Cultural Taxation and College Students: Undergraduate College Students and Their Experiences With Unfair Cultural and Identity Taxation

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Cultural Taxation and College Students: Undergraduate College Students and Their Experiences
With Unfair Cultural and Identity Taxation

Senior Project submitted to
The Division of Science, Mathematics and Computing of Bard College
by
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Abstract

A popular but burdensome commonality amongst minorities is the seemingly universal experience of bearing some mental or emotional burden as a result of our identities and membership in said minority group, where expectations are made of us to educate, endure, and explain culturally relevant issues. Amado Padilla (1994) initially coined this experience with the term “cultural taxation,” but specifically in relation to faculty of color and ethnic scholars who did double the work their White colleagues did in respective fields. As much past research on cultural taxation and identity taxation (Hirschfield & Joseph, 2012) has been conducted largely on faculty and through qualitative means (interviews, etc.), there is yet to be quantitative analysis done on marginalized students’ experiences of cultural taxation. This study aims to tentatively measure cultural and identity taxation in college students in the United States and see how it correlates with stress, being measured using the Perceived Stress Scale. Past research has shown how taxing the many additional burdens, which individuals are either consciously aware of or not, are to marginalized groups, and how they have self-reported being very stressed as a result. I hypothesize that students who report experiencing more cultural taxation through the scale will also have higher scores on the Perceived Stress Scale, showing a positive correlation and relationship between the two. Data collected from 147 students found a significant positive relationship between PSS scores and cultural taxation scores. Exploratory analyses found that within White participants, there was also a positive significant correlation, but none for other racial subgroups or all BIPOC grouped together. They also found a positive significant relationship for cisgender individuals, but none for non-cisgender, heterosexual, or non-heterosexual subgroups. These findings provide evidence for the idea that students who feel more culturally taxed will also experience higher levels of stress.
Introduction

To many students, the quintessential college experience encompasses a large range of freedoms and new experiences: parties, late nights, bonds forged in mutual distress over academics, and a burgeoning grudge against higher education in the United States. For most, college brings something new and unexpected that was not previously expected upon entry. For students of color and other minorities, a harsh realization accompanies the newfound excitement and experiences that come with the aforementioned freedoms: there is no escape from prejudice even in the most seemingly accepting environments.

It is commonplace for students in underrepresented populations to feel as though they have no one to rely on but each other. Who will stand up for them, either in the classroom or on the street, when their very existences are targeted? It is often those same students who endure hateful speech and rhetoric that are left to pick up the pieces of their community and organize for themselves, because, more often than not, it seems nobody else will. At a predominantly white institution (PWI) like Bard, where many students speak as authorities on anti-racism and discrimination, little useful or appropriate support is still shown in times of crisis where those who are targeted must be most protected. Instead, they are left to mobilize for themselves. Expected to, even. This senior project is borne out of recognition for students who came to Bard to make a better life for themselves, only to find that they are expected to do much labor outside of classwork to keep their identities respected and seen on campus.

Cultural taxation

In the era of awareness and education around issues faced by minorities worldwide, people in places of privilege often find themselves turning to those minorities in
question—whether it be their friends, professors, acquaintances, or strangers on the internet—for knowledge and education which, for them, comes freely. Amado Padilla (1994) introduced the term “cultural taxation” to reference the burden placed on scholars of color to be delegated to racially conscious tasks and assignments, ranging from assumed expertise on racially sensitive issues, to being guidance for students of color (Padilla, 1994). Padilla also highlighted a unique dilemma faced by faculty of color of feeling like they must serve the institutions they work at by being ethnic representation and to speak out on related issues, but also feel as though “ethnic research” does not qualify as real or coveted research as sanctioned by said institution. Thus, these scholars feel they have interests which may not align with those of the institution—their interests in furthering ethnic academia only serve to fulfill a university’s diversity quota, but do not ultimately feel adequately compensated for the labor and effort put into this work. Though this phenomenon of cultural taxation has been studied through qualitative means and with a primary focus on faculty of color, this study is an endeavor to look at the phenomenon in college students through quantitative means, and explore its impact on student stress levels through use of the standardized measure of the Perceived Stress Scale (Cohen, 1994).

In the bridge between these two interests lies the struggle that many Black, Indigenous, and People of Color (BIPOC) in academic fields juggle every day. Stereotypes play into the caution faculty must undertake every day to successfully educate their students and go the extra lengths of being sure diversity in the classroom is addressed and present. Danielle Buckingham (2018) looked at the emotional labor undertaken by Black women faculty at universities. Her interviews with these women revealed that several had to take extra steps to resist the stereotype of the “angry Black woman” when explaining racial issues in the classroom, for fear that any excessive emotion being shown in front of students would automatically label them as such.
Regardless of status teaching at a Historically Black College/University (HBCU), Predominantly White Institution (PWI), or not, this did not have great bearing on how much control these professors felt they had to exert in the classroom, suggesting that this is more of a universal experience than influenced by the cultural influence of the institution itself.

Other results from the Buckingham study found that most faculty members interviewed viewed being the “go-to person” to talk to by students of color as emotional labor. Much of that time was dedicated to helping students navigate perceived barriers by the institution regarding race, class, etc. Other times, faculty would be asked to speak on issues unrelated to their academic work due and instead related to their race, and would similarly be expected to serve on diversity committees and chairs, which were the majority of committees being served on.

Similarly, a study done by Joseph and Hirshfield (2011) assessing cultural taxation in faculty of color at universities found several themes throughout interviews which impacted BIPOC faculty. A notable one was having different expectations placed on them. For example, White colleagues would have an assumption, as asserted earlier in Padilla’s article, that they would be largely conducting “ethnic research.” Even when their areas of expertise lay outside race-related research, faculty of color are characterized by that research (Joseph & Hirshfield, 2011). This often results in students of color being sent to their offices even when they are not sure how to deal with students’ questions about race-related research. They are also often expected to be “the departmental voice of diversity,” and the sole teachers of diverse courses in the major. They note that several teachers felt “overburdened” with the knowledge that they would never have the same academic paths to success or tenure as their White counterparts did.

However, these demands and expectations culminated more in stress than frustration, one interviewee mentioned. With resignation to the reality that they had additional burdens to
bear by being expected to travel and recruit students, hold diversity seminars, etc., faculty were mostly just stressed about keeping up with all the expectations placed on them. Though some mentioned that White faculty considered themselves to be advocates for diversity, they still held privilege in the sense that they chose to be concerned with these issues, while faculty of color had to live with these issues. The important difference highlighted here is the choice, or lack thereof, and how this is yet another stressful and unfair factor. This results in faculty feeling extremely othered, and constantly labeled as the “ethnic” faculty member, always tokenized. Yolanda Flores Niemann captures this adequately in her story about being hired as a Mexican-American faculty member, the only one in the entire department of 30 White tenured professors, and how she had not realized she was hired as a token, and did not garner any semblance of the same amount of respect she had witnessed between White faculty. This was highlighted by a senior faculty member saying to her face that being Mexican-American and being a scholar were mutually exclusive, and she had to choose one path to pursue (Niemann, 1999).

In this writing, Niemann captures exactly the sort of crisis Padilla highlighted initially, about the diverging paths all people of color must face when entering the work field; how much of their profession were they willing to compromise for their important cultural identity? Niemann mentions how she heard faculty felt they were being “benevolent” to her for the opportunity granted, highlighting the gaping issue of affirmative action’s harmful effects. Later, she went on to find that co-workers were against hiring any more minorities, cementing the long-standing idea of having one token person of color per group. From there, racism within her department and towards her was either covert or overt, and it became clear to her that she would not be achieving what she hoped she could in this position. Niemann’s experience of being
tokenized, expected to be the ethnic researcher, and then being looked down on for ethnic studies, highlights just what underlying fears many ethnic scholars have entering White-dominated areas.

**Identity Taxation**

As Padilla’s original definition for cultural taxation was developed originally to refer to faculty of color, this definition can be generalized more. Hirschfield and Joseph (2012) proposed “identity taxation” to include specific taxation faced by any marginalized social identity group, like sexual orientation and gender. They define identity taxation similarly to cultural taxation, where those members of marginalized groups field additional labor due to their membership in said groups and is not fielded by others outside the group, and this additional labor is an interference in their lives and can hinder their social and work lives. In the same paper, they interview several women, many of whom have intersecting marginalised identities (ex. being a woman and BIPOC), in order to investigate how they experience identity taxation within their respective departments.

The study found many similarities between what effects identity taxation and cultural taxation had. Many women faculty found themselves expected to be mentors to largely female students, or being the lone woman in a group of male faculty at conferences or meetings. This was also due in part to the lack of gender diversity representation in a department already. Similarly, they experienced rampant sexism within their departments and had several male colleagues question their qualifications and intelligence when presenting research or speaking on their specialities within the field. One interviewee remarked that she did not like being categorized as a woman natural scientist, and that there was no such thing, she was just a natural scientist. Additionally, women faculty found themselves rarely complaining about the extra
burdens which they took on, instead seeing it as inevitable and bearing it regardless of the strain, much like the aforementioned faculty of color.

An interviewee brought up how she believed gender issues appeared more often than racial issues, often as a result of misplaced stereotypes. The example she provided was the preconceived notion that women were more emotional and liable to fly off the handle, when she had in fact witnessed male faculty engage in physical fighting and extreme behavior, and no emotional outbursts from any female faculty. The clear double standard here certainly results in women faculty members being held to an unfair expectation, while faculty who are men go unchecked in any untoward behavior because of the lack of harmful stereotypes.

Another well articulated point made by an interviewee was that faculty who were in any way a minority were expected to be a voice for any and all disadvantaged students. She stated that others’ thought process seemed to be that if “[...] you’ve got one minority or two minority things going[, then y]ou must just […] have the insight to them all” (Hirshfield & Joseph, 2012). This unfair expectation burdens faculty even more with the idea that they must be absolutely knowledgeable in all social minority issues, and subtly implies as well that other faculty have the privilege of being able to never handle the burdens of any disadvantaged students, instead foisting it all off on the same faculty time and time again.

Identity taxation branches out into queer communities at colleges, as well. LGBTQ+ professionals may find themselves doing work outside of academic and professional responsibility to make themselves and other queer students on campus feel safe, comfortable, and seen. Sixteen adults in a 2016 study looking at this subject found that queer individuals would often assume personal responsibility for creating safe spaces for LGBTQ+ students, as well as generating/promoting resources for them. The study states that these efforts were seen as
individual, not institutional, and for this reason, may be why they went unnoticed or uncompensated. Some mentioned “outness” as a potential factor in feeling responsible for doing this additional, unpaid work, where once your identity was public knowledge, your workplace may change expectations about responsibilities in your role. However, some participants also seemed to believe additional responsibility, regardless of identity, was just the “norm” at the university which the study was conducted at (Kortegast & van der Toorn, 2018). Yet, efforts to not tokenize one’s own existence in a workplace environment conflicts with one’s need to make their community’s existence heard and respected.

Stress

As evidenced by the testimonies from so many interviews, it is clear that stress is an apparent consequence of constantly doing culturally taxing work. Shelly P. Harrell’s (2000) paper on conceptualizing racism and race-related stress highlights what sort of stress racism elicits, and how racism also impacts access to stress-related resources (mental health resources, accessibility, cultural stigmas). She discusses how outside of universal stressors, like family deaths and exams, race-related stress is not often taken into account in mainstream stress research. Race-related stress includes, but is not limited to, outsiders questioning one’s experiences of racism, socio-political race issues, and direct acts of racism towards an individual.

Harrell lists six different types of racism-related stress. The first is “racism-related life events”, which have a clear beginning and end and occur infrequently. An example would be a negative encounter with law enforcement, or rejection for a loan. The second is “vicarious racism experiences”, which are experiences felt through others, like close friends or family or even complete strangers (such as largely televised and discussed events of police brutality).
These experiences can lead to states of hypervigilance and anxiety. The third is “daily racism microstressors”. These might be more commonly known as microaggressions, where small and likely unconscious acts of racism are committed. Examples include mistaking BIPOC for waitstaff in an establishment, assuming something based on stereotypes, or being followed in a public space because one “looks” suspicious. The fourth type of race-related stress Harrell lists is “chronic-contextual stress”, where social and political factors are engaged and intersected. This can lead to lesser resources in neighborhoods largely inhabited by BIPOC, thereby also showing the intersection of class and how these factors can lead to poor living conditions, poor schooling, and enforcement of stereotypes of living situations for BIPOC. “Collective experiences” is the fifth type. This is where there is racism experiences at a group level, and can be exemplified through things like lack of political/media representation, or large-scale poor economic states. The final type is “transgenerational transmission”. Transgenerational transmission considers historical contexts for group trauma and race-related stress, such as the Japanese internment camps. Though these are six which Harrell specified and defined, there are certainly other race-related stressors which are similarly linked to gender discrimination, internalized racism and stigmas, and more.

Specific stressors go beyond race as well, as is evidenced by a 2012 meta-analysis conducted by Sabra Katz-Wise and Janet Hyde. This meta-analysis looked at 164 studies done between 1992 and 2009 on sexual minorities. Through these, they discovered that 55% of sexual minorities experience verbal harassment, and 41% experienced discrimination due to their sexual orientation. Another study looked specifically at how minority stressors for LGBTQ+ adults would affect their diurnal cortisol levels. Participants filled out subsections of the Daily Heterosexist Experiences Questionnaire, which assessed their stressors related to
being LGBTQ+ specifically. Individuals who reported more queer specific stressors throughout their surveys also had higher levels of diurnal cortisol (Figueroa, 2021). This contributes to health disparities brought on by unique stressors between queer and non-queer individuals, and has implications for the way queer individuals may be preparing for impending minority stress throughout the day.

Multifactorial discrimination is a term which describes several factors accounting for total discrimination, such as sexuality, gender, race, socioeconomic-status (SES). A study by Khan et al. (2017) investigates multifactorial discrimination and its relationship to mental health inequalities in lesbian, gay, and bisexual populations. Data was sourced from Project STRIDE: Stress, Identity, and Mental Health, a project which looked at minority populations and health outcomes, as well as resources for social support. To see if multifactorial discrimination would qualify as a significant cause of mental health inequalities, Link and Phelan’s four criteria were consulted: first, that the cause would influence more than one health outcomes; second, that it would do so through multiple risk factors; third, that the cause is associated with resources that need to be accessed to reduce health risks or better health in general; and finally, that the association between bad health and the cause can be replicable with variation (Link & Phelan, 1995). Results found that multifactorial discrimination did, in fact, predict higher scores for depression, the chance of being diagnosed with a substance abuse disorder, and psychological well-being overall. Thus, healthcare professions ought to take multifactorial discrimination into account when consider how it may result in severe mental health inequalities and disparities in health care (Khan et al., 2017).
Motivation

The motivation for this senior project topic was the ongoing, but noticeably recent, pressure and expectations on minorities, specifically Black Americans, to explain why movements and statements like Black Lives Matter and abolishing the police existed and were necessary. An uptick in these expectations arose as a result of the police killings of Breonna Taylor and George Floyd in March and May 2020, respectively, and the culmination of ongoing nationwide police violence. Throughout these movements, when activism through social media in light of the Covid-19 pandemic was popular, it became apparent that relying on Black community members to solely bear the burden of experiencing and educating non-Black individuals was unnecessarily taxing on them. This is where we can broaden our definition of cultural taxation. When Black community members are the ones protesting and paying attention to death at the hands of police officers, they are the ones going through excessive mental burdens to field questions. They are put to task to solve problems as large as systematic racism, on top of everyday human stressors and worries.

In other examples, stemming off of Padilla’s initial example of faculty in academia, students of color on college campuses are often heading diversity clubs and committees, expected to speak during instances of racial injustice, and be one of the few voices in the classroom advocating for representation. This pressure on them, on top of being a regular student, is a burden other students have the privilege of not experiencing. As a queer woman of color at a PWI, this is something I’ve faced myself many times without having put much thought into it. The question it provoked was: how does cultural taxation affect college students’ stress levels?
I chose to assess this question through a survey administered online through Qualtrics. I decided on this method due to its lack of in-person contact to accommodate the Covid-19 pandemic, ease of collecting data, and ability to recruit and survey more participants. My target group to survey is undergraduate students in American colleges. Though populations of interest for this study are BIPOC and LGBTQ+ students, I am choosing to survey students not restricted to these groups in order to get comparative data and be able to conduct more exploratory analyses. This survey itself consists of three separate parts: the Perceived Stress Scale, cultural taxation, and demographics. As there is no current scale to assess cultural taxation in any capacity to my knowledge, questions were generated myself based on themes and concerns coming from qualitative data from previous research.

Method

Survey Creation Process

In the interest of keeping the created questionnaire concise, I chose the Perceived Stress Scale because of its relative briefness, as it only contained 10 questions. Additionally, I believed all the questions were relevant to student lives, and were relatively easy to understand and answer. The more difficult part of the survey was creating the questions to measure cultural taxation. As previously mentioned, there is no existing scale to assess cultural or identity taxation of which I am aware. Therefore, I drew upon responses from qualitative research in order to generate my questions. For example, subjects asked in interviews attested to how they would often be the token person from their social minority group in a room. I translated this into question form, asking how often the survey-taker has been the only person of their race or gender identity present in a room. Questions were also generated from personal and peer
experience. Students often express their frustrations being asked questions about, for example, why a certain person cannot say a racial slur, and that it has happened more than once. These detailed experiences were then compressed into simple, easy to answer questions with Likert-type responses which mirrored those from the PSS for ease of the respondents.

**Procedure**

Approval from the Institutional Review Board was received on November 19th. To advertise, a QR code and Tinyurl link were generated for my Qualtrics survey. Data collection began February 22 of 2021, and concluded on March 12. This date was chosen prior to beginning collection to give myself ample time to analyze responses, while also not drawing out the survey for too long. As my initial target was two hundred responses, I chose beforehand to close the survey if I happened to reach two hundred responses before March 12. Along with the aforementioned survey, there will be a consent form which must be electronically signed (by way of checking a box stating the participant is at least 18 years old, has read the form in its entirety, and understands their rights). At the end of the survey, there will be a debriefing form, contact information for myself and Justin Hulbert, my advisor, and a few listed numbers for mental health support lines. There will also be a link to an external link to collect emails if participants wish to be entered into a raffle for one of $25 gift cards. This way, this identifying information will be kept separate from their questionnaire data.

**Participants**

Participants were largely recruited through social media and word of mouth. The survey link and QR code were posted on my personal Instagram, reposted by friends, and also on Facebook. The survey was also posted to mutual aid survey and thesis Facebook groups. In
order to avoid demand characteristics, the survey was advertised as being about “stress in college students”, which gave an idea of the topic, but not the full picture.

A total of 182 responses were ultimately collected in the Qualtrics survey. Thirteen respondents had to be removed due to lack of completion beyond the Perceived Stress Scale, and 22 respondents were removed due to lack of completion beyond filling out the consent form. Two of these 22 were marked as spam responses by Qualtrics. One hundred forty-seven respondents remained to be analyzed for the main hypothesis, and 143 were analyzed for exploratory analyses involving demographic information.

Demographic information was consolidated for ease of analyzation, and recategorized appropriately (i.e., a response of “Other - South Asian” for race was recoded by me as “Asian/Pacific Islander”). Participants were allowed to select multiple options for race in the demographic section, to allow for adequate representation of their identities, as selecting only one option can be limiting. To be further discussed in my limitations section, this was not a wise choice for data analysis.

Results

Main Hypothesis

The main hypothesis of this study related to the relationship between Perceived Stress Scale scores and cultural taxation scores, as measured by my self-created measure. My prediction was that there would be a positive correlation, in which higher PSS scores would be associated with higher cultural taxation scores. Data from Qualtrics were exported and reformatted in Excel for subsequent analysis in RStudio version 4.0.4, primarily using Pearson’s correlation with the `cor.test` function.
An analysis of the main hypothesis returned a correlation that is positive and significant, \( r(145) = 0.22, \) 95% CI [0.06, 0.37], \( p = 0.006. \) This means that the correlation is positive with a small effect size, and shows significance by having a confidence interval which does not include zero in the interval range. The p-value remains well under the chosen alpha-level, 0.05, for these correlations. Therefore, the data in this study supports the hypothesis that there is a correlation between cultural taxation scores and PSS scores, and subsequently, cultural taxation and stress levels.

![Figure 1](image)

*Figure 1.* Correlational analysis between Perceived Stress Scale (PSS) scores and Cultural Taxation Scale scores. Higher cultural taxation implicates higher scores on the PSS.
Exploratory Analyses

While not the main focus of this project, exploratory analyses utilizing demographic data collected were conducted in accordance with evidence from background research that cultural and identity taxation mostly affects minorities, like BIPOC and queer people. Thus, the data was broken into further subsets to be analyzed with individual correlations within each subset between PSS scores and cultural taxation scores. As these analyses were exploratory in nature, the results were not corrected for multiple comparisons, and thus, should not be overthought in their interpretation. They may, however, provide valuable insight for future research.

Correlations by Race

For the first subset of exploratory analyses, race was divided into individual categories (Asian-American/Pacific Islander, Latinx, Black, White, Multi, and Other). Past research has shown differences between perceptions of cultural taxation with race, with larger focuses on Black (faculty) members of colleges (Buckingham, 2018). In order to keep from grouping all BIPOC as a monolith where there are clear differences between their treatment, subgroups were first created with the data and individually analyzed. An important note to consider is that most of these subsets contained small sample sizes, certainly not at all fairly representative of the subgroup. This consideration will be further discussed in the discussion section.

There were a total of 62 participants in the White subset of data, making it the largest subset divided by race. This correlation is positive and significant $r(60) = 0.31$, 95% CI [0.06, 0.52], $p = 0.02$. While a secondary hypothesis of mine was that students of color would have correlations between PSS and cultural taxation scores, this data and further tests following do not back up this hypothesis.
There were a total of 39 participants in the Asian-American/Pacific Islander (AAPI) subset. The same correlational analyses were run for this subset and subsequent ones as the main hypothesis. The correlation for the AAPI subset trended slightly negatively, though it is non-significant, $r(37) = -0.07$, 95% CI [-0.38, 0.25], $p = 0.67$. The negative nature of the correlation, had it been any stronger or significant, would have signified that a higher cultural taxation score actually meant lower perceived stress levels.

Figure 2. Correlational analysis between AAPI participants and White participants. While AAPI participants have a slightly negative correlation $r(37) = 0.07$, $p = 0.67$, White participants have a positive correlation to a small effect which was significant $r(60) = 0.31$, $p = 0.02$. A comparison of correlations finds no significant difference, $p = 0.06$. 
Seeing as how both of these groups were the largest subsets and had surprising results (the White subset having a significant correlation, and the AAPI group having a slightly negative correlation), further analyses between the two groups were conducted to see if the difference was significant. Using the R function `cocor`, it was discovered that there is no significant difference in comparing these two correlations $p = 0.06$, 95% CI $[-0.75, 0.02]$ (Diedenhofen & Musch, 2015), retaining the null hypothesis that the two correlational values have no difference.

To further explore this, I then created a data subset of all BIPOC participants, only to result with a not significant and slightly positive correlation, $r(79) = 0.12$, 95% CI $[-0.10, 0.33]$, $p = 0.27$. With a total of 81 participants in this group, a larger group than the White subset, there is a lack of significance still.
Figure 3. Correlational analysis between BIPOC and White subsets. The BIPOC subset has a small positive correlation and no significance $r(79) = 0.12, p = 0.27$. As seen before, the White subset does yield significant results $r(60) = 0.31, p = 0.02$. A comparison of correlations between the two finds no significant difference, $p = 0.25$. 
Once again, I decided to compare the BIPOC correlation to the White subset using \texttt{cocr}. This returned a result which stated that these correlations have no significant difference, 
\[ p = 0.25, \text{95\% CI [-0.49 0.13].} \]

The additional subsets explored by race yielded no significant results. There were ten total participants in the Black subset. This correlation is positive and not significant \( r(8) = 0.38, \text{95\% CI [-0.33, 0.81], } p = 0.28. \) The medium strength positive correlation and lack of significance may be attributed to the very small sample size.

The subset for Latinx participants was thirteen total individuals. This subset’s correlation is positive and not significant \( r(11) = 0.23, \text{95\% CI [-0.37, 0.69], } p = 0.45. \) As with the previous subset, the small correlation but lack of significance may be due to the small sample size here as well.

Multiracial participants, as mentioned before, consisted of all participants who selected more than one option for their race in the demographic section. This total subset was fifteen individuals. This correlation is positive and not significant \( r(13) = 0.23, \text{95\% CI [-0.32, 0.66], } p = 0.42. \)

Participants who self identified as “Other” only consisted of 4 participants. This correlation is negative and not significant \( r(2) = -0.15, \text{95\% CI [-0.97, 0.94], } p = 0.85. \) While having a small negative correlation, it remains insignificant due to its small sample size and insignificant p-value.

\textit{Correlations for Gender and Sexuality Differences}

The next portion of my exploratory analyses was looking at heterosexual versus non-heterosexual participants, as well as cisgender and non-cisgender participants. The relationship between PSS scores and cultural taxation was investigated between cisgender and
non-cisgender subsets. For the cisgender subset, there were 112 participants, the largest subset investigated so far. This correlation is positive and significant, $r(110) = 0.21$, 95% CI [0.03, 0.38], $p = 0.02$. In contrast, the subset for non-cisgender participants, which was comprised of participants who selected "Agender", "Genderfluid", "Genderqueer", "Transgender", "Other", or "Non-binary", showed a correlation that is positive and not significant $r(28) = 0.14$, 95% CI [-0.23, 0.48], $p = 0.46$.

Figure 4. Correlational analysis between PSS and cultural taxation for the cisgender subset.

This correlation was found to be positive and significant, $r(110) = 0.21$, $p = 0.02$. 
Figure 5. Correlational analysis between PSS and cultural taxation scores for the non-cisgender subset. The results were positive and not significant, $r(28) = 0.14, p = 0.46$
The next two subsets explored divided participants into categories of heterosexual or non-heterosexual. In the heterosexual subset, there were 75 participants, and a correlation which is positive but not significant, $r(73) = 0.21$, 95% CI [-0.02, 0.42], $p = 0.07$. This indicates a lack of correlation between the PSS scores and cultural taxation scores for this subset.

*Figure 6. Correlational analysis between PSS and cultural taxation scores for the heterosexual subset. This correlation is positive yet not significant, $r(73) = 0.21$, $p = 0.07$. 
The next subset were the non-heterosexual participants, categorized by participants who selected "Gay", "Bisexual or Pansexual", "Asexual", "Queer", "Other", or "Lesbian". This subset consisted of 67 participants. This correlation is not significant, $r(65)= 0.02$, 95% CI [-0.22, 0.26], $p = 0.86$.

*Figure 7.* Correlational analysis between PSS and cultural taxation for non-heterosexual participants. This correlation is not significant, $r(65)= 0.02$, $p = 0.86$. 
Compensation: Cultural Taxation

One thing which I will discuss further in the discussions and limitations section of the paper is my regret for not having asked more questions in the vein of compensation for culturally taxing work. However, what little data I have is summarized here. Towards the end of the cultural taxation scale, one question asks participants if they had ever been asked by their institution to do any sort of anti-discrimination work. If they answered “Yes”, Qualtrics display logic would show the follow-up question, which asked if they had ever been compensated for this labor by the institution, financially or otherwise. My initial mistake here was wrongly coding answers to these questions in Qualtrics; had someone answered “Yes” to being compensated for the follow-up question, they would have had a point counted towards their final score, when my logic behind the question was that those who answered “No” to being compensated were actually experiencing more taxation, and therefore should have been the ones who had an extra point count towards their final score. This issue was fixed in the .csv file before being exported to RStudio for final analysis.

From the collected data, 101 students had not been asked to do any work of anti-discrimination work by their university, and 43 had. Of those 43 students, seven reported being compensated in some way, while 36 reported not having been compensated at all. Each of these four groups were made into subsets in R, and analysis of correlations between PSS and cultural taxation were investigated. The only significant yielding result is from the largest subgroup, the subset of students who had not been asked to do any sort of anti-discrimination work \( r(99) = 0.23, 95\% \text{ CI } [0.04, 0.41], p = 0.02 \). This was, however, the largest subset by far out of the four. The subset of students who had been asked to do anti-discrimination work at all show a small positive correlation with no significance, \( r(41) = 0.13, 95\% \text{ CI } [-0.17, 0.42] \),
Students who had been asked to do such work and were compensated show a small correlation as well and no significance, \( r(5) = 0.18, 95\% \text{ CI } [-0.66, 0.82], p = 0.70 \). Finally, the students who were asked to do such work and were not compensated financially or otherwise have a small, not significant correlation \( r(34) = 0.15, 95\% \text{ CI } [-0.18, 0.46], p = 0.36 \).

**Discussion**

As there is little to no quantitative research done, to my knowledge, on the impact of cultural or identity taxation on stress, my main hypothesis was purposefully broad in order to see, first and foremost, if there was any sort of correlation at all between the two. However, with the fact that the idea of cultural and identity taxation were borne from notions that people of color and other minorities were the ones who bore the burden and experienced stress relating to it, I expected to see a stronger correlation between the two in subsets of POC and queer folks (Padilla, 1994) (Hirshfield and Joseph, 2012). The significant result from the main correlation does, however, show evidence that there is a relationship between how much cultural taxation affects a person, and their perceived stress level. Further breakdowns of correlations by racial subgroups showed that the only subgroup which yielded any significant data was the White subset. The other subgroups had small sample sizes, and any results found from them ought to be taken with a grain of salt. Regardless, they all had minimal correlations and no significance across the board.

As my study utilized the Perceived Stress Scale, which asks about stressors from the past month (and my cultural taxation scale used the same model), it is possible that the past month at the time of survey distribution was not particularly stressful or culturally taxing for students. As survey rollout began in late February and then ended in mid-March, still around the beginning of the semester for many United States undergraduates and potentially encompassing
the winter intersession many colleges have, that may have been a less stressful period in life for students overall.

A different consideration takes into account how anti-Asian sentiment may have affected these results. As the COVID-19 pandemic has increased anti-Asian sentiment generally, a larger movement to stop it began on March 16, a few days after data collection ended, in response to a mass shooting of three spas in Atlanta. As media lenses began to more largely cover anti-Asian sentiment, leading to it becoming more visible across social media platforms as well, this may have caused changes in stress levels for Asian Americans in the country, as spotlights on all platforms were now on them. Yet, the beginnings of Covid certainly brought with it anti-Asian, specifically anti-Chinese, sentiment. Social media noted a vast uptick in anti-Chinese (or Sinophobic) sentiment, including slurs and placing blame for the pandemic (Tahmasbi et al., 2021). Branching out from Sinophobic behavior, several other Eastern Asian groups were targets of hate crimes due to aggressors viewing them all as a monolith, leading to slurs, blame, and other verbal or physical hate crimes being carried out on non-Chinese Asian Americans (Chen et al., 2020).

Aside from the AAPI and White subsets, the other subsets by race had comparably smaller sample sizes, which may have been the cause for their lack of significant data. Future research should aim to get larger representative sample sizes in order to conduct better analyses.

In the correlations between cisgender and non-cisgender participants, I had anticipated the opposite of what the results yielded: evidence that there was a PSS and taxation relationship for non-cisgender participants when, in reality, my data showed the reverse. As my demographics section specified gender identity in a different way, I have no way of knowing how many participants who identified as women fell into either category. The significance
shown in the cisgender category may have been due to either the larger subset size, or the possibility that many of those participants were (cisgender) women, where previous research highlights the sexism that women specifically face in academia (Buckingham, 2018).

Additionally, non-cisgender participants may have answered questions on the cultural taxation scale inaccurately, as questions like “How often have you been the only, or one of few, person of your [gender] in a classroom in the last month?” assumed that participants might have more insight into peers’ gender identities than they did in actuality.

For subsets divided by participant sexuality, either heterosexual or not-heterosexual, neither yielded significant results. Potentially, sexuality may have little to no bearing on differences in taxation. In contrast, an article looking at invisible work done in academia found that queer faculty members, alongside working-class members and faculty of color, spent much of their time doing said invisible work in academia (Social Sciences Feminist Network Research Interest, 2017). The key difference may be that this is the case for queer faculty, not queer college students — taxation faced by faculty will not directly map on to taxation faced by students. Future research may be interested in asking more thorough questions about what exact additional work is done by students on campus, to get a better understanding of the different types of taxing work marginalized students do.

Limitations

There were several limitations for this study to be considered for future research or replications.

The scale created for cultural taxation was created within a few months’ time span by myself. While the scale is based off of qualitative data from previous research and was my attempt to quantify some of those experiences in such a manner that could be captured through a
scale, it is not a validated measure. As my survey was being passed around, and as I participated in other’s surveys as well, I began to notice things I wished I had included or changed about my scale. For example, I did not ask for helpful information in the demographics section to be compared with the data collected from the cultural taxation scale (i.e., religion was asked about in the scale, but not collected in the demographics section). Additionally, while my interest began to shift more towards the idea of (a lack of) compensation in the vein of taxation, I had only one question about it in my survey. A more comprehensive survey would ideally include more questions about the compensation aspect of taxation, as this was an important point summated in interviews and research with faculty of color who felt that race-related work they did as academics deserved more pay (Padilla, 1994).

In the demographics portion of the survey, slight confusion could be seen from participants’ answers to questions. Although links were provided for definitions of terms which may be lesser known (i.e., cisgender, asexual), some participants would choose the “Other” option and write in an answer which would fall into a listed category.

While past research has highlighted specific struggles of women in academia and taxation, I made the mistake of not asking participants to identify, either in the same or separate question as gender, if they identified as women. In the interest of including a wider range of gender identities, like two-spirit or genderfluid participants, I tried to stay consistent with terminology in the gender identity question. However, post-survey distribution and analysis, I found myself wishing I had been more specific, either in this question or a separate one, in order to conduct analysis better for gender. As is, this may be the reason that the subset of cisgender participants, aside from large sample size, yielded a higher correlation and significant result than non-cisgender participants, because these were largely (cisgender) women. As this
information was not collected, it may be useful for future directions to consider gender more
dynamically than I had, perhaps by asking participants to indicate their gender as transgender
women, cisgender women, etc. than the broader terms I used.

With the question asking about race, I found myself not wanting to limit participants
who were multiracial to choosing only one option. This proved to make my end of data analysis
more confusing than I initially thought. I was forced to do what I was trying to avoid from the
beginning, which was to recategorize participants who selected more than one option into a
“Multiracial” category for ease of analysis. Due to a lack of data and time, I could not find a
more adequate way to analyze or categorize multiple-race data, as one of the methods for doing
this based on the U.S. Census data needed state demographics in order to determine, if forced to
choose a category, which singular race category multiple-race participant would have chosen
(Liebler, 2008). Lack of clarity in standardized race categorization is also a factor. Middle
Eastern and North African (MENA) people often find themselves choosing the “White” race
category, even though this is far from an accurate representation. A study done by the Census
Bureau in 2015 showed that MENA individuals much preferred their own separate category
from being lumped into the White category, as only 20% continued to identify as White when
presented with a MENA option, compared to a previous 85% without a clear MENA category
(Mathews, 2017). This may be useful for future research in this field — denoting a clear option
for MENA participants for more accurate and fair representation, which I had not provided.
These are all considerations to take into account in pursuit of further research in the field of
cultural and identity taxation.
Conclusion

This study’s main goal was to find a way to quantify the relationship between stress, through the Perceived Stress Scale, and cultural taxation, through my self-created scale, and identify the correlation, if any, between them. It contributes to the field of identity and cultural taxation by showing how the relation can be quantifiable, and supports my hypothesis that there is a significant positive correlation between the two in college students. Though exploratory hypotheses surprised me, that only highlights the lack of material in the field which deals with this topic. As summated above, future studies may benefit from adjusted demographic information collection, such as including a MENA category for race, and a modified gender section to glean participants’ identification with being a woman alongside finer facets of gender identity, as past investigations into identity taxation have gleaned that women in academia find themselves tackling their own unique form of taxation (Hirschfield & Joseph, 2012).

Originally, the definition of cultural taxation founded in 1994 revolved around taxation that faculty and scholars of color in academia faced, specifically race-related tasks that oftentimes fell on only them, to being belittled for conducting race-related research, as it was not viewed as “real” research (Padilla, 1994). Since then, this definition has expanded and one can also consider the broader term “identity taxation”, where taxation was considered for any marginalized identities, not just people of color, and the additional labor they handle on top of responsibilities which they are not compensated or recognized for (Hirschfield & Joseph, 2012). From here, other marginalized groups and their experiences with taxation can be compared to the original definition; queer professionals at universities would oftentimes find themselves doing additional work to provide students with LGBTQ+ resources and guidance, even though it was not a requirement of their job (Kortegast & van der Toorn, 2018).
With marginalized identities comes specific forms of stress, as stressors for different groups may manifest themselves differently. Shelly Harrell summates six different types of race-related stressors to consider when thinking about critical types of stress which are not taken into account, as they may not be generally considered to be universal stressors (Harrell, 2000). Additionally, specific discrimination against queer individuals has been shown to correlate with higher diurnal cortisol levels (Figueroa, 2021).

Taxation, coupled with stress faced by marginalized communities, creates the untapped basis for the inspiration behind this project. The unique problem faced by marginalized students remains unsolved for the foreseeable future, as colleges and corporations continue to see profit from diversity in their own names, and no value placed on those who provide it. A quote from Kortegast and van der Toom encompasses this experience well – “As individuals, [students] become hypervisible, but the additional work they assume, because of this identity, is rendered invisible or taken for granted” (Kortegast & van der Toorn, 2018). Through the unfairness of it all, students do knowingly continue to pick up this type of work: but why? Oftentimes, the benefits of helping your own community may outweigh all else. To many, a community is a family, one that must be nurtured and protected. All which is left now is for institutions to acknowledge those families and give them the support they need.

The best way to do this, going forward, would be to address the issues at their roots. When it comes to issues of cultural and identity taxation, why might work relating to this be doled out in the first place? When an institution finds the need to put the burden of anti-discrimination work on a students shoulders, or the mentoring of students of color onto faculty of color, their first thoughts ought to be preventing it in the future. Why do there need to
be numerous anti-discrimination trainings or addresses, or why is it that White faculty are not comfortable mentoring students of color?

While these issues may sometimes be unavoidable (i.e., students of color feeling more comfortable with mentors of color), there remain ways to address the issue while loosening the burden of taxation of both students and faculty alike. Above all else, appropriate monetary compensation for taxing workloads will always be a good first step. Especially for faculty who may work more hours to balance mentoring students, being on diversity panels, etc., it is imperative to be paid fairly for this additional labor other faculty do not go through. The same sentiment extends to students who may not get to enjoy the freedoms of college life as other students may, as being seen as a representative for minority students brings with it many responsibilities that take up potential free time, and adds more to their plate as an already busy, paying, college student. From here, more ought to be done to support faculty and students alike, such as mental health and wellness resources to appropriately support them, as well as the recognition for non-diversity related work all others are afforded. Proper credit must be given to those who are owed it, especially when it is the institution’s name which benefits from this work.
References


Reginald A. Blockett (2017) ‘I Think It’s Very Much Placed On Us’: Black queer men laboring to forge community at a predominantly White and (hetero)cisnormative research

Appendix A

Section 1

Please enter the following information about yourself:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th><strong>Today's date:</strong></th>
<th>Nov 05, 2000</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Name:</strong></td>
<td>Sherry Chowdhury</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Email:</strong></td>
<td><a href="mailto:sc6580@bard.edu">sc6580@bard.edu</a></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Your Academic Program/Department/Office:</strong></td>
<td>Psychology</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Your status (faculty, staff, graduate or undergraduate student):</strong></td>
<td>Undergraduate student</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Adviser or Faculty Sponsor (if applicable):</strong></td>
<td>Justin Hulbert</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>If you are a graduate or undergraduate student, has your Adviser or Faculty Sponsor seen and approved your application?</strong></td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Your Adviser's or Faculty Sponsor's email address (if applicable):</strong></td>
<td><a href="mailto:jhulbert@bard.edu">jhulbert@bard.edu</a></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Please list all individuals (full name and status, i.e. faculty, staff, student) involved in this project that will be working with human subjects. Note: Everyone listed must have completed Human Subject Research Training within the past three years.
- Sherry Chowdhury - Undergraduate student
- Justin Hulbert - Faculty, Senior Project Advisor

| **Do you have external funding for this research?** | No |
| **What is the title of your project?** | Cultural Taxation and Stress in American College Students |
| **When do you plan to begin this project? (Start date):** | Dec 01, 2020 |

**Describe your research question(s):**
There is currently limited research on how cultural taxation, the phenomenon in which Black, Indigenous, people of color (BIPOC) are often asked to expend personal resources to explain race-related issues to peers. This definition can be expanded to other minorities, such as LGBTQ+ individuals, who also have expectations placed on them to explain terminology, queer discourse, etc. The goal of this study is to survey college students about their stress and levels and experiences of cultural taxation in their life, and to do exploratory analyses to find correlations between cultural taxation and stress.
Describe the population(s) you plan to recruit and how you plan to recruit participants. Please submit all recruitment material, emails and scripts to IRB@bard.edu
Undergraduate college students who can read and understand English, ages 18 and up, will be recruited through Bard College club e-mail listservs (e.g., Queer People of Color, Hindu Student Organization, Latin American Student Organization), posters placed on campus, as well as on social media (Instagram stories, Facebook groups for recruiting other college students. While certain analyses will focus on students who indicate membership in the BIPOC and/or LGBTQ+ communities, any current college student who meets the above eligibility criteria are welcome to participate. Participants will be able to scan a QR code or open a tinyurl link, both of which will be attached on the poster sent out through social media and email (see attachment I will email to you separately). This link will take them to the Qualtrics survey. The poster will indicate the potential of winning a raffle prize at the end of the surveying period of a $25.00 Visa Gift Card as a token of my appreciation for their participation.

Will your participants include individuals from vulnerable or protected populations (e.g., children, pregnant women, prisoners, or the cognitively impaired)? no

Approximately how many individuals do you expect to participate in your study? 200

Describe the procedures you will be using to conduct your research. Include descriptions of what tasks your participants will be asked to do, and about how much time will be expected of each individual. NOTE: If you have supporting materials (printed surveys, questionnaires, interview questions, etc.), email these documents separately as attachments to IRB@bard.edu. Name your attachments with your last name and a brief description (e.g., "WatsonSurvey.doc"). Participants can find a link to the survey administered through Qualtrics through either a QR code or tinyurl link which can be accessed through any medium the study is advertised through (e-mails on a listserv, social media, etc.). The beginning of the Qualtrics survey will display an informed consent form which must be electronically “signed” (by clicking a button) before being able to continue with the survey (see consent form and survey measures attached to my email to the IRB). The survey questions should take around 5-10 minutes to complete. At the end of the survey, a debriefing form will be presented to the participant, as well as an external link to a separate, optional survey to fill in contact information should they choose to enter the raffle.

Describe any risks and/or benefits your research may have for your participants. There are minimal risks involved for participants of this study outside of cues to think about stress or one’s circumstances in life. Though there are no direct participant benefits, an indirect benefit is scientific contribution in learning more about cultural taxation circumstances in college students and their impacts on stress levels.

Describe how you plan to mitigate (if possible) any risks the participants may encounter. Questions on the survey will all be optional, should any participant decide they are not comfortable filling out any of the questions. As explained in the consent form, participants are free to withdraw at any time without penalty. They can also contact me, my advisor, Justin Hulbert, or the IRB with concerns. Crisis hotline numbers for Family of Woodstock, Crisis Textline, and Trevor Project will be provided in both the consent and debriefing forms.
Describe the consent process (i.e., how you will explain the consent form and the consent process to your participants):
When opening the linked Qualtrics survey, the first thing presented to participants would be the consent form. This form, attached in my email to the IRB, provides a brief explanation of the study, the components of the survey, participant rights, and have an affirmative statement equivalent to an electronic signature to confirm consent in continuing with the survey.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Have you prepared a consent form(s) and emailed it as an attachment to <a href="mailto:IRB@bard.edu">IRB@bard.edu</a>?</th>
<th>Yes</th>
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<td>Note: You must submit all necessary consent forms before your proposal is considered complete.</td>
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<tr>
<th>If you are collecting data via media capture (video, audio, photos), have you included a section requesting consent for this procedure(s) in your consent form(s)?</th>
<th>Not applicable</th>
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<tr>
<th>What procedures will you use to ensure that the information your participants provide will remain confidential and safeguarded against improper access or dissemination?</th>
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<tr>
<td>Participants will only be asked to leave their email in a separate, linked survey which is not tied to the main survey data at all, in order to be contacted should they win the raffle.</td>
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<tr>
<th>Will it be necessary to use deception with your participants at any time during this research? Withholding details about the specifics of one's hypothesis does not constitute deception, this is called incomplete disclosure. Deception involves purposefully misleading participants about the nature of the research question or about the nature of the task they will be completing.</th>
<th>No</th>
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<tr>
<th>For all projects, please include your debriefing statement. (This is information you provide to the participant at the end of your study to explain your research question more fully than you may have been able to do at the beginning of the study.) All studies must include a debriefing statement. Be sure to give participants the opportunity to ask any additional questions they may have about the study. Attached separately through email.</th>
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</table>

<p>| If you will be conducting interviews in a language other than English, will you conduct all of the interviews yourself, or will you have the assistance of a translator? If you will be using the assistance of a translator, that individual must also certify that he or she is familiar with the human subject protocol and has completed the online training course. | Not applicable |</p>
<table>
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<tr>
<th>Question</th>
<th>Answer</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>If your recruitment materials or consent forms will be presented in languages other than English, please translate these documents and email copies to <a href="mailto:IRB@bard.edu">IRB@bard.edu</a>. I have submitted all of my translated materials.</td>
<td>Not applicable</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Appendix B

Consent Form

You are being invited to participate in a research experiment conducted by undergraduate student Sherry Chowdhury, in Bard College’s Psychology Program. This study will consist of a short survey (around 10-15 minutes) administered online via Qualtrics. To participate in this survey, you must currently be enrolled in an undergraduate program and be of 18 years of age or older.

The purpose of this study is to investigate stress levels and burdens of being asked culturally relevant questions in college students through correlational analysis. You will be asked demographic questions as well (e.g., race and gender identity). Due to the nature of this survey, which asks time-sensitive questions (instances of particular experiences occurring in the past increment of time), participants are asked to complete this survey in one sitting.

Participation is voluntary, and participants can opt out of taking the survey at any time without penalty. Participants may opt to skip any questions they are uncomfortable with completing. Individual-level participant data will be kept confidential and only able to be viewed by the student researcher and their advisor before being aggregated. Participants may wish to enter into a gift card raffle for $25 after the completion of the survey by providing a college email address (ex. .edu) through a separate survey to verify their status as a college student. This contact information will be held separately from the survey data to protect confidentiality. Aggregate data (without identifying information) may be included in the published student Senior Project,
and available at the Stevenson Library of Bard College in Annandale-on-Hudson, NY, as well as online through the Bard Digital Commons database. All individual information and data collected from both the principal and separate survey for e-mails will be stored on a password protected computer.

There are no known risks associated with this study, aside from prompts to think about one’s circumstances and recent stress—as are common in everyday life. While there are no direct benefits for participating, indirect benefits might include contributing to research concerning the relationship between stress levels and circumstances commonly encountered by college students.

You can contact the researcher, Sherry Chowdhury, at any time with questions regarding the research or your rights as a participant (sc6580@bard.edu), or their project advisor, Justin Hulbert (jhlbert@bard.edu).

This project has been approved by the Bard Institutional Review Board. They can be reached at irb@bard.edu.

Please refer to the following mental health resources if needed.

Family of Woodstock Crisis Hotline: (845) 679-2485
Crisis Text Line: text 741741
Trevor Project Hotline for LGBTQ+ Youth: 1-866-488-7386
By checking the following box, you agree that you have read over this form in its entirety, consent to participating, and affirm that you are at least 18 years of age.

☐ I have read this consent form in its entirety, consent to participation in this survey, and affirm I am at least 18 years of age.
Appendix C

Debriefing Statement

Thank you for your participation in this study. This online survey asked you questions about demographic information, stress in the past month, and possible experiences of cultural taxation in the recent past. Cultural taxation, expanded from its original definition by Amado Padilla, has been used in the context of this study to describe the phenomenon of minorities and members of oppressed groups having an assumption placed on them which puts them in a position of being asked to weigh in on relevant issues and answer other related questions (for example, asking a Black student to explain AAVE usage and mechanics.)

The main interest in this study aims to investigate the relationship between cultural taxation and stress as measured by the Perceived Stress Scale (PSS) across many individuals who may or may not consider themselves as members of groups like those mentioned above. I am predicting that high scores in the cultural taxation scale will correlate with high PSS scores, and that there will be higher cultural taxation scores overall for self-identified BIPOC and/or LGBTQ+ students, as previous research on cultural taxation shows expectations of faculty of color exceeding those set for non-BIPOC faculty. As minimal cultural taxation research has been conducted on college students, this study aims to help fill that gap. Also, previous research on cultural taxation has been largely qualitative and interview-based, so this study is aiming to get more quantitative data.

Your support in this research helps us learn more about cultural taxation levels in college students, as well as how it may impact stress. If you have any further questions regarding the
study, please contact Sherry Chowdhury at sc6580@bard.edu, or their Senior Project advisor Justin Hulbert at jhulbert@bard.edu.

Please refer to the following mental health resources if needed.

Family of Woodstock Crisis Hotline: (845) 679-2485
Crisis Text Line: text 741741
Trevor Project Hotline for LGBTQ+ Youth: 1-866-488-7386

Thank you so much for your participation!

Sincerely,

Sherry Chowdhury
Appendix D

Bard College

Date: November 19, 2020
To: Sherry Chowdhury
Cc: Justin Hulbert, Deborah Treadway, Brandt Burgess
From: Tom Hutcheon, IRB Chair
Re: Cultural Taxation and Stress in American College Students

DECISION: APPROVED

Dear Sherry,

The Bard Institutional Review Board has reviewed your revisions and approved your proposal entitled “Cultural Taxation and Stress in American College Students.” Your proposal is approved through November 19, 2021 and your case number is 2020NOV19-CHO.

Please notify the IRB if your methodology changes or unexpected events arise.

We wish you the best of luck with your research!

Tom Hutcheon
IRB Chair
thutcheo@bard.edu
Consent Form

You are being invited to participate in a research experiment conducted by undergraduate student Sherry Chowdhury, in Bard College’s Psychology Program. This study will consist of a short survey (around 10-15 minutes) administered online via Qualtrics. To participate in this survey, you must currently be enrolled in an undergraduate program and be of 18 years of age or older.

The purpose of this study is to investigate stress levels and burdens of being asked culturally relevant questions in college students through correlational analysis. You will be asked demographic questions as well (e.g., race and gender identity). Due to the nature of this survey, which asks time-sensitive questions (instances of particular experiences occurring in the past increment of time), participants are asked to complete this survey in one sitting.

Participation is voluntary, and participants can opt out of taking the survey at any time without penalty. Participants may opt to skip any questions they are uncomfortable with completing. Individual-level participant data will be kept confidential and only able to be viewed by the student researcher and their advisor before being aggregated. Participants may wish to enter into a gift card raffle for $25 after the completion of the survey by providing a college email address (ex. .edu) through a separate survey to verify their status as a college student. This contact information will be held separately from the survey data to protect confidentiality. Aggregate data (without identifying information) may be included in the published student Senior Project, and available at the Stevenson Library of Bard College in Annandale-on-Hudson, NY, as well as online through the Bard Digital Commons database. All individual information and data collected from both the principal and separate survey for e-mails will be stored on a password protected computer.

There are no known risks associated with this study, aside from prompts to think about one’s circumstances and recent stress—as are common in everyday life. While there are no direct benefits for participating, indirect benefits might include contributing to research concerning the relationship between stress levels and circumstances commonly encountered by college students. You can contact the researcher, Sherry Chowdhury, at any time with questions regarding the research or your rights as a participant (sc6580@bard.edu), or their project advisor, Justin Hulbert (jhulbert@bard.edu).

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By checking the following box, you agree that you have read over this form in its entirety, consent to participating, and affirm that you are at least 18 years of age.

☐ I have read this consent form in its entirety, consent to participation in this survey, and affirm I am at least 18 years of age.

**PSS**

The questions in this scale ask you about your feelings and thoughts during the last month. In each case, you will be asked to indicate by circling how often you felt or thought a certain way.

In the last month, how often have you been upset because of something that happened unexpectedly?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Never</th>
<th>Almost never</th>
<th>Sometimes</th>
<th>Fairly often</th>
<th>Very often</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☐</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In the last month, how often have you felt that you were unable to control the important things in your life?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Never</th>
<th>Almost never</th>
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<th>Fairly often</th>
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</tbody>
</table>
In the last month, how often have you felt nervous and “stressed”?  

- Never
- Almost never
- Sometimes
- Fairly often
- Very often

In the last month, how often have you felt confident about your ability to handle your personal problems?  

- Never
- Almost never
- Sometimes
- Fairly often
- Very often

In the last month, how often have you felt that things were going your way?  

- Never
- Almost never
- Sometimes
- Fairly often
- Very often

In the last month, how often have you found that you could not cope with all the things that you had to do?  

- Never
- Almost never
- Sometimes
- Fairly often
- Very often
### Cultural/Identity Taxation Scale

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Question</th>
<th>Never</th>
<th>Almost never</th>
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<tr>
<td>In the last month, how often have you been able to control irritations in your life?</td>
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<td>In the last month, how often have you felt that you were on top of things?</td>
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<td>In the last month, how often have you been angered because of things that were outside of your control?</td>
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<tr>
<td>In the last month, how often have you felt difficulties were piling up so high that you could not overcome them?</td>
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Cultural/Identity Taxation Scale
For this portion of the survey, please read the question carefully and answer to the best of your abilities.

How often have you been the only, or one of few, person of your _______________ in a classroom in the last month?

Example: Being the only South Asian person in your classroom.

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How often are you asked to explain something pertaining to your _______________ in the last month?

Example: "How does EBT/food stamps work?" (socioeconomic status)
Example: "Why can't I say ______ slur?"

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How often were you asked questions that were about a following aspect of your identity in the last month?
How often have you feel the need to defend YOUR ______________ from scrutiny/subjection to stereotypes in the last month?

Example: "Actually, people on welfare are not getting free money..."
Example: "People living on reservations are not living in luxury..."

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How often have you feel the need to defend OTHERS' ______________ from scrutiny/subjection to stereotypes in the last month?

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How much do you feel must control your emotions when explaining an issue relevant to your _____________?

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How often do you feel you have been asked to speak for all members of your ___________ in the last month?

Example: Feeling as though you are a representative for your race
Example: Having a professor ask you what it is like to be disabled

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Have you ever been asked by your institution to do any sort of anti-discriminatory, anti-racist, or otherwise similar educational work regarding a social issue or minority group?

☐ Yes
☐ No
If you answered YES to the previous question, have you ever been compensated (financially or otherwise) for your work?

☐ Yes
☐ No

Demographic Information: Please answer the answer following few questions about

How old are you?


Please select your gender identity below.
(Feel free to refer to [https://www.healthline.com/health/different-genders](https://www.healthline.com/health/different-genders) for definitions of these identities, and more!)

☐ Agender
☐ Transgender
☐ Cisgender
☐ Genderfluid
☐ Genderqueer
☐ Non-binary
☐ Two-spirit
☐ Other

Please select your race below.

☐ White
☐ Asian/Pacific Islander
☐ Indigenous (including Alaska and Hawai’i Native)
☐ Biracial
Please select your sexual orientation below.
(Feel free to refer to [https://www.healthline.com/health/different-types-of-sexuality](https://www.healthline.com/health/different-types-of-sexuality) for explanations of these identities, and more!)

- ☐ Heterosexual
- ☐ Asexual
- ☐ Bisexual or Pansexual
- ☐ Queer
- ☐ Gay
- ☐ Lesbian
- ☐ Other

Do you attend a Predominantly White Institution (PWI)?

(A PWI is defined as a college or university which has a 50% or greater enrollment of White students, or has been historically majority White. As there is no standing list of PWIs, we encourage you to look up your schools racial breakdown.)

- ☐ Yes
- ☐ No
- ☐ Not sure

Do you attend a Historically Black College/University (HBCU)?

(An HBCU is defined as having been created with the intention of serving Black students in America before the Civil Rights Act of 1964). Refer [here](#) for a list of HBCUs.

- ☐ Yes
Debriefing Form

Debriefing Statement

*Please note that the subsequent part of the survey linked after this statement will take you to a separate survey in which you may enter contact information in order to enter a raffle, if desired. As such, your contact information will be kept separate from the responses to the survey.

Thank you for your participation in this study. This online survey asked you questions about demographic information, stress in the past month, and possible experiences of cultural taxation in the recent past. Cultural taxation, expanded from its original definition by Amado Padilla, has been used in the context of this study to describe the phenomenon of minorities and members of oppressed groups having an assumption placed on them which puts them in a position of being asked to weigh in on relevant issues and answer other related questions (for example, asking a Black student to explain AAVE usage and mechanics.)

The main interest in this study aims to investigate the relationship between cultural taxation and stress as measured by the Perceived Stress Scale (PSS) across many individuals who may or may not consider themselves as members of groups like those mentioned above. I am predicting that high scores in the cultural taxation scale will correlate with high PSS scores, and that there will be higher cultural taxation scores overall for self-identified BIPOC and/or LGBTQ+ students, as previous research on cultural taxation shows expectations of faculty of color exceeding those set for non-BIPOC faculty. As minimal cultural taxation research has been conducted on college students, this study aims to help fill that gap. Also, previous research on cultural taxation has been largely qualitative and interview-based, so this study is aiming to get more quantitative data.

Your support in this research helps us learn more about cultural taxation levels in college students, as well as how it may impact stress. If you have any further questions regarding the study, please contact Sherry Chowdhury at sc6580@bard.edu, or their Senior Project advisor Justin Hulbert at jhulbert@bard.edu.

Please refer to the following mental health resources if needed.

Family of Woodstock Crisis Hotline: (845) 679-2485
Crisis Text Line: text 741741
Trevor Project Hotline for LGBTQ+ Youth: 1-866-488-7386

Thank you so much for your participation!
Sincerely,
Sherry Chowdhury

To end this survey and enter your e-mail for the raffle, click on forward!

Powered by Qualtrics
Senior Project - Cultural Taxation and Stress in College Students

Hypotheses
There is a correlation between cultural/identity taxation and stress as measured through the Perceived Stress Scale.

Design Plan

Study type
Observational Study - Data is collected from study subjects that are not randomly assigned to a treatment. This includes surveys, “natural experiments,” and regression discontinuity designs.

Blinding
No blinding is involved in this study.

Is there any additional blinding in this study?
No response

Study design
This study is conducted through means of a survey. It consists of three portions - the Perceived Stress Scale, demographic information, and an author-created cultural taxation scale.

No les selected

Randomization
No response

Sampling Plan

Existing Data
Registration prior to creation of data
Explanation of existing data
No response

Data collection procedures
Participants will be recruited through online advertisements for the survey through social media, e-mail servers, Facebook groups, Instagram stories, etc. Incentive is the chance to win one of ve $20 Visa gift cards for survey completion. Participants must be at least 18 years of age, and an undergraduate college student in the United States.

Sample size
I hope to survey around 200 participants in this survey.

Sample size rationale
No response

Stopping rule
No response

Variables

Manipulated variables
No response
No les selected

Measured variables
The Perceived Stress Scale is a validated, existing measure which sums up total scores from 10 questions. The self-created cultural taxation scale will similarly result in a total score at the completion of all questions.
No les selected

Indices
No response
No les selected

Analysis Plan

Statistical models
All analyses in this study will be correlational analyses. Primary analyses will be between cultural taxation scores and PSS scores. Additional exploratory analyses will be conducted between demographic information (ex. race, gender, sexual orientation) and cultural taxation and the PSS.
No les selected

Transformations
Data exclusion

1. Participants who do not fully complete the PSS will be excluded.
2. Participants who do not fully complete the cultural taxation portion will be excluded.
3. Participants who clearly did not read questions (answered all 1's or 5's, clearly not reading questions) will be excluded.

Missing data

See above

Exploratory analysis

I plan to do exploratory analyses between various demographic factors, cultural taxation, and the PSS.

Other

Other

No response