

# Psychological Trauma: Theory, Research, Practice, and Policy

## Mental Health Ramifications of the COVID-19 Pandemic for Black Americans: Clinical and Research Recommendations

Derek M. Novacek, Joya N. Hampton-Anderson, Megan T. Ebor, Tamra B. Loeb, and Gail E. Wyatt  
Online First Publication, June 11, 2020. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1037/tra0000796>

### CITATION

Novacek, D. M., Hampton-Anderson, J. N., Ebor, M. T., Loeb, T. B., & Wyatt, G. E. (2020, June 11). Mental Health Ramifications of the COVID-19 Pandemic for Black Americans: Clinical and Research Recommendations. *Psychological Trauma: Theory, Research, Practice, and Policy*. Advance online publication. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1037/tra0000796>

# Mental Health Ramifications of the COVID-19 Pandemic for Black Americans: Clinical and Research Recommendations

Derek M. Novacek

Veterans Affairs Greater Los Angeles Healthcare System, Los Angeles, California, and University of California, Los Angeles

Joya N. Hampton-Anderson

Emory University School of Medicine

Megan T. Ebor, Tamra B. Loeb, and Gail E. Wyatt

University of California, Los Angeles

Mental health clinicians and researchers must be prepared to address the unique needs of Black Americans who have been disproportionately affected by the COVID-19 pandemic. Race-conscious and culturally competent interventions that consider factors such as discrimination, distrust of health care providers, and historical and racial trauma as well as protective factors including social support and culturally sanctioned coping strategies are needed. Research to accurately assess and design treatments for the mental health consequences of COVID-19 among Black Americans is warranted.

*Keywords:* COVID-19, coronavirus, Black Americans, health disparities, race

Initial data from the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention (CDC) indicate that Black Americans are disproportionately affected by the coronavirus disease 2019 (COVID-19) pandemic (CDC, 2020a). Historically, Americans are not equally impacted by disasters and public health crises (Purtle, 2012), and COVID-19 is no exception; Black Americans experience higher COVID-19 hospitalization and mortality rates (CDC, 2020b). The losses Black Americans absorb occur against a backdrop of systemic inequities, historical traumas, disenfranchisement from the health care sys-

tem, and increasing mental health risks in Black communities (Loeb et al., 2018; Yancy, 2020). Given that rates of posttraumatic stress disorder are already higher among Black Americans compared with other racial/ethnic groups (Himle, Baser, Taylor, Campbell, & Jackson, 2009), mental health providers and researchers must urgently prepare for and address the increased mental health needs of Black Americans in the aftermath of COVID-19.

We can learn from the lessons of previous epidemics, natural disasters, and other public health crises. Although different from COVID-19 in terms of contraction and disease course, disparities in HIV/AIDS transmission rates and outcomes persist and pose significant mental health challenges for Black Americans (CDC, 2020c; Fitzpatrick, McCray, & Smith, 2004). Survivors of the Ebola epidemic in West Africa experienced increased rates of posttraumatic stress and depressive symptoms resulting from exposure to deceased bodies, social isolation, and exclusion faced after recovery (Rabelo et al., 2016). COVID-19 survivors may experience similar reactions. Compared with White Americans, Black Americans experienced increased posttraumatic stress symptoms after Hurricanes Andrew (Perilla, Norris, & Lavizzo, 2002) and Ike (Davidson, Price, McCauley, & Ruggiero, 2013) and more depressive symptoms after Hurricane Ike compared with White and Latinx Americans (Davidson et al., 2013). Among survivors of Hurricane Katrina, loss of human life was the strongest predictor of increased psychological distress among Black Americans (Lee, Shen, & Tran, 2009). Together this suggests that Black Americans are particularly vulnerable to negative mental health consequences during large-scale national crises, and targeted interventions are needed.

Despite increased need, long-standing barriers, including cost, stigma, and cultural insensitivity, prevent Black Americans from accessing and utilizing mental health treatment, even in the wake of national disasters such as 9/11 (Boscarino, Adams, Stuber, &

---

*Editor's Note.* This commentary received rapid review due to the time-sensitive nature of the content. It was reviewed by the journal Editor.—KKT

---

 Derek M. Novacek, Desert Pacific Mental Illness Research, Education, and Clinical Center, Veterans Affairs Greater Los Angeles Healthcare System, Los Angeles, California, and Department of Psychiatry and Biobehavioral Sciences, University of California, Los Angeles;  Joya N. Hampton-Anderson, Department of Psychiatry and Behavioral Sciences, Emory University School of Medicine;  Megan T. Ebor,  Tamra B. Loeb, and Gail E. Wyatt, Department of Psychiatry and Biobehavioral Sciences, University of California, Los Angeles.

Funding was provided by the National Heart, Lung, and Blood Institute (5U01HL142109-02 and 3U01HL142109-02S1 to Gail E. Wyatt; 3U01HL142109-02W1 to Megan T. Ebor) and the Department of Veterans Affairs Advanced Fellowship in Mental Illness Research and Treatment (to Derek M. Novacek). We have no known conflicts of interest to disclose.

Correspondence concerning this article should be addressed to Derek M. Novacek, Desert Pacific Mental Illness Research, Education, and Clinical Center, Veterans Affairs Greater Los Angeles Healthcare System, 11301 Wilshire Boulevard, Building 210, Los Angeles, CA 90073. E-mail: [dnovacek@ucla.edu](mailto:dnovacek@ucla.edu)

Galea, 2005; Goldmann & Galea, 2014; Kawaii-Bogue, Williams, & MacNear, 2017). Healthy distrust of providers because of a history of mistreatment in medical care contexts can also exacerbate psychological distress (Kennedy, Mathis, & Woods, 2007; Wyatt, 2009). Among Flint, Michigan, residents, emotional distress was related to both water contamination and lack of trust in public health officials (Cuthbertson, Newkirk, Ilardo, Loveridge, & Skidmore, 2016). A lack of culturally validated treatments has resulted in higher dropout rates because of decreased trust in mental health treatment and providers (Hines, Cooper, & Shi, 2017; Otado et al., 2015). Revisiting the HIV/AIDS epidemic, comprehensive government funding for integrated behavioral health care increased access to care (Weiser et al., 2015). Similar programs could increase access to mental health services after COVID-19 and be highly impactful, given the historical trauma experienced by Black Americans. The psychological sequelae of COVID-19 must be met with easy to access, culturally competent treatments, and providers.

Despite high levels of exposure to psychosocial stressors, including trauma and discrimination, and systemic barriers that prevent Black Americans from having their mental health needs met, research suggests that this group displays high levels of resilience (Myers et al., 2015) via culturally sanctioned coping strategies. Africultural coping tenets, and spiritual and collective coping (i.e., group-focused activities used to manage stress), predict quality of life in Black Americans from high-risk urban communities over and above traditional indicators of coping (Utsey, Bolden, Lanier, & Williams, 2007). In the aftermath of Hurricane Katrina, spiritual and religious modes of coping contributed to well-being (Alawiyah, Bell, Pyles, & Runnels, 2011). Additionally, social support reduces depressive symptoms among Black Americans with trauma and socioeconomic stress (Lincoln, Chatters, & Taylor, 2005). Despite the inherent strengths of Black Americans and their culture, extra attention must be given to their unique needs as pertains to the behavioral health consequences of COVID-19.

To address the mental health needs of Black Americans that will arise as a result of COVID-19, providers must deliver race-conscious interventions that build upon personal strengths and resiliency to help consumers manage psychological distress. Despite not having a vaccine, the United States has successfully combatted the HIV/AIDS epidemic after a delayed initial response. Two fundamental lessons that can be drawn from the HIV/AIDS epidemic include (a) actively addressing the psychosocial influences that affect well-being as well as (b) reducing health disparities by identifying those at disproportionate risk of poor outcomes and designing targeted interventions to promote health equity (Valdiserri & Holtgrave, 2020). We make the following recommendations for mental health treatment and research:

1. At the macro level, the development of comprehensive national programs to provide integrated health care to those who are underinsured and uninsured impacted by COVID-19 would promote increased resiliency within Black American communities and reduce their vulnerability to adverse outcomes as well as long-term socioeconomic hardships.
2. Early identification and intervention for posttraumatic stress and other psychiatric symptoms in community-based settings conducted by trained mental health providers (Rothbaum et al., 2012) in areas particularly affected by the pandemic such as Detroit, Chicago, and New Orleans.
3. Mental health providers are increasingly utilizing telehealth interventions in the midst of the COVID-19 pandemic. This flexibility in method of service delivery should ultimately increase access and promote retention in mental health care for the most marginalized. Providers should continue to provide evidence-based care via these alternative methods.
4. Providers must be aware of the historical mistrust of public officials and medical providers that may heighten the emotional needs of Black Americans. Therefore, ensuring that treatment is collaborative to increase patient buy-in is vital (Hall, 2020). They must also be aware of differences in symptom expression of mental health diagnoses in Black Americans (Kirmayer & Young, 1998)—highlighting the need for cultural humility (Greene-Moton & Minkler, 2020; Tervalon & Murray-García, 1998)—in assessment and treatment approaches to enhance protective factors including racial/ethnic identity and social support. Clinicians must be willing to discuss other relevant issues such as perceived discrimination and level of acculturation (Myers et al., 2015).
5. Clinical research scientists must pay particular attention to the effective evaluation of mental health outcomes of Black Americans to ensure a valid assessment of psychosocial functioning. Thorough work in this area will highlight the need for the design and evaluation of culturally competent interventions tailored specifically for Black Americans.

Frontline medical providers have risen to the challenge of combating COVID-19, and now as mental health providers and researchers, it is up to us to address the coming second wave of mental health consequences, with particular attention toward the most disenfranchised.

## References

- Alawiyah, T., Bell, H., Pyles, L., & Runnels, R. C. (2011). Spirituality and faith-based interventions: Pathways to disaster resilience for African American Hurricane Katrina survivors. *Social Thought, 30*, 294–319.
- Boscarino, J. A., Adams, R. E., Stuber, J., & Galea, S. (2005). Disparities in mental health treatment following the World Trade Center Disaster: Implications for mental health care and health services research. *Journal of Traumatic Stress, 18*, 287–297. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1002/jts.20039>
- Centers for Disease Control and Prevention. (2020a). *Cases, data, and surveillance. Coronavirus disease 2019 (COVID-19)*. Retrieved from <https://www.cdc.gov/coronavirus/2019-ncov/cases-updates/index.html>
- Centers for Disease Control and Prevention. (2020b). *HIV and African Americans. HIV*. Retrieved from <https://www.cdc.gov/hiv/group/racial-ethnic/africanamericans/index.html>
- Centers for Disease Control and Prevention. (2020c). *Provisional death counts for coronavirus disease (COVID-19): Data updates by select*

- demographic and geographic characteristics.* Hyattsville, MD National Center for Health Statistics. Retrieved from <https://www.cdc.gov/nchs/nvss/vsrr/COVID19/>
- Cuthbertson, C. A., Newkirk, C., Ilardo, J., Loveridge, S., & Skidmore, M. (2016). Angry, scared, and unsure: Mental health consequences of contaminated water in Flint, MI. *Journal of Urban Health, 93*, 899–908. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1007/s11524-016-0089-y>
- Davidson, T. M., Price, M., McCauley, J. L., & Ruggiero, K. J. (2013). Disaster impact across cultural groups: Comparison of Whites, African Americans, and Latinos. *American Journal of Community Psychology, 52*, 97–105. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1007/s10464-013-9579-1>
- Fitzpatrick, L., McCray, E., & Smith, D. K. (2004). The global HIV/AIDS epidemic and related mental health issues: The crisis for Africans and Black Americans. *Journal of Black Psychology, 30*, 11–23. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1177/0095798403259237>
- Goldmann, E., & Galea, S. (2014). Mental health consequences of disasters. *Annual Review of Public Health, 35*, 169–183. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1146/annurev-publhealth-032013-182435>
- Greene-Moton, E., & Minkler, M. (2020). Cultural competence or cultural humility? Moving beyond the debate. *Health Promotion Practice, 21*, 142–145. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1177/1524839919884912>
- Hall, G. L. (2020). Establishing trust. *Patient-centered clinical care for African Americans: A concise, evidence-based guide to important differences and better outcomes.* Basel: Springer Nature Switzerland AG. [http://dx.doi.org/10.1007/978-3-030-26418-5\\_6](http://dx.doi.org/10.1007/978-3-030-26418-5_6)
- Himle, J. A., Baser, R. E., Taylor, R. J., Campbell, R. D., & Jackson, J. S. (2009). Anxiety disorders among African Americans, blacks of Caribbean descent, and non-Hispanic whites in the United States. *Journal of Anxiety Disorders, 23*, 578–590. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/j.janxdis.2009.01.002>
- Hines, A. L., Cooper, L. A., & Shi, L. (2017). Racial and ethnic differences in mental healthcare utilization consistent with potentially effective care: The role of patient preferences. *General Hospital Psychiatry, 46*, 14–19. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/j.genhosppsych.2017.02.002>
- Kawaii-Bogue, B., Williams, N. J., & MacNear, K. (2017). Mental health care access and treatment utilization in African American communities: An integrative care framework. *Best Practices in Mental Health, 13*, 11–29.
- Kennedy, B. R., Mathis, C. C., & Woods, A. K. (2007). African Americans and their distrust of the health care system: Healthcare for diverse populations. *Journal of Cultural Diversity, 14*, 56–60.
- Kirmayer, L. J., & Young, A. (1998). Culture and somatization: Clinical, epidemiological, and ethnographic perspectives. *Psychosomatic Medicine, 60*, 420–430. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1097/00006842-199807000-00006>
- Lee, E. K. O., Shen, C., & Tran, T. V. (2009). Coping with Hurricane Katrina: Psychological distress and resilience among African American evacuees. *Journal of Black Psychology, 35*, 5–23. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1177/0095798408323354>
- Lincoln, K. D., Chatters, L. M., & Taylor, R. J. (2005). Social support, traumatic events, and depressive symptoms among African Americans. *Journal of Marriage and the Family, 67*, 754–766. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1111/j.1741-3737.2005.00167.x>
- Loeb, T. B., Joseph, N. T., Wyatt, G. E., Zhang, M., Chin, D., Thames, A., & Aswad, Y. (2018). Predictors of somatic symptom severity: The role of cumulative history of trauma and adversity in a diverse community sample. *Psychological Trauma: Theory, Research, Practice, and Policy, 10*, 491–498. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1037/tra0000334>
- Myers, H. F., Wyatt, G. E., Ullman, J. B., Loeb, T. B., Chin, D., Prause, N., . . . Liu, H. (2015). Cumulative burden of lifetime adversities: Trauma and mental health in low-SES African Americans and Latino/as. *Psychological Trauma: Theory, Research, Practice, and Policy, 7*, 243–251. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1037/a0039077>
- Otado, J., Kwagyan, J., Edwards, D., Ukaegbu, A., Rockcliffe, F., & Osafo, N. (2015). Culturally competent strategies for recruitment and retention of African American populations into clinical trials. *Clinical and Translational Science, 8*, 460–466. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1111/cts.12285>
- Perilla, J. L., Norris, F. H., & Lavizzo, E. A. (2002). Ethnicity, culture, and disaster response: Identifying and explaining ethnic differences in PTSD six months after Hurricane Andrew. *Journal of Social and Clinical Psychology, 21*, 20–45. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1521/jscp.21.1.20.22404>
- Purtell, J. (2012). Racial and ethnic disparities in post-disaster mental health: Examining the evidence through a lens of social justice. *Washington and Lee Journal of Civil Rights and Social Justice, 19*, 31–55.
- Rabelo, I., Lee, V., Fallah, M. P., Massaquoi, M., Evlampidou, I., Crestani, R., . . . Severy, N. (2016). Psychological distress among Ebola survivors discharged from an Ebola treatment unit in Monrovia, Liberia—A qualitative study. *Frontiers in Public Health, 4*, 142. <http://dx.doi.org/10.3389/fpubh.2016.00142>
- Rothbaum, B. O., Kearns, M. C., Price, M., Malcoun, E., Davis, M., Ressler, K. J., . . . Houry, D. (2012). Early intervention may prevent the development of posttraumatic stress disorder: A randomized pilot civilian study with modified prolonged exposure. *Biological Psychiatry, 72*, 957–963. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/j.biopsych.2012.06.002>
- Tervalon, M., & Murray-García, J. (1998). Cultural humility versus cultural competence: A critical distinction in defining physician training outcomes in multicultural education. *Journal of Health Care for the Poor and Underserved, 9*, 117–125. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1353/hpu.2010.0233>
- Utsey, S. O., Bolden, M. A., Lanier, Y., & Williams, O., III. (2007). Examining the role of culture-specific coping as a predictor of resilient outcomes in African Americans from high-risk urban communities. *Journal of Black Psychology, 33*, 75–93. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1177/0095798406295094>
- Valdiserri, R. O., & Holtgrave, D. R. (2020). Responding to pandemics: What we've learned from HIV/AIDS. *AIDS and Behavior.* Advance online publication. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1007/s10461-020-02859-5>
- Weiser, J., Beer, L., Frazier, E. L., Patel, R., Dempsey, A., Hauck, H., & Skarbinski, J. (2015). Service delivery and patient outcomes in Ryan White HIV/AIDS program-funded and -nonfunded health care facilities in the United States. *Journal of the American Medical Association Internal Medicine, 175*, 1650–1659. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1001/jamainternmed.2015.4095>
- Wyatt, G. E. (2009). Enhancing cultural and contextual intervention strategies to reduce HIV/AIDS among African Americans. *American Journal of Public Health, 99*, 1941–1945. <http://dx.doi.org/10.2105/AJPH.2008.152181>
- Yancy, C. W. (2020). COVID-19 and African Americans. *Journal of the American Medical Association, 23*, 1891–1892. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1001/jama.2020.6548>

Received April 30, 2020

Revision received May 13, 2020

Accepted May 18, 2020 ■