Women of Color Undergraduate Students' Experiences with Campus Sexual Assault: An Intersectional Analysis

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Abstract: Many higher education scholars, policy makers, and practitioners continue to ignore the intersections of race and gender when focusing on campus sexual assault (CSA) for the undergraduate student population. This race-evasive approach contributes to incomplete and inaccurate understandings about the ways Women of Color students experience CSA. Subsequently, race-evasive approaches often inform ineffective efforts to address and eradicate CSA for all campus populations, particularly for students with multiple minoritized identities. Guided by the concept of intersectionality, this research explores how intersecting systems of domination, specifically racism and sexism, influence 34 Women of Color undergraduate student survivors' experiences with CSA. Study findings demonstrate how an intersectional approach to CSA elicits information that guides more effective efforts to eradicate sexual assault.

Grounded in Black feminist and critical race theories, legal scholar Kimberlé Crenshaw first introduced the term "intersectionality" to the academy

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in 1989. Through her foundational work on intersectionality, Crenshaw (1989, 1991) demonstrated how intersecting sociohistorical systems, specifically racism and sexism, shape the experiences of Women of Color with domestic violence and sexual assault and influence how these experiences diverge from those of white women (Crenshaw, 1991).[1] More specifically, due to a history of colonization, slavery, forced removal, cultural genocide, and continued violence against Communities of Color in the United States, the needs and experiences of Women of Color for preventing, responding to, reporting, and healing from sexual assault are qualitatively different than white women's needs and experiences (Crenshaw, 1991). For example, a history of police brutality used against Communities of Color may influence Women of Color's decisions to not report encounters with sexual assault to law enforcement (Crenshaw, 1991).

Although Women of Color and white women have many different needs and experiences with sexual assault, some higher education scholars, policy makers, and practitioners continue to ignore the intersections of race and gender when focusing on campus sexual assault (CSA) and the undergraduate student population (Harris, Cobian, & Karunaratne, 2020; Iverson, 2017; Harris, 2017; Linder, Grimes, Williams, Lacy, & Parker, 2020; Wooten, 2017). CSA is defined as any nonconsensual sexual contact that occurs without one's consent on a college campus and its surrounding community. In a recent content analysis of 540 articles that focused on CSA, only 15 articles explicitly centered race in their analysis (e.g., centering Asian American students' perceptions of CSA; Linder et al., 2020). Furthermore, when researching CSA, scholars almost always draw on samples with majority white women students (Harris et al., 2020; Linder et al., 2020), influencing their decisions to "drop" some, or all, Women of Color respondents from their study (e.g., Adams-Curtis & Forbes, 2004; Gidycz, Orchowski, King, & Rich, 2008; Gross, Winslett, Roberts, & Gohm, 2006). For example, in their foundational re-

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[1]Guided by the works of Lindsay Pérez Huber (2010), I capitalize "Asian American," "Black," and other minoritized groups, including "Women of Color," as a form of linguistic empowerment. The term "Woman of Color" grew out of a movement of resistance and a need for solidarity among a group of racially minoritized women who share a similar position in a U.S. hierarchy of oppression (Ross, n.d.). The term includes all self-identified women who are racial minorities in the United States, including, but not limited to, Asian American, Black, Indigenous, Latinx, and Multiracial. I do not capitalize "white" to challenge hegemonic grammatical norms and to "reject the grammatical representation of power capitalization brings to the term 'white'" (Pérez Huber, 2010, p. 93); "Sexual violence" is often used by U.S. organizations to reference violence on a global scale and includes sexual assault, incest, intimate partner sexual violence, and stalking. "Sexual assault" is a form of sexual violence, but refers specifically to any unwanted sexual contact, including unwanted fondling, kissing, groping, and rape (see RAINN.org for more information). In an attempt to gain a more targeted and nuanced understanding of one form of sexual violence, this article focuses on sexual assault.

search on CSA and college women, Gidycz and colleagues (2008) explained, "Given that the sample was predominantly Caucasian women, race and ethnicity were not entered into the model" (p. 751). In not accounting for the intersections of race and gender, scholars are supporting a race-evasive approach to research on CSA.

Race-evasiveness encourages individuals to evade the knowledge that racism is systemic and continues to have very real implications for People of Color in the United States (see Annamma, Jackson, & Morrison, 2017, for more on the evasion of race through color-evasiveness). Race-evasive approaches often obscure how racism *and* sexism intersect to shape Women of Color students' experiences with CSA and equates *all* women students' experiences with CSA to *white* women's experiences with CSA. This often perpetuates "a paradigm that implicitly highlights the white female experience . . . and ignores other racial ethnic groups" (Lundy-Wagner & Winkle-Wagner, 2013, p. 59; Grillo, 1995). Race-evasive research also informs institutional sexual violence policies, procedures, and practices that are devoid of racialized analyses (Iverson, 2017; Korman, Greenstein, Wesaw, & Hopp, 2017; Wooten, 2017). Higher education institutions rarely account for race and racism in sexual assault prevention and awareness programming for campus employees and students (Korman et al., 2017), and institutional sexual violence policies often frame violence as "a color-blind phenomenon" that obscures how students' experiences with CSA differ by racial identity (Iverson, 2017, p. 224). In short, race-evasiveness in CSA research contributes to "incomplete and inaccurate information about the ways that minoritized people experience sexual assault," informing ineffective efforts to address CSA for all campus populations (Linder et al., 2020, p. 1033). While a focus on the 23% of white women undergraduate students who experience CSA is necessary, a unilateral focus on these women ignores the approximately 25% of Native American women, 23% of Latina women, 22% of multiracial women, 21% of Pacific Islander women, 18% of Black women, and 12% of Asian American women who report encountering CSA (Cantor et al., 2019). If the experiences of Women of Color continue to be equated to white women students' experiences, then policy makers and practitioners will find it difficult to understand and eradicate CSA for *all* women.

Through this research, I use an intersectional approach to demonstrate how intersecting systems of domination, specifically racism and sexism, influence Women of Color undergraduate student survivors' experiences with CSA. This research demonstrates how the experiences and needs of Women of Color students who have experienced CSA diverge from dominant ideologies and scholarship surrounding CSA. Additionally, in using an intersectional framework, this study exhibits how intersecting systems of domination embedded throughout institutions, and not only individual behaviors, such as

students' alcohol consumption, contribute to the perpetuation of violence against Women of Color on campus (Crenshaw, 1989, 1991). Focusing on macro-level societal and institutional structures will better inform educators' understandings of how to disrupt the systems that are the root causes of sexual assault. Next, intersectionality, the conceptual framework that guides this research, is explored in more detail.

INTERSECTIONALITY AS CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

In 1989, Kimberlé Crenshaw published, "Demarginalizing the intersection of race and sex: A Black feminist critique of antidiscrimination doctrine, feminist theory and antiracist politics." Through this foundational scholarship, Crenshaw demonstrated how U.S. structures, such as antidiscrimination law, and discourses of resistance, such as feminism and antiracism, often position identities as mutually exclusive, resulting in the "theoretical erasure" of Black women who hold multiple minoritized identities (Crenshaw, 1989, p. 139). In 1991, Crenshaw went on to demonstrate how the battering and rape of Women of Color "are frequently the product of intersecting patterns of racism and sexism" (p. 1244). Yet, institutional resources, societal systems, and discourses of resistance are often incapable of addressing and redressing the intersections of race and gender that silence their experiences with violence. Crenshaw (1991) explicitly centered the intersections of race and gender for Women of Color, while acknowledging how other identities, such as class, may also be influential to their world-making.

To explore further how the intersections of race and gender "create a distinct set of issues" (p. 159) for Women of Color who experience rape or domestic violence, Crenshaw (1991) conceptualized three forms of intersectionality: structural intersectionality, political intersectionality, and representational intersectionality. The three forms of intersectionality demonstrate "the various ways in which race and gender intersect in shaping structural, political, and representational aspects of violence against women of color" (p. 1244). Aligning with the purpose of this research, this study explores the following question: *How do structural, political, and representational forms of intersectionality shape Women of Color undergraduate students' experiences with CSA?* Next, each form of intersectionality is explored in detail and is connected to literature that centers Women of Color students and CSA.

Structural Intersectionality

Structural intersectionality focuses on how the experiences of Women of Color with violence are qualitatively different from white women's experiences with violence but are not often accounted for within the structures of U.S. society, such as the U.S. legal system or community resources. For example, women's shelters that provide support for women survivors fail to

address other oppressions, such as classism and racism, that influence how Women of Color encounter and respond to violence. Resources and policies that are meant to respond to rape victims often view Women of Color as if they have the same needs as white women. Crenshaw (1991) explained that some rape crisis centers allocate a large portion of their money and time to attend court with victims. Yet, due to racist and sexist stereotypes that position Women of Color as not believable and, at times, non-rapeable, these women are less likely than white women to have their cases pursued in court, and, thus, resources allocated for court services may be "misdirected" in some Communities of Color (Crenshaw, 1991, p. 1251).

Within this research, structural intersectionality encourages an examination into how institutional procedures concerning CSA often address the needs of white women students while eclipsing the needs of Women of Color students. For example, some scholars have focused on the ways that both institutional and federal policies remain race evasive and undermine Women of Color students' "particular histories, needs, and concerns while simultaneously privileging White frameworks and understandings of sexual violence" (Wooten, 2017, p. 413; see also Iverson, 2017). These policies often inform race-evasive practices on campus. For instance, scholars and practitioners have spent time and energy addressing students' alcohol use on campus in an attempt to prevent incapacitated CSA (Harris & Linder, 2017; Harris et al., 2020). Yet, due to "racial cultural patterns" (p. 3660), some Black women at Historically Black Colleges and Universities (HBCUs) and non-HBCUs were less likely than white women students to consume alcohol frequently and, thus, often less likely to experience incapacitated assault (Krebs, Barrick, Lindquist, Crosby, Boyd, & Bogan, 2011). A hyper-focus on alcohol education may eclipse the reality that Black students and their communities often have different, if not more nuanced, needs for CSA prevention.

Regarding resources, some campus administrators who were in charge of reporting campus crimes acknowledged that Students of Color may be reluctant to use CSA services (e.g., counseling center, advocacy center) and may be institutionally underserved by these services (Sabina, Verdiglione, & Zadnik, 2017). *Why* some students may be reluctant to use campus services remains underexplored. Contradictorily, some scholars have found no difference between Women of Colors' and white women's use of mental health services after assault (Amstadter et al., 2010). Yet, this finding must be interpreted with caution because 77% of the participant sample was white. Although this research suggests that the experiences of Women of Color with CSA response may diverge from white women's responses, it remains relatively unknown how or if institutions provide inclusive institutional practices for Women of Color survivors.

Political Intersectionality

Political intersectionality centers on the ways that Women of Color fall into a chasm created by competing discourses of resistance, specifically antiracism and feminism. Antiracist discourses often focus on Men of Color and rarely address issues of patriarchy. Influenced by antiracist discourse, women are expected, if not encouraged, to remain silent around issues of domestic violence to preserve the image of the community and to prevent the perpetuation of racial stereotypes attributed to Men of Color (Crenshaw, 1991). Furthermore, reporting to police and other government services is not often an option for Women of Color who hesitate to place their trust in systems that are systemically racist and hostile toward Communities of Color (Crenshaw, 1991). Yet, feminist resistance movements that are meant to empower all women often dis/empower and subordinate Women of Color because white women often dominate and dictate the concerns of these movements while negating intersectionality (Crenshaw, 1989, 1991). Subsequently, feminism and antiracism do little to address violence against Women of Color, let alone sociohistorical stereotypes that construct Women of Color as sexually permissive (see Museus & Truong, 2013; Park, 2012; West, 1995) and non-rapeable (Smith, 2005). Thus, competing discourses of resistance not only silence Women of Color, they also position the rape of Women of Color as less believable, and less likely to be addressed, than the rape of white women (Crenshaw, 1991).

Within this study, political intersectionality encourages a focus on how social movements, both on and off campus, influence Women of Colors' perceptions of believability, reporting, and intraracial relationships, and their overall experiences with CSA. Scholars (Koo et al., 2015; Palmer & St. Vil, 2018; Thompson et al., 2007) have found that some Women of Color students were less likely than white women students to report their assault to police. Others (Ullman & Filipias, 2001) suggest that Women of Color were more likely than white women students to report to the police and formal outlets. These contradictory findings may be influenced by societal and institutional factors that are not often accounted for in quantitative research, which makes up the majority of research on CSA (Harris et al., 2020; Linder et al., 2020). For instance, how might women's decisions to report perpetrators of Color to police be influenced by antiracist activism on campus?

Some Women of Color indicated that their hesitancy to report to the police stemmed from not wanting to involve police and from feelings of shame and embarrassment (Lindquist, Crosby, Barrick, Krebs, & Settles-Reaves, 2016; Thompson et al., 2007), whereas Asian American women perceived that they would not be believed by police because of stereotypes that paint Asian American women as hypersexual, passive, and not "the white norm" (Koo et al., 2015, p. 63; see also Museus & Truong, 2013). Female students,

regardless of race, were less likely to report to the police when the perpetrator was their same race (Fisher, Daigle, Cullen & Turner, 2003), suggesting that intraracial politics may play into college women's decision to formally report assault (see Gomez, 2020). Scholars (Kalof, 2000; Koo et al., 2015) have also explored how Women of Color students often do not label their assault as rape; if one was not raped, there is nothing to report. Kalof (2000) posited that Black women's labeling of rape, or lack thereof, is influenced by the understanding "that the community will not support them as victims or survivors" (p. 92). Although literature suggests that antiracist discourses may influence experiences with CSA, no literature could be located that interrogated how feminism, and feminist and antiracist discourses together, work to influence Women of Color students' narratives of assault.

Representational Intersectionality

Representational intersectionality demonstrates how cultural representations often reproduce violence against Women of Color. Rap music, with its "misogynistic imagery," transmits racist/sexist stereotypes of Women and Men of Color to U.S. society broadly but also to young "Black women who, like young men, are learning that their value lies between their legs" (Crenshaw, 1991, p. 1285). Crenshaw drew on "The 2 Live Crew controversy" to demonstrate that rap music may empower the Black community in the United States but is demonstratively misogynistic and devalues and dehumanizes "those most directly implicated in rap—Black women" (p. 1290). Representational intersectionality centers not only how violence against Women of Color is reproduced through cultural representations but also how Women of Color are further marginalized and silenced when Communities of Color defend these cultural representations as cultural traditions or as core component of the culture. (For a contemporary analysis of representational intersectional, see Crenshaw's [2019] intersectional theorizing of how the Black community protected R. Kelly while silencing Black women and girls.)

In the context of this research, representational intersectionality allows for an exploration into the ways that media co/constructs culture and the valuing of women's bodies within culture and how this influences Woman of Colors' experiences with CSA. In preparing for this research, only one study (Kahlor & Morrison, 2007) could be located that explicitly explored how cultural imagery depicted in the media influenced experiences with, or perceptions of, CSA for undergraduate Women of Color. The authors (Kahlor & Morrison, 2007) found that the more television women students consumed, the more likely they were to accept rape myths, and many Women of Color are more likely than white women students to accept these myths. Thus, watching television may have a different, if not heightened, effect on rape myth acceptance for Women of Color students compared to white women students. Yet, how students perceive television to racialize sexual

assault and the bodies of Women of Color, and how this might result in differing levels of rape myth acceptance, remains underexplored. Explorations into the influence of media and cultural imagery are particularly important at a time when young adults in the U.S. spend more time on social media, television, and their phones than any other generation before them (The Nielsen Company, 2018).

A Final Note on Intersectionality as Framework

Since 1989, intersectionality has crossed into and influenced almost every academic discipline (Lewis, 2013), including higher education (Harris & Patton, 2019). Yet, as intersectionality has traveled across disciplinary borders, it has become an academic buzzword that is often coopted and de-politicized by scholars' mis/use of the concept (Bilge, 2013; Lewis, 2013). After reviewing 98 articles that used "intersectionality" to study issues in postsecondary contexts, Harris and Patton (2019) concluded that no scholars mentioned, let alone used, the three forms of intersectionality first defined by Crenshaw (1991) to frame intersectional research. Concurrently, scholars rarely use intersectionality to frame CSA (see Harris et al., 2020), which is a missed opportunity given its roots in Black feminist discourses of sexual and domestic violence. Through this research, I aim to use intersectionality in a manner that reflects Crenshaw's theorizing of the concept, in both *content* (Women of Color and sexual violence) and *form* (structural, political, representational). This research is an attempt to return to some of the roots of Crenshaw's work *and* advance scholars' knowledge of using intersectionality as an analytical tool that can foster social and educational transformation.

RESEARCH DESIGN

I used a critical interpretivist qualitative approach (Denzin, 2017; Pasque, Carducci, Kuntz, & Gildersleeve, 2012) to explore 34 Women of Color undergraduate students' experiences with CSA. Critical qualitative inquiry encourages scholars to account for and challenge structures of domination embedded throughout society and educational institutions (Pasque et al, 2012). Coupled with an interpretivist approach, which focuses on participants' lived experiences told from their perspective, a critical interpretivist qualitative study aligns with intersectionality because it allows for an exploration into Women of Color students' experiences with CSA, while contextualizing these experiences within systems of domination.

Research Sites

I recruited participants from three different large, public higher education institutions located in one state in the Western U.S (Table 1). The three institutions were chosen due to their similarities (e.g., large, public,

research institution) and due to the presence of my existing networks at the institutions; gaining access to these institutions may have been easier than gaining access to institutions where I had no pre-existing connections. All institutions have a Title IX office, a counseling center, and a sexual assault resource and advocacy center (SARAC). I use pseudonyms for all people and places in this research.

Participants

I used my preexisting professional networks at each institution to recruit Women of Color undergraduate students who experienced CSA. Student affairs professionals, chairs of academic departments, and relevant student groups disseminated recruitment messages via listservs, social media, and posting flyers on campus. Recruitment messages included a link to the study website that interested participants could browse to gain detailed information about the study. Interested participants were asked to fill out a Qualtrics survey that allowed me to gauge if they met the criteria for participation, which required that participants be 18 years old or older, self-identify as a woman, self-identify with a racially minoritized population, and have experienced CSA while an undergraduate student at one of the three research sites. To increase my sampling pool, I remained open to interviewing women who experienced CSA as an undergraduate at one of the institutions, but who had graduated in the past two years. Across the three institutions, 56 women expressed interest in the research. However, eight women did not meet one or more of the research criteria, ten women did not answer my initial email to set up an interview, and four did not show up for their scheduled interview.

Thirty-four cisgender Women of Color students participated in the research process (Table 1). At the beginning of the first interview, I asked all participants to speak about how they identify racially, their gender identity, and other identities that were currently salient in their lives. The 34 participants held multiple, multifaceted racial identities and heritages including: Black and white, South Asian, Asian-Vietnamese American, Latina, African American, and Non-Black Woman of Color. Women also identified multiple salient identities including queer, daughter, partner, mentally unhealthy, first-generation student, immigrant, and pansexual.

Data Collection

The main source of data for this research was collected over two 90-minute semi-structured interviews with each participant. In total, I collected 66 interviews across 34 participants (due to scheduling conflicts two participants, one from Institution Two and one from Institution Three, did not complete the second interview). I conducted interviews with 31 participants across the three institutions and a Woman of Color doctoral student who has worked in CSA advocacy conducted interviews with three participants at Institu-

TABLE 1.

INSTITUTIONAL SITES AND PARTICIPANT DEMOGRAPHICS

Institution	Undergraduate Enrollment	Enrollment by Gender	Enrollment by Racial Identity	Number of Participants	Participant Racial Demographics
Institution One	30,000	60% women/ 40% men	28% AAPI; 22% Hispanic; 5% Multiracial; 3% Black; <1% Native American; 27% white	13	3 Asian American women; 4 South Asian/ Indian women; 4 women identifying with more than one race, including Black/white and Latina/ Native American; 1 Latina woman; 1 Black woman
Institution Two	20,000	55% women/ 45% men	34% AAPI; 42% Hispanic; 6% Multiracial; 3% Black; <1% Native American; 11% white	11	1 Asian American woman; 3 South Asian/ Indian women; 2 women identifying with more than one race, including Black/white and Mexican/ Vietnamese; 3 Latina women; 1 Black woman; 1 African woman
Institution Three	30,000	50% women/ 50% men	35% AAPI; 26% Hispanic; 4% Multiracial; 2% Black; <1% Native American; 14% white	10	2 Asian American women; 2 women identifying with more than one race, including Mexican/white and Mexican/Indian; 4 Latina women; 2 Black women

tion One. All interviews were audio recorded and transcribed verbatim. The majority of the interviews were conducted in person, but I did interview two participants via online telecommunication platforms. The purpose of the first interview was to build rapport with each participant, to explore their academic and social expectations and experiences on campus, and to learn about their encounter(s) with CSA, including reporting, healing, and immediate responses to assault. After the first set of interviews were completed and transcribed, I read through the transcripts while writing memos that summarized participants' narratives and noted in/consistencies in themes that I observed across transcripts. From this preliminary analysis, I constructed the second interview protocol. The purpose of the second 90-minute interview was to follow up on the in/consistencies from the first interviews and, aligning with intersectionality, to explore how socio-historical structures influenced participants' individual experiences with CSA. Table 2 and Table 3 describe further the areas I aimed to explore through each interview.

Data Analysis

After the first and second interviews, I embarked on a thematic analysis of the data, which focuses on the patterns the researcher observes within data (Braun & Clarke, 2006). The concept of intersectionality guided the thematic analysis process and, during the final stages of the analysis process, encouraged me to interpret women's narratives "within a larger socio-historical context of structural inequality that may not be explicit or directly observable in the data" (Bowleg, 2008, p. 320). I first (re)familiarized myself with the data by reading back through, and memoing about, all interview transcripts. Second, I placed the 66 transcripts into Dedoose, an online qualitative and mixed-methods software application, and re-read the transcripts while using initial coding to break down "qualitative data into discrete parts" to identify 108 codes that captured how participants' experiences with CSA were influenced by their multiple minoritized identities, including race, gender, and class (Saldaña, 2009, p. 81). This first phase of coding was maintained at the semantic level, which focuses on participants' narratives without attempting to make meaning of the narrative through larger structures or systems (Braun & Clarke, 2006). In the third stage of analysis, I interpreted women's individual narratives at the latent level, which "starts to identify or examine the *underlying* ideas, assumptions, and conceptualizations—and ideologies—that are theorized as shaping or informing the semantic content of the data" (Braun & Clarke, 2006, p. 84). I used axial coding to explore the relationship between the 108 codes, the relationships between themes, and the connection between individual level codes and structural-level themes. Through axial coding I attempted to "reassemble the data" that I broke apart during initial coding by placing data into categories relating to structural, political, and representational intersectionality (Saldaña, 2009,

TABLE 2.

AREAS OF INTEREST AND SAMPLE QUESTIONS FROM INTERVIEW ONE PROTOCOL

Area of Interest	Sample Protocol Questions
Pre-College	– Describe for me where you grew up – Tell me a bit more about your social experiences in high school
College Choice	– Describe for me your college search process; How many institutions and what institutions did you apply to and why? – Why did you apply to and enroll at [institutions name]?
College Experiences	– Tell me about your experiences with peers and friends on campus – What extracurricular activities have you been involved with, or are hoping to be involved with throughout college?
Unwanted Sexual Encounter	– Please tell me about your experience with sexual assault during college? – Follow-up, if needed: In *what* context did you know the person or persons *who* sexually assaulted you? *Where* did this occur?
After the Unwanted Sexual Encounter	– What did you do in the 24 hours after this encounter? Where did you go and who did you talk to? – Thinking back to this time period, if possible, please tell me more about how your felt?

p. 159). In phase four, I read back through the data extracts located in Dedoose to review, revise, and refine the themes at both semantic and latent levels to begin to answer the research question.

Study Boundaries

I acknowledge that this study has some boundaries, or limitations. First, this research was conducted across three different public institutions and may be more representative of students' experiences at large public institutions in the Western U.S. Second, while I aimed for participant recruitment to occur in multiple, diverse places both on and off campus, there may exist a sampling selection bias, in which women from certain groups, experiences, and or spaces on campus were more likely to know about, or participate in the research. Third, this study captured a small timepoint in participants' experiences with CSA. Yet, processing, reporting, and healing from violence are not linear. For example, while some women may have decided not to report their assault to the institution when we interviewed, these same women may have decided to report their assault after we completed the final interview. Finally, while I hoped to recruit in a manner that was inclusive of trans* stu-

Table 3.

Areas of Interest and Sample Questions
from Interview Two Protocol

Area of Interest	Sample Protocol Questions
Experiences with Prevention	– Prior to experiencing sexual assault, in what ways did [this institution] educate students about sexual assault on campus? – Please tell me more about campus programs, events, or workshops, you attended that focused on sexual assault prevention or awareness
Resiliency	– What or who were the critical people, places, or activities that supported you after your experience with sexual assault? – Tell me more about what you need in order to heal from the assault.
Institutional Influences	– What advice would you give to [insert institution] so that they could do a better job of supporting Women of Color students who are survivors of sexual assault?
Socio-Historical Influences	– Please tell me more about "believability," or your thoughts on how someone might perceive you when telling them about the assault. – How has the #MeToo campaign influenced your experiences with CSA?
Miscellaneous: Follow-Up from First Interview	– Tell me more about the role that sex-education played in your experiences with sexual assault. – How did intergenerational trauma play a role in your experiences with sexual assault?

dents' participation in this research, all 34 participants identified as cisgender women. Trans* Women of Color experience some of the highest rates of violence in the United States (Human Rights Campaign Foundation, 2018) and trans* college students often experience CSA at higher rates than their cisgender peers (Cantor et al., 2015). It is imperative that scholars center, as well as include and report back, the experiences of Trans* Women of Color in postsecondary contexts broadly and with CSA specifically.

Trustworthiness and Positionality

To ensure trustworthiness, I used member checking (Lincoln & Guba, 1985). I sent all participants a Microsoft Word document via email that contained a write-up of the initial themes I observed across the interviews. I used peer debriefing throughout the research process by sharing the word

document with those removed from the research, such as faculty colleagues working in the hard sciences, as well as those close to the research, such as professionals working in sexual assault advocacy at each institution (Merriam, 2009). This strategy allowed peers removed from and close to the research to offer comments, challenges, and context to the findings I generated from the data (Merriam, 2009). Finally, I engaged in reflexivity throughout the research process by journaling after each interview and throughout the data analysis process.

I identify as a cisgender Woman of Color who is currently a junior faculty member working at a historically white institution. My professional experiences working in higher education and student affairs have led me to interact with several Women of Color students who experienced CSA. My conversations with these women, and my observations of the extreme lack of care taken by institutions to support these women, led me to ask questions about the intersections of race, gender, student status, sexual assault, and institutional responsibility. My previous conversations with Women of Color student survivors encouraged me to approach the study of CSA through qualitative methods that would allow for open and informal conversations between the researcher and the participants (e.g., semi-structured interview protocol, multiple interviews).

FINDINGS

Three main themes demonstrate how structural, political, and representational intersectionality shape Women of Color undergraduate student survivors' experiences with CSA. In this section, the three themes are maintained at a micro-interactional standpoint that focuses on women's every-day narratives of race, gender, and violence on campus. The discussion section builds on the findings section and interprets women's every-day narratives within intersecting systems of domination (Bowleg, 2008).

Structural Intersectionality: Survivors Experiences with Mental Health Services

Structural intersectionality shaped participants' experiences with institutional counseling and therapeutic services. To better demonstrate how these institutional structures often discounted the experiences of Women of Color survivors, it is important to understand how cultural and familial influences often dissuaded participants from using therapeutic services. Several participants explored how their parents and communities socialized them to *not* use mental health services, often dissuading women from using these campus resources. Margaret, a Mexican/Indian woman first stated, "My family doesn't believe in mental health at all." Margaret next connected this familial belief to her cultural background,

> Going to counseling and stuff, again, coming from my background, counseling wasn't a thing . . . I just feel like [Women of Color] have to be a little more quiet about it . . . it stays within our small communities . . . . This year someone finally told me, "You should go to counseling and stuff." I was like, "No." I feel like if I were raised white, I feel like I'd have a little more ability to bring it out and tell someone about it . . . and coming from Indian and Mexican [cultures], I just couldn't bring it to light.

Although Margaret noted that she felt she could tell her "small community" about the assault, she later expressed, "It would be shameful to bring [my sexual assault] to light and process it as assault . . . because it deals with sex . . . I just had to sweep it under the rug." Highlighting the intersections of race, gender, and religion, Jasmine, a Mexican woman, explained that she was raised Mexican and Christian and, therefore, her mother raised her to believe "you shouldn't need therapy because you have Jesus." Yet, Jasmine perceived white women students could go home to their "white family" and say, "'This weekend at school [sexual assault] happened to me.' Then their mom would be like, 'Oh, honey. That sucks. Let's take you to therapy.'" Cultural and familial understandings often influenced participants' perceptions that counseling services were not an option for disclosing and healing, but also influenced their inability or unwillingness to disclose and heal within their communities and families.

For participants who *did* seek mental health resources on campus, these women often referred to two different ways these services fell short in meeting their needs as Women of Color. First, some women mentioned the financial barriers they navigated in receiving counseling. Monae, a Latina woman who did not have institutional health insurance, explained her process of seeking mental health care on campus after her assault,

> I was in therapy here, but they have rules about after [a certain number] of sessions, they send you off campus. And I don't have a car, so getting off campus help is really hard. And if you miss appointments with off campus providers, they have really high fees . . . And I'm a college student. I can't afford their $200 fees.

When asked if they used the campus counseling center, several women replied, "I don't have the institutional insurance" and, therefore, were only provided with less than four free counseling sessions on campus (as opposed to longer-term care if they did have institutional health insurance). This short-term care and the financial burden of seeking help off campus deterred many participants from using the campus counseling center. Serena, an Asian American woman, explored how traversing institutional polices around insurance and mental healthcare is complex for many Women of Color,

> [Women of Color] don't have exact time or exact social economic capabilities to be spending money on weekly therapy sessions or having the same resources . . . talking to parents about mental health is usually more accepted [for white women] . . . they're more likely to have the disposable income to be like, "Okay, you need $150 to see a therapist every week in town, here you go, try it out."

Serena explored how race, class, and gender intersected to influence Women of Colors' navigation of the mental health care system on and off campus. Moreover, Serena, like others, offered that disclosing to parents about mental health differs between white women and Women of Color and presents a unique challenge for help-seeking and therapeutic services.

Second, the majority of women in this research explored how historical trauma influenced their experiences with CSA. Historical trauma "is cumulative emotional and psychological wounding over the lifespan and across generations, emanating from massive group trauma experiences" (Brave Heart, 2003, p. 7) such as colonization, war, and slavery. Several women acknowledged that in order to truly heal from their assault, they must process their historical trauma. Padma, a South Asian woman, relayed in the first interview, "People of Color, we hold onto generations of trauma. And to allow ourselves to heal is to create a new generation of more healed people." In the second interview, Padma explained further about the "South Asian diaspora" and historical trauma, describing how she "comes from a long line of survivors. People who have survived not just sexual trauma, sexual violence, [but] survived two colonizations, enslavement, forced migration, forced indentured labor." For Jane, an Asian American woman, historical trauma "is probably the biggest thing that has to do with my mental health." Jane explained further that her parents were forced to leave Vietnam, "their homeland" as "boat people," which caused extreme traumas and influenced her parents' "inability to be healthy people and healthy parents," which often influenced Jane's life experiences.

Although historical trauma was a factor in the experiences of many participants, these participants also expressed that the institutional counseling center and individual therapists were not culturally competent and, therefore, not prepared to account for this trauma. Queenie, an Asian/Vietnamese American woman explored how she was hesitant to use the counseling center because therapists "don't want to talk about the intergenerational aspect and the historical aspect and people get uncomfortable when there are these critical aspects." Queenie did go to one session at the counseling center. Her therapist was a Vietnamese American woman who "was not helpful at all . . . because we never even talked about being Vietnamese American." She began to search for therapists off campus who specialized in intergenerational trauma and sexual assault but was deterred from off-campus therapy because each session was $100. Queenie's story hints that even when seeing

a Therapist of Color, it was not guaranteed that these therapists "really have that cultural competency" to understand historical trauma.

Finally, Faye, an Indian woman who was also hesitant to use the campus counseling center, explained further why cultural competency and knowledge of intergenerational trauma was important in counseling and sexual assault advocacy,

> I need culturally competent mental health care . . . I need people to understand what domestic violence looks like, what sexual violence looks like in an immigrant household, and why that happens, and the anxieties and stressors of being in a house like that. What immigration does to you. Intergenerational trauma is so big, you need to understand that when I talk about sexual violence . . . I carry that pain. It doesn't go away. I can't have that overlooked if I want to heal. You know what I mean?

For many participants, culturally competent therapy, which often involved processing intergenerational traumas, was necessary to process and heal from CSA. Yet, several participants did not perceive that counselors at their institutions were equipped with this cultural competence.

POLITICAL INTERSECTIONALITY: COMPETING DISCOURSES OF RESISTANCE THAT SILENCE

Aligning with political intersectionality, several participants spoke about the ways competing discourses of resistance, specifically feminism and antiracism, silenced their experiences with CSA. The first sub-theme details how the #MeToo movement, a contemporary feminist movement that sheds light on sexual harassment and assault of women influenced some participants' processing, disclosing, and reporting of CSA. The second sub-theme demonstrates how antiracist discourse influenced their decisions, and silencing, around reporting.

Exclusion from "Super White" Feminism

Several women explored how feminist movements and, more specifically, the #MeToo movement, which was created in 2006 by Tarana Burke, a Black woman, often silenced their experiences around CSA. Padma, a South Asian woman, explored how #MeToo contributed to silencing her in the college classroom,

> That movement is really triggering, because it was created by a Woman of Color and then kind of co-opted by white women. And really doesn't center Women of Color at all. Like, super white feminist. Talking about [#MeToo] as "This is what change looks like." It's like, "No. This is what exclusion looks like." This is what it's always been. This doesn't feel like change to me. This feels like whenever we talk about feminism in class, all the white girls have

something to talk about, but I don't feel like I can talk about race. Because they don't think that's feminist. I believe that feminism is more than just gender . . . there's a lot of exclusion that goes on in the classroom.

Padma expressed how feminism did not account for race and thus, influenced her feelings of being able to talk, and be heard, in class around issues of sexual assault.

Other women suggested that "white feminism" influenced their perceptions of and decisions to *not* report their experiences with CSA to formal outlets. In speaking about the #MeToo movement, Monae, a Latina woman, first explored how "mainstream organizations", such as #MeToo, as well as other "people, or even nonprofits spread awareness, they always focus on who is acceptable to be a survivor, who is allowed to be a victim. I think it's always going to be a white woman, and if you're anything else, you can't be a survivor . . . . You don't fit into that category." Moments later, Monae explored how the positioning of white women, in society, as the only "acceptable" survivor influenced her experiences with disclosing and reporting her assault on campus. She continued, "I love what [the SARAC] do, but I feel like if I fit what a victim is supposed to be, it'd be easier for them to help me, and they wouldn't have to fight so hard sometimes for me." Monae did not report her assault to the institution or other formal outlets because, "We're Mexican. We don't fit the role of a survivor. So, we're harder to believe because of that." For Monae, and for several other women in this research, the understanding that they were not the typical survivor because they were not white often influenced their decision to not report their assault.

The Expectation to "Swallow Our Own Pain to Move Our Community Forward"

While some participants explored how the #MeToo Movement silenced them by centering white women and discounting racism, antiracist discourse also contributed to the silencing of many Women of Color participants. Women often explored how their understandings of antiracism and the need to protect the image of their communities, and Men of Color within these communities, influenced their decisions to *not* report Men of Color perpetrators of violence. Daisy, a Latina woman, was sexually assaulted by "a Hispanic man" at a fraternity party. The perpetrator belonged to a Latino-based fraternity and Daisy belonged to a "sister sorority" that is centered on the empowerment of Latina women. In exploring her decision to not report or disclose to friends, she first explained, "I didn't want to cause a bad image for me, or him, or just the organizations in general. I knew especially how these kinds of things could affect an organization . . . so I didn't want to draw attention to it." After asking her to expand on this statement, Daisy offered,

> Something [my sorority] tries to combat a lot is the machismo culture. I think that's an issue in Latino culture in general, and that's something that we try to diminish as an organization. As Women of Color, we are very aware of these stereotypes and the backgrounds people come from . . . I think we try to combat a lot of these stereotypes.

Daisy decided to remain silent about her assault to prevent the perpetuation of racial stereotypes of Latino men, specifically as it relates to machismo, or a social construct that may dictate Latino men's gender roles and encourage hypermasculinity and dominance over women (Nunez et al., 2017).

Antiracist discourses may have influenced participants' decisions to not report Men of Color perpetrators, but these same discourses played into intraracial politics that silenced Women of Color *within* Communities of Color. Anika, a Black woman student who was raped by a Black man student, explored her thoughts around disclosing to Black women peers,

> Even within my circle, I wouldn't want to tell people, even other Black women . . . it's a different type of judgment that you receive. I feel like with white women it's not the same thing . . . there's something a little bit more condescending between Black women sometimes. I feel like a lot of the reactions I got when I did tell my close [Black women] friends were, "Oh *but* what did *you* do? *You* had to have done something in the situation." . . . I feel like with white women that "but" doesn't come along as much . . . I feel like I needed to handle it more on my own.

In the end, Anika did not formally report her assault. She did tell a few Black women peers about the assault. Unfortunately, these peers *did* question what she was wearing, drinking, and doing, which placed the blame for the assault on her and not on the perpetrator.

Finally, Faye, an Indian woman, talked about the ways the Indian student community on campus expected her to stay silent about her assault by an Indian student leader.

> I don't want to press charges against this person because they have a career. They're going to be doing things. I don't want to be the one to stop them from living their life. Also, in light of what's going on with Aziz Ansari in the past couple days, me being South Asian, I've followed it pretty closely and have seen what my community's response has been, and a lot of it was, "I hope this girl wasn't brown, because you can't throw your own people under the bus like that." And this idea that we are expected to swallow our own pain to move our community forward and to do it for our people.

Faye captured the complexity of how competing discourses of resistance work to silence Women of Color. Faye explored how the #MeToo movement may bring violence and perpetrators to the forefront (for white women),

but, for Women of Color, calling out a Man of Color (such as South Asian actor Aziz Ansari) as a perpetrator is akin to throwing your own community under the bus.

Representational Intersectionality: Representations of Women of Color in Media

Several women in this research demonstrated how representational intersectionality shaped their understandings around sex, their bodies, and sexual assault. In the first sub-theme, women explored broadly how they were not taught about sex at school, at home, or through community organizations, guiding them to learn about sex through media. The second sub-theme illustrates how one specific genre of media, Bollywood, often transmitted deleterious cultural imagery to Indian women students and influenced their experiences with CSA.

"A Misconstrued View on What Sex Is"

Women explored how they grew up with, and subsequently, entered college with a lack of representation and understanding around sex and sexual assault. Noelle, a South Asian/Indian woman explained, "No. Indian parents will not talk about sex. Because Indian women should be pure. Purity is definitely glorified . . . . Of course, they're not going to talk to me about sex!" Noelle also mentioned that her fifth-grade sex-education seminar involved watching one video that she would "not say was effective" and was more of "a joke" than an educational experience.

A lack of sex education at home, school, and in community organizations led many women to use popular media to "piece together" what sex, and what their role in sex, might involve. Terri, a Latina woman, detailed how she did (not) learn about sex:

> When you don't talk about [sex] . . . you get the idea of what sex is supposed to be like from media. From everything else that you see because your parents aren't talking about it, your friends aren't really talking about it . . . It's such a misconstrued view on what sex is.

Terri later relayed that she learned about sex through movies and music videos and acknowledged "that Women of Color are represented in a stereotype when it comes to certain movies [and] music videos . . . you're always gonna have the girls half naked, the men always in control, fully clothed, with all the power." Coraline, a Latina and white woman, first explained, "My family was super Catholic. So, 'Sex. Don't have it. Don't even worry about it.'" She went on to explore how she learned about sex for Mexican women specifically, "On the news, or just stuff on TV. [It] hypersexualized it even more than it was. Or it was like, 'Oh my god, it's disgusting, you're gross.' Especially in Latin news. Just like, 'Don't do it. It's gross.'" Several women in this study

were raised with a lack of representation and discourse around sex, sex roles, and sex positivity, often leaving their minds open to "misconstrued" cultural imagery that constructed their perceptions of Women of Color and sex.

"That's What I Thought was Expected of Me."

While Coraline explored how news informed her understandings of sex for Mexican women, and Terri acknowledged cultural representations of Women of Color in movies and music videos, several women, all of which identified as Indian and/or South Asian, spoke about the cultural construction of their bodies and intimate relationships through Bollywood. Bollywood is a nickname for the Indian film industry based in Mumbai, and, since its introduction in the 1930s, Bollywood "was a crucial factor in the continuation of [Indian] culture and in the construction of the imaginary homeland as a homogeneous entity" (Mishra, 1996, p. 446). Anaya, a South Asian-Indian woman, relayed,

> In a lot of Bollywood movies, the woman exists for the man . . . . Growing up seeing things like that, that really shifts your mentality and then you start to think of yourself as an accessory to whatever the guy is doing. I think having that kind of mentality, growing up with that kind of media, and then having something like [sexual assault] happen to you, it's very natural to think that it's okay. He did what he wanted to, and that was fine. I could be put in that position and it was okay.

Anaya first explored how she grew up watching Bollywood movies, influencing her "mentality" that women are an accessory for, or property of, men and that this mentality normalized and condoned sexual assault against Indian women. The representations of Indian women transmitted through Bollywood may have influenced Ananya to not report her assault that was perpetrated by an Indian man student on campus.

Rayn, a South Asian woman, also explored how Bollywood shaped her understandings of healthy relationships and elaborated on how this representation conflicted with representations of white women in the media,

> First of all, I did not see myself in TV shows growing up. I remember in middle school watching the Disney Channel, I'm like "Middle school should be going on first dates, and talking about crushes," and it would always be white girls and white boys . . . . Being able to watch movies and TV and see yourself having those kinds of healthy romantic experiences. I felt it might be easier for white women to model it. I grew up on Bollywood movies and I saw Indian movies, which portrayed women as subservient. It's such a trope in South Asian movies where the guy chases after the girl, and she's like "No, I don't want it. No, I don't want it." And by the end of the movie, he's won her over. He's bargaining for her consent. Not even bargaining, 'cause he's demanding it. That's what I thought was expected of me. And I think that's what I ended up doing. . . . .

> I think I just fall back on my crutches so much and repeat what [Bollywood] taught me. I see more avenues for white women to feel empowered in consent.

Bollywood was a reference point for Indian culture and Indian women's understandings of sex and intimate relationships. Yet, unlike some "mainstream" media, such as shows on the Disney Channel, Bollywood did not often depict healthy or "empowering" images of Indian women, influencing some participants' mentality of how they must show up in intimate relationships, e.g., as subservient, as property of men, coerced into consent, sexual assault as a norm.

DISCUSSION

Next, I continue to use intersectionality (Crenshaw, 1989, 1991) to interpret how Women of Color students' experiences with CSA were influenced by intersecting systems of domination and to demonstrate how Crenshaw's original theorizing of intersectionality remains critical to scholars' explorations of violence against women and to fostering social justice.

Structural Intersectionality

Participants perceived that their experiences with CSA were often qualitatively different from white women's experiences but that these experiences were not often accounted for by campus mental health services. This finding contradicts previous research (Amstadtera et al., 2010) that suggests no difference exists between post-assault help-seeking behaviors for Women of Color and for white women. Building on previous research (Koo et al., 2015; Sabina et al., 2017), women in this study demonstrated why resource seeking is nuanced for Women of Color. Women perceived an expectation to deal with problems quietly, or within community, which mapped back to cultural understandings of race, gender, and, at times, religion. Here, political intersectionality and structural intersectionality overlap; Women of Color are often silenced, or deterred from seeking help from mental health services, by the desire of Communities of Color "to create a private world free from the diverse assaults on the public lives of racially subordinated people" (Crenshaw, 1991, p. 1257).

When Women of Color participants did seek out campus mental health services, these institutional resources fell short in addressing the multiple systems of domination that influence the experiences of Women of Color. Participants' ability to pay for off campus healthcare may map back to a history of Women of Color being professionally and financially oppressed by systems of racism, sexism, and classism (e.g., AAUW, 2018; 2019). Furthermore, mental health services often focus more on the immediate issue of CSA but fall short in addressing how the historical traumas of Women

of Color, such as slavery and colonization, are "multilayered and routinized forms of domination that often converge in these women's lives" that influence their experiences with violence (Crenshaw, 1991, p. 1245). Additionally, this finding adds to previous literature (Iverson, 2017; Wooten, 2017) by demonstrating how race-evasive policies, specifically around insurance and healthcare, influence Women of Color's everyday experiences with CSA.

Political Intersectionality

Participants' narratives demonstrate how competing discourses of resistance forced many Women of Color into a chasm of silence (Crenshaw, 1991). Adding context to quantitative findings that suggested Women of Color students are hesitant to report their assault to police (Fisher et al., 2003; Koo et al., 2015; Thompson et al., 2007; Ullman & Filipias, 2001), several participants in this research relayed that their decisions not to report Men of Color perpetrators connected to a concern that this report would confirm negative stereotypes about Men of Color (Crenshaw, 1991). Supporting Kalof's (2000) theoretical assertion that Communities of Color will not support Women of Color as victims of assault, some participants perceived that if and when they spoke of their assaults committed by Men of Color, they might be shamed by their same race peer communities. Thus, in combating external stereotypes and internal vilification from Communities of Color both on and off campus, this finding demonstrates how Women of Color students perceive internal *and* external pressures to remain silent about CSA in an effort to protect Communities of Color. The #MeToo Movement offered little to no reprieve from the silencing of Women of Color. Expanding on previous research (George & Martinez, 2002; Koo et al., 2015; Olive, 2012; Thompson et al., 2007), some participants named how feminism reconstructed white women's bodies as the stereotypical survivor and the ways this stereotypical belief manifested on campus and influenced women's perceptions of their bodies, believability, and experiences with CSA.

Representational Intersectionality

Several participants demonstrated how silence around sex and sex education were tied to their culture, including the intersections of their gender, race, and religion. This finding suggests that Women of Color, due to the intersections of identity and systems of domination, may be less likely to receive positive messaging and education around sex than white students. A lack of sex education is concerning because one's level and depth of sex education *prior* to college may influence their likelihood of experiencing sexual assault *in* college (Hirsch & Mellins, 2019). A recent study found that college women who receive pre-college sex education are half as likely to experience penetrative sexual assault in college than those who did not receive this same training (Hirsch & Mellins, 2019); this recent study did not disaggregate data by race and gender.

Because sex education was lacking for many participants, several Women of Color in this research received messaging about what sex is from media. Crenshaw (1991) theorized that media, specifically rap music, translates cultural messages about sex, gender, and violence to, and about, Black women. Women in this research did not often explore how rap music constructed their understandings of violence against Women of Color. Yet, South Asian and Indian women often spoke about the ways Bollywood influenced their understandings of sex, intimate relationships, and sexual assault. Bollywood, like rap music, acts as a cultural signifier rooted in cultural traditions and works to reconstruct, represent, and unify Indian culture (Mishra, 1996), but also, normalizes violence against Indian women. This finding expands Crenshaw's (1991) theorizing to demonstrate how women's racial identities and cultural backgrounds may influence the various forms and genres of media through which they receive messaging about their bodies and CSA. In short, media, cultural messaging, women's K-12 education, and other factors that seemingly occur outside of, or before, one arrives on campus, always already influenced how participants experienced and responded to violence *on* campus (see Bowleg, 2008).

A Final Note on Intersectionality

This study was one of the first to apply Crenshaw's (1991) three forms of intersectionality to postsecondary contexts, demonstrating the possibilities of intersectionality when used in one of its foundational forms. Using the three forms as a tool for analysis helps to elucidate how intersecting systems of domination influence Women of Color students' experiences on different levels (societal, institutional, individual), in different communities (white peers, Peers of Color, family) and in different spaces (mental health services, media, the classroom). An intersectional analysis also exposes how systems of domination are always shifting, and always working, to influence women's experiences. For example, a history of classism, racism, and gender were particularly salient in some experiences and spaces, while religion, race, and gender were particularly influential in others. This intersectional approach, and resulting findings, influence more tangible and targeted implications for disrupting intersecting systems of domination that are the root cause of sexual violence in the U.S. and help to work toward the original aim of intersectionality: radical social transformation.

IMPLICATIONS

Findings from this research guide several implications for research and practice that challenge race-evasive procedures and more effectively work toward the eradication of CSA. Regarding practice, institutional leaders, specifically those working within and with campus counseling and psychiatric

services, must hire *only* culturally competent counselors. It is essential for counseling graduate programs to center the development of cultural competence throughout program curriculum. Developing cultural competence can include a focus on how mutually constitutive systems of domination influence students' identities and identity-specific experiences, which includes focusing on the influence of historical trauma in students' lives.

Institutional leaders must interrogate how institutional insurance policies may evade the significance of classism, racism, and sexism in some students lives and work to influence, if not hinder, many students' use of mental health care on campus. Institutional leaders can explore who is enrolled in institutional insurance, who uses the campus counseling centers, and why or how students' identities may influence differences in the use of these resources. In short, institutions must explore who they are truly serving with institutional resources.

Formal and informal spaces of un/learning are critical to prevent and respond to CSA for Women of Color students. Un/learning is imperative to challenge cultural imagery (e.g., Bollywood) that devalues the bodies and lives of Women of Color, to provide sex education and foster sex positivity, and to build inter-and intra-racial coalitions that aim to empower Women of Color students. Women of Color must see themselves positively represented in campus programming, events, and initiatives that educate on healthy relationships, sex, and sexual health. The common book, speaker series, and movie nights can highlight healthy relationships, and, more generally, positive portrayals of and for Women of Color. Campus spaces and programs must also work toward breaking down victim-blaming and messaging around protecting Perpetrators of Color from and within Communities of Color. An annual retreat for Women of Color students, faculty, and staff might be offered to build community and explore sometimes deleterious intra-racial dynamics. Similarly, academic courses that center Women of Color are necessary to better understand and challenge how Women of Color are often silenced within and by their communities.

Postsecondary institutions must expand conceptualizations of "prevention education" to include sex education. It is important that first-year seminars, orientation programs, and alcohol awareness programming explicitly explore sex, sex roles, and sex positivity in an effort to challenge "misconstrued" understandings of these concepts. Higher education institutions and student groups on campus should continue to explore how they might collaborate with local high schools to support students' sex education prior to college. More broadly, state policy-makers must also explore current policies around sex education in K-12 education; as of April 2019, only 24 states in the U.S. mandated sex education for K-12 students (Fay, 2019). Furthermore, policy-makers must take a race-conscious approach to instituting policies concern-

ing sex education. How and why do specific schools or school districts serve specific communities and how might sex education be tailored to community needs, beliefs, and experiences?

Regarding research, scholars must continue to explore how sex education, or a lack thereof, influences and impacts students' experiences with CSA. While a lack of sex education may lead women to use media to explore and understand sex and sexual assault, it may also influence the likelihood that women experience sexual assault (Hirsch & Mellins, 2019) and is therefore, a key to preventing CSA. Scholars should explore who receives what types and forms of sex education throughout their K-12 education and interrogate how differences in sex education are influenced by geographic regions and state policies, institutional control and affiliation, the history of de-segregation, and other socio-historical and contemporary factors.

In future research, scholars must use intersectionality in ways that challenge its use as an academic buzzword (Bilge, 2013; Harris & Patton, 2019). Researchers should continue to return to the roots of the concept by using the three forms of intersectionality and by focusing on how laws and policies erase Women of Color. While this research interrogated all three forms of intersectionality, it may be beneficial to use one form of intersectionality, such as structural intersectionality, as a stand-alone analytic tool. This stand-alone use may allow scholars to explore, expand, and refine the ways that different forms of intersectionality are, or are not, applicable to the study of CSA. Given the findings concerning cultural representation and Bollywood for South Asian women, researchers might expand on representational intersectionality by exploring how cultural representations manifest differently in the lives of Women of Color when disaggregating by racial identities.

Scholars can continue to explore the experiences of Women of Color with CSA across similar institutional types, but reach beyond public institutions located in the Western U.S. For example, what are the experiences of Women of Color at HBCUs or at private institutions? Scholars should also take an institution-level approach to the experiences of Women of Color and CSA. How might women's experiences compare across institutional types? Do Women of Color continue to face similar or different manners of silencing from feminism and antiracism at HBCUs compared to historically white institutions? Do Women of Color continue to face challenges with insurance at private institutions? When using an institutional analysis, scholars can add context to women's narratives by collecting documents, interviewing key faculty and staff, and spending time observing the campus culture. CSA research would also benefit from longitudinal study designs that allow for more complete understanding of how Women of Color process, heal from, and report assault. Longitudinal studies can also explore women's experiences after they graduate or leave their institutions, contributing to knowledge about the outcomes of experiencing CSA.

In conclusion, practitioners and scholars must take a race-conscious and intersectional approach to CSA. If educators continue to center individuals who are "singularly disadvantaged" then policies, practices, and procedures meant to prevent and respond to CSA will remain ineffective for *all* students (Crenshaw, 1989, p. 167). Educators must center the narratives of students who identify with multiple minoritized identities in order to more fully understand how CSA influences different communities in various manners, guiding more targeted, identity-conscious, and effective CSA practices, policies, and scholarship.

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