

Racial Microaggressions and College Student Wellbeing

An annotated bibliography for student affairs and health promotion professionals in higher education

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Introduction

The personal is political...and occupational and academic

As the summer session winds down and I have to put final form to this project, I find myself creating this introduction on the day after a Florida jury found George Zimmerman not guilty of murdering Trayvon Martin. I've come full circle. My students' concerns about race based discrimination at Emory prompted my interest in learning more about racial microaggressions and student wellbeing and led to this directed reading project. The jury verdict reminds me that the hurts our campus has felt this past year mirror national and global injustices. Reaching deep to my feminist roots, I recall that the personal is political...and occupational...and academic.

That I had to take on this project at all is a mark of my White privilege. I "discovered" that such a thing as racial microaggressions, and their detrimental impact on wellbeing, existed from speaking with students of Color about their lived experiences. I am familiar with gender discrimination, including the trauma experienced by sexual assault survivors with its resulting impact on retention and health, but I had never contemplated race based harassment and its impact on health and student success. I have not felt race based microaggressions myself and have probably unwittingly perpetrated them against others.

The year that will live in infamy

This has been an incredibly challenging year at Emory for our students and the staff and faculty who care about them. At the end of last summer, a documentary aired reopening the wounds of anti-Semitism rampant in our now defunct Emory Dental School in the late forties. Then Emory administrators were accused of reporting misleading statistics to the College Board regarding student SAT scores over several years. Next, we had charged debate about the role of Chick-fil-A on campus since its founder has made several perceived homophobic statements publicly. In October, students and staff at an event raising awareness about sexual violence and promoting a more survivor-supportive campus were physically and emotionally harassed by other students carrying pornographic and violent images. In late fall, one of our student media organizations made several derogatory comments toward sexual assault survivors and racial minorities on campus. What then became known as the *straw that broke the camel's back*, an essay by our university President published in our alumni magazine praised the historical three-fifths compromise as an example of a good conciliation in that it broke a political stalemate. Many constituents wondered how he could consider a political decision that reduced the humanity of Black Americans to three-fifths that of Whites "god". It was in the ensuing dialogues with students and colleagues that I first heard reference to racial microaggressions and their impact on health outcomes for people of Color in the United States.

What is a microaggression?

Pierce, Carew, Pierce-Gonzalez, & Willis first coined the term “racial microaggressions” in 1978¹. The seminal work for recent research in this area is from Sue and colleagues in 2007². They define microaggressions as “brief and commonplace daily verbal, behavioral, and environmental indignities, whether intentional or unintentional, that communicate hostile, derogatory, or negative racial slights and insults to the target person or group” (p. 272).

What is colorism?

My contemporaries may remember the episode of *A Different World* (*The Cosby Show* spinoff, 1987-1993) in which the characters discuss the “paper bag test” for skin color: skin tone lighter than a paper bag is perceived as desirable; skin darker than a paper bag is perceived as less desirable. The current literature in racial microaggressions examines behaviors of White protagonists against people of Color. A noted gap is that no one has studied intraracial microaggressions nor microaggressions between people of different non-White racial and ethnic backgrounds. At the suggestion of my advisor I included a few recent studies on Colorism – the endorsement of Western standards of beauty and a skin color ideology espoused by some African Americans.

Assuming intraracial microaggressions will be studied and identified in the literature soon, that does not mean White folks are off the hook. Centuries of White privilege in the United States have established the power differentials that we may discover reproduced in same-ethnicity situations. Not to mention that discrimination is harmful, rather overtly or subtly, regardless of who perpetrates it.

How to read this bibliography

The purpose of this annotated bibliography was to summarize the research literature on racial microaggressions and college student wellbeing so that health promotion professionals in higher education could better explore strategies to mitigate these forms of discrimination on their campuses. Twenty-nine articles are summarized in this bibliography covering the period 1998-2013. In the interest of a time-bound course project, I only considered journal articles. Select relevant books for further reading are listed after the Conclusion. The articles are presented in a color-coded table format to promote readability and organized thematically starting with the seminal work by Sue and colleagues (2007) and reactions to it. Next, I present studies with samples comprised of students and/or faculty. Following these are studies with younger adolescent or adult populations not specifically composed of students or faculty. Then I present articles on campus climate. Then there is a section on measuring microaggressions, two key pieces on privilege included because they were referenced in some of the other works and finally an exploration of colorism since all studies of microaggressions to date examine interracial discrimination. I am hopeful the table format will help readers find what they are most interested in thematically, by methods used, or by sample characteristics. The notes section, where

¹ Pierce, C., Carew, J., Pierce-Gonzalez, D., & Willis, D. (1978). An experiment in racism: TV commercials. In C. Pierce (Ed.), *Television and education* (pp. 62–88). Beverly Hills, CA: Sage.

² Sue, D. W., Capodilupo, C. M., Torino, G. C., Bucceri, J. M., Holder, A. M., Nadal, K. L., . . . Esquilin, M. E. (2007). Racial microaggressions in everyday life: Implications for counseling. *American Psychologist*, 62, 271–286. doi:10.1037/0003-066X.62.4.271

present, highlights either original references, novel information or prompts for further study. Journal pieces (including letters) that are opinion- or discussion-based may not include all the summative fields as research articles.

In selecting articles, I looked first for those related to college students and health from the past ten years. Later articles are included only if they were referenced by several contemporary ones. I also wanted to be sure I identified counterpoints and include four articles contesting the importance of microaggressions in the practice of clinical psychology. In order to understand the larger context of discrimination, I included some samples of studies examining intersecting identities including LGBTQ people of Color. I included three articles on colorism as noted earlier. I included a handful of articles on how microaggressions are measured and scale development. I also included studies about climate and campus environment because these are intriguing from a public health perspective in which practitioners are called upon to create conditions in which people can be healthy (Institute of Medicine, 1998)³. Most of the research to date has been from the fields of psychology and student affairs. I think health promotion professionals in higher education can play a much stronger role in combatting microaggressions. In the conclusion, I will discuss this direction further.

³ http://www.nap.edu/catalog.php?record_id=1091

Sue, D. W., Capodilupo, C. M., Torino, G. C., Bucceri, J. M., Holder, A. M. B., Nadal, K. L., & Esquilin, M. (2007). Racial microaggressions in everyday life: implications for clinical practice. *The American psychologist*, 62(4), 271–286. doi:10.1037/0003-066X.62.4.271

Purpose	“In this article, we describe and analyze how racism in the form of racial microaggressions is particularly problematic for therapists to identify; propose a taxonomy of racial microaggressions with potential implications for practice, education and training, and research; and use the counseling/therapy process to illustrate how racial microaggressions can impair the therapeutic alliance.” (p. 271)
Sample	White counselor-client of color dyads were the focus of their review; however, the authors suggest interethnic microaggressions may also occur (p. 284)
Methods	Review of social psychological literature
Findings	<p>(p. 275) Identified nine categories of microaggressions with distinct themes:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1) alien in one’s own land, 2) ascription of intelligence, 3) color blindness, 4) criminality/assumption of criminal status, 5) denial of individual racism, 6) myth of meritocracy, 7) pathologizing cultural values/communication styles, 8) second-class status, and 9) environmental invalidation. <p>(p. 277) Microaggressions “operate to create psychological dilemmas for both the White perpetrator and the person of color.”</p> <p>Dilemma 1: Clash of Racial Realities Dilemma 2: The Invisibility of Unintentional Expressions of Bias Dilemma 3: Perceived Minimal Harm of Racial Microaggressions Dilemma 4: The Catch-22 of Responding to Microaggressions</p>
Implications	<p>For public health – microaggressions may be environmental (p. 272)</p> <p>For psychology – “The prerequisite for cultural competence has always been racial self-awareness.” (p. 283)</p> <p>“Education and training must aid White clinicians to achieve the following: (a) increase their ability to identify racial microaggressions in general and in themselves in particular; (b) understand how racial microaggressions, including their own, detrimentally impact clients of color; and (c) accept responsibility for taking corrective actions to overcome racial biases.” (p. 283)</p>
Definitions	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • “Racial microaggressions are brief and commonplace daily verbal, behavioral, and environmental indignities, whether intentional or unintentional, that communicate hostile, derogatory, or negative racial slights and insults to the target person or group.” (p. 272) • Microassault (p. 274) “an explicit racial derogation characterized primarily by a verbal or nonverbal attack meant to hurt the intended victim through name-calling, avoidant behavior, or purposeful discriminatory actions.” • Microinsult (p. 274) “characterized by communications that convey rudeness and insensitivity and demean a person’s racial heritage or identity.” • Microinvalidation (p. 274) “characterized by communications that exclude, negate, or nullify the psychological thoughts, feelings, or experiential reality of a person of color.”

Goodstein, R. (2008). What's missing from the dialogue on racial microaggressions in counseling and therapy. *The American psychologist*, 63(4), 276–277; discussion 277–279. doi:10.1037/0003-066X.63.4.276

Purpose	Discussion, counterpoint to Sue, D. W., Capodilupo, C. M., Torino, G. C., Bucceri, J. M., Holder, A. M. B., Nadal, K. L., & Esquilin, M. (2007). Racial microaggressions in everyday life: implications for clinical practice. <i>The American psychologist</i> , 62(4), 271–286. doi:10.1037/0003-066X.62.4.271
Notes	<p>Goodstein agrees with Sue and colleagues except for two points:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Sue et al presume a Western European worldview is only held by White people “When we presume to know the worldview of a person based on his or her race, we risk closing our minds to infinite possibilities for how people might construe and construct who they are culturally.” 2. Sue et al create a hierarchy of suffering (incompatible with the therapeutic context) “In making racial self-awareness and racial microaggressions primary over other types of awareness and microaggressions, we risk missing the integrity of clients’ stories.” <p>“Is it possible to keep racism and racial microaggressions front and center in multicultural discourse without making one form of oppression “superordinate” (Carter & Qureshi, 1995, p. 251; Carter, 2005) to another?”</p> <p>See also rebuttal: Sue, D.W. et al (2008). Racial Microaggressions and the Power to Define Reality. <i>The American psychologist</i>, 63(4), 277-279.</p>

Harris, R. S. (2008). Racial microaggression? How do you know? *The American psychologist*, 63(4), 275–276; discussion 277–279. doi:10.1037/0003-066X.63.4.275

Purpose	Discussion, counterpoint to Sue, D. W., Capodilupo, C. M., Torino, G. C., Bucceri, J. M., Holder, A. M. B., Nadal, K. L., & Esquilin, M. (2007). Racial microaggressions in everyday life: implications for clinical practice. <i>The American psychologist</i> , 62(4), 271–286. doi:10.1037/0003-066X.62.4.271
Notes	<p>Harris criticizes Sue et al for circular reasoning.</p> <p>“Notwithstanding, I am left to ponder the big question of how anyone who has achieved celebrity status within psychology and certainly superstar status within multicultural psychology can be questioned or otherwise held accountable. Once on the pedestal, is everything uttered supposed to be accepted as a fact? What if Sue’s “experiential reality” (Sue et al., 2007, p. 275) is not real yet is espoused in paper presentations and professional articles as if it is so? The dissemination of biases and self interests would be a tragic twist to both multicultural psychology’s mission and the American Psychological Association’s expressed interest in advancing psychology as an evidence-based science.”</p> <p>See also rebuttal: Sue, D.W. et al (2008). Racial Microaggressions and the Power to Define Reality. <i>The American psychologist</i>, 63(4), 277-279.</p>
Notes	While it is true the article to which this was written in response was a review article but it certainly provided evidence beyond the lead author’s “experiential reality”.

Schacht, T. E. (2008). A broader view of racial microaggression in psychotherapy. *The American psychologist*, 63(4), 273; discussion 277–279. doi:10.1037/0003-066X.63.4.273

Purpose	Discussion, counterpoint to Sue, D. W., Capodilupo, C. M., Torino, G. C., Bucceri, J. M., Holder, A. M. B., Nadal, K. L., & Esquilin, M. (2007). Racial microaggressions in everyday life: implications for clinical practice. <i>The American psychologist</i> , 62(4), 271–286. doi:10.1037/0003-066X.62.4.271
Notes	<p>Argues microinteractions are not race based but pervasive even in same-race therapeutic dyads. Cites 50 years of interpersonal process research.</p> <p>Interestingly, no research articles to date have explored same-race therapeutic dyads.</p> <p>See also rebuttal: Sue, D.W. et al (2008). Racial Microaggressions and the Power to Define Reality. <i>The American psychologist</i>, 63(4), 277-279.</p>

Thomas, K. R. (2008). Macrononsense in multiculturalism. *The American psychologist*, 63(4), 274–275; discussion 277–279. doi:10.1037/0003-066X.63.4.274

Purpose	Discussion, counterpoint to Sue, D. W., Capodilupo, C. M., Torino, G. C., Bucceri, J. M., Holder, A. M. B., Nadal, K. L., & Esquilin, M. (2007). Racial microaggressions in everyday life: implications for clinical practice. <i>The American psychologist</i> , 62(4), 271–286. doi:10.1037/0003-066X.62.4.271
Notes	<p>Microaggressions are not unique to interracial interactions:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • “That is, doesn’t everyone, regardless of race, occasionally experience verbal, behavioral, or environmental indignities?” <p>Thomas states Sue et al want it both ways per microinvalidations:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • “They want recognition as being different from the majority Caucasian population, but when any conversation acknowledges that difference, the speaker is alleged to be committing a microinvalidation.” <p>In a nation of immigrants, why is it wrong to ask about someone’s ethnic origins?</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • “Are Sue and his colleagues advocating that emphasis should be placed on race or ethnicity and not on the person?” <p>Victim philosophy is at odds with trend in psychology to positive perception of human nature.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • “Rather, Sue and his associates characterized people of color as weak, psychologically vulnerable people who are unable to respond effectively even to real incidents of “microaggression.” <p>Most of Thomas’ points seem to stem directly from privilege and defensiveness. He does not seem to include any appreciation for historical or enduring institutional racism.</p> <p>See also rebuttal: Sue, D.W. et al (2008). Racial Microaggressions and the Power to Define Reality. <i>The American psychologist</i>, 63(4), 277-279.</p>

Ong, A. D., Burrow, A. L., Fuller-Rowell, T. E., Ja, N. M., & Wing Sue, D. (2013). Racial Microaggressions and Daily Well-Being Among Asian Americans. *Journal of counseling psychology*. doi:10.1037/a003173

Purpose	The authors seek to fill the gap in research regarding “within-person associations between racial microaggressions and psychological functioning”.
Sample	152 Asian American first-year college undergraduates in Tomkins County, NY
Methods	14 day diary of self-reported experiences of microaggressions
Findings	<p>Found examples of 20 racial microaggressions from Sue, Bucceri, et al. (2007); 8 themes</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Alien in own land 2. Ascription of intelligence 3. Denial of racial reality 4. Exoticization of Asian American women 5. Invalidation of interethnic differences 6. Pathologizing of cultural values and communication styles 7. Second-class citizenship 8. Invisibility 9. *This study added immasculinity of Asian American men as a 9th theme <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Approximately 78% of participants experienced at least 1 racial microaggression over the two week study period. • Participants reported microaggressions occurred approximately once per week. • Microinvalidations were the most common class of microaggressions; alien in own land and exoticization/immascularity made up majority of experiences • Participants who experienced more microaggressions reported higher negative affect and more somatic symptoms. • Within-person: on days with more microaggressions, negative affect was higher and somatic symptoms increased. • Microinvalidations predicted higher negative affect and somatic effects whereas microinsults predicted only higher negative affect. • Lagged-delay analysis to control for effects of well-being on microaggressions • “Many of the concurrent relationships between microaggressions and well-being were still in evidence 1 day later.” • Anyone could get stepped on and ignored by the aggressor, it isn’t necessarily race related, thus microinsults are not as psychologically damaging as microinvalidations.
Implications	“In addition to providing insights into the dynamics of affect under stressful circumstances, these results suggest that among the racial microaggressions considered in this analysis, microinvalidations are an especially deleterious source of race-related stress.” (p. 193)
Notes	This article extends the review started by Sue and colleagues with an emphasis on well-being and provides support from the lived experiences of college students.

Blume, A. W., Lovato, L. V., Thyken, B. N., & Denny, N. (2012). The relationship of microaggressions with alcohol use and anxiety among ethnic minority college students in a historically White institution. *Cultural diversity & ethnic minority psychology, 18*(1), 45–54. doi:10.1037/a0025457

Purpose	The purpose of this article was to “analyze the relationships of self-reported numbers of microaggressions with alcohol use behavior and with symptoms of anxiety in a historically White institution.”
Sample	178 students of color ages 18-20
Methods	Survey including self-reported experience of microaggressions, demographics, Beck Anxiety Inventory, Daily Drinking Questionnaire, Rutgers Alcohol Problem Index, General Self-efficacy Scale, and Situational Confidence Questionnaire
Findings	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • “Microaggressions and self-efficacy were significantly associated with anxiety, microaggressions and self-efficacy were significantly associated with binge drinking, and microaggressions, binge drinking events, self-efficacy, and microaggressions self-efficacy interaction were significantly associated with alcohol related consequences among the students of color.” • Students of color reported experiencing an average of 291 microaggressions in the past 90 days.
Implications	<p>“Furthermore, the study results suggest that college students of color who experience greater numbers of microaggressions may be at increased risks for higher anxiety and underage binge alcohol use as well as the aversive consequences of drinking alcohol.” (p. 49)</p> <p>“Self-efficacy to cope also appears to be a potentially important and modifiable variable in understanding the relationship of microaggressions with anxiety and alcohol misuse.” (p. 49)</p> <p>“[I]nterventions designed to increase self-efficacy may be associated with less anxiety, binge drinking, and alcohol related consequences among students of color experiencing microaggressions.” (p. 50)</p>
Notes	This article stresses the importance of programs that build resilience among students of Color as well as the intersection of stress, race and substance abuse.

Sue, D. W., Rivera, D. P., Watkins, N. L., Kim, R. H., Kim, S., & Williams, C. D. (2011). Racial dialogues: challenges faculty of color face in the classroom. *Cultural diversity & ethnic minority psychology, 17*(3), 331–340. doi:10.1037/a0024190

Purpose	The purpose of this article was to explore the challenges faced by faculty of color in the classroom.
Sample	8 faculty of color
Methods	Interviews; Consensual Qualitative Research (CQR)
Findings	“Three major findings emerged. First, difficult racial dialogues were frequently instigated by the presence of racial microaggressions delivered toward students of color or the professor. Dialogues on race were made more difficult when the classrooms were diverse, when heated emotions arose, when there was a strong fear of self-disclosure, and when racial perspectives differed. Second, all faculty experienced an internal struggle between balancing their own values and beliefs with an attempt to remain objective. This conflict was often described as exhausting and energy-depleting. Third, faculty of color described both successful and unsuccessful strategies in facilitating difficult dialogues on race that arose in the course of their teaching.” (p. 331)
Implications	“There is a strong need for PWIs to become cognizant of these additional pressures placed upon faculty of color; to provide support, validation and understanding for the unique challenges they confront in the classroom; to make public the racial teaching experiences of faculty of color; and to take these factors into consideration when evaluating teaching performance for promotion and tenure purposes.” (p. 339)
Notes	I shared this piece with my colleagues who are preparing training for students to help them facilitate difficult dialogues with their peers. My thought was that if faculty experienced traumatic internal struggles when facilitating these types of dialogues, then students also need to be aware of what they may face in their co-curricular facilitation and adequate attention paid to their self-care and healing.

Banks, K. H. (2010). African American College Students' Experience of Racial Discrimination and the Role of College Hassles. *Journal of College Student Development*, 51(1), 23–34. doi:10.1353/csd.0.0115

Purpose	This study examined the relationship between racial discrimination and depressive symptoms.
Sample	194 African American students from a large, Midwestern, state university
Methods	Survey: racial discrimination was measured by the Daily Life Experience subscale of the Racism and Life Experience Scales; College Hassles Scale; The Center for Epidemiological Studies Depression Scale
Findings	<p>“Results indicated that the relationship between racial discrimination and depressive symptoms was mediated by college hassles. The results suggest that by decreasing the experience of generic college hassles, the indirect relationship between discrimination and depressive symptoms might be minimized.”</p> <p>“Overall, racial discrimination was positively correlated with college hassles ($r = .49; p < .05$), CES-D scores ($r = .29; p < .01$), and mothers' education level ($r = .15; p < .05$). In addition, colleges hassles were significantly positively correlated with depressive symptoms ($r = .47; p < .01$).”</p> <p>Male students reported significantly more racial discrimination than female respondents.</p>
Implications	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • “Campuses need to be aware of the messages their programming sends. Students from a variety of backgrounds need to see themselves reflected in the campus.” • “Campus professionals working with African American students should be aware of not only how racial discrimination affects the college experience, but also how perhaps managing general college stress can help to affect deleterious outcomes.” • “Divisions of student and academic affairs should be intentional about seeking out ways to minimize the experience of college hassles for this specific population with the knowledge that doing so can possibly mitigate negative effects of racial discrimination.”
Definitions	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Daily hassles “are defined as the ‘irritating, frustrating, distressing demands that to some degree characterize every day transactions with the environment’ (Smith, 1993, p. 18).” Because of their cumulative effects, they may be more harmful to mental health than more serious major life events. • “Racial discrimination is defined as differential treatment on the basis of race (Blank, Dabady, & Citro, 2004).” • “College hassles refer to the everyday stressors that a college student might face. These include handling multiple responsibilities, navigating social relationships, and making important decisions about education and career.”
Notes	Environmental factors; Distinguishes between moderators and mediators

Reynolds, A. L., Sneva, J. N., & Beehler, G. P. (2010). The Influence of Racism-Related Stress on the Academic Motivation of Black and Latino/a Students. *Journal of College Student Development*, 51(2), 135–149. doi:10.1353/csd.0.0120

Purpose	“This study examined the effects of racism-related stress on the academic and psychological factors affecting the success of 151 Black and Latino/a college students enrolled at several predominantly White universities in the northeastern United States.”
Sample	151 Black and Latino/a undergraduates
Methods	Survey packet including the Academic Motivation Scale (Vallerand et al., 1992), the College Resilience Questionnaire (Carlson, 2001), the General Self-Efficacy Scale (Jerusalem & Schwarzer, 1992), and the Index of Race Related Stress-B (Utsey & Ponterotto, 1996).
Findings	“Institutional racism-related stress was negatively correlated with extrinsic motivation but positively correlated with intrinsic motivation.”
Implications	<p>Page 143: “Progress through college was highly related to positive interactions with faculty.”</p> <p>“ Because amotivation likely results from a lack of internal locus of control or motivation, students who are engaged and connected academically may be less likely to be amotivated.”</p> <p>Page 146: “The evidence is strong that racism on college campuses is having an impact on the academic and psychological well-being of students of color (Cokley, 2001; Jackson et al., 2003; Johnson & Abona, 2006; Lett & Wright, 2003; Lopez, 2005).</p> <p>Page 147: “[T]he results from this study reinforce the need for student affairs practitioners to be intentional in developing learning environments where students of color feel safe and free of institutional racism. Practitioners have a unique opportunity to support students as well as inquire about specific institutional policies and/or procedures producing a negative, racism-related impact. Working collaboratively across academic and student affairs is essential and can involve creating joint programs for students as well as training faculty and staff about the impact of racism-related stress on students of color. Embracing the importance of multicultural competence and expanding one’s role as a student affairs practitioner to include social advocacy is essential to reducing the institutional and cultural effects of racism (Reason, Broido, Davis, & Evans, 2005) and ensuring that all students have the opportunity to succeed.”</p>
Definitions	Race-related stress: “According to Utsey (1998), race-related stress is the discomfort experienced by African Americans who observe or directly experience racial discrimination in their daily lives at the individual, cultural, or institutional level” (p. 136).
Notes	<p>Discusses environmental experience of racism. Compares and contrasts individual, cultural and institutional racism.</p> <p>“Being proactive and prevention focused offers the best hope to inoculate future generations of students of color against the negative effects of racism-related stress” (p. 147).</p>

Syed, M. (2010). Memorable everyday events in college: Narratives of the intersection of ethnicity and academia. *Journal of Diversity in Higher Education*, 3(1), 56–69. doi:10.1037/a0018503

Purpose	This study explored diverse students' narratives of ethnicity-related college experiences.
Sample	280 undergraduates at a public university in California
Methods	Online survey completed in a lab setting
Findings	“Six main themes were identified among the event narratives: learning about culture, sharing culture, experience of prejudice, difficult dialogues, awareness of diversity, and support and connection. The frequency of these themes varied by ethnic group, which suggests that college students from different ethnic backgrounds face different issues pertaining to the intersection of ethnicity and academics and thus face unique experiences and challenges that must be integrated into their life stories. (p. 56)
Implications	<p>The classroom was the most commonly reported setting of ethnicity based experiences. Experiences varied by students' ethnicity:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • “White students told stories that represented greater learning, awareness, and consciousness raising.” • “Asian American students' stories reflected their struggles to fight pervasive stereotypes about their place in academia.” • “Mixed-ethnicity students' stories reflected greater internal struggles.” • “[F]or Latino students societal barriers may play a larger role, as reflected in their emphasis on underrepresentation.”
Notes	For those interested in the theoretical, this article establishes that identity salience is contextual.

Boysen, G. A., Vogel, D. L., Cope, M. A., & Hubbard, A. (2009). Incidents of bias in college classrooms: Instructor and student perceptions. *Journal of Diversity in Higher Education*, 2(4), 219–231. doi:10.1037/a0017538

Purpose	This article explored incidents of bias specific to college classrooms and how they are handled by instructors.
Sample	Undergraduates, faculty, graduate teaching assistants (N=2,523)
Methods	Online survey
Findings	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • “Undergraduates perceived significantly more bias than did instructors and rated responses to bias as significantly less effective than did instructors.” • “Undergraduates also reported that instructors were occasionally the perpetrators of bias.” • “A total of 13 distinct response types emerged from the coding: direct confrontation, providing information, group discussion, public discussion, private discussion, changing the subject, changing student behavior, humor, removal of the student, referral to authority, nonverbal response, ignoring, and instructor bias.” • “Twenty-two percent of undergraduates perceived themselves as a target of overt bias in the classroom in the last year. The most frequent characteristics targeted for overt bias were race or ethnicity (33%) and sex (33%), followed by religion (14%), class (8%), sexual orientation (8%), disability (3%), and other (12%).” • “Thirty four percent of undergraduates reported perceiving themselves as a target of subtle bias in the classroom in the last year. The most frequent characteristic targeted for subtle bias was sex (36%), followed by race or ethnicity (19%), religion (16%), class (10%), sexual orientation (5%), disability (3%), and other (11%).” • “A substantial number of undergraduates indicated that the instructor’s response to bias was to join in with it or otherwise indicated that the instructor was the source of bias.”
Implications	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • “These results indicate that preparation of instructors should include increased awareness of bias and methods of handling classroom bias.” • On how to respond to bias successfully: “[I]gnoring was seen as <i>unsuccessful</i> on average, but direct responses, providing information, and group discussion were all seen as <i>successful</i> on average.” • Colleges should make non-discrimination policies clear to faculty and students.
Definitions	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Overt bias was measured with this item: “In the last year has a student said or done something obviously prejudiced during class?” • Subtle bias was measured with this item: “Sometimes people do not act in an obviously prejudiced way but are still subtly insulting, hostile, derogatory, or negative. In the last year has a student said or done something subtly prejudiced in class?”
Notes	Statistic of interest: “In 2007, 36% of college students were racial and ethnic minorities.”

Hwang, W.-C., & Goto, S. (2009). The impact of perceived racial discrimination on the mental health of Asian American and Latino college students. *Asian American Journal of Psychology, 5*(1), 15–28. doi:10.1037/1948-1985.S.1.15

Purpose	This study examined the impact of perceived racial discrimination on student mental health outcomes.
Sample	186 Latino and Asian American university students at an IHE in the Rocky Mountain region
Methods	Online survey; General Ethnic Discrimination (GED) Scale, Brief Symptom Inventory (BSI) of psychological distress, Scale for Suicidal Ideation (SSI), State Trait Axis inventory (STAI), Hamilton Depression Inventory (HDI)
Findings	“Regardless of ethnicity, perceived racial discrimination was associated with several negative mental health outcomes, including higher psychological distress, suicidal ideation, state anxiety, trait anxiety, and depression.”
Implications	“Specifically, perceived discrimination was associated with increased risk for psychological distress, suicidal ideation, state and trait anxiety, and clinical depression. The results also suggest that younger college students were at higher risk for psychological distress.”
Definitions	Emic – universal phenomena occur across cultures Etic – culturally based manifestations of universal phenomena in specific groups
Notes	This model is also studied in public health: “Lazarus and Folkman’s (1984) stress-coping model posits that both the frequency of exposure and appraisal of the stressfulness of the event determine its impact on health outcomes.”

Sue, D. W., Lin, A. I., Torino, G. C., Capodilupo, C. M., & Rivera, D. P. (2009). Racial microaggressions and difficult dialogues on race in the classroom. *Cultural diversity & ethnic minority psychology, 15*(2), 183–190. doi:10.1037/a0014191

Purpose	This study examined the impact on students of difficult racial dialogues in the university classroom.
Sample	14 participants in 2 focus groups; self-identified students of color
Methods	Qualitative
Findings	<p>“When poorly handled by teachers, difficult dialogues can assail the personal integrity of students of color while reinforcing biased worldviews of White students. The success or failure of facilitating difficult dialogues on race is intimately linked to the characteristics and actions of instructors and their ability to recognize racial microaggressions.”</p> <p>Informants focused exclusively on White faculty (although not prompted to do so).</p> <p>“Three broad domains were identified: (a) racial microaggressions as precipitators of difficult dialogues, (b) reactions to difficult dialogues, and (c) instructor strategies for facilitating difficult dialogues.” (p. 186)</p>
Implications	<p>Educators need specific training in facilitating difficult dialogues.</p> <p>“Professors comfortable with acknowledging that they are products of cultural conditioning and have inherited biases and fears about other racial groups have a positive impact on facilitating difficult dialogues on race because it (a) frees facilitators from the constant guardedness and vigilance exercised in denying racism, sexism, and other biases, (b) models truthfulness, openness, and honesty to students on conversations on race, (c) communicates courage in making oneself vulnerable by taking a risk to share with students biases, limitations, and the continuing attempt to deal with racism, and (d) may encourage other students to approach the topic with honesty, because their professor is equally “flawed” (Sue, 2003; Young, 2003).</p>
Notes	This piece provides additional support for the importance of self-reflection and exploration of one’s privilege among those trying to do this work.

D’Andrea, M., & Daniels, J. (2007). Dealing with Institutional Racism on Campus: Initiating Difficult Dialogues and Social Justice Advocacy Interventions. *College Student Affairs Journal, 26*(2), 169–176.

Purpose	Describe two attempts at interventions for institutional racism at an IHE; apply PIE model (Watts, 2007)
Methods	Narrative description of institutional racism at the authors’ place of employment
Definitions	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Institutional racism is "any institutional policy, practice, and structure in government agencies, businesses, unions, schools and universities, places of worship, courts, and law enforcement agencies that unfairly subordinate People of Color while allowing White persons to profit from such actions" (Sue, 2006, p. 24). • Cultural racism “occurs when White cultural biases and values (as reflected in art, music, religion, standards of beauty, educational content, preferred styles of emotional and linguistical expressiveness) are held up as being better than the cultural norms and values of People of Color (Jones & Carter, 1996).
Notes	This article publicly aired grievances of the authors against their institution for which they did not feel redress was timely or sufficient. It describes a process that may or may not be generalizable to other institutions.

Huynh, V. W. (2012). Ethnic microaggressions and the depressive and somatic symptoms of Latino and Asian American adolescents. *Journal of youth and adolescence, 41(7)*, 831–846.
doi:10.1007/s10964-012-9756-9

Purpose	“This study examined the frequency and impact of microaggressions among Latino (n = 247) and Asian American (n = 113) adolescents (M age = 17.18, SD = .75; 57 % girls).”
Sample	Latino and Asian American adolescents and their parents
Methods	Surveys
Findings	“Latino adolescents reported more frequent microaggressions that dismiss their realities of discrimination and microaggressions characterized by treatment as a second class citizen than Asian Americans, but similar levels of microaggressions that highlight differences or foreignness. There were no ethnic differences in the extent to which adolescents were bothered by microaggressions. Moreover, even supposedly innocuous forms of discrimination are associated with elevated levels of anxiety, anger, and stress, which may increase feelings of depression and sickness.”
Implications	“Microaggressions should be recognized as subtle discrimination that send messages about group status and devaluation, and similar to overt discrimination, can evoke powerful emotional reactions and may affect mental health.”
Notes	Although this study was with younger adolescents, if they are university-bound, it clues us in that our students may have experienced microaggressions even before arriving on campus.

Shelton, K., & Delgado-Romero, E. A. (2011). Sexual orientation microaggressions: the experience of lesbian, gay, bisexual, and queer clients in psychotherapy. *Journal of counseling psychology, 58*(2), 210–221. doi:10.1037/a0022251

Purpose	This article explored how subtle forms of discrimination, specifically sexual orientation microaggressions, affect LGBQ clients and the therapeutic relationship.
Sample	16 self-identified LGBQ psychotherapy clients, ages 20-47
Methods	Qualitative: phone screening followed by focus groups (2)
Findings	<p>The authors identified 7 sexual orientation microaggression themes:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Assumption that sexual orientation is the cause of all presenting issues 2. Avoidance and minimization of sexual orientation 3. Attempts to overidentify with LGBQ clients 4. Making stereotypical assumptions about LGBQ clients 5. Expressions of heteronormative bias 6. Assumption that LGBQ individuals need psychotherapeutic treatment 7. Warnings about the dangers of identifying as LGBQ <p>Channels of communication identified were consistent with prior research: verbal, nonverbal/behavioral and environmental microaggressions were all identified by participants. Frequently, participants assessed that these microaggressions were communicated “unconsciously and without ill-intent by their therapists”.</p>
Implications	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Diminished help-seeking behavior, distrust, enduring psychological impact • “The indoctrination of heterosexism and invisibility of sexual orientation places well-intentioned therapists in a position to unconsciously communicate sexual orientation microaggressions to LBGQ clients. In fact, most participants described having strong therapeutic alliances with their therapists and believed that their therapists genuinely cared for their well-being, yet acknowledged that subtle discrimination was present in the therapy room.” • “Admission of heterosexism can be an asset.” • “Therapists should not refrain from discussions for fear of articulating a sexual orientation microaggression, but should instead evaluate the context for their statements, suggestions, or interventions.”
Notes	This article provides examples of environmental microaggressions. Although it was written about and for clinicians, I think some of the assumptions identified could occur in other helping situations including those with student affairs or health promotion personnel.

Szymanski, D. M., & Gupta, A. (2009). Examining the relationship between multiple internalized oppressions and African American lesbian, gay, bisexual, and questioning persons' self-esteem and psychological distress. *Journal of Counseling Psychology, 56*(1), 110–118. doi:10.1037/a0013317

Purpose	This study explored “the concurrent relationships between internalized racism (IR) and internalized heterosexism (IH; also known as internalized homophobia) and self-esteem and psychological distress among African American LGBTQ persons. A second purpose of this study was to investigate whether self-esteem mediated the relationship between these two forms of internalized oppression and psychological distress.”
Sample	106 African American women (60%) and men (40%), ages 18-60, who identified as lesbian, gay, bisexual or unsure
Methods	Internet survey; IR was assessed using the Preencounter Self-Hatred subscale of the Cross Racial Identity Scale (CRIS); <i>Internalized heterosexism</i> . IH was assessed using Herek, Cogan, and Gillis’s (2000) short form of Martin and Dean’s (1987) Internalized Homophobia Scale, known as the IHP; The Rosenberg (1965) Self-Esteem Scale (RSE) was used to assess self-esteem; Psychological distress was assessed using the Hopkins Symptom Checklist (HSCL)
Findings	“Results indicated that when examined together, internalized racism and internalized heterosexism (also known as internalized homophobia) were both significant negative predictors of self-esteem, but only internalized heterosexism was a unique positive predictor of psychological distress. The interaction of internalized racism and internalized heterosexism was not a significant predictor of self-esteem or psychological distress. Finally, the authors’ findings indicate that self-esteem partially mediates the relationship between internalized heterosexism and psychological distress.”
Implications	Help clients decrease internalization in order to increase self-esteem, lessen victim blame, continue to work on social justice and minimize all forms of oppression.
Definitions	“ Internalized oppression refers to the insidious processes by which one’s experiences as a member of a devalued minority group are internalized and become associated with the self system (Russell, 1996).”

Sue, D. W., Capodilupo, C. M., & Holder, A. M. B. (2008). Racial microaggressions in the life experience of Black Americans. *Professional Psychology: Research and Practice, 39*, 329–336.

Purpose	“Being able to understand the internal psychological dynamics of racial microaggressions may better arm Blacks with the tools to understand their own reactions and dilemmas, thereby moderating their harmful effects. Second, it is important to identify the paradox associated with describing microaggressions as unintentional, subtle, covert, and innocuous, when these events can be experienced as jarring, overt, and harmful” (p. 330).
Sample	Qualitative; focus group interviews; 13 participants total, all Black or African American adults, including 9 graduate students
Methods	Semistructured interview protocol: “All questions were open-ended and aimed at eliciting real-life examples of subtle racism. The eight questions were designed to generate a variety of microaggressive examples, explore the effect they had on participants, construe meaning from the interaction, and outline how participants responded” (p. 331).
Findings	<p>Five domains were identified:</p> <p>“Incidents are verbal, behavioral, or environmental situations reported by participants to have potential derogatory racial under-tones” (p.331-332). Incidents may be verbal, nonverbal or environmental.</p> <p>“Perception refers to the participants’ belief about whether an incident was racially motivated” (p. 332).</p> <p>Reaction domain “refers to the participant’s immediate response that went beyond a simple “yes,” “no,” or “ambiguous” perception. It represents an inner struggling process that evoked strong cognitive, behavioral, and emotional reactions” (p. 332). Reactions may fall into these frames:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • “Healthy paranoia. Many participants spoke about a sense of paranoia that ensued right before or after an incident. Generally, this suspiciousness was discussed as a necessary reaction to the overwhelming number of microaggressive incidents that take place in the course of any given day” (p. 332). • “Sanity check. Participants reported using other Black/African American friends, family members, and coworkers as a way to check on their perceptions of incidents as racism” (p. 332). • “Empowering and validating self. Participants discussed the notion that microaggressive incidents are the fault of the aggressor, and so they described reactions that reflect this belief” (p. 332). • “Rescuing offenders. Several participants reported reacting to microaggressive events by feeling a pull to take care of the White person in the situation, despite a belief that the person had committed an offense. Taking care refers to considering the White person’s feelings in the situation before one’s own” (p. 332). <p>“Interpretation refers to the meaning the participants make of the Microaggression” (p.333). This domain includes the following themes:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>You do not belong.</i> • <i>You are abnormal.</i> • <i>You are intellectually inferior.</i> • <i>You are not trustworthy.</i>

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>You are all the same.</i> <p>“Consequence refers to the psychological effects of microaggressions on the recipient. This domain covers how the microaggression affected the individual’s behavioral patterns, coping strategies, cognitive reasoning, psychological well-being, and worldview over time” (p. 333). Themes in this domain include:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>Powerlessness</i> • <i>Invisibility</i> • <i>Forced compliance and loss of integrity</i> • <i>Pressure to represent one’s group</i>
Implications	<p>“Our study makes it clear that the ambiguous nature of many microaggressions places Blacks in an unenviable position of trying to ascertain the meaning of the communication, whether the incident was intentional or unintentional, and the quandary of deciding an appropriate response. Microaggressions inevitably produce a clash of racial realities where the experiences of racism by Blacks are pitted against the views of Whites who hold the power to define the situation in nonracial terms. Our study suggests that the worldview of Black Americans is constantly assailed in this country. Finding ways to validate the worldview of Black Americans and to immunize them against the constant onslaught of microaggressions are major challenges. Interestingly, our study provides clues as to how this may be accomplished in the reaction domain: Redefining perceptual vigilance as healthy paranoia; engaging in sanity checks through family members, Black friends, and colleagues; and empowering and validating self” (p. 335). “The experiences of the participants leave little doubt about the short- and long-term detrimental consequences of chronic and perpetual microaggressive messages” (p. 335).</p>
Notes	<p>Although based on self-report from a small sample, this article presents helpful indicators of strategies that might be useful in helping people of Color navigate and make sense of microaggressions (see Implications). For our students, it may be the inner struggling process of trying to interpret and define an incident as a microaggression that causes the most distress, particularly if it is perpetrated by someone they considered trustworthy. This theme is echoed in many of the other articles presented here.</p>

Pieterse, A. L., Carter, R. T., Evans, S. A., & Walter, R. A. (2010). An exploratory examination of the associations among racial and ethnic discrimination, racial climate, and trauma-related symptoms in a college student population. *Journal of Counseling Psychology, 57*, 255–263. doi:10.1037/a0020040

Purpose	This study examined associations between discrimination, racial climate and trauma.
Sample	289 Black, White and Asian college undergraduates
Methods	Survey including: Perceived Stress Scale, the Perceived Ethnic Discrimination Questionnaire, the Posttraumatic Stress Disorder Checklist—Civilian Version, and the Racial Climate Scale.
Findings	“Results of a multivariate analysis of variance (MANOVA) indicated that Asian and Black students reported more frequent experiences of discrimination than did White students. Additionally, the MANOVA indicated that Black students perceived the campus racial climate as being more negative than did White and Asian students. A hierarchical regression analysis showed that when controlling for generic life stress, perceptions of discrimination contributed an additional 10% of variance in trauma-related symptoms for Black students, and racial climate contributed an additional 7% of variance in trauma symptoms for Asian Students” (p. 255).
Implications	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • “Although the current findings identify the presence of an association between racial and/or ethnic discrimination and trauma, the actual pathway from discrimination to stress and, subsequently, to trauma has yet to be articulated” (p. 261). • College therapists should screen for experiences of discrimination the same as they would screen for trauma or abuse (p. 261). • Racial discrimination can be understood and explored with patients as a type of trauma (p. 261).
Notes	This article presents a very direct suggestion to our mental health colleagues: that they screen for experiences of discrimination the same as they would for other trauma or abuse.

Yosso, T. J., Smith, W. A., Ceja, M., & Solórzano, D. G. (2009). *Critical Race Theory, Racial Microaggressions, and Campus Racial Climate for Latina/o Undergraduates*. *Harvard Educational Review*, 79(4), 659–690,781,785–786.

Purpose	These authors employ critical race theory (CRT) to explore three types of racial microaggressions: interpersonal microaggressions, racial jokes and institutional microaggressions. They contrast their findings with Tinto’s (1993) three stages of passage for college students. They strive to push beyond the “Black/White binary” of previous racial microaggression research (p. 662). Research questions: What types of racial microaggressions do Latino/a students experience?; What are the effects of racial microaggressions for Latina/o undergrads?; How do Latino/a undergraduates respond to racial microaggressions?
Sample	Latina/o undergraduate college students; 37; 19 females, 18 males; from one private East Coast and two public Midwest and West Coast universities
Methods	8 focus groups; grounded theory approach
Findings	Latina/o students experience interpersonal microaggressions, racial jokes, and institutional microaggressions. “[R]acial microaggressions aimed at Latino/a students carry insinuations about language, culture, immigration status, phenotype, accent and surname.” (p. 667) “They respond to the rejection they face from a negative campus racial climate by building communities that represent and reflect the cultural wealth of their home communities. In academic and social counterspaces, Latinas/os foster skills of critical navigation between multiple worlds of home and school, academia, and community.” (p. 680)
Implications	“The stress of one racial microaggression can last long after the assault because the victim often continues to spend time with the microaggressor while considering whether the assailant intended harm, and whether or how they must launch a sufficient response.” (p. 670) Racial jokes hinder participation in campus life. In contrast to Tinto’s stages, these authors found that Latina/o undergrads experienced the following stages in their ecological transition to college: rejection, community building and critical navigation between multiple worlds. Racialized stress is also gendered. (p. 674) Latinas/os may intentionally marginalize after experiencing microaggressions in order to “culturally nourish and replenish themselves” (p. 676). They may form academic and social counterspaces” (p. 677). One participant: “We’re not trying to exclude them. We’re just trying to not lose ourselves.” (p. 677) “Many Latina/o students felt responsible for improving race relations, while at the same time they believed racial and social integration was really just a one-way road to the White mainstream culture.” (p. 678)
Definitions	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • “Interpersonal racial microaggressions refer to verbal and nonverbal racial affronts directed at Latinas/os from students, faculty, teaching assistants, or other individuals in academic and social spaces. (p. 667)” • Institutional microaggressions are “those racially marginalizing actions and inertia of the university evidenced in structures, practices, and discourse that endorse a campus racial climate hostile to People of Color. (p. 673)”
Notes	Five tenets of CRT scholarship (from Solorzano, 1997):

1. Intercentricity of race and racism
2. Challenge to dominant ideology
3. Commitment to social justice
4. Centrality of experiential knowledge
5. Interdisciplinary perspective

Features of a positive campus racial climate

- a) The inclusion of students, faculty and administrators of Color
- b) Curriculum reflecting the historical and contemporary experiences of People of Color
- c) Programs to support recruitment, retention, and graduation of Students of Color
- d) A mission that reinforces the institution's commitment to diversity and pluralism

Hurtado, S., Milem, J. F., Clayton-Pedersen, A. R., & Allen, W. R. (1998). Enhancing campus climates for racial/ethnic diversity: Educational policy and practice. *The Review of Higher Education*, 21, 279-302.

Purpose	“The purpose of this paper is to illustrate how research on issues related to campus racial climate can be used to enhance educational policy and practice” (p. 280).
Sample	NA
Methods	Review: “We conducted an extensive multidisciplinary analysis of the research literature on the sources and outcomes of campus racial climate and developed a framework for understanding and describing the campus climate” (p. 281).
Findings	<p>Two domains make up the external components of climate: 1) government forces such as policy, programs and initiatives and 2) sociohistorical forces that influence campus culture.</p> <p>Campus climate has four dimensions: “The institutional context contains four dimensions resulting from educational programs and practices. They include an institution's historical legacy of inclusion or exclusion of various racial/ethnic groups, its structural diversity in terms of numerical representation of various racial/ethnic groups, the psychological climate of perceptions and attitudes between and among groups, and the behavioral climate dimension, characterized by intergroup relations on campus” (p. 282).</p> <p>These elements of climate (external and institutional) are interrelated (p. 283).</p>
Implications	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Acknowledge past history • Look for embedded benefits and correct systemic oppression • Just increasing structural diversity, without adequate support and a strategic plan, will not be enough • Design and implement “systematic and comprehensive educational programs to help all members of the campus community to identify and confront the stereotypes and myths that people have about those who are different from them” (p. 291). • “Institutions must have clearly stated policies and procedures to help the campus community confront and resolve incidents of harassment and discrimination” (p. 292). • Decision-making bodies should include perspectives from all segments of campus • Cross racial dialogue: “educators should make peer groups a deliberate and positive part of the educational process in colleges and universities” (p. 292). • Articulate a clear vision for the future • Multicultural centers • Help community members manage conflict • “In short, two sets of issues are important when considering the success of efforts to improve the campus racial climate: (a) How diverse does the campus look in its representation of different cultural groups? and (b) To what extent do campus operations demonstrate that racial and ethnic diversity is an essential value?” (p. 297).
Definitions	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • “Sociohistoric forces influencing the climate for diversity on campus are events or issues in the larger society, nearly always originating outside the campus, that influence how people view racial diversity in society” (p. 282). • “Embedded benefits” are those that disproportionately benefit some groups over others (history of White fraternities and sororities and their greater access to

	desirable housing) (p. 285).
Notes – Illustrative Quotes	<p>“The quandary lies in just how much of a resocializing agent higher education institutions wish to be. Higher education has not decided whether it should merely reflect our society or whether it should try to consciously shape the society” (p. 280).</p> <p>The institution I work for has intentionally committed to trying to shape society. This article (and subsequent books from Hurtado and others, see Further Reading) provide guidance in how to meaningfully engage with our students to improve campus climate.</p>

<p>Torres-Harding, S. R., Andrade, A. L., Jr., & Romero Diaz, C. E. (2012). The Racial Microaggressions Scale (RMAS): a new scale to measure experiences of racial microaggressions in people of color. <i>Cultural diversity & ethnic minority psychology, 18(2), 153–164. doi:10.1037/a0027658</i></p>	
Purpose	“The purpose of this study was to evaluate a scale measuring racial microaggressions, the Racial Microaggressions Scale (RMAS)” (p. 154).
Sample	Participants from university (53.6%) and community settings (46.4%), N=377.
Methods	Paper-and-pencil and online surveys
Findings	<p>“The current study suggests that the RMAS is a reliable and valid measure for individuals from diverse racial backgrounds” (p. 162).</p> <p>“The six factors included (a) Invisibility, being treated as if one is of lower status, not visible, not seen as a “real” person, and being dismissed or devalued; (b) Criminality, being treated as if one is aggressive, dangerous, or a criminal; (c) Low-Achieving/Undesirable Culture, being treated as if people from one’s racial background are interchangeable, uniformly incompetent, incapable, low achieving, and dysfunctional, and as if successes are due to unfair entitlements and special treatment; (d) Sexualization, being treated in an overly sexual manner and being subject to sexual stereotypes; (e) Foreigner/Not Belonging, being made to feel as if one is not a “true” American or does not really belong because of one’s racial background; and (f) Environmental Invalidations, negative perceptions that derive from observing that people from one’s racial background are largely absent from work, school, or community settings or from positions of power” (p. 156-157).</p>
Implications	“Evidence could not be found for a general racial microaggressions factor, which suggests that these subscales should be scored and examined separately. Examination of mean differences also found different patterns of results across racial groups, indicating that some factors are more salient for some racial groups than for others” (p. 160).
Notes	<p>This article cites Pierce et al. 1977 which is an earlier Pierce reference than in Nadal (2011) for the first use of the term “racial microaggressions”.</p> <p>An opportunity for further research would be for campus personnel to add appropriate scales to measure discrimination to other enterprise-wide surveys of health, mental health, student engagement, etc.</p>

Balsam, K. F., Molina, Y., Beadnell, B., Simoni, J., & Walters, K. (2011). Measuring multiple minority stress: the LGBT People of Color Microaggressions Scale. *Cultural diversity & ethnic minority psychology, 17*(2), 163–174. doi:10.1037/a0023244

Purpose	The purpose of this article was to construct and test the LGBT People of Color Microaggressions Scale.
Sample	Study 1: 112 LGBT adults in Washington State, 46% POC in interviews and focus groups to generate items Study 2: survey validation; 900 LGBT adults, 30% LGBT-POC Study 3: final survey test; 1217 LGBT adults, 297 LGBT-POC
Methods	Mixed methods
Findings	“The LGBT People of Color Microaggressions Scale is an 18-item self-report scale assessing the unique types of microaggressions experienced by ethnic minority LGBT adults. The measure includes three subscales: (a) Racism in LGBT communities, (b) Heterosexism in Racial/Ethnic Minority Communities, and (c) Racism in Dating and Close Relationships, that are theoretically consistent with prior literature on racial/ethnic minority LGBTs and have strong psychometric properties including internal consistency and construct validity in terms of correlations with measures of psychological distress and LGBT-identity variables.”
Implications	This new scale is available for further testing and use in related studies
Notes	Presents the term: “multiply marginalized”.

Mercer, S. H., Zeigler-Hill, V., Wallace, M., & Hayes, D. M. (2011). Development and initial validation of the inventory of Microaggressions Against Black Individuals. *Journal of counseling psychology, 58*(4), 457–469. doi:10.1037/a0024937

Purpose	This article documented the development and validation of Inventory of Microaggressions Against Black Individuals (IMABI).
Sample	385 undergraduates who identified as Black or African American from two universities, one Southern, one Southwestern
Methods	The IMABI is a 14-item unidimensional measure of racial microaggressions that captures both microinsults and microinvalidations.
Findings	“The present findings support the IMABI as a reliable and valid measure of microaggressions that was associated with general distress and perceived stress.” (p. 457) “The present findings support the IMABI as a reliable measure of both microinsults and microinvalidations in Black individuals, and preliminary evidence supports the validity of the IMABI.” (p. 466)
Implications	Cannot assume generalizability to all regions of the United States; authors hope this scale will be used in future studies to examine protective factors
Notes	This article adds “assumed universality of Black experience” as a third type of microinvalidation not in the original Sue et al 2007 taxonomy.

Nadal, K. L. (2011). The Racial and Ethnic Microaggressions Scale (REMS): construction, reliability, and validity. *Journal of counseling psychology, 58*(4), 470–480. doi:10.1037/a0025193

Purpose	To develop and validate the REMS; “the purpose of the present study was to create a quantitative instrument on racial microaggressions that could measure the microaggressions that people of color experience in their everyday lives” (p. 271).
Sample	College and internet samples; N=661
Methods	Exploratory principal-components analysis, confirmatory factor analysis
Findings	Study 1 identified a 6-factor model: (a) Assumptions of Inferiority, (b) Second-Class Citizen and Assumptions of Criminality, (c) Microinvalidations, (d) Exoticization/Assumptions of Similarity, (e) Environmental Microaggressions, and (f) Workplace and School Microaggressions. “Further analyses indicate that the REMS is a valid measure of racial microaggressions, as evidenced by high correlations with existing measures of racism and participants’ feedback” (p. 470).
Implications	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • “The REMS was also found to be a reliable measure across four major racial groups, namely, Asian Americans, Latina/o Americans, Black/African Americans, and multiracial people” (p. 477). • Student Affairs practitioners may wish to use the “Workplace and School Microaggressions subscale” specifically. • Having a quantitative measure may be helpful in future research to respond to criticisms that much of the racial microaggression taxonomy research has depended on qualitative measures to date. • “These two studies indicate that individuals are able to identify racial microaggressions and are able to label them as being race related” (p. 479).
Notes	Helpful summary of literature on discrimination and health consequences, page 270.

Accapadi, M.M. (2007) When White Women Cry: How White Women's Tears Oppress Women of Color. *College Student Affairs Journal*. 26 (2), 208-215.

Purpose	“The goal of this article is to highlight complexities that arise with the intersection of race and gender, using the Privilege Identity Exploration (PIE) Model (Watt, 2007)” (p. 208).
Sample	Female student affairs officers
Methods	Case Study, Discussion, Use of the Privilege Identity Exploration (PIE) Model
Findings	<p>Intersection of Social Identities: “Put in simple terms, male privilege positions the nature of womanhood, while White privilege through history positions a White woman's reality as the universal norm of womanhood, leaving a woman of color defined by two layers of oppression.” (p. 209)</p> <p>The case study presented demonstrated the following constructs of the PIE: Initial observations, denial, rationalization, false envy, and benevolence</p>
Implications	<p>The PIE Model is useful in that “once we can recognize the defense mechanisms that come from such resistance, we can actually engage in authentic dialogue across social identities.” (p. 211)</p> <p>“Perhaps the most effective use of this model is for self-evaluation so that we can recognize when we as educators exhibit these defense modes when our sense of entitlement based on privilege is challenged.” (p. 213)</p> <p>Four Strategies for Healthy Difficult Dialogues</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. “In difficult conversations, remember the goal of the conversation. White privilege allows you to shift the conversation about you and your feelings and away from the original goal of the conversation.” 2. “Rather than ‘You are angry,’ be specific about your observations-‘I noticed that when I said X, you were impacted in Y manner.’ Be clear on not only naming emotions, but the cause/root of those emotions.” 3. “Privilege is not just about our social identities, but associated with the behaviors that are normalized within those social identities.” “Try to remove the value judgments that we have been taught to associate with specific physical representations of emotions.” 4. “Understanding race and healing racism are deeply connected, yet entirely different concepts. Create active dialogue spaces to recognize the differences and inter-relatedness of these concepts. White people should also actively talk about White racism in safe, separate, spaces to challenge themselves, their peers, and/or their staffs. This process should be rooted in empowerment, not guilt.” <p>“Our responsibility as educators committed to social justice, <i>is</i> to reframe our ‘standard of humanity,’ so that we are asking different questions, treating the actual cause of the conflicts presented to us and not their external symptoms, and challenging our own notions of “normal.” (p. 214)</p>
Definitions	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • One up/One down: having one identity that is privileged and another that is oppressed; White women can “toggle” their identities due to White privilege (p. 210). White is the de facto “standard of humanity”.
Notes	This reading is a valuable tool for practitioners seeking to reduce the normal defensiveness that results from self- and group-based exploration of privilege.

Watt, S. K. (2007). Difficult dialogues and social justice: Uses of the privileged identity exploration (PIE) model in student affairs practice. *College student affairs journal* 26(2), 114-126.

Purpose	“The purpose of this article is to introduce the Privileged Identity Exploration (PIE) model that represents behavior often presented by individuals when engaged in difficult dialogues about diversity, privilege, and social justice” (p. 114).
Method	Qualitative review of participants’ writing
Findings	<p>The PIE model “identifies eight defensive reactions which occur when one is being encouraged to reflect on their social, political, and economic position in society’ (p. 118).</p> <p>Recognizing Privileged Identity includes the defenses of denial, deflection, rationalization (p. 121).</p> <p>Contemplating Privileged Identity includes the defenses of intellectualization, principium, and false envy (p. 121).</p> <p>Addressing Privileged Identity includes the defenses of benevolence and minimization (p. 122).</p>
Implications	<p>“The PIE model assists me as a facilitator in three ways. The model helps me to remember that the defenses my students display are primal and normal. Second, the PIE model helps me to bear in mind that the journey to critical consciousness can be fatiguing. As a facilitator who is charged with the primary’ responsibility of managing these defenses, I have to monitor my own energy. I have to not only recognize these defenses in others, but I may display them myself. Third, I view the PIE model as a step toward moving the conversations about diversity and social justice forward. The model attempts to define behaviors that have the potential to stagnate these conversations” (p. 123).</p>
Definitions	<p>“There are many ways to define diversity. For the purposes of this special issue, the term diversity refers to raising awareness about promoting inclusion of historically oppressed groups (i.e. racial minorities, women, people with disabilities) and developing an appreciation of cultural difference (Goodman, 2001). Social justice goes beyond raising awareness and addresses "issues of equity, power relations, and institutionalized oppression" (Goodman, 2001, p. 5). Social justice requires that individuals challenge dominant ideology’ and advocate change in institutional policies and practices (Goodman, 2001)” (p. 115).</p> <p>“A difficult dialogue is a verbal or written exchange of ideas or opinions between citizens within a community that centers on an awakening of potentially conflicting views of beliefs or values about social justice issues (such as racism, sexism, ableism, heterosexism/homophobia)” (p. 116).</p> <p>“The term privileged identity refers to an identity’ that is historically linked to social or political advantages in this society. Privileged identities include not only racial (White), but also sexual (Heterosexual), gender (Male), and ability (Able-bodied) identity” (p. 118).</p>
Notes	This piece was referenced in the Accapadi article presented previously and is also an excellent tool to help practitioners explore their personal privilege and engage in difficult dialogues with others.

Wallace, S. A., Townsend, T. G., Glasgow, Y. M., & Ojie, M. J. (2011). Gold Diggers, Video Vixens, and Jezebels: Stereotype Images and Substance Use Among Urban African American Girls. *Journal of Women's Health, 20*(9), 1315–1324. doi:10.1089/jwh.2010.2223

Purpose	This study was “an attempt to empirically measure the influence of stereotypes and negative images that stem from intersecting systems of racism and sexism on the substance use behavior of low-income urban African American girls” (p. 1315).
Sample	Two hundred seventy-two African American female adolescents (mean age 13.02 years) in an urban Northeastern area.
Methods	Self-report questionnaire; Colorism was assessed using the Image Acceptance Measure (IAM)
Findings	“Results of a series of hierarchical regression analyses indicated that girls who accepted an African American standard of beauty reported lower levels of substance use than those who endorsed colorism. Additionally, racial socialization buffered the negative relationship of colorism to substance use behavior, but only for a certain subset of girls” (p. 1315).
Implications	Parents of African American adolescent girls and other adults and peers can help mitigate the relationship between endorsement of Colorism and substance abuse by providing racial socialization messages that affirm the value of one’s natural way of being. “Tailored health interventions that consider both gender-specific and race-specific issues may improve risk behaviors, including substance use among adolescent females” (p. 1315).
Definitions	Colorism refers to the skin color stratification of African Americans in which lighter skin is perceived as more desirable. Colorism is also referred to as the acceptance of a Western standard of beauty (p. 1316).
Notes	Original citation provided for the term “colorism”: Okazawa-Rey M, Robinson T, Ward JV. Black women and the politics of skin color and hair. New York: Haworth, 1987. Practitioners can increase programming and discussions to affirm students’ natural way of being and challenge normative beauty standards. Parents may also be valuable partners in this work.

Wilder, J., & Cain, C. (2011). Teaching and Learning Color Consciousness in Black Families: Exploring Family Processes and Women’s Experiences With Colorism. *Journal of Family Issues*, 32(5), 577–604. doi:10.1177/0192513X10390858

Purpose	This study explored “the influence of Black families in the development and maintenance of a colorist ideology and consciousness among Black women” (p. 577). Research question: “How do families shape Black women’s understanding of and experiences with colorism?” (p. 578).
Sample	26 Black identified women ages 18-40
Methods	Focus groups
Findings	<p>“Results of focus group interviews with 26 Black women indicate that color differences are learned, reinforced, and in some cases contested within families, ultimately shaping Black women’s perspectives and experiences with colorism” (p. 577).</p> <p>“Teaching and learning color consciousness occurs within many familial contexts at various points in life. Our findings point to three specific patterns within the family: (a) maternal figures as points of origin for normative ideologies of colorism; (b) the family as the site for reaffirming and transforming color consciousness; and (c) the family as the point of origin for oppositional ideologies. It is through these patterns that color differences are learned, reinforced, and in some cases contested, ultimately shaping Black women’s perspectives and experiences with colorism” (p. 585)</p>
Implications	<p>“Because the family is a primary agent of socialization, it can aid in a solution as well. One of these solutions involves how and where parents raise children. Some participants suggested that parents need to teach their children to be accepting of their peers’ skin tones, as well as teach especially light- or dark-skinned children to cope with hurtful treatment by their peers. This is easier said than done, however. It seems difficult for parents to provide these proper tools of coping and awareness for their children when they themselves may have internalized colorist ideology. As our research suggests though, some families are using their influence as a powerful agent of socialization to counteract these oppressive forces and are committed to encouraging more awareness and acceptance in their young members” (p. 600).</p>
Definitions	<p>“The term colorism is not part of everyday language; yet in a scholarly context, colorism is defined as an intraracial system of inequality based on skin color, hair texture, and facial features that bestows privilege and value on physical attributes that are closer to white” (p. 578).</p>
Notes	Another opportunity to work with parents and within ethnic groups to facilitate discussion about norms and acceptance.

Wilder, J. (2010). Revisiting “Color Names and Color Notions” A Contemporary Examination of the Language and Attitudes of Skin Color Among Young Black Women. *Journal of Black Studies*, 41(1), 184–206. doi:10.1177/0021934709337986

Purpose	This study revisits the color names and notions identified in Charles Parrish’s 1946 study by the same name.
Sample	58 black female students, ages 19 to 25.
Methods	Five focus groups
Findings	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • This study would suggest there has been no change in colorist ideology among African Americans in the past 60 years). • However, in the current study, “colorism operates as a three-tiered structure rather than the traditionally situated binary paradigm” (p. 184). • More than 40 terms were identified by participants as what they used to describe their own skin color or that of others in day to day interactions.
Implications	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • “The language of skin tone creates a collective stock of knowledge that is shared and maintained by many members of the black community. The everyday experiences of colorism are connected to the ways in which women internalize the mental messages, or internal scripts, of skin tone” (p. 192). • For academic settings: “As an honor student, not only does Tessa mention her family members’ lowering their expectations of her, but she also explains that many of her peers presumed that her “African-dark” skin automatically made her less capable than others” (p. 197).
Definitions	Credits the term “ colorism ” to Alice Walker in 1983 (p. 185).
Notes	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Alpha Kappa Alpha sorority is perceived historically as selecting predominately light-skinned members. • “Red” is considered most desirable skin tone. • Some students’ self-perceived skin tone was challenged when they arrived at college and were compared to others. One young woman had always been told by her family that she was “brown” but her new classmates referred to her as “dark” and “black” (p. 200). • “What is noteworthy is how this form of internalized racism affects the attitudes, beliefs, and behavior of young black women in much of the same way that colorism did before the civil rights movement, as illustrated by previous studies” (p.202). <p>Multicultural sororities, fraternities and dance troupes may be apt spaces in which to engage students on this topic.</p>

Conclusion

A call to action

So, now what? As public health professionals in campus-settings become increasingly invested in creating environments that promote safety and success, we must include an assessment of racial and ethnic microaggressions when exploring campus climate. I provided this feedback to the new National Center for Safe Supportive Learning Environments during their focus groups at the NASPA conference January 2013. In addition, eliminating health disparities and achieving health equity are the first priority of public health.⁴ *Leadership for a Healthy Campus* includes guidance in conducting an environmental scan of campus assets and challenges for student wellbeing and academic success.⁵ The authors include this item: “a) How does diversity (racial/ethnic, socioeconomic, gender, sexual orientation) or lack of it, affect the ways individuals on and off campus (faculty, staff, students, community members) approach discussions about health and health behaviors? How do preexisting perceptions and attitudes affect these discussions and relationships?” (p. 11). We can use this tool, among others, as we engage with students to complete environmental scans of our campuses and to shape the policies and programs that promote health, safety and success.

We must also continue our professional development in cultural humility as well as cultural competence (see the forthcoming revised *Vision into Action* tool from the American College Health Association, anticipated Winter 2014). First and foremost we have to engage in the difficult dialogues in which we reflect on our privilege and our assumptions of others. Second, we need to become natural allies to our colleagues and students on campus as they pursue related social justice aims. I can imagine overworked health promotion professionals making excuses that there are other offices on campus for that, or that there is too much to do related to health promotion already. Yet, this is our work too. Our training in systems thinking and a public health approach can complement the multicultural expertise of our colleagues, if those aren't skills they already have. And, the rest of “our work” will be moot if our students don't feel welcome, included, respected and valued. Nor can we have a truly healthy campus without social justice for all our members. Third, when student affairs administrators convene working groups to address microaggressions and other forms of discrimination, they should consider inviting public health and mental health personnel to join in those efforts. Finally, our offices of health promotion are also the training ground for future public health and student affairs professionals as well as future leaders in many capacities. We have the opportunity to influence the health of multiple communities by preparing students to have a holistic view of health, learning and social justice that they will take with them and employ as parents, civic leaders, faith leaders, business owners, teachers or whatever their calling.

⁴ <http://www.hrsa.gov/publichealth/>

⁵ National Association of Student Personnel Administrators. (2004). *Leadership of a healthy campus: an ecological approach to student success*. Retrieved May 1, 2012, from <http://www.naspa.org/membership/mem/pubs/ebooks/HealthyCampus.pdf>.

Limitations

This annotated bibliography includes references culled from PubMed in May 2013 and recent articles recommended by colleagues during the course of this project. It may not reflect the full literature available from the past several years.

Further research

There are multiple opportunities to extend this exploration. First, public health tools can be applied to mitigating the impact of environmental microaggressions and the results documented, assessed, and re-studied. Second, the impact of race-based trauma and the trauma of sexual violence for people of Color needs to be further understood, including among college samples. Finally, adding discrimination scales to the National College Health Assessment or other health promotion data collection tools may enable practitioners to better understand the relationship of discrimination to wellbeing and academic success.

Further Reading

ACHA *Standards of Practice for Health Promotion in Higher Education* (2012).

http://www.acha.org/Publications/docs/Standards_of_Practice_for_Health_Promotion_in_Higher_Education_May2012.pdf

Bonilla-Silva, E. (2006). *Racism without racists: Color-blind racism and the persistence of racial inequality in America*. Lanham, MD: Rowman and Littlefield Publishers, Inc.

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