



"It Creates Fear and Divides Us:" Minority College Students' Experiences of Stress from Racism, Coping Responses, and Recommendations for Colleges

Journal of Health Disparities Research and Practice

Volume 12 | Issue 1

Article 6

© Center for Health Disparities Research, School of Public Health, University of Nevada, Las Vegas

2018

"It Creates Fear and Divides Us:" Minority College Students' Experiences of Stress from Racism, Coping Responses, and Recommendations for Colleges

LaDrea Ingram , *University of South Carolina*, ingram3@mailbox.sc.edu

Barbara Wallace , *Teachers College, Columbia University*, bcw3@tc.columbia.edu

Follow this and additional works at: <https://digitalscholarship.unlv.edu/jhdrp>



Part of the [Social and Behavioral Sciences Commons](#)

Recommended Citation

Ingram, LaDrea and Wallace, Barbara (2018) "'It Creates Fear and Divides Us:" Minority College Students' Experiences of Stress from Racism, Coping Responses, and Recommendations for Colleges," *Journal of Health Disparities Research and Practice*: Vol. 12: Iss. 1, Article 6.

Available at: <https://digitalscholarship.unlv.edu/jhdrp/vol12/iss1/6>

This Article is protected by copyright and/or related rights. It has been brought to you by Digital Scholarship@UNLV with permission from the rights-holder(s). You are free to use this Article in any way that is permitted by the copyright and related rights legislation that applies to your use. For other uses you need to obtain permission from the rights-holder(s) directly, unless additional rights are indicated by a Creative Commons license in the record and/or on the work itself.

This Article has been accepted for inclusion in Journal of Health Disparities Research and Practice by an authorized administrator of Digital Scholarship@UNLV. For more information, please contact digitalscholarship@unlv.edu.

“It Creates Fear and Divides Us:” Minority College Students’ Experiences of Stress from Racism, Coping Responses, and Recommendations for Colleges

Abstract

Prior research underscored the association between experiences of racism and biopsychosocial outcomes for minority college students, including depression, anxiety, post-traumatic stress disorder, and negative impacts on physical health. Within the lens of social justice, power is often ascertained by increased wellness and education attainment; therefore, addressing minority college students’ experiences of racism is critical to advancing national efforts to eliminate health disparities and for achieving social equity. Thus, this mixed methods study used an online survey to examine the prevalence of experiences of racism and/or oppression (e.g. sexism) for a convenience sample of undergraduate and graduate minority college students. Quantitative data (n=215) showed that 85.1% (n=183) reported experiences of racism/oppression, while among this group 85.2% (n=156) reported the experience as stressful, and 38.3% (n=70) as traumatic. Qualitative data (n=228) from responses to open-ended questions, revealed: Category I’s 8 emergent themes on “ways of coping/bouncing back/healing from racism/oppression;” and, Category II’s 7 themes for “ways in which the colleges can assist students experiencing stress and trauma.” Collectively, the study findings suggest that experiences of racism and/or oppression are highly prevalent, while students are resilient in coping with stress and trauma; and, students recommend practical strategies for colleges to better support the psychological well-being of minority students. The study findings offer implications for social justice and provide possible strategies for colleges, as well as professionals to use in order to enhance the academic achievement and improve the health outcomes of minority college students.

Keywords

racism/oppression; intersectionality; stress; trauma; psychological well-being; minority college students



Journal of Health Disparities Research and Practice
Volume 12, Issue 1, Spring 2019, pp. 80-112

© 2011 Center for Health Disparities Research
School of Community Health Sciences
University of Nevada, Las Vegas

“It Creates Fear and Divides Us:” Minority College Students’ Experiences of Stress from Racism, Coping Responses, and Recommendations for Colleges

LaDrea Ingram, University of South Carolina

Barbara Wallace, Teachers College, Columbia University

Corresponding Author: LaDrea Ingram, ingram3@mailbox.sc.edu

ABSTRACT

Prior research underscored the association between experiences of racism and biopsychosocial outcomes for minority college students, including depression, anxiety, post-traumatic stress disorder, and negative impacts on physical health. Within the lens of social justice, power is often ascertained by increased wellness and education attainment; therefore, addressing minority college students’ experiences of racism is critical to advancing national efforts to eliminate health disparities and for achieving social equity. Thus, this mixed methods study used an online survey to examine the prevalence of experiences of racism and/or oppression (e.g. sexism) for a convenience sample of undergraduate and graduate minority college students. Quantitative data (n=215) showed that 85.1% (n=183) reported experiences of racism/oppression, while among this group 85.2% (n=156) reported the experience as stressful, and 38.3% (n=70) as traumatic. Qualitative data (n=228) from responses to open-ended questions, revealed: Category I’s 8 emergent themes on “ways of coping/bouncing back/healing from racism/oppression;” and, Category II’s 7 themes for “ways in which the colleges can assist students experiencing stress and trauma.” Collectively, the study findings suggest that experiences of racism and/or oppression are highly prevalent, while students are resilient in coping with stress and trauma; and, students recommend practical strategies for colleges to better support the psychological well-being of minority students. The study findings offer implications for social justice and provide possible strategies for colleges, as well as professionals to use in order to enhance the academic achievement and improve the health outcomes of minority college students.

Keywords: racism/oppression; intersectionality; stress; trauma; psychological well-being; minority college students

INTRODUCTION

The challenge of coping with the stress of racism has accompanied the rise in Black college students increasingly matriculating at predominantly White institutions (PWI) in the United States

Journal of Health Disparities Research and Practice Volume 12, Issue 1, Spring 2019

<http://digitalscholarship.unlv.edu/jhdp/>

Follow on Facebook: [Health.Disparities.Journal](https://www.facebook.com/Health.Disparities.Journal)

Follow on Twitter: [@jhdp](https://twitter.com/jhdp)

over the past four decades (Shahid, Nelson, & Cardemil, 2017; Green, Pulley, Jackson, Martin and Fasching-Varner, 2016). Blacks, Hispanics and Asians have all been found to experience minority stress (Arbona, 2016; Greer & Brown, 2011; McClain, Beasley, Jones, Awosogba, Jackson & Cokley, 2016). This includes research on the challenge of coping with such stress (Cokley, Hall-Clark, & Hicks, 2011; Greer & Brown, 2011; Han & Lee, 2011; Minikel-Lacocque, 2012; Park, Schwartz, Lee, Kim & Rodriguez, 2013; Rivas-Drake, 2011; Wong, Tran, Owen, Collins & Claire, 2012; Yoo & Castro, 2011). Much of the research adopts the framework of racial microaggressions to capture daily discrimination in the form of intentional or unintentional racial slights and insults (i.e. Pierce, 1995; Sue, 2010). Other studies document those microaggressions experienced by a variety of racial/ethnic minority college students (Harwood, Choi, Orozco, Browne-Huntt & Mendenhall, 2015; Minikel-Lacocque, 2012; Sanchez, Adams, Arango & Flannigan, 2018; Vaccaro, A., & Ramirez, A. (2018).

Due to their intersectionality, some students must also negotiate multiple and intersecting stigmatized identities and systems of oppression as part of their college experience. They face additional challenges, stress, and potential psychological vulnerability due to an identity that combines any of the following: race, ethnicity, gender, LGBTQ (lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, queer), religion, physical ability/disability, immigrant, social class, or some other marginalized cultural status (Bowleg, 2012; Greene & Spivey, 2017; Wallace & Santacruz, 2017).

The experience of racial-ethnic microaggressions was found to be directly linked to higher levels of psychological distress for Asian American and Latinx American college students, while the deployment of coping strategies was found to be related to lower levels of psychological distress (Sanchez, et al., 2018). Research has shown how Asian American women experience racial harassment, which was found to be associated with higher rates of posttraumatic stress (Buchanan, Settles, Wu & Hayashino, 2018). An investigation with undergraduate Black women attending a northeastern PWI found a positive association between the experience of racial tension and stress, while only the deployment of Africultural coping was shown to significantly moderate that association (Shahid et al., 2017). Others have found that perceived racial discrimination was directly related to alcohol-related problems for a sample of Black college students attending a northeastern PWI, suggesting the potential negative impact of alcohol use when used as a coping strategy (Desalu, Kim, Zaso, Corriders, Loury, Minter & Park, 2017).

Foundation Concepts

Much of the contemporary research in this area has roots in the pioneering work of Clark, Anderson, Clark and Williams (1999), given their emphasis upon *perceived racism* as “the subjective experience of prejudice or discrimination” (p. 808). They observed at the time of their writing how “research exploring the biological, psychological, and social effects of racism among African Americans” was “virtually nonexistent” (p. 805). Using a stress and coping framework, Clark et al. (1999) discussed the possibilities of those exposed to the stress of perceived racism executing adaptive or maladaptive coping responses. They operationally defined *racism* as “beliefs, attitudes, institutional arrangements, and acts that tend to denigrate individuals or groups because of phenotypic characteristics or ethnic group affiliation” (p. 805).

Jones (1972) also made pioneering contributions in specifying individual racism, institutional racism, and cultural racism. *Individual racism* encompasses ideological and personal attitudes of racial superiority, while *institutional racism* refers to how institutional power may

implement the ideological biases, and *cultural racism* is seen as that broad-based cultural support of that ideology rooted in the worldview of one race’s superiority (Jones & Carter, 1996).

In highlighting how structural racism operates, Metzl and Roberts (2014) cited the work of the civil rights activist Stokely Carmichael who discussed institutionalized racism, as follows: it is far more subtle and less identifiable than individual racism, while operating as a silent form of racism that maintains the status quo through structures as varied as “zoning laws, economic policies, welfare bureaucracies, school systems, criminal law enforcement, and courts” (p. 674). For Wallace (2018), *structural racism* encompasses those structural factors that operate on the level of social systems—whether institutional, organizational, or government systems—that have negative impacts on disparaged racial groups, while reflecting how the history and legacy of racism in the United States has become embodied within all institutions, agencies, organizations, and systems operating within this nation.

As a component of city and state government systems, *police violence* is a form of structural racism that is of great concern in contemporary times. Police violence has been discussed as follows: the use of deadly force in areas where there has been growth in the Black population (Jacobos & O’Brien, 1998); as a public health issue (Cooper, Moore, Gruskin & Krieger, 2004); and as involving serious racial disparities for Black males—along with the impact of video technology and the Internet in broadcasting police violence (Desmond, Papachristos & Kirk, 2016). Others note how the years 2014 to 2016 were historical in this nation for police violence, including for resulting in deaths of African Americans (Carbado, 2017). It has also been asserted that calling the police, from the perspective and experience of people of color, in general, is a “dicey proposition,” as “they could never know” whether the outcome will involve the receipt of “help” or “brutality and mistreatment” (Wise, 2011, p. 141).

Of great import, racism, as a restricting structural force or power, may be potentially perceived or discerned (García & Sharif, 2015, p. e28). Thus, one approach is to focus on the individual’s level of ability for perceiving racism and/or oppression, as well as the subsequent execution of coping responses to racism and/or oppression (Wallace, 2005). Clark et al. (1999) established how perceived racism may be linked to both psychological and physiological arousal—which, if it persists, may be damaging to health. The potential stress from perceived racism creates a subsequent coping challenge. Focus was placed on the importance of executing adaptive coping responses that may diffuse arousal, thereby avoiding health-damaging effects (Clark et al., 1999).
Research on Perceived Racism, Health and Education

Research has investigated links between the stressful experience of perceived racism and potential anxiety (Graham, Calloway & Roemer, 2015), as well as other indicators of psychological well-being (Oliver, Datta, & Baldwin, 2017), such as symptoms of posttraumatic stress disorder, depression, and alcohol use (Woodford, Kulick & Atteberry, 2015). The psychological responses among ethnic minorities to racism are very similar to common responses to trauma, such as somatization, which is psychological distress that may be expressed as physical pain, interpersonal sensitivity, and anxiety (Pieterse, Todd, Neville & Carter, 2011). Research showed that the “relationship between perceived racism and self-reported depression and anxiety is quite robust” (Pieterse, et al., 2011, p. 4).

Similar to research examining perceived racism, there are noteworthy findings focusing on perceived racial discrimination and mental health. Using a large sample of African Americans, Hispanics and Asian Americans, an association was found between perceived racial discrimination

and the lifetime prevalence of major depressive disorder, panic disorder with agoraphobia, agoraphobia with a history of panic, posttraumatic stress disorder, and substance use disorders— independent of socioeconomic status, level of education, age and gender (Chou, Asnaani & Hoffman, 2012). With a sample of 413 college students from a large public Southwestern university, Cokley et al. (2011) found that higher perceived discrimination was associated with higher emotional distress—while minorities reported experiences of perceived racial discrimination at higher rates than the majority group.

Beyond psychological well-being, there is also cause for concern regarding physical health. Racism hinders the attainment of optimal health (García & Sharif, 2015, p. e28). Nadal, Griffin, Wong, Davidoff and Davis (2017) found with a diverse sample (N=277) that there was a significant relationship between exposure to racial microaggressions and poorer health, including, for example, self-reported levels of pain. In this vein, others have indicated how “experiences of racism may play an important role in the health disparities phenomenon” (Pieterse, et al., 2011, p. 4).

Level of education and socioeconomic status are also important variables to consider in research exploring race and health outcomes. With a nationally representative sample of 3,005 U.S. adults, Hinze, Lin and Andersson (2012) explored the intersections of race, class, gender, and education. Findings showed that having less power (i.e., being a less educated Black woman) influenced several pathways to health. These pathways included social relationships (marital status, family, and friend networks), behavioral factors (smoking and physical activity), physiological status (chronic conditions), and psychological well-being (depressive symptomology). On the contrary, those with high power (i.e., White men with more than a high school education) were significantly more physically active and had fewer chronic conditions than groups with less power.

Thus, those who pursue an undergraduate and graduate education do so for good reason, as this may lead to that high power associated with the benefit of enhanced health outcomes, for example. What may also follow from higher education is a potential wide-ranging positive impact on future socioeconomic status, social relationships, behavior, physiological status, and psychological well-being—within the pursuit of a path to greater power.

The Conceptual Model: Nexus of Multiple Forms of Racism

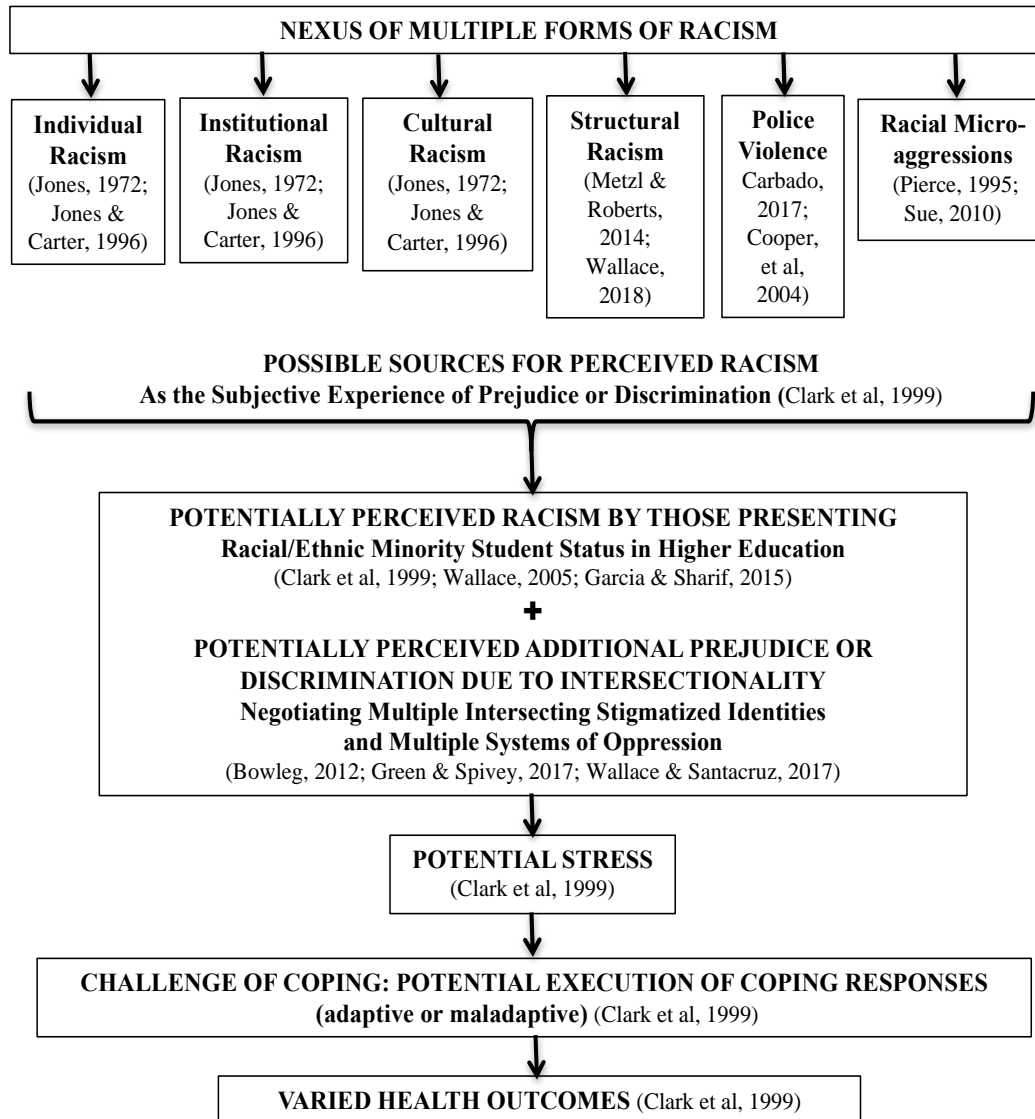
However, while pursuing higher education, minority students at colleges and universities across this nation may be living at a *nexus of multiple forms of racism*. The nexus of multiple forms of racism that this article proposes includes potential exposure to various types of racism described in the literature, as follows: individual racism, institutional racism, and cultural racism (Jones, 1972; Jones & Carter, 1996); structural racism (Metzl & Roberts, 2014; Wallace, 2018), including in the form of police violence (Carbado, 2017; Cooper, et al., 2004; Desmond, et al., 2016; Jacobs & O’Brien, 1998); and, racial microaggressions (Pierce, 1995; Sue, 2010). The conceptual framework guiding this study captures these potential exposures, the possibility of perceiving this racism, executing coping responses (adaptive or maladaptive), and varied biological and psychological health outcomes (Clark et al., 1999). See Figure 1.

Research Focus

With regard to investigating the experiences of those exposed to such racism, others have acknowledged the role of both quantitative and qualitative research methods (Pyke, 2010). Using a combination of quantitative and qualitative research methods, the purpose of this online study

was to investigate with undergraduate and graduate minority college students the following: 1) via quantitative data analysis, determine the prevalence of experiences of perceived racism and/or oppression (e.g. the additional experience of sexism from intersectionality), including whether the experience was stressful and/or traumatic;

Figure 1: The Nexus of Multiple Forms of Racism, Potential Perceived Racism, Intersectionality, Stress, Coping, and Varied Health Outcomes



and, 2) via qualitative data analysis, identify emergent themes from responses to open-ended questions with regard to how minority students cope and respond to racism and/or oppression, as well as their recommendations for how colleges can better assist students who experience such racism, stress and trauma. Regarding the significance of the research, findings were seen as

potentially having value in enhancing the academic achievement and improving the psychological well-being of minority college students, while also informing what colleges and mental health professionals might do to better assist this population.

METHODS

Study Design

The study included a convenience sample of minority undergraduate and graduate college students within a, mixed methods study, using an online survey, thereby obtaining both quantitative and qualitative data. The quantitative data addresses students’ exposure to racism, including whether such experiences were stressful or traumatic. The qualitative data covers both students’ experiences of coping and responding to racism and/or oppression, and recommendations for what colleges can do to assist students who have experienced racism, stress, and trauma.

The research team included a post-doctoral fellow and health behavioral scientist trained in qualitative inquiry and health disparities research. The study team also included a senior scholar and clinical psychologist with nearly three decades of experience addressing issues of health disparities and experiences of racism. The team worked collaboratively on the design and implementation of the study.

Instrument for Collecting Qualitative and Quantitative Data

The study instrument, *The Minority Student College Stress Survey (MSCSS)*, was created for this study, while combining several scales previously used in other studies. Most pertinent, first, the MSCSS included a *Basic Demographics (BD-15) Scale* routinely used across studies by fellows conducting studies through the Research Group on Disparities in Health (2006) at Teachers College, Columbia University (e.g. Lian, in press). The BD-15 permitted collecting students’ demographic information such as age, race/ethnicity, sexual orientation, year in college, employment, and annual household income.

Second, of note, the MSCSS also included another scale created for this study. *The Mixed Methods Responses on Stress and Coping (MMR-SC-4) Scale*. First, students were asked if they had experienced any racism and/or oppression. Students that experienced racism and/or oppression were asked whether the experience was stressful and/or traumatic. The MSCSS exhibited very good internal consistency with a Cronbach’s Alpha of .856.

Next, participants that experienced racism and/or oppressions were asked to respond to the following prompt: *1-Please share some examples, including how you coped, bounced back, or healed*. Also, regardless of any personal experiences of racism and/or oppression, participants were asked: *2-What could your college or university do to better assist students who are experiencing or have a history of experiencing stress and trauma—whether the stress was experienced within the school or outside in the larger society?* Thus, students could acknowledge any stress from structural racism from city or government systems, such as police violence as a form of structural racism.

Participant Characteristics

Participants were at least 18 years of age, while a college student—whether a freshman, sophomore, junior, senior or graduate student. Study participants identified as a person of color, while being able to devote 30-40 minutes to the study. Those who completed the online survey were entered into a drawing for a chance of winning a \$300, \$200 or \$100 prize (i.e. gift certificate for use on www.Amazon.com), as an incentive for study participation. The study sample was

recruited from a university in the Northeast (not named to maintain confidentiality) through email list serves of minority student groups. The study team also coordinated with the Office of the National Black Student Union to share the survey with students within their network. Participants were also recruited via an online social media campaign, as the link to the online survey hosted on Survey Monkey was distributed widely via Facebook, e-mails, LinkedIn, and Twitter. Participants were also able to invite their peers to participate in the study by sharing the link to the online survey, permitting snowballing.

A total of 336 minority college students responded to the social media campaign and provided informed consent to participate in the study. After answering screening questions, which determined study eligibility, 252 qualified for the study. Upon elimination of those who did not complete the survey and duplicate computer IP addresses (i.e. eliminating anyone who took the survey on multiple occasions), 228 students were included in the study. Subjects were eliminated who did not complete all of the sections of the quantitative survey. For the quantitative study, sample size was reduced to $n=215$ (i.e. from the original sample size of $n=228$). For the qualitative component, in response to the question “*1-Please share some examples, including how you coped, bounced back, or healed,*” there were 121 respondents. For question “*2-What could your college or university do to better assist students who are experiencing or have a history of experiencing stress and trauma—whether the stress was experienced within the school or outside in the larger society,*” there were 133 respondents.

Data Collection

Using a sequential explanatory mixed methods design, first, the research team collected data from the MCSS (demographic characteristics, experience of racism, stress and trauma caused by experiences of racism/oppression). The qualitative findings were used to follow up and explain how students coped and bounced back from experiences of racism/oppression. This illustrative approach is suggested to aid in creating a more holistic picture of the study phenomenon under exploration and, in this case, the nexus of multiple forms of racism (Doyle, Brady & Byrne, 2009).

Data Analysis

Descriptive (mean, standard deviation) and inferential statistics were used to describe the participants and to describe the quantitative findings. In terms of qualitative data analysis methods, emergent themes were identified, following an intuitive and inductive approach (Gale, Heath, Cameron, Rashid & Redwood, 2013). A document was created containing all participant responses, followed by highlighting quotes constituting emergent themes. Action phrases were used to capture the emergent themes. A vital step in the analysis involved creating a table of the list of emergent themes, while organizing the list of emergent themes into categories that encompassed a group of themes falling within that category. The categorical themes were quantified for additional analysis. The two researchers engaged in the process of analyzing the data for emergent themes and categories. One researcher coded all the data while the more senior researcher cross checked coding strategies and interpretation of data. The process included selecting direct quotes to illustrate emergent themes, while capturing students’ voices.

RESULTS

The final study sample was majority female (78.1%, $n = 178$), while 21.1% ($n = 48$) male, as well as 66.2% Black/African American ($n=151$), 21.9% ($n=50$) Hispanic/Latino, and 14.5% ($n=33$) Asian. Regarding age, the mean was 25.6 years (Min = 18-25 years, Max = 56-50 years;

87 “It Creates Fear and Divides Us:” Minority College Students’ Experiences of Stress from Racism, Coping Responses, and Recommendations for Colleges—Ingram and Wallace

SD = 7.96). The mean education was closest to 1st year in graduate school (mean=4.83; min = 1-freshman, max = 11-7th year in graduate school or greater; SD = 2.514). The student’s mean Grade Point Average (GPA) was closest to the 3.1-3.4 category (mean=6.00; Min = 1 or 1.0-1.9, Max = 8 or 4.0; SD = 1.55). For annual household income, the mean category was closest to \$40,000-\$49,000 (Min = \$10,000 - \$19,000, Max = \$800,000 or greater; SD = 1.64). A greater proportion of the sample (62.3%, n = 142) had not attended a Minority Serving Institution (MSI), meaning they had not attended an Historically Black College or University (HBCU) or Hispanic Serving Institution (HSI)—while 37.7% (n=86) had attended a MSI. Table 1 presents the demographic characteristics of the sample.

Table 1. Demographic Characteristics of the College Sample (N=228)

Demographic Characteristics	N	%
Race/ethnicity (1 or more)		
White/Caucasian	19	8.3
Black/African American	151	66.2
Hispanic/Latino	50	21.9
Asian	33	14.5
Native American	8	3.5
Native Hawaiian	1	.4
Arab American	4	1.8
Other	10	4.1
Grade Point Average Categories # 1-8, M = category 6.0, SD = 1.55		
1-1.0-1.9	5	2.2
2-2.0	2	.9
3-2.1-2.4	8	3.5
4-2.5-2.9	31	13.6
5-3.0	17	7.5
6-3.1-3.4	50	21.9
7-3.5-3.9	95	41.7
8-4.0	20	8.8
Education Level Categories # 1-11, M=category 4.83, SD = 2.514		
1-Freshman	17	7.5
2-Sophomore	29	12.7
3-Junior	28	12.3
4-Senior	40	17.5
5-1 st year grad school	32	14.0
6-2 nd year grad school	25	11.0
7-3 rd year grad school	24	10.5
8-4 th year grad school	14	6.1
9-5 th year grad school	6	2.6
10-6 th year grad school	5	2.2
11-7 th year grad school or >	8	3.5
Household Income Categories # 1-9, M = category 2.82, SD = 1.64		
1-\$10,000 to \$19,000	60	26.3

88 “It Creates Fear and Divides Us:” Minority College Students’ Experiences of Stress from Racism, Coping Responses, and Recommendations for Colleges—Ingram and Wallace

2-\$20,000 to \$39,000	56	24.6
3-\$40,000 to \$49,000	29	12.7
4-\$50,000 to \$99,999	51	22.4
5-\$100,000 to \$199,999	24	10.5
6-\$200,000 to \$299,000	4	1.8
7-\$300,000 to \$399,000	1	.4
8-\$400,000 to \$499,000	1	.4
9-\$800,000 or >	2	.9
Gender		
Male	48	21.1
Female	178	78.1
Transgender	2	.9
Age, $M=25.6$, $SD =7.95$		
56-60	3	1.3
51-55	4	1.7
46-50	1	.4
41-45	5	2.2
36-40	12	5.2
31-35	15	6.6
26-30	38	16.8
18-25	150	65.9
Sexual Orientation		
Heterosexual	197	86.4
LGBT	31	13.6
Employed		
Yes	116	50.9
No	112	49.1
Attended Minority Serving Institution – Present or Past		
Yes	86	37.7
No	142	62.37

Quantitative Findings

Most noteworthy, the results of the quantitative data analysis showed that, when asked the critical question—“*Have you experienced any racism and/or oppression?*”—85.1% (n=183) of the students endorsed “*Yes*” with scores ranging from (yes = 1– no=2). Of those that answered the questions with the response of “*Yes*,” some 85.2% (n=156) indicated it was *stressful*, while 38.3% (n=70) indicated it was *traumatic*. Roughly 59% (n=108) of the students that experienced racism were African American. Of those African American students that experienced racism, approximately 60% indicated their experience was both stressful and traumatic. There were similar findings for other sub-groups to include Asian Americans, Hispanics and those that identify with multiple races. See table 2 for an illustration of these findings.

Table 2. Experiences of Racism and Associated Stress and Trauma Based on Minority Status

	Experiences of Racism		Was it Stressful		Was it Traumatic	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
Black/African American	108	59	93	59.7	43	61.4
Hispanic/Latino	28	15.3	26	16.7	8	11.4
Asian	21	11.5	16	10.3	6	8.6
Native American	1	0.55	1	0.6	0	0
Arab American	1	0.55	1	0.6	0	0
Black and White	6	3.3	3	1.9	2	2.9
Hispanic and White	7	3.8	5	3.2	3	4.3
Hispanic and Black	5	2.7	5	3.2	4	5.7
Other	6	3.3	6	3.8	4	5.7

An independent t-test was conducted to compare groups based on experiences of racism/oppression. There were 8 group comparisons with the Bonferroni Adjustment Significance level identified (i.e., $.05/8 = .006$) as $p < .006$. When comparing sexual minority groups that identify as LGBT (Mean=1.03, SD = .183) to those not identifying as LGBT (Mean=1.17, SD=.375), there was a trend ($t = 3.11$, $df = 76.5$, $p = .003$) for higher experiences of racism. Other sexual and minority statuses such as gender and race (i.e. African American, Hispanic/Latino) were not found to be significant when comparing groups. See Table 3 for the independent t-test findings.

Table 3. Independent Group T-Test for Experiences of Racism

	Experiences of Racism			<i>t</i> test		
	N	M	SD	<i>T</i>	df	P
Gender				-.733	211	.464
Male	43	1.19	.394			
Female	170	1.14	.349			
Age				1.23	170	.222
Emerging Adult (18-25)	142	1.17	.376			
Adult (older than 25)	73	1.11	.315			
Currently Has a Partner				.926	213	.355
Yes	117	1.13	.336			
No	98	1.17	.381			
LGBT				3.11	76.5	.003**
Yes	30	1.03	.183			
No	185	1.17	.375			
Black/African American				.925	213	.356
Yes	143	1.18	.341			
No	72	1.13	.387			
Hispanic/Latino				-.851	213	.396
Yes	48	1.19	.394			

90 “It Creates Fear and Divides Us:” Minority College Students’ Experiences of Stress from Racism, Coping Responses, and Recommendations for Colleges—Ingram and Wallace

No	167	1.14	.346			
Currently Employed				1.18	207	.241
Yes	108	1.12	.327			
No	107	1.18	.384			
Attended MSI				-372	213	.710
Yes	81	1.14	.370			
No	134	1.16	.350			
*MSI = Minority Serving Institution *p<.05, **p<.01, ***p<.001 Bonferroni Adjustment Significance (.05/8, p=.006) Note: All p values above .006 are considered non-significant, and only those below .006 are considered statistically significant						

Qualitative Findings

The qualitative data elaborated on the quantitative data. An analysis of the qualitative data generated fifteen emergent themes that were organized into two categories. The two categories were, as follows:

- *Category I: identifying ways of coping/bouncing back/healing from racism and oppression (n=121)*
- *Category II: identifying ways in which colleges/universities can assist students experiencing stress and trauma (n=133)*

Within the first category, *identifying ways of coping/bouncing back/healing from racism/oppression*, there were 8 emergent themes. For example, there were themes that arose from an analysis of students’ quotes, including *using forms of cognitive coping, cognitive reframing, and distraction* (n=37, 30.6%), and *seeking out sources of social support, therapy* (n=23, 19%).

Within the second category, *identifying ways in which colleges/universities can assist students experiencing stress and trauma*, there were 7 emergent themes such as *improving counseling services* (n=58, 43.6%), and *creating a safe space for student discussion* (n=24, 18.1%). Table 4 presents the two categories with the total of 15 emergent themes.

Table 4. The Two Categories and 15 Emergent Themes: Experiences of Racism/Oppression and Coping, and Recommendations to Colleges

Category I- Identifying ways of coping/bouncing back/healing from racism/oppression

I-A- Using forms of cognitive coping, cognitive reframing, and distraction

I-B- Seeking out sources of social support, therapy

I-C- Talking about the experience

I-D- Relying upon God, prayer, spirituality, church and faith to cope with stress

I-E- Engaging in advocacy, education, organizing and activism

I-F- Reading and writing to cope

I-G- Using avoidance strategies

I-H- Engaging in stress reduction and self-care activities

Category II- Identifying ways in which colleges/universities can assist students experiencing stress and trauma

II-A- Improving counseling services

II-B- Creating a safe space for student discussion

II-C- Fostering diversity and inclusion

II-D– Acknowledging minority experiences of racism and oppression

II-E- Improving Reporting on Oppression, Accountability and Training

II-F- Fostering better relationships between faculty and student body

II-G- Increasing financial opportunities

Ways of Coping/Bouncing Back: Eight Themes in Category I

The voices of the students best convey their experiences of racism/oppression, as well as how they coped. This section presents direct quotations from students that provided the basis for Category I, while illustrating the 8 emergent themes (i.e. I-A through I-H).

I-A-Using Forms of Cognitive Coping, Cognitive Reframing, Distraction (n=37, 30.6%). The most cited form of coping and responding to racism/oppression across all races/ethnicities and genders included cognitive coping, cognitive reframing, and distraction. For example, a 20 year old Asian male undergraduate student from a Southern university stated he “*Brushed it off*” when he experienced racism/oppression. Similarly, a 36 year old African American male graduate student from a Southern university said “*I didn't allow it to fester in my mind.*” A 28 year old Asian female undergraduate student from a Southern University demonstrated cognitive coping and reframing in response to racism/oppression, including sexism—as an example of the stress of intersectionality and negotiating multiple oppressed identities, as well as microaggressions—as shown in the following:

I think my experiences were more covert racism and sexism. I consider them to be microaggressions. You just toughen up. Move on. Try not to dwell on it too long. I think of really great comebacks or responses later after I've processed the situation and relived it for a couple hours or days at the worst. But eventually you just move on. I channel it into my research and fight back with words.

I-B-Seeking Out Sources of Social Support (n=23, 19%). An additional coping strategy cited was seeking out sources of social support and therapy. One 24 year old African American female undergraduate student from a Southern university described seeking support and surrounding herself with supportive individuals, stating “*I have focused on supportive people in my life that value the same things I do and value my color and heritage.*” Likewise, a 20 year old Asian male undergraduate student from a Southwestern university indicated, “*I learned to surround myself with accepting people over the course of my college education*” to cope and respond to racism/oppression. Other students sought supportive services such as therapy.

I-C-Talking About the Experience (n=21, 17.4%). Many of the students that experienced racism indicated that they talked about it, in order to cope and heal from the experience. For example, a 28 year old Hispanic female graduate student attending a Northeastern university stated, “*I talked to my therapist*” as a method to cope and respond to racism/oppression. A 25 year old African American female graduate student from a Northeastern university suggested she would “*often find a community of peers to discuss things with*” to cope and bounce back from racism. A 28 year old Asian female graduate student at a university located in the Southeastern region indicated that she coped and healed from racism/oppression by “*talking through stressful situations with those I trust.*” A 24 year old African American female graduate student at a Northeastern university discussed her experience walking down the street and being called a “*nigger.*” She described coping with the experience “*by talking to friends about it and expressing*

how I felt to them.” Others “talked” about it on social media, including a 32 year old African American female graduate student from a Northeastern University who stated “I complain to others on Facebook when it happens.”

I-D-Relying Upon God, Prayer, Spirituality, Church and Faith to Cope (n=14, 11.6%). Regarding this emergent theme, many Hispanic and African American students—both female and male—used some form of spirituality to cope and heal from experiences of racism. For example, a 19 year old African American male undergraduate student in a Southern university stated “*God helped me bounce back*”. Similarly, a 55 year old African American female graduate student from a Southern university stated the following: “*faith is the central part of both my life practices and my identity. It is my Christian faith that allows me to cope, heal, forgive, and encounter others -- even those who are unkind -- as those who bear the image of God.*” Interestingly, there were no Asian students that cited use of spirituality to cope and heal from experiences of racism/oppression.

I-E-Engaging in Advocacy, Education, Organizing and Activism (n=9, 7.4%). On the other hand, there were also students who were able to share a sense of empowerment and taking social action for social justice. Specifically, students’ quotes revealed their engaging in advocacy, education, organizing and activism, as an emergent theme. For example, a 19 year old African American female undergraduate student attending a Southeastern university stated, as follows: “*You don't cope with racism/oppression. You work to fight it and change the system. So, I'm not coping as much as biting my tongue and working my ass off to make a change.*” Another 36 year old African American female graduate student at a Northeastern university indicated that she experienced both sexism and racism—as an example of intersectionality operating, and justification for this study’s use of a combined reference to racism/oppression. She explained her use of advocacy to cope and respond to racism, below:

Consistently being challenged that my work isn't important because it "only focuses on Black women." So much sexism as a Black woman and a mom. I just assume it's going to happen and basically prepare my mind for the bullshit. I read a lot of Black feminist work & surround myself with other women of color who are affirming. I participate rather vociferously in campus advocacy, planning events for students of color.

Other students used education as a coping mechanism for experiences of racism/oppression, such as a 24 year old African American female graduate student from a Western university. She expressed how “*I coped by educating myself about racism, learning skills to address people, and today I study it for a living.*”

I-F-Reading and Writing to Cope (n=6, 5%). This emergent theme is exemplified in the sharing of a 21 year old African American undergraduate female student at a Southern university. She described this way of coping, as follows:

I had to learn that this is ingrained in the society we live in. I cope by reading and learning more about what built this country and these mindsets so that I do not remain ignorant to what is going on around me. While it has not helped me heal completely, as I believe African Americans never will, due to this never ending cycle, we can have a better understanding to in turn help us respond better and move in the right footsteps to one day bounce back.

By way of another example, a 24 year old African American female graduate student from a Northeastern university discussed how “[I]...read academic articles that denoted the commonality of those experiences.”

I-G-Using Avoidance Strategies (n=6, 5%). A 35 year old Hispanic female graduate student admitted that, in addition to self-care and seeking out social support, she engaged in substance use—sharing she coped with racism through “*good supporting friends, and weed.*” She was not alone in the study sample in the use of marijuana for coping with racism/oppression.

Avoidance was also explicitly identified as a coping strategy by other students, such as a 26 year old African American female graduate student at a Midwestern university who described the racial climate at her current institution, and her decision to leave school and relocate to her home state, as a result of her experiences of racism. Her avoidance was suggestive of her having had genuine experiences of trauma, a severely compromised psychological well-being, as well as a sensitivity to potential stressful stimuli in the environment, as shown, below:

I am sure that I have had racialized experiences before graduate school, but the climate at my current institution is very uncomfortable. I have chosen to leave school and relocate back to my home state, but I coped for a while by retreating--staying at home, avoiding contact with people I did not know, avoiding work, emails, the news, or other things that might bring on stress in any given moment.

I-H-Engaging in Stress Reduction and Self-Care Activities (n=5, 4.1%). Other students discussed engaging in stress reduction and self-care activities to cope and respond to racism. A 35 year old Hispanic female graduate student stated “*I dealt with it with the holy trinity of self-care: daily exercise (cardio, yoga...).*” A 25 year old African American female graduate student attending a Southeastern university described using “*Self-care activities (coloring, exercise).*” Additionally, a 26 year old African American female graduate student highlighted her ability to think positively and enjoy daily activities. She shared how “*Overall, I am a positive forward thinker, moving forward, dancing, enjoying daily activities is what keeps me going*” to cope and respond to racism/oppression.

While the above quotations serve to exemplify the rationale for the 8 emergent themes within Category I, the frequency with which quotations emerged to support the theme was also quantified. Consider the findings on the frequency with which quotations supported each of the 8 emergent themes, as well as sample supportive quotations, as shown in Table 5.

Table 5. Frequency of Quotations Supporting Emergent Themes Within Category I: Sample Quotations on Ways of Coping/Bouncing Back (n=121)

The 8 Themes in Category I	N	%	Sample Quotations
I-A- Using forms of cognitive coping, cognitive reframing, and distraction	37	30.6	<i>“I didn’t allow it to fester in my mind”</i> <i>“I just decided to let it go. If I paid attention to every micro-expression, I’d go crazy”</i>
I-B- Seeking out sources of social support, therapy	23	19.0	<i>“Family and friends support has been the best way for me to learn to cope with stress”</i>
I-C- Talking about the experience	21	17.4	<i>“I coped by talking to friends about it and expressing how I felt to them”</i> <i>“Discussion groups, healing circles...”</i>

I-D- Relying upon God, prayer, spirituality, church and faith to cope with stress	14	11.6	<i>“My faith is my only source of solace and emotional support” “PRAYER, GOD, Faith has gotten me through it all”</i>
I-E- Engaging in advocacy, education, organizing and activism	9	7.4	<i>“I participate rather vociferously in campus advocacy and planning events for students of color”</i>
I-F- Reading and writing to cope	6	5.0	<i>“I cope by reading and learning more about what built this country and these mindsets so that I do not remain ignorant to what is going on around me”</i>
I-G- Using avoidance strategies	6	5.0	<i>“Retreating--staying at home, avoiding contact with people I did not know, avoiding work, emails, the news, or other things that might bring on stress in any given moment”</i>
I-H- Engaging in stress reduction and self-care activities	5	4.1	<i>“I dealt with it with the holy trinity of self-care: daily exercise (cardio, yoga)”</i>

Ways Colleges Can Assist Students: Seven Themes in Category II

Students’ voices also pointedly expressed what colleges need to do to assist those minority students experiencing stress and trauma from racism. This section presents direct quotations from students that provided the basis for Category II, while illustrating the 7 emergent themes (A-G).

II-A – Improving Counseling Services (n=58, 43.6%). One of the most frequently cited ways in which colleges can assist students experiencing stress and trauma was by improving counseling services. A 24 year old Asian male graduate student from a Northeastern university provided a quote that illustrates this theme, as follows: *“Promote mental health and give free access to private therapy. Normalize talking about personal things rather than purely academic.”* In order to improve counseling services, a 23 year old African American female graduate student attending a Northeastern university urged colleges to *“hire mental health professionals of color.”* A 20 year old Black male undergraduate student at a Southeastern university suggested that colleges focus on *“making counseling services more accessible.”* Correspondingly, a 24 year old female Hispanic graduate student from a Midwestern university stated that colleges/universities should do, as follows:

Create counseling services that are culturally appropriate --- seeking counseling from the university has been difficult because I do not trust them & after that first set of (free) meetings, I feel that they really have no investment in me.

II-B – Creating a Safe Space for Student Discussion (n=24, 18.1%). With regard to this emergent theme, a 21 year old Hispanic male undergraduate student in a Northeastern university

suggested that colleges “*create student development clubs or free seminars for students who experience stress or trauma and ways to cope and heal them.*” In a related vein, a 25 year old African American female graduate student from a Southeastern University recommended that colleges “*make workshops on microaggressions mandatory, especially at primarily White college campuses.*” A 22 year old African American male undergraduate attending a Southwestern university suggested that colleges provide the following:

Group meetings or seminars for students who believe they have been racially discriminated against, in order to not only see that they are not alone, but also to discuss ways to overcome, cope, heal, and bounce back from those experiences.

II-C – Fostering Diversity and Inclusion (n=19, 14.3%). Students identified diversity and inclusion as critical components to addressing racism/oppression. In this regard, a 22 year old Hispanic male undergraduate student from a Midwestern university highlighted the need to focus on both diversity and inclusion, stating, as follows:

Inclusion. I believe universities across the nation should focus on inclusion programs, instead of just diversity. I think if other groups and the white Caucasian is educated about the other cultures and minorities, and learns to live along with tolerance and care, everyone's college experience would be much better.

Some students recommended more diversity training for faculty and staff. For example, a 32 year old Hispanic female graduate student from a Western university suggested that “*universities should provide more faculty and staff training and expand diversity support services.*”

Several students highlighted the need for more diversity among faculty and staff. A 26 year old African American female graduate student attending a Northeastern university recommended colleges “*Hire more professors/staff that are people of color.*” Another 23 year old African American female graduate student from a Northeastern university indicated that colleges should “*Hire minority psychologists.*”

II-D – Acknowledging Minority Students’ Experiences of Racism and Oppression (n=15, 11.3%). Some students desired acknowledgement of the reality of their experiences of racism/oppression. For example, a 35 year old Hispanic female graduate student from a Western university expressed how colleges should “*recognize that these events happen, that there is a hostile environment on campus and actively work against it.*” Similarly, a 22 year old African American female undergraduate from a Southeastern university called for colleges to “*acknowledge the racial problem at the school and implement ways to punish those who committed the racist acts.*”

II-E – Improving Reporting on Oppression, Accountability and Training (n=8, 6%). A 36 year old African American graduate student from a Northeastern university described her frustration with the lack of progress being made in improving experiences of racism/oppression at her university. She explained how “*every time we make what we think is progress, we end up just being ‘administrated’ until we have no more power.*” In an effort to address these experiences she called for “*mandatory anti-oppression training*” and “*accountability for tenured faculty.*” Similarly, a 43 year old female graduate student identifying as both Hispanic and African American from a Midwestern university highlighted the need for colleges to “*provide real oversight when students report racism.*”

Additionally, many students called for colleges to take a stance against racism/oppression. For example, a 31 year old African American female graduate student attending a Southern university suggested that colleges should have “*Zero tolerance for racism and bullying*”. Also, a 21 year old Hispanic female undergraduate student from a Northeastern university explained how “*my university just needs to take a stance against all oppression. They're apolitical and useless right now.*” Also, a 23 year old African American female graduate student in a Northeastern university recommended that college be “*accountable for the institutionalized racism, continue to break barriers.*”

II-F – Fostering Better Relationships Between Faculty and Student Body (n=5, 3.8%). Supporting this emergent theme, the same 23 year old African American female quoted above urged “*listen to students, build better connections with students of color.*” A 54 year old African American female graduate student in a Southeastern university both recommended one way in which professors can improve their interactions with students, while also supporting the reality of police violence in students’ lives, as follows:

I feel some of our professors are putting their values on the youth [students]... I am in the class room with young students. They are experiencing police harassment, with no advocates.

Focusing on mentoring, a 26 year old Hispanic female graduate student attending a Southern university stated, below:

I think my university could provide better mentorship from professors. I wish some professors would take the role of a mentor instead of simply a grader. I hear professors complain about what their students don't know and all the "annoying" things they find from their students' work. I mean sure, go ahead and rant, but if you find that your students don't know something, then teach them. Some students just haven't been exposed to the information you're assuming they should know. So, at my school, I would want professors to be better mentors and find better ways to address student weaknesses instead of just talking negatively about students.

Similarly, a 28 year old African American female graduate student from a Southeastern university recommended colleges to “*connect students to appropriate mentors.*” In addition to connecting students to mentors, a 60 year old African American female student at a Southeastern university recommended other ways for building connections, as follows:

Encourage your staff members to get out of their offices and visit to the residence halls, and connect with a grieving or distressed student. Allow them a time to relax and talk about what's on their mind and just be there for them and watch for how a student is feeling walking around the campus. Walk up and ask them how their day is going and if they ever need to talk about what's on their mind, and leave a number or email so, they can reach out to you freely.

II-G – Increasing Financial Opportunities (n=4, 3%). In regard to this theme, a 21 year old African American female undergraduate student from a Southeastern university recommended the following:

...[A] mandatory class for freshmen to learn how to plan, budget, balance social life and school. I know people who had to drop out because they could no longer pay for school or they had less than a 2.0 GPA because of social events. I personally didn't know how to plan or budget until junior year which is when my grades started improving.

97 “It Creates Fear and Divides Us:” Minority College Students’ Experiences of Stress from Racism, Coping Responses, and Recommendations for Colleges—Ingram and Wallace

A 20 year old African American male undergraduate student at a Southeastern university recommended specific action: “*Lower my tuition.*” Similarly, a 23 year old Hispanic female undergraduate student attending a Midwestern university advocated for free access to education, stating “*college should be free.*”

In this manner, the quotes provided support the 7 themes that emerged within this Category II. The frequency with which the themes occurred, as well as brief sample quotes may be found in Table 6.

Table 6. Frequency of Quotations Supporting Emergent Themes Within Category II: Sample Quotations on Ways Colleges Can Assist Students (n=133)

The 7 Themes in Category II	N	%	Sample Quotations
II-A- Improving counseling services	58	43.6	“ <i>More access to counseling, better health services</i> ” “ <i>Have more free counseling options</i> ”
II-B- Creating a safe space for student discussion	24	18.1	“ <i>By having more open discussions about it</i> ” “ <i>Ensure that there is a dedicated space for students to share their experiences</i> ”
II-C– Fostering diversity and inclusion	19	14.3	“ <i>Work on retaining faculty of color</i> ” “ <i>More faculty of color being tenured would be a start</i> ”
			<i>(Table 4 continues)</i>
II-D- Acknowledging minority experiences of racism and oppression	15	11.3	“ <i>Acknowledge and talk about the differences of experiences</i> ” “ <i>Acknowledge the racial problem at the school</i> ”
II-E- Improving Reporting on Oppression, Accountability and Training	8	6.0	“ <i>Notify students of hate crimes, rapes, other problematic racial events</i> ” “ <i>Provide real oversight when students report racism</i> ”
II-F- Fostering better relationships between faculty and student body	5	3.8	“ <i>I think my university could provide better mentorship from professors</i> ” “ <i>...The teachers are all researchers who are focused on their research; ...So the entire culture of the school would need to change to better support students</i> ”

II-G- Increasing financial opportunities	4	3.0	“Provide more <i>funding</i> ” “Have a mandatory class for freshmen to learn how to plan, <i>budget</i> ”
--	---	-----	--

DISCUSSION

Our study results provide important insight into the lives of college students who are living at the nexus of multiple forms of racism, given the majority (85.1%, n=183) have experienced any racism and/or oppression. Moreover, exposure to racism and/or oppression was a stressful experience for the majority (85.2%, n=156) who experienced it, as well as traumatic for over a third (38.3%, n=70). This finding echoes that of Pittman and Kaur (2018) who found Black college students sampled from 2014 to 2017 were coping with the stress of perceived racism. The present research was conducted from January to February 2017. The finding of high levels of perceived racism and/or oppression among students may reflect how the sample was mostly Black/African American (66.2%, n=151) and Hispanic/Latino (21.9%, n=50), while most (62.37%, n=142) had never attended a Minority Serving Institution, meaning greater exposure to dynamics within Predominantly White Institutions (PWIs). The finding that most of the students had attended PWIs is consistent with the report by Shahid et al. (2017) that there has been a significant increase in Black students’ enrollment at PWIs over the past 40 years. Further, Shahid et al. (2017) emphasize how such students experience racial discrimination, prejudice, and culture shock within PWIs, providing additional support for this study’s finding that the majority of students endorsed exposure to racism and/or oppression.

Consistent with the research of Newsome, Airhihenbuwa and Snipes (2018) in response to the reality of a gender imbalance for Black women on college campuses, the present study sample was 78.1% (n=178) female. Also, Green, et al. (2016) indicate that the number of Black females attending PWIs has grown in recent years. Further, there is a gap in the literature regarding the emotional, social, and mental well-being of Black women in PWIs within these institutions that are generally unwelcoming to them (Green et al., 2016). Thus, the present study’s qualitative findings help to partly fill a gap in the literature by having a sample with considerable representation of Black women. However, the present study’s sample also includes males, as well as Hispanics and Asians who collectively provide a picture of unwelcoming colleges across the nation for immigrant and racial-ethnic students in the current political era.

Analyzing Findings within the Conceptual Framework

With regard to this study’s qualitative findings, first, they fit well within the conceptual framework introduced in this article as having guided the study. This conceptual framework is the nexus of multiple forms of racism (i.e. *institutional racism*, *cultural racism*, *individual racism*, *racial microaggressions*, and *structural racism*, including in the form of *police violence*)—with potential perceived racism, intersectionality, stress, coping, and varied health outcomes.

Confirming institutional racism within this nexus, several Black female students shared illustrative experiences. One urged colleges/universities to be “*accountable for the institutionalized racism.*” Another acknowledged this factor, while explaining what she does: i.e., “*work to fight it and change the system.*” Yet, another spoke of “*the climate*” at her “*current institution*” as “*very uncomfortable,*” including to the extent that she had “*chosen to leave school.*” This reflects the hallmark feature of PWIs as unwelcoming, as asserted by Green et al. (2016). Further, within such institutions, racial-ethnic minority students may experience

discrimination and culture shock, as per Shahid et al. (2017). Further, the voices of the Black women captured in the present study are reminiscent of what Shahid et al. (2017) found with their sample of Black women attending PWIs in the Northeast; specifically, campus racial tension was found to be a significant predictor of stress. Similarly, others have documented Black female college students’ vulnerability to the effects of stress (Donovan & West, 2015). The findings in the present study lend support to the conclusion offered by Green et al. (2016) that PWIs foster the ongoing marginalization of Black women.

Within the experience of individual racism, the conceptual model guiding the study also acknowledges potentially perceived additional prejudice or discrimination due to intersectionality. Regarding intersectionality, a Black woman in the present study shared her experience of intersectionality, given “*so much sexism as a Black woman.*” Such intersectionality involving racism and sexism for Black women has been documented by others (Lewis, Williams, Peppers & Gadson, 2017). Also, an Asian female student explained, “*I think my experiences were more covert racism and sexism. I consider them to be microaggressions.*” Other research has similarly documented the racialized sexism/sexualized racism within the intersectional experiences of Asian American college women (Mukkamala & Suyemoto, 2018). Thus, the voices of the women in the present study also support the nexus introduced in this article with regard to exposure to *individual racism*, as well as *racial-ethnic microaggressions*.

During the current political era, exposure to such individual racism, racial-ethnic microaggressions and cultural racism appear to be increasing, causing great stress. As per findings in this study, a Latino male undergraduate student at a Midwestern university explained, as follows:

I think as a Latino I've face a lot of oppression and indirect racism in the recent months because of Trump. It has given rise to the flow of ideals and actions that marginalize us as minorities. Things like go back to your country, or build the wall have a deeper impact in our mindset and our emotions. It creates fear and divides us.

His final comment was deemed so powerful in capturing the reality of the profound psychological experience of stress from fear and marginalization that is facing contemporary college students of color that we chose it as the title of this article: *It creates fear and divides us*. In this same vein, another Black female student at a Northeastern university similarly shared walking down the street and being called “*nigger.*” Chun and Evans (2018) validate the reality captured by these students, and assert that such taunts on campuses across the country “*reveal how the invective of Donald Trump*” has effectively “*normalized*” the open expression of “*racism and xenophobia*” (p. 14). As a result, on college campuses and in public spaces there has been the “*movement of overtly racist behaviors and comments from backstage settings*” to “*the frontstage*” where disparaging comments are increasingly made in front of a diverse audience (Chun & Evans, 2018, p. 15).

Providing support for a pervasive cultural racism that has a long history pre-dating the current political era, another Black female student spoke of that which “*is ingrained in the society*” and “*what built this country and these mindsets.*” This cultural racism is also part of the nexus in which students’ lives are embedded, while propelling individual racism and microaggressions.

Further, the nexus in which the lives of college students are embedded includes structural racism, as in the form of police violence. A Black woman in the sample documented this, given how youth in her college classes were “*experiencing police harassment, with no advocates.*” Her

perspective is supported by Young and Hines (2018), as they underscore the pervasiveness of police violence in the lives of Black people, including the risk of death.

Perceived Racism, Potential Stress and Sequelae

The data from this study also fits wells within other parts of the conceptual framework guiding this study. Within the conceptual model, all forms of racism are possible sources for the experience of perceived racism, which can lead to potential stress and the challenge of coping (i.e. adaptive or maladaptive) with varied health outcomes, as per the seminal work of Clark et al. (1999). Highlighting the core quantitative finding, the majority of participants had the experience of perceived racism (and/or oppression, as in intersectionality), while almost all of those that cited experiences of racism stated it was stressful, and more than one third stated it was traumatic. This is of great concern, given the work of Clark et al. (1999) suggesting exposure to racism when perceived as stressful can produce a negative biopsychosocial sequelae. Sanchez (2018) found with their sample of Asian American and Latinx American students that the experience of racial-ethnic microaggressions was directly related to increased psychological distress. Cheng and Mallinckrodt (2015) found that experiences of perceived racism and racial/ethnic discrimination pose a risk for the development of symptoms of posttraumatic stress disorder, as well as maladaptive alcohol use, as found with Latino college students. The experience of perceived racism has been documented as occurring for Asian American college students (Alamilla, Kim, Walker & Sisson, 2017). Research shows for diverse Americans (Asian, Hispanic and African Americans) how the experience of perceived racism has an association with endorsement of varied mental disorders, including major depressive disorder, post-traumatic stress disorder, and substance use disorders (Chou, et, al, 2012).

Indicative of the potential sequelae following from the experience of perceived racism and/or oppression, one Hispanic female student in the present study cited coping through “*good supporting friends, and weed.*” Of note, others in the sample also admitted to using marijuana to cope. The use of substances such as marijuana suggests maladaptive coping with stress. This study’s data reflects what others have found regarding the use of substances by college students to cope with stress following from the experience of perceived racism (Cheng & Mallinckrodt, 2015; Chou et al., 2012; Desalu, et al., 2017; Woodford, et al., 2015).

Of note the experience of this Hispanic female student who smoked “*weed*” fell within the Category of *Using Avoidance Strategies* (4.1%), which encompassed a low proportion of students’ quotes. Vaccaro and Ramirez (2018) also documented the coping strategy of avoidance, as the theme “It’s just easier to go home,” using a sample of college women of color in their qualitative study. This mirrors the Black woman in this study who decided to “*leave school and relocate to my home state,*” and, until that move, coped by “*retreating--staying at home, avoiding contact with people*” etc.

While seemingly a maladaptive coping strategy, others have discussed the value in avoidance, in particular, when an individual has not yet acquired and refined higher order adaptive coping responses, such as making an assertive verbal response (Wallace, 2005). As the same Black woman in this study explained, there was a sound rationale for her use of avoidance of “*things that might bring on stress in any given moment.*” Without alternative higher-order stress coping strategies, or practical skills for coping with the stress of racism, this woman may have wisely chosen avoidance, suggesting such a choice may not always be maladaptive.

Resilience: Adaptive Ways of Coping/Bouncing Back from Racism

As students shared how they coped with and bounced back from experiences of perceived racism and/or oppression, much more prevalent than maladaptive coping (e.g. smoking marijuana) was adaptive coping. A picture of resilience arose from the qualitative data. The same picture was presented through the qualitative study of Vaccaro and Ramirez (2018) where college women of color “drew upon inner strength to persist despite racism” (p. 142).

In the present study, the most prevalent adaptive coping strategy involved *Cognitive Coping, Cognitive Reframing, Distraction* (30.6%), as students “*Brushed it off*” (Asian male) or “*didn’t allow it to fester in my mind*” (Black male). Others found that, in situations of high racial tension, those who engage in lower levels of cognitive coping experienced greater levels of stress (Shahid et al., 2017). Such cognitive efforts to manage stressors were described in the classic work of Lazarus and Folkman (1984), as a common coping strategy when a threat is appraised (Han, Ayala, Paul, Boylan, Gregorich & Choi, 2015). Thus, deployment of adaptive cognitive coping emerges as having great value in this study, as the predominant form of coping among students, while reflecting students’ resilience, inner strength, and ability to bounce back from racism and/or oppression.

Next highest in prevalence among study participants was the adaptive coping response of *Seeking Out Sources of Social Support* (19%). For example, an Asian male student shared, “*I learned to surround myself with accepting people.*” Research by Park, Wang, Williams and Alegria (2018) has documented how social support may attenuate the potential damaging impact of perceived racism and discrimination for Mexican-origin adolescents. Sanchez et al. (2018) found that social support, as an adaptive or proactive coping strategy, may help prepare Asian American and Latinx American college students to better cope and respond to the racial-ethnic microaggressions and discrimination they encounter.

Serving much the same function as seeking out social support, and next highest in prevalence, other study participants described *Talking About the Experience* (17.4%). For example, an Asian female coped by “*talking through stressful situations with those I trust.*” Similarly, within the Vaccaro and Ramirez (2018) study, a coping strategy with microaggressions was “seeking social support” so that other women of color could “validate their perspectives and feelings about racial microaggressions” (p. 140). According to a woman in the Vaccaro and Ramirez (2018) study, implicit in this process was talking about the experience with “somebody who knows” so that “there are things you don’t even have to say, and you know they understand. You could spend hours explaining this to a White person” (p. 140). This suggests the key ingredient of “trust” mentioned above. In this same vein, a Black female in this study often sought out “*a community of peers to discuss things with*” to cope and bounce back from racism.

The next most frequently used adaptive coping response to perceived racism involved *Relying Upon God, Prayer, Spirituality, Church and Faith to Cope* (11.6%). This is consistent with a body of prior research identifying not only social support, but also spiritual and religious practices as useful coping strategies frequently used by Black college students (Shahid et al., 2017; Brown, Phillips, Abdullah, Vinson & Robertson, 2011). Also promising with African Americans is the use of faith-based organizations in delivering prevention and intervention strategies (Tettye, Duran, Andersen & Boutin-Foster, 2017). This is consistent with how Molock, Puri, Marlin, and Barksdale (2006) suggested that African Americans have strong spiritual roots, including the highest level of public and private religiousness. In this regard, Sanchez et al. (2018) discussed how responses to microaggressions typically began with an appraisal of the threat and thoughts

regarding how to respond, followed by responses that often included spiritual coping (e.g. meditating or praying). Engagement in such coping strategies by Asian American and Latinx American college students were linked to less psychological distress (Sanchez et al., 2018), underscoring their importance. As a Black male student in the present study stated, “*God helped me bounce back*” after an experience of perceived racism.

A smaller proportion of students coped with racism and oppression by *Engaging in Advocacy, Education, Organizing and Activism* (7.4%). This theme is supported by Hope, Keels and Durkee (2016) who reasoned that Black and Latino students’ political activism was among those factors functioning as a positive and proactive coping response to negative experiences of discrimination; however, this was only found to be true for the Latinx American college students in their sample. Further, Cattaneo and Chapman (2010) asserted that empowerment is critical for enhancing individual “well-being through support of the natural inclination to strive for positive change” (p. 646). This inclination may manifest through advocacy, educating others, organizing, and activism, as per a Black female student who stated, “*You don't cope with racism/oppression. You work to fight it and change the system. So I'm not coping as much as biting my tongue and working my ass off to make a change.*”

Recommendations for Colleges: Ways to Assist Students

The students identified some promising ways in which colleges can assist students experiencing stress and trauma from experiences of perceived racism and/or oppression. The most prevalent recommendation was for *Improving Counseling Services* (43.6%), such as by offering “*free access to private therapy,*” making “*counseling services more accessible,*” hiring “*health professionals of color,*” and ensuring services are “*culturally appropriate.*” This focus on counseling underscores how what typically follows from the experience of perceived racism and/or oppression is a response of stress, psychological distress, and sometimes posttraumatic stress; meanwhile, adaptive coping means seeking out counseling.

Coinciding with what the students in this study recommended, a new counseling intervention using a culture-relevant-based group intervention for enhancing coping with racism and gender-oppression was designed and evaluated, finding promising results (Jones, Ahn, Quezada & Chakravarty, 2018). Jones et al.’s (2018) group intervention also corresponds with the second most prevalent recommendation made by students in the present study: i.e. *Creating a Safe Space for Student Discussion* (18.1%), such as via provision of “*Group meetings or seminars ... to discuss ways to overcome, cope, heal, and bounce back from those experiences.*” As another potential benefit from creating safe spaces for student discussion, McClain et al. (2016) indicate that providing students a space to reflect on and think critically about their ethnic identity may help Black students to better understand themselves, their relationships with others, and their experiences on campus at PWIs.

Next, students recommended college engagement in the work of *Fostering Diversity and Inclusion* (14.3%), such as via the provision of “*more faculty and staff training,*” the expansion of “*diversity support services,*” and the hiring of “*more professors/staff that are people of color*” or “*minority.*” In direct support of this study’s participants’ timely and appropriate recommendations, Stout, Archie, Cross and Carman (2018) document how faculty diversity in the United States is lower than in the nation’s population; and, research shows that increased faculty diversity benefits under-represented minority students from all racial/ethnic groups, as reflected in their increased graduation rates. Acknowledging the need for a diversity culture shift in higher education, Chun

and Evans (2018) describe the new generation of students who “have pressured” college leaders “for diversity progress in higher education” (p. 2). Chun and Evans (2018) provide research-based guidance so that colleges can accomplish the diversity culture shift and inclusiveness that the students in the present study recommended.

Students recommended that colleges also change by *Acknowledging Minority Students’ Experiences of Racism and Oppression* (11.3%). This is reminiscent of a theme Vaccaro and Ramirez (2018) provided: “there’s something about that validation” (p. 140). In the present study, students seemed to be calling for not only validation and recognition of their experiences of racism and/or oppression, but also for colleges taking ameliorative action. For example, in the present study a Hispanic female urged colleges to “*recognize that these events happen, that there is a hostile environment on campus and actively work against it.*” And, a Black female recommended that colleges “*acknowledge the racial problem at the school and implement ways to punish those who committed the racist acts.*”

By way of confirmation that racist acts are a contemporary challenge, Chun and Evans (2018) present evidence documenting the recent rise in racist incidents on college campuses across the nation. They call for a bold and courageous college leadership to take action and overcome both internal and external resistance to diversity change. College leaders will encounter a typical White pushback whenever progress is made on diversity, as well as White backlash against institutional changes that support diversity, including lawsuits (Chun & Evans, 2018).

A student in the present study seems familiar with such White pushback, offering a quote that supported the theme of *Improving Reporting on Oppression, Accountability and Training* (6%): i.e., “*every time we make what we think is progress, we end up just being ‘administrated’ until we have no more power.*” A potential manifestation of White pushback may be White college administrators who make students of color feel “administrated” and disempowered, while failing to respond appropriately to racist incidents on college campuses. Another student responds to what appears to be an all too common status quo, recommending that colleges “*acknowledge the racial problem at the school and implement ways to punish those who committed the racist acts.*”

The reality is that students of color and their supporters are the ones who end up pressing and motivating the White leadership of colleges to take action for diversity, inclusion and to improve their campus racial climate, according to Chun and Evans (2018). A Black female student in this study shared what contemporary students of color are pressing for: i.e. that colleges become “*accountable for the institutionalized racism, continue to break barriers.*”

Practical Implications of the Findings

There are important practical implications that follow from the main study finding that the majority of the students of color in our sample experienced perceived racism and/or oppression, with nearly all of them finding the experience stressful, and some describing it as traumatic. In short, students are coping with considerable minority stress in college. This has important implications for students’ academic achievement. Cheng and Mallinckrodt (2015) emphasize how minority stress has the negative impact of interfering with academic adjustment and achievement. Martin, Spenner, and Mustillo (2016) indicated that the college achievement gap is unlikely to be eliminated without systemic change and robust efforts to address inequalities and systemic social injustice. Campuses need to promote a more welcoming classroom and residential climate as a mechanism to reduce the Black-White and Latino-White college achievement gaps (Martin et al., 2016). A diversity and inclusion agenda needs to be implemented by college leadership across the

nation, in order to make colleges more welcoming places for their students of color (Chun & Evans, 2018). Meanwhile, women of color often experience intersectionality and suffer additional oppression due to their gender (Jones et al., 2018). Students experiencing such intersectionality especially need colleges to become more welcoming places.

Yet, to speak of making colleges more “welcoming” for students of color is to use rather benign language for capturing what is needed, in light of the magnitude of the challenge. A considerable challenge follows from the rise of overtly racist behaviors, disparaging racist comments and taunts, and racist incidents on college campuses in an era that has normalized the open expression of racism and xenophobia (Chun & Evans, 2018, p. 14). Further, what has been documented in research is how many White students fear anticipated ongoing demographic changes in the United States (Chun & Davis, 2018). For example, within this nation, Hispanics/Latinos comprise the largest and fastest growing ethnic minority group (Cheng & Mallinckrodt, 2015). Research has shown that increasing racial diversity is experienced as a threat by Whites, while evoking concerns they will suffer discrimination (Craig & Richeson, 2018).

Such demographic shifts drive White student resistance against immigration and multiculturalism—as well as hostility toward upwardly mobile students of color seeking to attain to a higher educational and economic status (Chun & Davis, 2018). Frankly, many Americans do not value a nation that is more diverse and equitable—if it means Whites becoming the minority. There are the forces of students providing White pushback and White backlash against institutional changes that support diversity and inclusion, as part of the contemporary challenge facing college leadership (Chun & Evans, 2018).

There are serious implications that follow from our data showing that contemporary college students of color are, in fact, encountering overt racism, or what may also be White pushback and White backlash. However, our data also confirms how there are the forces of students of color pressing for and motivating largely White college administrations to pursue a diversity and inclusion agenda (Chun & Evans, 2018). Our data reveal the students’ resilience, strength and clarity regarding what colleges need to do to assist students impacted by racism and/or oppression.

One implication of the current climate of hostility on college campuses is that there is a vital need for a new college leadership that values training and guidance in how to create a diversity culture shift (Chun & Evans, 2018). Thus, it is possible for college leadership to learn how to effectively cope and adaptively respond to the contemporary challenge. It is vital that colleges embrace new leadership models that value cultural differences, diversity, and work for organizational change. Colleges need to be perceived as taking action through a new kind of leadership that is benefitting from research-based guidance on how to implement a diversity and inclusion agenda (Chun & Evans, 2018). This may include diversifying the student body, faculty, and administrators, and developing a mandatory core course for all students on the topic of multicultural competence (Wallace, 2000). The goal is to accomplish a major diversity cultural shift on college campuses (Chun & Evans, 2018). Thus, a main implication of the study findings involves how “college and university administrators and personnel can create and promote inclusive campus climates committed to affirming and acknowledging the lived experiences of racism among their students of color” (Pittman & Kaur, 2018, p. 314).

Among the other implications for colleges, health professionals and other professionals, action must be taken to ensure enhanced access to college counseling services, the hiring of more health professionals/psychologists of color, and the provision of counseling services that are

culturally appropriate. Also needed are groups that provide a safe space for student discussion of their experiences of perceived racism and/or oppression, including within the provision of counseling services (e.g. Jones et al., 2018). Additional actions for colleges to take include extending training to faculty so they learn how to provide better mentorship of students of color, as well as offer social support. As a part of any viable diversity and inclusion agenda, colleges would go beyond hiring more faculty of color, and work to retain faculty of color and to have more obtain tenure.

Future Directions in Research

Funding for research is needed to support more in-depth longitudinal studies that capture the experiences of college students of color at multiple points in time, using the conceptual framework in which the present study was grounded, encompassing the nexus of multiple forms of racism, potential perceived racism, intersectionality, stress, coping, and varied health outcomes. As a potential model to follow, Cheng and Mallinckrodt (2015) engaged in longitudinal research with Hispanic college students, finding that those exposed to an experience of racial/ethnic discrimination emerged one year later at risk for showing symptoms of posttraumatic stress and increased maladaptive use of alcohol. Future research should include longitudinal studies that investigate students’ experiences with perceived racism and/or oppression in relation to the manifestation over time of biopsychosocial outcomes—including depression, anxiety, post-traumatic stress disorder, and any negative impacts on physical health, academic achievement, employment, and level of socioeconomic status attained—building on prior studies (Chou et al., 2012; García & Sharif, 2015; Graham et al., 2015; Hinze, Lin and Andersson, 2012; Pieterse, et al., 2011).

Longitudinal research is also needed that evaluates interventions for enhancing coping with stress and ameliorating the biopsychosocial sequelae from experiences of perceived racism and/or oppression. Much needed is the development and implementation of targeted prevention and intervention strategies that are both culturally appropriate and gendered focused on college campuses, while supporting students’ acquisition of effective adaptive coping responses to racism and/or oppression. For example, a model of training for racial-cultural acquisition, or acquiring practical skills for coping with racism and/or oppression, could be implemented and evaluated with longitudinal follow-up of students (Wallace, 2005). Also, research needs to evaluate counseling interventions and therapeutic/psychoeducational group interventions tailored to be culturally appropriate for college students, such as the culture-relevant-based group intervention for enhancing coping with racism and gender-oppression developed by Jones, et al. (2018). Interventions could also be evaluated for improving the stress-coping of college students of color, such as through mindfulness training; mindfulness was found upon six-year follow-up to promote students’ well-being and adaptive coping, including enhanced problem-focused coping (de Vibe, Solhaug, Rosenvinge, Tyssen, Hanley & Garland, 2018).

Counseling interventions to prevent the use of substances (alcohol, marijuana) for coping with the stress of racism and/or oppression also need to be developed, implemented, and evaluated (Pittman & Kaur, 2018). The interventions could potentially be delivered to college students via workshops, webinars, or groups. There is also a potential role for faith-based organizations in providing social support and training to college students in the acquisition of adaptive coping responses to the stress of racism and/or oppression, which could be evaluated in research, following the success of other models (e.g. Tettey et al., 2017).

Research may also seek to uncover differences in coping with perceived racism and/or oppression for racial-ethnic groups and by gender. Recommended by Pittman and Kaur (2018) is additional research exploring “gender specific patterns” of coping, and “differences in race related stress experiences” (p. 314). There is great value in lines of research that seek to determine the efficacy of specific ways of coping for those from varied cultural backgrounds, so as to inform the design of culturally- and/or individually-tailored interventions. For example, there is the research of Hope, Velez, Offidani-Bertrand, Keels and Durkee (2018) that found that Latinx American college students experienced their engagement in political activism as a protective factor mitigating the negative effect from experiences of racial-ethnic discrimination; however, Black students engaged in political activism experienced an exacerbation of the impact of exposure to racial discrimination, including more stress and anxiety, in comparison to those not engaged in political activism. There may be many such differences across varied groups of students of color, including those experiencing intersectionality, as in racism and sexism. The identification of specific needs and characteristics for racial-ethnic and gender groups is important for the design of interventions. For example, research shows that Asian American college students tend to use more avoidant coping strategies, while women and African Americans were more receptive to help (Sheu & Sedlacek, 2004). Others found that African American males’ coping reflects underutilization of college counseling services, despite having high levels of psychological distress (Whaley & Dubose, 2018).

Of note, this finding on African American males suggests the vital need for more research that includes an adequate representation of males. The present study sample was majority female (78.1%), while likely reflecting the gender imbalance with which Black college women, in particular, must cope (Newsome, Airhihenbuwa & Snipes, 2018). Meanwhile, female college student enrollment has risen in an era when male college enrollment remained unchanged (Pew, 2014). Regardless, an effort must be made to obtain research samples with adequate male representation, in order to capture the experiences of male students with perceived racism and/or oppression; and, to ascertain male students’ array of stress coping strategies, as well as other biopsychosocial sequelae over time.

Limitations of the Study

In addition to the limitation of considerable gender imbalance in the study sample, there were other study limitations. The investigation relied on self-reported data, which demands recall, and is subject to social desirability bias. Furthermore, the study was conducted online, which required access to computers and the Internet to complete the study survey. Potential participants who did not have online access were excluded from the study. Lastly, the use of a study incentive (i.e., a \$300, \$200, or \$100 gift certificate for use on www.amazon.com) could have motivated some to take the survey multiple times —necessitating analyzing the data so as to detect and potentially eliminate those with duplicate computer IP addresses.

CONCLUSION

We presented in this paper the results of our cross-sectional study using an online survey to ascertain the prevalence of experiences of racism and/or oppression (e.g. sexism) for a convenience sample of undergraduate and graduate minority college students. The significance of the present study lies in documenting via quantitative data the high prevalence of experiences of perceived racism and/or oppression for racial-ethnic minority college students, as a source of

significant stress for nearly all, and trauma for many. In addition, the study obtained qualitative data that was analyzed so as to produce (Category I) 8 emergent themes on “ways of coping/bouncing back/healing from racism/oppression,” and (Category II) 7 themes for “ways in which the colleges can assist students experiencing stress and trauma.”

Thus, the use of mixed methods permitted going beyond documenting the very high prevalence of experiences of racism and/or oppression, eliciting the actual voices of students who provide a picture of their resilience with deployment of mostly adaptive coping responses, along with the ability to bounce back from stress. The students’ voices also powerfully call for change in their colleges, while offering practical strategies for assisting students of color. Their voices reflect an intense drive to spur mostly White college administrations into taking action to acknowledge the racism and/or oppression occurring on their campuses. The students articulate an urgent need for colleges to improve counseling services and create safe spaces for group discussion of students’ experiences, within their adoption of a broad diversity and inclusion agenda, which necessitates a bold new leadership on college campuses.

Overall, the study findings have practical implications for what colleges, as well as professionals can do to enhance the academic achievement and improve the health outcomes of minority college students. The study results will, hopefully, find practical application through the work of colleges/universities, health professionals, and other professionals working with minority college students. The urgency of taking action to meet the needs of contemporary college students of color is captured in the voice of the Hispanic male who aptly summed up the unique stress being experienced on college campuses during the current political era, given the reality of more overt expressions of racism and xenophobia: *It creates fear and divides us.*

REFERENCES

- Alamilla, S. G., Kim, B. S., Walker, T., & Sisson, F. R. (2017). Acculturation, enculturation, perceived racism, and psychological symptoms among Asian American college students. *Journal of Multicultural Counseling and Development, 45*(1), 37-65.
- Arbona, C. (2016). Ethnic minority status stress, self-efficacy, and persistence intentions among Hispanic college women: A moderation analysis. *Journal of Psychology and Behavioral Science, 4*(1), 11-22.
- Bowleg, L. (2012a). The problem with the phrase “women and minorities”: Intersectionality, an important theoretical framework for public health. *American Journal of Public Health, 102*(7), 1267-1273. doi: 10.2105/AJPH.2012.300750. PMID: 22594719
- Brown, T., Phillips, C., Abdullah, T., Vinson, E., & Robertson, J. (2011). Dispositional versus situational coping: Are the coping strategies African Americans use different for general versus racism-related stressors? *Journal of Black Psychology, 37* (3), 311-335.
- Buchanan, N. T., Settles, I. H., Wu, I. H., & Hayashino, D. S. (2018). Sexual Harassment, Racial Harassment, and Well-being among Asian American Women: An Intersectional Approach. *Women & Therapy, 1*-20.
- Cattaneo, L. B., & Chapman, A. R. (2010). The process of empowerment: A model for use in research and practice. *American Psychologist, 65*(7), 646.
- Carbado, D. W. (2017). From Stopping Black People to Killing Black People: The Fourth Amendment Pathways to Police Violence. *Cal. L. Rev., 105*, 125.

- Cheng, H. L., & Mallinckrodt, B. (2015). Racial/ethnic discrimination, posttraumatic stress symptoms, and alcohol problems in a longitudinal study of Hispanic/Latino college students. *Journal of counseling psychology, 62*(1), 38.
- Chou, T. Asnaani, A., & S.G., Hoffman (2012). Perception of Racial Discrimination and Psychopathology Across Three U.S. Ethnic Groups, *Cultural Diversity and Ethnic Minority Psychology, Vol 18, No. 1*, 74-81
- Chun, E., & Evans, A. (2018). *Leading a Diversity Culture Shift in Higher Education: Comprehensive Organizational Learning Strategies*. Routledge.
- Clark, R., Anderson, N. B., Clark, V. R., & Williams, D. R. (1999). Racism as a stressor for African Americans: A biopsychosocial model. *American Psychologist, 54*(10), 805-816.
- Cooper, H., Moore, L., Gruskin, S., & Krieger, N. (2004). Characterizing perceived police violence: implications for public health. *American Journal of Public Health, 94*(7), 1109-1118.
- Craig, M. A. & Richeson, J.A. (2018). “Majority No More? The Influence of Neighborhood Racial Diversity and Salient National Population Changes on Whites’ Perceptions of Racial Discrimination.” *RSF: The Russell Sage Foundation Journal of the Social Sciences 4*(5): 141–57. DOI: 10.7758/RSF.2018.4.5.07.
- Desalu, J. M., Kim, J., Zaso, M. J., Corridors, S. R., Loury, J. A., Minter, M. L., & Park, A. (2017). Racial discrimination, binge drinking, and negative drinking consequences among black college students: serial mediation by depressive symptoms and coping motives. *Ethnicity & health, 1-15*.
- Desmond, M., Papachristos, A. V., & Kirk, D. S. (2016). Police violence and citizen crime reporting in the black community. *American Sociological Review, 81*(5), 857-876.
- De Vibe, M., Solhaug, I., Rosenvinge, J. H., Tyssen, R., Hanley, A., & Garland, E. (2018). Six-year positive effects of a mindfulness-based intervention on mindfulness, coping and well-being in medical and psychology students; Results from a randomized controlled trial. *PLoS one, 13*(4), e0196053.
- Donovan, R. A., & West, L. M. (2015). Stress and mental health: Moderating role of the strong black woman stereotype. *Journal of Black Psychology, 41*(4), 384-396.
- Doyle, L., Brady, A.-M., & Byrne, G. (2009). An overview of mixed methods research. *Journal of Research in Nursing, 14*(2), 175-185. doi:10.1177/174498710809396
- Gale, N. K., Heath, G., Cameron, E., Rashid, S., & Redwood, S. (2013). Using the framework method for the analysis of qualitative data in multi-disciplinary health research. *BMC Medical Research Methodology, 13*, 117. <http://doi.org/10.1186/1471-2288-13-117>.
- García, J. L., & Sharif, M. Z. (2015). Black lives matter: A commentary on racism and public health. *American Journal of Public Health, 105*(8), e27-e30.
- Graham, J. R., Calloway, A., & Roemer, L. (2015). The buffering effects of emotion regulation in the relationship between experiences of racism and anxiety in a Black American sample. *Cognitive Therapy and Research, 39*, 553-563.
- Green, D., Pulley, T., Jackson, M., Martin, L. L., & Fasching-Varner, K. J. (2018). Mapping the margins and searching for higher ground: examining the marginalisation of black female graduate students at PWIs. *Gender and Education, 30*(3), 295-309.

- Greene, B., & Spivey, P. (2017). Sexual Minority Couples and Families: Clinical Considerations. (pp. 181-201). In S. Kelly, *Diversity in Couple and Family Therapy: Ethnicities, Sexualities, and Socioeconomics*, Santa Barbara, CA: Praeger/ABC-CLIO, LLC.
- Greer, T. M., & Brown, P. (2011). Minority status stress and coping processes among African American college students. *Journal of Diversity in Higher Education*, 4(1), 26.
- Han, C. S., Ayala, G., Paul, J. P., Boylan, R., Gregorich, S. E., & Choi, K. H. (2015). Stress and coping with racism and their role in sexual risk for HIV among African American, Asian/Pacific Islander, and Latino men who have sex with men. *Archives of sexual behavior*, 44(2), 411-420.
- Han, M., & Lee, M. (2011). Risk and protective factors contributing to depressive symptoms in Vietnamese American college students. *Journal of College Student Development*, 52(2), 154-166.
- Harwood, S. A., Choi, S., Orozco, M., Browne Hunt, M., & Mendenhall, R. (2015). *Racial microaggressions at the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign: Voices of students of color in the classroom*. Urbana-Champaign: University of Illinois.
- Hinze, S. W., Lin, J., & Andersson, T. E. (2012). Can we capture the intersections? Older Black women, education, and health. *Women’s Health Issues*, 22(1), e91–e98.
- Hope, E. C., Keels, M., & Durkee, M. I. (2016). Participation in Black Lives Matter and deferred action for childhood arrivals: Modern activism among Black and Latino college students. *Journal of Diversity in Higher Education*, 9(3), 203-215.
- Hope, E. C., Velez, G., Offidani-Bertrand, C., Keels, M., & Durkee, M. I. (2018). Political activism and mental health among Black and Latinx college students. *Cultural Diversity and Ethnic Minority Psychology*, 24(1), 26.
- Jones, J. M. (1972). *Prejudice and racism*. Reading, MA: Addison Wesley
- Jones, J. M., & Carter, R. T. (1996). Racism and White racial identity: Merging realities. In B. P. Bowser & R. G. Hunt (Eds.), *Impacts of racism on White Americans* (pp. 1-23). Thousand Oaks, CA, US: Sage Publications, Inc.
- Jones, L. V., Ahn, S., Quezada, N. M., & Chakravarty, S. (2018). Enhancing counseling services for Black college women attending HBCUs. *Journal of Ethnic & Cultural Diversity in Social Work*, 1-16.
- Lazarus, R.S. & Folkman, S. (1984). *Stress, appraisal, and coping*. New York: Springer Publishing Company.
- Lewis, J. A., Williams, M. G., Peppers, E. J., & Gadson, C. A. (2017). Applying intersectionality to explore the relations between gendered racism and health among Black women. *Journal of counseling psychology*, 64(5), 475.
- Lian, Z. & Wallace, B.C. (in press). Prevalence of past-year mental disorders and its correlates among Chinese international students in U.S. higher education, *Journal of American College Health* (Manuscript ID: JACH-2018-05-0187.R1)
- Martin, N. D., Spenner, K. I., & Mustillo, S. A. (2016). A test of leading explanations for the college racial-ethnic achievement gap: Evidence from a longitudinal case study. *Research in Higher Education*, 1-29.
- McClain, S., Beasley, S. T., Jones, B., Awosogba, O., Jackson, S., & Cokley, K. (2016). An examination of the impact of racial and ethnic identity, impostor feelings, and minority

- status stress on the mental health of Black college students. *Journal of Multicultural Counseling and Development*, 44, 101-117.
- Metzl, J. M., & Roberts, D. E. (2014). Structural competency meets structural racism: race, politics, and the structure of medical knowledge. *Virtual Mentor*, 16(9), 674.
- Minikel-Lacocque, J. (2012). Racism, college, and the power of words racial microaggressions reconsidered. *American Educational Research Journal*, 50(3), 432-465.
- Molock, S. D., Puri, R., Matlin, S., & Barksdale, C. (2006). Relationship between religious coping and suicidal behaviors among African American adolescents. *Journal of Black Psychology*, 32(3), 366-389.
- Mukkamala, S., & Suyemoto, K. L. (2018). Racialized sexism/sexualized racism: A multimethod study of intersectional experiences of discrimination for Asian American women. *Asian American journal of psychology*, 9(1), 32
- Nadal, K. L., Griffin, K. E., Wong, Y., Davidoff, K. C., & Davis, L. S. (2017). The injurious relationship between racial microaggressions and physical health: implications for social work. *Journal of Ethnic & Cultural Diversity in Social Work*, 26(1-2), 6-17.
- Newsome, V. R., Airhihenbuwa, C. O., & Snipes, S. A. (2018). Educated and At-Risk: How the Shortage of Available Partners Influences HIV Risk for College-Educated African-American Women. *Journal of the National Medical Association*, 110(3), 219-230.
- Oliver, M. D., II, Datta, S., & Baldwin, D. R. (2017). Wellness among African-American and Caucasian students attending a predominantly White institution. *Journal of Health Psychology*, 1-9.
- Park, I. J. K., Schwartz, S. J., Lee, R. M., Kim, M., & Rodriguez, L. (2013). Perceived racial/ethnic discrimination and antisocial behaviors among Asian American college students: Testing the moderating roles of ethnic and American identity. *Cultural Diversity and Ethnic Minority Psychology*, 19(2), 166-176.
- Park, I. J., Wang, L., Williams, D. R., & Alegría, M. (2018). Coping With Racism: Moderators of the Discrimination–Adjustment Link Among Mexican-Origin Adolescents. *Child development*, 89(3), e293-e310.
- Pew Research Center. (2014). *Women’s college enrollment gains leave men behind*. Retrieved on March 29, 2017 from <http://www.pewresearch.org/fact-tank/2014/03/06/womens-college-enrollment-gains-leave-men-behind/>
- Pierce, C. (1995). Stress analogs of racism and sexism: Terrorism, torture, and disaster. *Mental health, racism, and sexism*, 277-293.
- Pieterse, A. L., Todd, N. R., Neville, H. A., & Carter, R. T. (2011). Perceived racism and mental health among Black American adults: A meta-analytic review. *Journal of Counseling Psychology*, 59(1), 1-9.
- Pittman, D. M., & Kaur, P. (2018). Examining the role of racism in the risky alcohol use behaviors of black female college students. *Journal of American college health*, 66(4), 310-316.
- Pyke, K. (2010). What is internalized racial oppression and why don’t we study it? Acknowledging racism’s hidden injuries. *Sociological Perspectives*, 53(4), 551-572.
- Research Group on Disparities in Health (2006). Introduction to the Research Group on Disparities in Health. Retrieved from: <http://www.disparitiesinhealth.org/>

- Rivas-Drake, D. (2011). Ethnic-racial socialization and adjustment among Latino college students: The mediating roles of ethnic centrality, public regard, and perceived barriers to opportunity. *Journal of Youth and Adolescence*, *40*(5), 606-619.
- Sanchez, D., Adams, W. N., Arango, S. C., & Flannigan, A. E. (2018). Racial-ethnic microaggressions, coping strategies, and mental health in Asian American and Latinx American college students: A mediation model. *Journal of counseling psychology*, *65*(2), 214.
- Shahid, N. N., Nelson, T., & Cardemil, E. V. (2017). Lift Every Voice: Exploring the Stressors and Coping Mechanisms of Black College Women Attending Predominantly White Institutions. *Journal of Black Psychology*, 0095798417732415.
- Sheu, H. B., & Sedlacek, W. H. (2004). An exploratory study of help-seeking attitudes and coping strategies among college students by race and gender. *Measurement and Evaluation in Counseling and Development*, *37*(3), 130-143.
- Stout, R., Archie, C., Cross, D., & Carman, C. A. (2018). The relationship between faculty diversity and graduation rates in higher education. *Intercultural Education*, *29*(3), 399-417.
- Sue, D.W. (2010). *Microaggressions in Everyday Life: Race, Gender, and Sexual Orientation*, John Wiley & Sons.
- Tetty, N. S., Duran, P. A., Andersen, H. S., & Boutin-Foster, C. (2017). Evaluation of HeartSmarts, a faith-based cardiovascular health education program. *Journal of religion and health*, *56*(1), 320-328.
- Vaccaro, A., & Ramirez, A. (2018). “Swim with the Current, Stand like a Rock”: Non-Traditional Age Undergraduates Coping with Racial Microaggressions. *NASPA Journal About Women in Higher Education*, *11*(2), 130-150.
- Wallace, B.C. (2000). A Call for change in multicultural training at graduate schools of education: Educating to end oppression and for social justice." *Teachers College Record*. Vol 102, No 6, 1086-1111.
- Wallace, B. C. (2005). A Practical Coping Skills Approach for Racial-Cultural Skill Acquisition, In R. T. Carter (Editor), *Handbook of Racial Cultural Psychology and Counseling*, Vol 2., pp. 97-119. New York: John Wiley Publishers
- Wallace, B.C. (2018). Personal Communication. Teachers College, Columbia University, New York, NY. February, 2018
- Wallace, B.C. & Santacruz, E. (2017). Intersectionality and LGBT Psychology: Ethnic Minority Issues, In R. Ruth & E. Santacruz (Eds). *LGBT Mental Health: Advances and Emerging Edges*. Santa Barbara, CA: Praeger Publishers
- Whaley, A. L., & Dubose, J. (2018). Intersectionality of Ethnicity/Race and Gender in the Phenomenology of African American College Students’ Presenting Problems: a Profile Analysis Using Nonmetric Multidimensional Scaling. *International Journal for the Advancement of Counselling*, 1-19.
- Wise, T. (2011). *White like me: Reflections on race from a privileged son*. Soft Skull Press.
- Wong, J. Y., Tran, K. K., Owen, J., Collins, D. L., & Claire, E. H. (2012). Asian American male college students’ perceptions of people’s stereotypes about Asian American men. *Psychology of Men and Masculinity*, *13*(1), 75-88.

- Woodford, M. R., Kulick, A., & Atteberry, B. (2015). Protective factors, campus climate, and health outcomes among sexual minority college students. *Journal of Diversity in Higher Education*, 8(2), 73-87.
- Yoo, C. H., & Castro, K. S. (2011). Does nativity status matter in the relationship between perceived racism and academic performance of Asian American college students? *Journal of College Student Development*, 52(2), 234-245.
- Young, J. L., & Hines, D. E. (2018). Killing My Spirit, Renewing My Soul: Black Female Professors' Critical Reflections on Spirit Killings While Teaching. *Women, Gender, and Families of Color*, 6(1), 18-25.