the intention of SB17 was to silence voices that discuss race saying, "It's silencing" and "It has established a level of fear." This closely relates to the theme of fear previously discussed and moves even further towards an understanding that the fear produced by SB17 is leading to the silencing of student and faculty voices. From this place of intimidation students reported that the benefit of having a multicultural group is that they have a place to find community and speak up as a collective. Many students of color reported that feeling isolated within the classroom is one reason that they sought out community in the multicultural educator student group. There were many responses that reiterated this theme of isolation, including one student who said, "I am often the only Black student in my class which can be uncomfortable" and another who agreed with this discomfort saying, "I was the only person of color in the space" (referring to university classrooms). One student of color reported that a professor "talked about how we are all the same and she doesn't see any differences." The student went on to say, "I know her intentions are good but it is dismissive." This combination of students feeling silenced and isolated, along with faculty unintentionally promoting a colorblind ideology, highlights the importance of multicultural student groups in fostering community, sharing experiences, and providing mutual support.

Other student responses reflected the collective voice theme in more positive ways. Students reported that the group "encourage[s] members to advocate for themselves" and provided "a safe space to share experiences and get advice." Another student stated, "With our collective voices we can make a difference." This practice of speaking up, feeling heard,

and listening to one another was pointed to as one of the benefits of building an intentional multicultural community on campus and led to feelings of empowerment and a willingness to advocate for themselves and others. The power of a collective voice was also evident as students considered ways that FLAME can support them and others in the future. A frequent pattern within the data was students reflecting on the generational movement toward social justice. One student responded with, "I hope that the generation that is blocking these changes would be moved out so that we can make changes at the state and federal level that secures and protects these diversity efforts." Another said, "It's feasible that the coming generations will keep pushing for laws that are more inclusive using fresh tactics and resources to promote justice and diversity." Student discussions of voice spanned a wide spectrum moving from silence and isolation to the quest for a community that encourages active listening and speaking out, and finally to aspirations that future generations would continue to speak up.

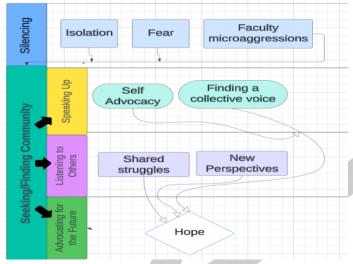


Figure 2: The development of student voice

Theme 3: Creating a Third Space

The last theme to emerge from the data also provided insight into the second and third research questions. Students continuously referred to FLAME as a space that is not necessarily familial (first space) or academic (second space). This space instead became a "third space" that reflects aspects of both the first and second space, but is unique in its ability to provide informal and safe support with a shared goal (Gutiérrez et al, 1999). The need for a third space arises again out of the sense of isolation addressed above. In response to this isolation, students report the value of a group of equals that promotes a sense of belonging. One said, "Students feel comfortable sharing when they are with like-minded individuals." Another student reported that when feelings of isolation were strong it was helpful "knowing that I had support systems outside the classroom and reminding myself that it was one class and it wasn't forever." These sentiments reflect Bhabha's (1994) concept of the "third space," which he identifies as a space between cultural and social identities, where individuals can self-create their identities through performance in a safe space. These third spaces benefit individuals both mentally and socially while allowing them to negotiate their own identity, build confidence, and learn from others.

Student responses reflect the restorative and transformative effect of FLAME as one of those third spaces with one student describing those effects in this way: "FLAME offers support to students who come from diverse backgrounds. It gives them a safe space where they know their voice will be heard and that others are in the fight with them." In response to how FLAME can continue to support students, one response reflected the concept of third (safe) space by noting that this is a group where linguistic repertoires are respected and encouraged: "where informal and formal language, as well as different dialects or languages, are equally valued." Additionally, students desire to see more academic spaces where their family is welcome: "student events where visitors are allowed which includes our children." Another thought expressed is the value of spaces that support a horizontal structure with equality among everyone attending. One student expressed how top-down structures have pushed them away from interacting with campus events and classroom interactions: "I have definitely felt this as a consequence of hierarchical student/staff/faculty structures." The last aspect of the data that reflected

the need for more third spaces are students' need for networks and support systems that help them persist in college. Elements like mentorship programs and networking opportunities were mentioned several times. One student expressed this by pointing out, "FLAME could provide mentorship programs, establish support networks, sense of community in order to assist students who are feeling alone." In regards to mentorship, several students mentioned the word "trust" as they discussed the need for a mentor or guide with whom they can be honest and open about their struggles. Having this sense of community connected to academics in a less formal way could "encourage them through their academic journey."

Community Cultural Wealth in FLAME

In addition to the codes that emerged through inductive coding, we identified key areas of CCW through our deductive coding. Initial coding of the data utilized Yosso's six categories of community cultural wealth to analyze responses to the second and third research questions. Out of the six categories of CCW, the most prevalent were Social Capital, Navigational Capital, and Resistance Capital. Table 2 illustrates student responses illuminating how multicultural student groups, like FLAME, can best support community strengths.

Table 2

Inductive Coding Responses for RQ2 and RQ3

CCW	Illustrative Quotes
Themes	
А	I think the world will become more outspoken about diversity concerns and will find
	loopholes to provide supports for students of color.
A, R	Due to how diverse and outspoken this generation and the ones to come are, I believe that they will rally against the government. Luckily, our generation does not mind speaking up and we will certainly give the government 'a run for their money.

S	lt's comforting when others ask me about my culture and I teach them about mine and vice versa.
S	I think the biggest thing is acknowledging the isolation and then providing a safe space to share experiences and get advice on how to [address] the situation.
L, N	"I speak one way at home with my mother, another way with my younger brother, and yet another way when they are both around. It changes based on whether I'm in a safe queer space or not. My students, colleagues, and administrators (I'm a substitute teacher) all hear different versions of who I am."
L, N	I find myself code switching in an adaptive way, meaning I take the lead from who I am speaking to.
L	In multilingual settings, translanguaging naturally arises. For me, it manifests itself in informal interactions with friends and family, where I can transition between languages or dialects with ease, depending on the situation.
L, S	Members are encouraged to utilize their entire language repertoire.
R	speaking out against injustices, supporting policies and initiatives that promote equity, and actively participating in advocacy and community organizing efforts.
R	I really work hard to advocate for myself.
R, S	Build a big enough community that with all our collective voices, we can make a difference.
N, L	l am very aware of my vocab choices when speaking with colleagues.
N	It has been beneficial for me to consult academic advisors, faculty members, and student organizations for assistance in navigating school life.
N Note:	I have had many mentors of staff and faculty of color who have helped me navigate college life. I would often seek advice from those who looked like me or had similar experiences as me. I felt safe that they would be able to help me. A=aspirational; S=social; L=linguistic; R=resistant

Note: A=aspirational; S=social; L=linguistic; R=resistant: N=navigational; Yosso's categories are intersectional and some student quotes involve more than one theme. In these cases, the primary theme is noted first; the secondary theme is noted second.

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According to Yosso, aspirational capital is one of the various forms of capital that marginalized communities possess. Aspirational capital refers to the ability to maintain hopes and dreams for the future, even in the face of barriers. Several responses indicated hope for a future where society actively addresses diversity concerns and supports marginalized students, despite existing challenges. Considering the future, one student noted, "I think the world will become more outspoken about diversity concerns and will find loopholes to provide supports for students of color." This theme was consistently repeated with students hoping that future generations "will be more accepting" and "safeguard the vulnerable and oppressed".

Social capital emphasizes how students utilize peers or community members to gain access to find resources and support in various systems and institutions. Student responses indicated that participation in the multicultural student group has increased their social capital, helping them build a community of students with similar concerns. One student described the formation of the group in this "Creating spaces where everyone feels wav: comfortable expressing themselves authentically can be simple." To further explain the value of the group, another said, "I think the biggest thing is acknowledging the isolation and then providing a safe space to share experiences and get advice on how to [address] the situation." Many students' responses conveyed that an increase in social capital has assisted in their academic persistence.

Linguistic capital includes the language and communication skills that students carry with them into new environments. For several respondents, the use of more than one language and the ability to fluidly move from one language to another was something that they valued; however, they didn't always feel like it was valued in college spaces. Students indicated that having a group in which "members are encouraged to utilize their entire language repertoire" provided them opportunities to speak in the language, dialect, or accent that was most comfortable for them. This also assisted them in developing new ideas, supporting one another, and feeling valued.

Resistant capital is the legacy of engaging in social justice issues to combat inequities. Many students reiterated their belief in social justice advocacy, and one student referred to the importance of "speaking out against injustices, supporting policies and initiatives that promote equity, and actively participating in advocacy and community organizing efforts". Other students moved beyond self-advocacy toward group identity saying, "build a big enough community that with all our collective voices, we can make a difference". Most students did not speak of resistance as an individual right or goal. The majority of responses aligned with Yosso's concept of resistance capital being a form of collective freedom.

Navigational capital is the ability of students to navigate an institution, especially institutions not created for marginalized groups of people. In the case of our study, this institution is the college campus. Students consistently referred to their college advisors, peers, and professors as people that they tap into when faced with institutional questions, but often the theme of a "safe" person was raised. Pairing this with earlier statements indicating that some faculty espouse colorblind ideology, the perception of safety is sometimes linked to the diversity of the staff, faculty member, or mentor. One student reflected, "I would often seek advice from those who looked like me or had similar experiences as me. I felt safe that they would be able to help me." Another, when asked how the student group could better support students said, "I would suggest having a mentor they trust." The student responses reveal that even Minority Serving Institutions sometimes have established inequitable barriers and accommodating environments. Similar to social capital, several student responses reflected a sense of persistence when gaining navigational capital.

Responses did not indicate a reliance on familial capital. This may be due to the nature of the questions which focused directly on college life and not on the intersection between family and the university setting. In future studies, we hope to develop targeted survey questions that will assist with understanding how student organizations can be connected to familial capital.

Discussion

Maintaining support for a diverse student body has become increasingly complicated over the past year as diversity, equity, and inclusion programs have become the target of the conservative political agenda. Our findings indicate that the resultant legislation has inspired a culture of fear within Texas higher education felt by faculty and students. These results are supported by emerging reports of the impact that anti-DEI legislation is having on faculty even in the realm of research, an area specifically excluded from inspection by SB17. A researcher at Texas A&M university reports that the anti-DEI climate resulted in her leaving the state to perform her research in a safer environment (Marris, 2024). While official policy allows diversity research, self-censorship and university leaders' inability to provide assurance are combining to reduce faculty freedom as it relates to diversity research.

Graduation rates in the state of Texas still indicate disparities among underserved students and that our Hispanic and Black university students need more support than their White peers (Doane & Unda, 2023). While many studies refer to this as an achievement gap, many scholars have pointed to the deficit perception this term reflects (Jaramillo, 2023; Shukla et al, 2022). Rather than an achievement gap in this country, we have a resource gap where students from underserved backgrounds come into educational systems with less support and fewer opportunities, which impacts them throughout their academic career unless mediated with intentional interventions (Lyons & Howard, 2022; Milner 2021).

Additionally, Hispanic and Black faculty do not reflect the numbers of ethnically diverse students in the state. In May of 2023 the Texas Center for Education Policy published a critical analysis of anti-DEI legislation in the state (Doane & Unda, 2023). The analysis outlines the benefits of DEI programs in Texas and posits that while legislators could strengthen such programs to solve the lack of access for students of color, the Texas legislature has instead imposed further barriers. Our findings indicate that students involved in a multicultural student group in this anti-DEI atmosphere experience first-hand fear and secondhand fear. Group involvement with organizations like FLAME serve as a protective factor against this fear by allowing students to be part of a collective voice and to have a safe third space (Bhabha, 1994) for selfexpression, identity development, and community support.

Findings further indicate that involvement in a multicultural student group serves to support the linguistic, navigational, aspirational, social, and resistant capital (Yosso, 2005) that students bring into the university. The significant number of responses reflecting social and navigational capital indicates that there could be an increase in student persistence to graduation if universities or programs provide organizations that create a sense of belonging and intentional support. An unexpected outcome of the findings is that having a multicultural student organization increased students' resistance capital and encouraged them to continue pushing for equity and justice within their academic and social communities.

Research into the impact of anti-DEI policies on students is limited as these policies have only recently been incorporated into our socio-political landscape. As researchers, we hope to add to the growing body of evidence that diversity programs in the university setting are fundamental to the success of underrepresented student populations (Doane & Unda, 2023; Cumming et al., 2023). Identifying the assets of student organizations like FLAME can assist university faculty and staff in developing communty-centered student organization programming that engages the voices of the most important stakeholders- our students.

Recommendations & Implications

While this qualitative study with a small sample size (N= 18) analyzes the impact of a specific student

organization at a Texas university in the context of SB17, the findings may be adapted to increase underrepresented student support and resources, which are being challenged by legislation in multiple states. Student-led, faculty-supported student groups can serve as a starting point to maintaining the community cultural wealth that university students possess. Similar student groups that promote multiculturalism within education, or other areas of study, can use these recurring themes as building blocks for their own structure of student support. These groups are likely to see similar student needs related to inclusion and equity. Faculty must actively support multicultural student organizations as an essential platform for underrepresented students to share their experiences and build community cultural wealth. Additionally, implementing mentorship programs where faculty members support underrepresented students can help mitigate the adverse effects of anti-DEI legislation, increase persistence, and promote a more inclusive academic environment for all.

Our collaborative research team is in the planning stages of future scholarship that includes more intensive aspects of community-engaged scholarship by including more stakeholders in the research conceptualization and study participants. Future stakeholders from the community will include current K-12 teachers, K-12 administrators, and K-12 parents. Including these stakeholders will allow us to better understand the needs of preservice teachers enrolled in teacher preparation programs. In-service teachers and administrators have faced increased legislative and community pressure to reduce diversity efforts at the campus level (Scussel & Norris, 2023). Additionally, parents of underserved students are seeing the impact of legislation on their children's academic engagement and success (Russell-Brown, 2024). Investigation is needed into how these stakeholders sustain and build upon their own community cultural wealth during these times of anti-DEI legislation.

Conclusion

The passage of anti-DEI legislation such as Texas Senate Bill 17 presents significant challenges to diversity efforts in higher education. Our study highlights the importance of community-engaged scholarship in amplifying the voices of marginalized students and identifying effective support mechanisms. By leveraging the strengths of multicultural student organizations and advocating for inclusive policies, faculty members can better support the diverse needs of their student populations. Continued research and collaboration between academic and community stakeholders are essential for developing strategies to navigate and counteract the negative impacts of such legislation.

In our investigation of how students perceive SB17, the researchers observed the theme of fear which students applied to themselves, to faculty, and to the future. We conclude that this legislation is raising anxiety amongst underrepresented university students. In our investigation of how students characterize their interactions with FLAME, our collaborative research team identified three primary themes: fear is the new reality, creating a collective voice, and finding a third space. We conclude that the multicultural student group is serving as a protective factor to balance the fear caused by SB17. In our investigation of how FLAME can help support community cultural wealth the researchers found that students were drawing upon their peers in the group and in the broader university community to maintain and build upon their cultural capital. Additionally, student groups like FLAME can assist with sustaining the community cultural wealth students bring to campus with them. We conclude that multicultural student groups can serve as a way to support students from marginalized communities. In closing, we offer encouragement to advocacy-minded faculty and staff. Continue to support our underserved students. Continue to find or create student-centered academic communities that bring a sense of belonging to our students who most need it during this time.

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Appendix

Qualitative Questions

1. How would you describe the impact of SB17?

2. If you look ahead 20 years from now to the next generation of college students, do you think they will still be fighting these anti diversity efforts? How do you imagine the world's views on diversity will have changed?3. How can FLAME support students to maintain their hopes and dreams even in the face of barriers?

4. Translanguaging is the ability to use the full linguistic repertoire to make meaning depending on the context. For example, we generally use a different set of vocabulary when speaking with close friends than we do in school. We may speak with family in a way very different from how we speak to classmates. With this in mind, where do your languages switch?

5. Where/in what mode are you most comfortable communicating?

6. How can FLAME create spaces where everyone feels comfortable expressing themselves authentically?

7. Can you share any experiences where you have felt isolated either on campus or in the classroom?

8. What kinds of experiences help mitigate that feeling of isolation?

9. How can FLAME help students who are experiencing isolation?

10. Who has empowered you and helped you navigate college life? When you have a question about your degree, housing, financial aid, etc. who are you most likely to ask?

11. How can FLAME help build social networks that matter and decrease isolation?

12. What kinds of racial barriers or examples of discrimination have you seen on campus?

13. How do you navigate racial barriers that you encounter on campus?

14. How can FLAME help students navigate these barriers?

15. How do you resist inequity in any form?

16. How can FLAME empower its members to resist inequity?