報告
第 41 回 IGC-SSRI 国際シンポジウム
差別と心理学
〜マイクロアグレッションを理解し、日本社会の変革につなげる〜

出口真紀子

　2021 年 12 月 4 日・12 月 5 日の二日間にわたり、第 41 回 IGC-SSRI 国際シンポジウム「差別と心理学：マイクロアグレッションを理解し、日本社会の変革につなげる」を上智大学グローバル・コンサーン研究所および国際基督教大学社会科学研究所の共同主催のもと開催した。コロナ禍のためオンライン開催となったが、国内外から 1200 人近くが後日視聴を含め事前登録し、当日参加者も 200 人台と盛況であった。

　本シンポジウムを企画した大きな理由は、「マイクロアグレッション」という概念を日本に紹介する総括的なシンポジウムが未だなかったことである。「マイクロアグレッション」の概念を広めた研究者、カウンセリング・臨床心理学者のデラルド・ウィン・スーが、*Microaggressions in Everyday Life: Race, Gender and Sexual Orientation* と *Microaggressions and Marginality: Manifestation, Dynamics, and Impact* の 2 冊を 2010 年に出版して以来、北米では、「マイクロアグレッション」という言葉が少しずつ心理学や社会的公正教育の文脈で聞かれるようになったが、日本ではまだまだ聞きなれない概念だった。そして、スー氏の出版からちょうど 10 年目の 2020 年 12 月にマイクロアグレッション研究会によって待望の *Microaggressions in Everyday Life* の邦訳『日常生活に埋め込まれたマイクロアグレッション』が出版された。

　この翻訳が出たことで、ようやく私たちはこの概念の背景にある理論と研究を深く知ることができた。出版を祝す意味でも、グローバル・コンサーン研究所の所員としてぜひこの概念を日本社会に広め、どう日本社会の変革につなげるかのヒントを得たいと思い、本シンポジウムを企画した。北米から研究者・臨床家として見識の深い二人に基調講演者として登壇いただき、また、日本からはすでにマイクロアグレッションについて造詣の深い「マイクロアグレッション研究会」のメンバーや活動家、教育者、研究者に登壇いただいた。詳細は後掲のプログラムをご覧いただきたい。

　初日の基調講演では、*Microaggressions in Everyday Life: Race, Gender and Sexual Orientation* の第二版の共著者でもある、アリゾナ州立大学のカウンセリング心理学教授のリサ・スパニエルマン氏に「チェスター・ピアス (1970 年代) から現代に至る理論と研究」という演題で、マイクロアグレッション研究の歴史、最新の定義、マイクロアグレッションの健康面（身体・精神）への影響などについて発表いただいた。二日目の基調講演には、カナダのオタワ大学の社会科学部准教授であるモニカ・ウィリアムズ氏に「マイクロアグレッションの削減：介

入についての研究と多人種の調和の促進」という演題で、マイクロアグレッションを理解した上で、どう削減できるか、どう介入できるか、また、マジョリティ側とマイノリティ側でどのような対話ができるのかといった研究から見えてきた知見を発表いただいた。ウィリアムズ氏は、*Managing Microaggressions: Addressing Everyday Racism in Therapeutic Spaces* (2020）を出版されている。

　シンポジウムの両日は、午前中は基調講演と日本側の登壇者、午後はさらに日本社会におけるさまざまなマイクロアグレッションについて研究者や活動家に登壇いただき、女性、部落出身者、在日コリアン、X ジェンダー、ミックスルーツなどの人々が受けるマイクロアグレッションについて発表いただき、マイクロアグレッションの概念への理解を深めることができた。外国の概念が日本に輸入されたと思われがちだが、それは違う。日本社会における様々なマイノリティ性を有した人であれば、言葉はなかったけれど、日常の中で受けてきた被害がやっと命名された、という感覚があるように、概念は文化を超えて普遍性が高いものだと感じている。

　本シンポジウムは、マイクロアグレッションに関しては日本でこの規模の初めての記念すべき国際シンポジウムであるため、シンポジウムだけで終わらせるのはもったいないとの声もあり、明石書店より 2022 年度中に書籍化される予定である。すべての講演が収録され、基調講演者の講演も邦訳として読めるので、楽しみにしていただければと思う。また、ご登壇くださった方々、企画運営に携わってくださった IGC 教職員、NHK 通訳サービスのみなさまに深く感謝を申し上げたい。

　なお、本ジャーナルには、書籍には収録されない英語原文の基調講演を掲載する。

　出口真紀子（でぐち まきこ）（グローバル・コンサーン研究所・上智大学外国語学部）

資料 1 第 41 回 IGC-SSRI 国際シンポジウム チラシ (表面)

第41回 IGC-SSRI 国際シンポジウム
The 41st IGC-SSRI Joint International Symposium

12月4日（初日）	Day 1: December 4th (Opening Day)
［司会］三浦まり 上智大学グローバル・コンサーン研究所副所長	[Master of Ceremonies] Dr. Mari Miura, Deputy Director of the Institute of Global Concern, Sophia University
09:30 開会の挨拶 下川雅嗣 上智大学グローバル・コンサーン研究所所長 **09:45** 趣旨説明 出口真紀子 上智大学グローバル・コンサーン研究所 所員	Opening Remarks Dr. Masatsugu Shimokawa Director of the Institute of Global Concern, Sophia University Explanation from the organizer on why this symposium was organized Dr. Makiko Deguchi Institute of Global Concern, Sophia University
［基調講演］ **10:00** マイクロアグレッション： チェスター・ピアス（1970年代）から現代に 至る理論と研究 リサ・スパニエルマン アリゾナ州立大学カウンセリング・ カウンセリング心理学学部長、統合科学芸術学部副学部長 *Lisa Spanierman*	[Keynote Presentation] **Microaggressions from Chester Pierce to Contemporary Theory and Research** Dr. Lisa Spanierman Head of the Faculty of Counseling and Counseling Psychology and Associate Dean in the College of Integrative Sciences and Arts at Arizona State University
［講演］ **11:00** 『日常生活に埋め込まれたマイクロアグレッション』が 日本社会に与えたインパクトとその意義 金 友子（キムウヂャ）立命館大学国際関係学部 准教授	[Presentations] **Implications for Translating** *Microaggression in Everyday Life* **for Japanese society** Wooja Kim Associate professor in the College of International Relations, Ritsumeikan University
13:15 在日コリアンに対するマイクロアグレッション： 個人の経験とインタビュー調査から 朴 希沙（パクキサ）立命館大学大学院人間科学研究科 朴 利明（パクリミョン）在日本朝鮮人人権協会 ※『日常生活に埋め込まれたマイクロアグレッション』翻訳メンバー	**Types of Microaggressions Experienced by Zainichi Koreans: A Qualitative Study** Park Ki-sa Human Science-Graduate School, Ritsumeikan University Park Ri-myon Human Rights Association for Korean Residents in Japan *Members of the translation team for "Microaggressions in everyday life"
13:45 被差別部落出身者が受けるマイクロアグレッション 上川多実 BURAKU HERITAGEメンバー	**Microaggressions Experienced by Buraku Ancestry** Tami Kamikawa Buraku Heritage
14:15 ジェンダー・ステレオタイプとマイクロアグレッション： 社会心理学的考察 森永康子 広島大学大学院人間社会科学研究科 教授	**Gender Stereotypes and Microaggressions from a Social Psychological Perspective** Dr. Yasuko Morinaga Professor of Psychology, Hiroshima University
15:50 閉会あいさつ リベイロ・ディルトン 国際基督教大学社会科学研究所、教養学部特任助教	**Closing Remarks** Dr. Ribeiro Dilton, ICU SSRI, Assistant Professor by Special Appointment
12月5日（2日目）	Day 2: December 5th (Second Day)
［司会］稲葉奈々子 上智大学グローバル・コンサーン研究所 所員	[Master of Ceremonies] Dr. Nanako Inaba, Institute of Global Concern, Sophia University
09:30 開会の挨拶 徐載晶（ソジェジョン）国際基督教大学社会科学研究所所長	Opening Remarks Dr. Suh Jae-Jung Director, Social Science Research Institute, International Christian University
［基調講演］ **09:45** マイクロアグレッションの削減： 介入についての研究と多人種の調和の促進 モニカ・ウィリアムズ オタワ大学社会科学部 准教授 *Monnica Williams*	[Keynote Presentation] **Reducing Microaggressions** **Research on Interventions and Promoting Interracial Harmony** Dr. Monnica Williams Associate Professor, Faculty of Social Sciences, University of Ottawa
［講演］ **10:45** マジョリティ側にとって マイクロアグレッションについて学ぶ意味 中村 正 立命館大学 産業社会学部／人間科学研究科 教授	[Presentations] **Why People in Dominant Groups Need to Understand Microaggressions** Dr. Tadashi Nakamura Professor of Clinical Sociology, Ritsumeikan University
13:00 マイクロアグレッション翻訳に至る物語と マイクロアグレッションを乗り越える対話への模索： 在日コリアンカウンセリング&コミュニティセンターの歩みから 朴 希沙（パクキサ）立命館大学大学院人間科学研究科 丸一俊介 ZAC:在日コリアンカウンセリング&コミュニティセンター所長	**Translation Backstory: Effort to Engage in Respectful Dialogue between Japanese and Zainichi Koreans** Park Ki-sa Human Science-Graduate School, Ritsumeikan University Shunsuke Maruichi Head of Zainichi Korean Counselling & Community Center
13:30 Xジェンダー／ノンバイナリーの人々が受ける マイクロアグレッション 中島 潤 NPO LGBT 家族をつなぐ会、レインボーすみだ	**Microaggressions Experienced by X-gender (Non-binary) People** Jun Nakajima NPO LGBT families & friends, Rainbow Sumida
14:00 ミックス・ルーツの人たちが受けるマイクロアグレッション ケイン樹里安 昭和女子大学 特命講師	**Microaggressions Experienced by People of Mixed-Roots** Julian Keane Specially Appointed Lecturer, Showa Women's University
15:30 共同の祈り ポール・ジョンソン 国際基督教大学牧師 ホアン・アイダル 上智大学神学部教授 閉会あいさつ クリストファー・ボンディ 国際基督教大学社会科学研究所、 教養学部 上級准教授	**Joint Prayer** Pastor Paul Johnson International Christian University Church Father Juan Carlos Haidar Prof. of Ecclesiastical Faculty of Theology, Sophia Univ. **Closing Remarks** Dr. Christopher Bondy ICU SSRI, Senior Associate Professor of Sociology

資料 2 第 41 回 IGC-SSRI 国際シンポジウム チラシ (裏面)

Keynote Presentation 1
Microaggressions from Chester Pierce to Contemporary Theory and Research
Dr. Lisa Spanierman
Arizona State University

Good morning. First, I would like to say thank you to director Shimokawa, the Institute of Global Concern, SSRI, the conference organizers, the translators who I realized have a heavy-lift today translating all of the talks, and especially to professor Deguchi, who I learnt is the Peggy McIntosh of Japan. I was delighted to learn this, and thank you, professor Deguchi, for your kindness and for inviting me to present today at the conference. The conference program looks outstanding with the diverse range of innovative presentations, and it is my sincere honor to be with you all today.

I was asked to speak very slowly, which I hope is not too difficult for me as I am from New York, and we tend to speak very quickly in New York City. I will do my best.
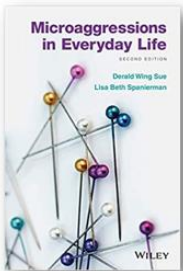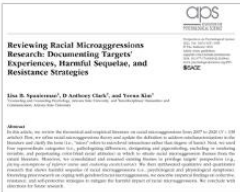
My interest in racial microaggressions, similar to professor Deguchi, was inspired by Dr. Derald Wing Sue when I first heard him deliver a talk on the topic at a conference much like this. His theory was sharp, clear, and meaningful. When he completed his talk, I ran out of the conference hall to call my colleagues and tell them the news. I knew at that moment that I must conduct research on this topic. At that time, I was a part of an interdisciplinary research team at the University of Illinois in Urbana-Champaign, where I was an assistant professor. The university had just discontinued its racist athletic mascot, an American Indian caricature named Chief Illiniwek, and many people across the state of Illinois, mostly white people, were furious about its discontinuation. So, my research lab partnered with a scholar of American Indian studies, who is an expert on these athletic mascots, and together we analyzed 1000 pages of weblog data using professor Sue's microaggressions framework.

We published this piece in 2011 and to date it is one of the very few studies that focuses on the perpetrators of microaggressions rather on the targets. Around the same time in 2010, I moved to McGill University in Canada and formed the McGill Diversity and Equity Research Lab. I attended a town hall meeting with the principal of the university, and I noticed that students had much to say about subtle forms of racism on campus, but they did not yet have the language of microaggressions. Professor Sue's theory had not yet crossed the border into Canada. My team was fortunate to obtain grant funding from the Office of Student Life and Learning to examine microaggressions on campus. We partnered with the First Peoples' House and the Social Equity and Diversity Education Office and together we had a robust team of faculty, staff, and graduate and undergraduate students. We conducted 15 focus groups and examined students' experiences with racial, religious, gender, and sexual orientation microaggressions across campus.

In addition to publishing a number of studies from these data, we presented our findings to campus leaders in administration, in athletics, in Residence Life (student housing), and other offices across the campus. And our work really had an impact on day-to-day operations. For example, Residence Life created a new position to focus on anti-oppression in the residence halls, where the first-year students were living. And even today, while I'm teaching doctoral students and master of counseling students at Arizona State University, students are always struggling to see how research is a form of social justice activism. I was so proud of my team of students and staff at McGill that effectively translated this empirical work into social action on the campus.

In this talk, I draw primarily from two key sources: one, you've already heard about this morning and it is the second edition of *Microaggressions in Everyday Life*, that I co-authored with Dr. Derald Wing Sue. It was just such a joy and an honor and a pleasure to work with him and learn from him on the project. I also draw from a recent article co-authored with Dr. Tony Clark, the scholar of American Indian studies, whom I mentioned earlier, and my doctoral advisee at ASU, Yeeun Kim. In this article, we review the racial microaggressions literature from 2007 to 2020. This literature review builds upon Dr. Gloria Wong and colleagues' earlier work in 2013, in which they reviewed 73 articles. And in our review, we review over 130 empirical articles on racial and ethnic microaggressions. I was so delighted to learn that there is a Japanese translation of the first edition of the microaggressions text. Dr. Sue provided such an important foundation, on which to start a program of research, especially in a new national context, which is exactly what we did at McGill University in Quebec, Canada. We introduced the theory to a new national context, relying on that first edition of the text and the analytic framework.

Slide 1: Overview

And so, looking now at this overview slide, here are the key areas that I plan to cover today. I will speak a little bit about definitions and trace the theory of microaggressions from Chester Pierce to this contemporary moment. I'll describe the taxonomy of targets' experiences that is deeply grounded in the qualitative research that Professor Deguchi mentioned for the first wave of research that features targets and participants' voices. I also will focus on the impact on health and wellbeing, briefly, just to give you a sense of the research on the psychological and physiological effects that have emerged in the last decade. I will cover the latest on coping and resistance strategies, namely collective self-protective and resistant forms of coping. I will offer a very brief comment on microinterventions, but I know that we are saving that for tomorrow's keynote address. Finally, I want to share with you my team's ideas on future research directions and where we think the field needs to go.

The term microaggression emerged and originated in the work of Harvard University professor Chester Middlebrook Pierce. He was a professor of psychiatry and education. Through a series of studies during the 1970s, Pierce introduced the term "offensive mechanisms" to explain the conscious or unconscious subtle blows that are delivered incessantly by white offenders during interpersonal interactions with Black individuals. He called these subtle blows "microaggressions." He was observing these in the medical or hospital context and noted that these microaggressions were associated with greater disease and higher mortality rates in Black communities than in white communities. So, in many ways, his work in the 1970s was groundbreaking and set the stage for much of the work that we've been doing in the new millennium.

Next, it was in 2000 that Daniel Solórzano and his colleagues extended this work. They worked in the higher education context and defined the racial microaggressions as "subtle insults, verbal or non-verbal, directed toward people of color, often automatically or unconsciously." And, for those of you who are familiar with more contemporary notions of microaggressions, this probably sounds very familiar. It is easy to see the direct line tracing through these scholars' work. Many of you likely are aware that Derald Wing Sue and his lab reintroduced microaggressions in a widely-cited *American Psychologist* article in 2007. Their framework in that article formed the basis for his 2010 text, *Microaggressions in Everyday Life*, and set the stage for hundreds of subsequent research investigations. Their initial framework included microinsults, microinvalidations and microassaults. And I'm going to say a bit about each here.

Microinsults refer to verbal and nonverbal communications that subtly convey rudeness or insensitivity and demean a person's racial heritage or identity. They are insulting, they are demeaning. Microinvalidations are also subtle, and they communicate subtle messages that exclude, negate, or nullify the thoughts, feelings, or experiential reality of a person of color. And microassaults are a little bit different. They are conscious, deliberate, and intentional actions or slurs such as using racial

epithets. Because they are conscious and deliberate, the perpetrator may intend to cause harm when delivering microassaults. There is a key distinction such that microinsults and microinvalidations are subtle and sometimes invisible, especially to the perpetrator, whereas assaults are not. And, as you might imagine, much of the microaggressions research has focused on the more subtle types: the insults and the invalidations, because they are differentiated from commonplace, blatant, and overt racism.

Sue and colleagues defined microaggressions in 2007 as "brief and commonplace verbal or non-verbal indignities targeting people of color." Most often, they are subtle and unintentional and invisible especially to the perpetrator. While one of these microaggressions occasionally may not be considered to have major effects, unfortunately, and the research documents this, microaggressions are experienced frequently and consistently resulting in harmful and lasting effects on targets. Research has identified cumulative, negative effects. As I will describe in the next slide, drawing primarily from the United States and Canadian contexts, white people cannot be targets of racial microaggressions. However, white people in those contexts can be targets of gender, sexual orientation, and other forms of microaggressions. So just to be clear, members of a dominant group can be perpetrators but not targets.

After the publication of Professor Sue's initial work and also Professor Wong's literature review in 2013, university campuses in the United States began to implement programs to mitigate microaggressions on campus. And a host of criticism ensued, most often from white male faculty who did not want to be held accountable for things that they said or did (e.g., delivering microaggressions to students of color). While I am not going to detail all of the criticism in the literature here, I will tell you that both Professor Sue and Professor Monnica Williams, who you will hear from tomorrow, published incisive pieces in response to the critics. And I recommend that you find and read those, as they are outstanding. But here, I discuss just two areas that warranted further articulations that my colleagues and I addressed in our review article.

First, some have wondered if "micro" refers to a *small* measure of harm. When I delivered presentations on the topic 8, 9, 10 years ago, students of color in the audience would raise their hand and say "Why is that micro? It sounds pretty macro to me." And what they were saying was, these microaggressions were a big deal. These weren't small little cuts, and some of them had significant impact. To address this concern, in the second edition of the book, Dr. Sue and I clarify that micro in no way refers to a measure of harm. Instead, the term micro highlights how microaggressions arise during interpersonal moments in microsystems between a perpetrator and a target.

Drawing from Bronfenbrenner's ecological model, "micro" refers to the micro-level context, the microsystem in which interpersonal interactions take place. Importantly, and perhaps not as well articulated in earlier writings, these interpersonal moments exist in a larger macro-system of

white supremacy. And to clarify this point, my colleagues and I draw from social anthropologist, Professor Philomena Essed's work on everyday racism. She has explained that racism is never a singular individual or a singular institutional problem but rather it is a multidimensional experience that comprises both. So, we are urging future researchers to think critically about the interpersonal interaction in the microsystem within the larger context of oppression in the macrosystem. This helps us understand why a white person cannot be the target of a racial microaggression.

Second, another criticism that has emerged in the literature has to do with the term "aggression." Critics have argued that microaggressions are not really a form of aggression, because the person delivering the microaggression oftentimes did not intend to cause harm. And I know you will have the pleasure of hearing from my colleague Dr. Monnica Williams tomorrow when she discusses microinterventions. I also want to let you know that she has conducted important empirical research that shows that racial microaggressions are aggressive even when intent cannot be established. I refer you to her 2021 article in *Behavior Therapy* where she shows positive and significant correlations between microaggressions and various measures of aggression, with *r's* ranging from 0.36 to 0.46, so, moderate to large correlations.

Additionally, psychologists Archer and Coyne, in 2005, published a review of literature on manipulative aggression. In this review, they demonstrated that indirect relational and social aggression all have the capacity to exclude others, harm others' reputations, and cause distress whether or not there was any intention on the part of the perpetrator to do so. So, now, drawing from more than a decade of targets' reports, my colleagues and I clearly view microaggressions as one form of manipulative aggression. Racial microaggressions therefore are a form of aggression that reproduce white supremacy in interpersonal moments between a white perpetrator and a target of color. White people may not intend to insult or invalidate targets but nevertheless they often do so.

Now I'm going to shift to the taxonomy of racial microaggressions that was gathered from qualitative research.

Taxonomy of Targets' Experiences

Category		Microaggressions Theme
Microinsults	Pathologizing Differences	Tolerating Assumptions of White Superiority
		Facing Assumptions of Inferior Status
		Encountering Assumptions of Substandard Cultural Values and Styles
	Denigrating and Pigeonholing	Facing Assumptions of Criminality
		Enduring Exoticization
Microinvalidations	Excluding or Rendering Invisible	Contending with Treatment as Alien in One's Own Land
		Experiencing Invisibility and Exclusion
		Encountering Assumptions of Homogeneity
	Perpetuating Color-blind Racial Attitudes	Enduring Denials of One's Racial Reality
		Tolerating Denials of Historical Trauma
		Withstanding Allegations of Hypersensitivity

Slide 2: Taxonomy of Targets' Expressions

While this table (referring to slide) is rather detailed, I do not want us to get stuck in the details. Rather, I am sharing this table with you to give you a sense of what we wrote about in our 2021 literature review. One of our primary goals was to review all of the qualitative research published from 2007 to 2020 to categorize the themes that have emerged and to further develop Professor Sue's taxonomy of microaggressions. In the third or the right-hand column, I provide a small sampling of some of the themes that have emerged in qualitative research.

In our review article, one of our goals was to change the wording in the themes, which differed across all of the investigations. We wanted to feature targets' perspectives and focus on what they must routinely encounter, tolerate, and endure on a daily basis. We sought to privilege targets' perspectives in the way we titled the themes.

We also sought to identify whether particular racial and ethnic groups experienced particular racial microaggression themes more often than others. And we did find some group differences and those are all detailed in the article. I can provide an example from the United States' context. We found that across studies Black participants more frequently reported facing assumptions of criminality than other racial groups. And when you think about the way Black people are portrayed in stereotypes as criminals or thugs in the United States' media, it makes sense that in that macro-context of white supremacy, these are the kind of things that are being expressed in interpersonal moments and interactions. Again, this emphasizes the interplay between the micro-system and the macro-system that Philomena Essed so brilliantly articulated in the early 80s.

Additionally, we sought to chunk these themes into four superordinate categories. And from our reading of the literature, we identified these four categories that seem to capture most, if not all of the themes in the literature. These four categories are listed in the middle column of the table.

Then finally, we placed these four categories in a conversation with Sue's microinsults and microinvalidations. So, you can see how *pathologizing differences* and *denigrating and pigeonholing* (or forcing somebody into a rigid category) reflect microinsults, whereas *excluding or rendering invisible* and *perpetuating color-blind racial attitudes* reflect microinvalidations.

I'm going now to focus briefly on the microinvalidations to elaborate a little bit. I won't go through the entire table but will highlight select themes. I also want to point out that the perpetuating color-blind racial attitudes draws heavily on the work of my colleague Dr. Helen Neville. She has had such a large influence on my professional development, and I'm just so thankful for her work. If you're not familiar with her scholarship, I encourage you to review Dr. Helen Neville's work on color-blind racial attitudes or color-blind racial ideology.

The superordinate category *excluding or rendering invisible* refers to microinvalidations that negate or nullify targets' experiences. Targets may feel ignored, dismissed or invisible. "I don't see you." This might be a person of color being ignored at a restaurant or a shop or, as the picture suggests, excluded from social groups at work or school. In one of our focus groups at the university, a young woman, who asked to be called by the name of Sara in our research, was a student in a small undergraduate seminar on comparative religion. Sara explained that on the first day of class the professor went around the room asking everybody to introduce themselves, and he skipped over her and completely ignored her. Here is a quote of something that she said to us. Sara said, "Did the professor intentionally miss me? I am the most different one in the room. I am the one wearing a hijab. I am the one who visibly catches your eye. I'm sorry but you have to try hard to miss me." And these kinds of incidents, we heard about them over and over from Muslim Canadian university students. This feeling of being excluded or treated as invisible really took a toll on the participants.

Another theme in this category that emerged across many studies is contending with treatment as alien in one's own land. And this came from Professor Sue's early research around 2005 to 2007. The hidden message is "You don't belong here." And this is regardless of how many generations your family has lived in a country. So, in the United States, we often see this among Latinx families or Asian American families, even if they are third generation. And I suspect that, in the Japanese context, there is a group or groups who also may have been in Japan for generations but are still viewed as alien, foreigners, or outsiders.

Another example of excluding or rendering invisible pertains to encountering assumptions of homogeneity or the assumption that you are all same, which is a form of denying one personhood.

Then the other superordinate category, the second microinvalidation category, is *perpetuating color-blind racial attitudes*: denial, distortion, and minimization of race and racism. This picture, if you can read it, it's from a project #ITooAmHarvard where in Harvard students documented their experiences with microaggressions on their campus. This young woman highlights a typical microaggression that fits in the color-blind racial attitudes category. She writes "I don't see color." In the United States very often white people think is a positive thing to not see color. But then she highlights underneath that how her own experiential reality is denied. She writes, "Does that mean you don't see me?"

We also see several themes pertaining to the denial of the existence of racism. "There is no racism anymore," "racism as a thing of the past," or perpetrators locate racism in individual extremists like a white supremacist rather than acknowledging how it is embedded in the societal structures and institutions and something that people of color have to contend with on a daily basis. A related theme pertains to withstanding allegations of hypersensitivity where somebody makes a racist slur or comment, the target says "Hey, that wasn't cool" or "Ouch" or "Don't say that." and the reaction from the perpetrator is "Don't be so sensitive." Or a bystander might say "Don't be so sensitive, he was just making a joke." This is very common in our research on both U.S. and Canadian university campuses.

I'll pause there. There is a lot more we could say about the taxonomy but for now I think I'll leave you with just a little bit so that I can move on briefly to discuss the impacts on health because there's been quite a bit of empirical research that has begun to show a link between microaggressions and various health outcomes. This work is very important because critics also argue that there was no research to document the harm of microaggressions. Much of the empirical research shows the psychological impact, and I will provide some examples of mental health effects from several studies. There are dozens of publications in the literature now that document these sorts of negative mental health outcomes.

One is decreased self-esteem. We see a direct link from microaggressions to decreases in both individual, global and collective self-esteem. Another is stress and anxiety. We also see post-traumatic stress and trauma as a negative outcome from racial microaggressions. There are even books that talk about the effects of trauma. Ample research has documented depressive symptoms and even suicidal ideation. There have been direct links in the literature from research conducted by Hollingsworth and colleagues.

My colleague, Professor Anthony Ong at Cornell University and his team have been investigating some of the physiological or physical impacts of racial microaggressions. They've used really innovative methods doing daily diary studies so they could make causal links between the

experience of a microaggression and then some sort of a symptom. In their initial study in 2013, which I believe Professor Sue was a co-author with Professor Ong, they found the link between microaggressions and a variety of somatic symptoms such as headaches, backaches, and nausea. If any of you in the audience have a marginalized or minority identity with regard to ethnicity, gender, sexual orientation, religion, you may be thinking of some of these somatic symptoms that you have experienced when you encountered such microaggressions.

Ong and colleagues also did some work examining sleep duration and quality, and in 2017 found that indeed racial microaggressions had a negative impact on sleep duration and quality.

I encourage you to look at our literature review article if you're interested in the health outcomes literature because we provide all of the citations in the article, and you can do some further research to understand the influence of microaggressions on one's health. Another promising area of study investigates mediators and moderators of the link between microaggressions and health outcomes. As good counseling psychologists like to do, we try to identify protective mechanisms that help to disrupt that link. Thus, some of the quantitative research has employed these coping and resistance strategies as moderating variables to show how to protect oneself from the negative effects of racial microaggressions.

For this talk, I will focus on some of the really powerful qualitative research by two scholars, Dr. Jioni Lewis and Dr. Sara Houshmand, in the area of coping and resistance. Sara was my student when I was a professor at McGill University. So, it's so great to see her publishing her work now in this area. This came out of her dissertation research. Dr. Lewis is working in the United States and has focused primarily on Black women. She has been exceedingly innovative using an intersectional lens to explore gendered racial microaggressions. She examines the intersection of gender and race and how interlocking forms of oppression look different and may have different effects than just looking at one or the other alone. Dr. Houshmand has focused on participants in the Canadian context from diverse racial backgrounds both in higher education and also among community samples. Their findings were similar, such that collective coping was a powerful way to deal with experiences with racial microaggressions. Specifically, their participants sought connection and support from family, from friends, from their own racial community. Targets coped by establishing personal and professional networks for support. So, on campus this looked like campus cultural houses like the First Peoples' House at McGill University and other student organizations that were designed to provide support and a safe haven for students from certain racialized backgrounds on the campus.

In some of Dr. Houshmand's interview data from community participants, we have someone named Amanda, a pseudonym, who is a woman from the Caribbean, a Black Canadian woman. She discussed seeking support from a local community center. She said "Coming here to this

community center for racialized woman like me, I try to let out as much as I can. I've heard other people complaining they help me to come out and not think about it alone." So, there was really something in this togetherness for Amanda that provided a strong source of support and helped mitigate the effects of racial microaggressions.

Research participants also identified self-protective forms of coping which were nuanced. Participants reported engaging in self-care activities, such as taking a bath or going for a hike or whatever activity had a self-soothing effect for the participant. Several participants across studies invoked culturally relevant practices, such as creating Indigenous artwork, relearning native languages, writing and performing songs about human rights for one's group, or reading books written by members of their racial and ethnic group. Others reported engaging in spiritual practices or organized religion as a form of self-protective coping with microaggressions that gave them strength. Others found ways to avoid, disengage, or desensitize themselves from the perpetrators' onslaught of racial microaggressions. Some scholars have criticized this as a pathological or an unhealthy form of coping but counselors and therapists long have known that setting boundaries, picking and choosing one's battles, and disengaging oftentimes can represent healthy forms of coping.

Then, the last form of coping that they described and provided evidence for is the practice of resistant coping, which involves targets who engage in active strategies to combat racial microaggressions. In response to feeling invisible, which I described earlier, some targets have made conscious choices to challenge white Eurocentric normative behaviors. In Dr. Lewis's research, for example, she found that some of her Black women participants chose deliberately to wear their hair natural as a way to push back on white norms. Participants also used humor as a non-threatening way to confront racial microaggressions and to confront perpetrators especially in school and the workplace. For some people that was an extremely effective strategy.

In our research in Canada, we found that targets anticipate stereotypes before they happen and they counter them with preemptive behaviors. Because there were stereotypes on campus that Asian Canadian women were not social and were under strict parental control, participants reported that they made extra efforts to attend parties and social events and to go out to bars to challenge these stereotypes. In another example, African Canadian students worked twice as hard as their white counterparts in their course work to score at the top of their class and defy stereotypes of Black people having low intelligence.

Across several studies, targets called out perpetrators. They named microaggressive behaviors, and they educated perpetrators on their inappropriate behaviors. In one of Dr. Houshmand's focus groups, she learned that African Canadian community members routinely called out police officers and security guards for racial profiling. And you may hear more about this from Professor Williams tomorrow, but in the book *Managing Microaggressions* that was featured earlier, she warns

us that challenging perpetrators directly can be fraught with risk and danger. So this is very important to keep in mind there's a time and place to confront directly and there are other times to withdraw and disengage. And that's very consistent with Dr. Lewis's findings and Dr. Houshmand's findings on picking and choosing one's battles.

Because my colleague will deliver what I am sure will be an excellent talk tomorrow on microinterventions, I won't discuss it now but I just wanted to bring forth both Professor Sue's and Professor Williams' work in this area and recommend their excellent books that I'm featuring here: *Microintervention Strategies: What You Can Do to Disarm and Dismantle Individual and Systemic Racism and Bias* from Professor Sue and colleagues and Professor Williams' book on *Managing Microaggressions*.

You will learn that they discuss these strategies for targets but also for allies and bystanders which is a really important addition to the literature.

Now I'm going to move on to how my colleagues are thinking about future research directions based on what we learnt from our review of literature.

While the first wave of research clearly was qualitative, and some critics have discounted qualitative accounts from targets of color, we believe accepting targets' experiential reality as real is paramount to racial microaggressions theory. Thus, my colleagues and I would argue that *more* qualitative research, not less, is needed to refine the themes further. There is also a need to expand research populations and racial and microaggressions research, as important racial and ethnic groups have not yet been addressed in the literature. Additionally, we urge researchers to consider disaggregating ethnic groups. For example, in the United States, instead of putting all the Latinxs together in one group, it might be important to understand specific groups such as Mexican Americans or Puerto Ricans. We think there's a value in both aggregating and disaggregating the data.

Because much of the research to date has been conducted in the United States and Canada, future research should explore the phenomenon of microaggressions in different national and cultural contexts.

Following Dr. Jioni Lewis's research on experiences with gendered racial microaggressions among black women, there also is a need to explore other intersectional forms of microaggressions. I am aware that Dr. Brian Keum at UCLA and colleagues have developed a gendered racial microaggressions scale for Asian American women. Researchers might also consider other intersecting social identity groups such as sexual orientation and gender identity.

Additional qualitative research could help refine measures that operationalize microaggressions themes. And better measures, ultimately, will create more robust quantitative research. Perhaps instrument development might be guided by our revised taxonomy that features the four superordinate categories that my colleagues and I identified in the literature.

Additionally, we certainly think that researchers should continue the excellent research that explores the link between microaggressions and health outcomes and continue examining mediators and moderators on this link to identify protective mechanisms. My colleagues and I recommend, for example, a greater focus on moderating effects of collective forms of coping which has been crucial in qualitative reports.

Another crucial area involves research for prevention and intervention. I think that Dr. Sue's recent work on microinterventions offers a wonderful theoretical starting point for studies that examine facilitating and hindering factors for targets, bystanders, and allies to disarm microaggressions. Developmental scientists might seek to understand waves that parents and schools, for example, as a preventive approach could socialize white children or dominant group members to be aware of microaggressions and prevent targeting children of color with demeaning insults and invalidations. And finally, we need to conduct *in vivo* intervention research that examines institutional programs, practices, and policies. We need to test the interventions that are already in existence on university campuses that have been criticized in the literature and popular media.

The last thing I'm going to discuss today, just very briefly, are microaggressions across the globe. I've been very fortunate to be part of an international and interdisciplinary research group that is linked to the Center for Interdisciplinary Research (ZiF) at Bielefeld University in Germany. I was a research fellow at the university at the ZiF, and I've partnered with the famous European social psychologist and prejudice researcher, Professor Andreas Zick.

Together we're working with colleagues across the globe to understand manifestations and expressions of microaggressions in different national contexts. And many of the people that I featured today, Professor Sue, Professor Williams, Professor Lewis, Professor Ong, Professor Houshmand, are all members of our team. We also have a growing membership of European researchers who are investigating microaggressions in the UK in the context of sport and recreation and in Germany, in Australia, in Turkey, and I am delighted to say that professor Deguchi is going to join our team and share her ideas and scholarship on microaggressions in the Japanese context.　I suspect that this weekend's conference will play a central role in establishing that. We hope that our group will meet together in person this June, but of course it depends on what the pandemic decides to do. I think we will have exciting discoveries as an interdisciplinary and international research team in the coming years to share with you, as we consider microaggressions and microinterventions globally.

I want to thank you all for your time and attention. And I wish you a wonderful conference this weekend.

The 41st IGC-SSRI Joint International Symposium

December 4th, 2021

Keynote Presentation 2
Reducing Microaggressions:
Research on Interventions and Promoting Interracial Harmony
Dr. Monnica Williams
University of Ottawa

Thank you very much for that lovely introduction. I'm going to go ahead and share my screen so that you can see my slides.

Hopefully that's all coming through properly for everyone. It's really wonderful to be here. I wish I could be with you in person. I understand, of course, that that wasn't possible, so it's the next best thing. Hopefully, next year, I can actually come to Tokyo.

My presentation today is reducing microaggressions, research on interventions and promoting interracial harmony. I want to just briefly touch on my major research areas. Most of the work that I do is in these areas of microaggressions, for sure. That's a big part of my work as well as the related area of racial trauma, which just means trauma symptoms people get from experiences of racism. Cultural competence including helping to train therapists so that they can provide culturally informed therapy to their clients. I also do research in psychedelic therapies; this is an emerging approach to mental health which is a combination of biomedical and psychotherapeutic approaches which I want to make sure are available to people of color as the research is being finished on those. What you'll see is that all of my research areas are under this umbrella of mental health disparities with the emphasis on racialized populations.

Now, before we can talk about microaggressions, it's really important to define racism because many people think they understand racism but, in fact, it's a complicated topic and there are many types of racism and there are many layers to racism. And so, I'd like to just explain that certainly we do have old-fashioned racism which I think everybody understands. This is a kind of racism where people would just say that they hate you just because, just because you look different. In the United States we have White nationalist groups that are racist, and you might have heard of the Ku Klux Klan and other terrorist-like organizations that dedicate their energies to harassing and harming people of color. And certainly, that is a form of racism, but that's not the only form of racism, and some would argue that that's not even the most serious type of racism because racism is more subtle in most cases, it's more hidden, and it's covert.

Some of the types of racism that we struggle with today include what's been termed symbolic or modern racism and this is where people may embrace stereotypes about people of color. For example, they may believe that Black people are morally inferior to White people and we have aversive racism where people may not say that they have these beliefs but they may actually say that

they think everyone is equal and they love everyone the same, but they still act in ways that are racist.　And this may be conscious or unconscious.

And then, we have microaggressions which are often the expression of this racism, of these more covert types of racism. And I don't need to define microaggressions, I hope, but I will anyway, but I know we've been talking about that all weekend. Microaggressions can include patronizing statements and backhanded compliments.

And then finally we have structural racism which is the racism that's baked in everything, it's baked into our policies and into our procedures. And so, you can have racist outcomes without anybody having racist conscious intent. Racism doesn't have to be intentional, people can enact racism without meaning to or just doing the things that they learnt growing up that they think are proper ways of treating people from other cultural groups but that are racist. And so, if we focus on intention, then we miss racism because intent is not necessary to perpetrate racism. And most people would say that they're not racist even when they do racist things.

I didn't mention on my list systemic racism because racism is by definition systemic. What I mean by that is that it is structural, so again it's baked into our rules, policies, and procedures, it's in our institutions, in the procedural ways that things are done, it's environmental as well. For example, perhaps disproportionate placement of hazardous materials near minoritized communities while protecting White communities will be an example of environmental racism. Or we have a problem in Canada right now where many indigenous communities have unsafe drinking water and believe me if that was a problem in a wealthy neighborhood in Ottawa, well, that would have been fixed yesterday. But we have the problem in indigenous communities because they are disempowered groups. So this is how it works.

Now, when it comes to understanding racism, White people in U.S. society and it's also true in Canada and many Western nations, too, we have a divided prospective where people tend to believe that racialized groups are doing well in life, that racism is no longer an issue, and discrimination is declining. They personally believe that they are not capable of racist behaviors.

And they believe that they are not personally capable of racist behaviors. Now, people in racialized groups, on the other hand, are confronted with daily acts of racism. Often from these very people who don't think that they're capable of racism, and so they have a very different reality. White people tend to limit their definitions of racism to blatant intentional overt acts, as I pointed out, few people who commit racism will say that it was intentional. They will never admit they wanted to harm anyone.

Even good people can enact racism. Even people who don't like the idea of racism can occasionally do racist things without realizing it. And so, acts of racism are often overlooked by those who don't experience it.

Now, sometimes I hear people say, "Oh, well, you know, White people are experiencing so much racism now" or "White men are suffering due to 'reverse racism'", which I put in air quotes because it's not really a thing. It doesn't really exist.

The reason I can say that is because I'm a scientist so I'm looking at data. And, if we compare, for example, Black and White Americans as far as we can tell by every economic and social indicator, White Americans are doing much better, Black Americans are doing much worse. As far as we can tell, there's no evidence that White people are suffering individually from racism. Even though certainly anybody can experience an act of discrimination, unkindness, or hate from another person, that's very different from racism which is systemic.

Now, microaggressions as a form of racism are important. One of the questions that I put out there is why should clinicians care about microaggressions? I'm a psychologist. I want to speak for a minute about why I decided to study microaggressions.

When I graduated from the University of Virginia, I went on to the University of Pennsylvania, working in a research lab doing important scientific studies. I studied OCD and PTSD and we did randomized controlled trials to figure out the best treatments so that we can come up with these protocols and manuals so that therapists would know the best way to help clients who had these problems. But one thing that became evident to me is that we have clients with minoritized identities coming in for therapy, if the therapists are committing microaggressions, then those clients don't want to come back for help. So, they may end up suffering for the rest of their lives with a very treatable condition. I thought to myself, "What good is it if we have these wonderful treatments but people aren't getting them because the therapists don't have the right training and they're not able to treat the people in a way that they feel is respectful?" So, I realized, this is something that is on us as clinicians that we have to fix. This is our fault, this is our problem. This is what we need to do to make sure that people are getting the care that they need.

There are some serious, actually, mental health consequences of microaggressions even beyond the fact that they can be a barrier to care. Research continues to show, the mountain of data is growing, that mental health disorders can be worsened or even caused by the experience of microaggressions (or *everyday racial discrimination* which is almost a completely overlapping concept). You can see from this list, I won't read everything here, that there are many problems there that we as clinicians are concerned about, that are linked to microaggressions.

Now, as I alluded to, microaggressions do impact care. So, even though racial categories are socially constructed, in other words, the racial groups are just made up. You know, the census bureau decides them. They don't predict anything important biologically but they still have real consequences for those who are racialized. This may be doubly true for those with multiple marginalized identities. They result in compromised patient care and mental health disparities and

they're a major barrier to establishing a strong therapeutic alliance with patients of color who, again, may not return for follow-up visits or not follow treatment recommendations if they feel disrespected by their clinicians. When these things happen in clinical encounters, people of color may not know how to respond due to the self-doubt in the medical power differential. If they already have trauma due to the racism, this would be compounded by experiencing microaggressions from therapists who they may be seeking for help with that very problem.

So, here's a diagram adapted from Penner and colleagues that shows how microaggressions can lead to ethnic disparities in mental health. So, we already know that persistent discrimination, in and of itself, can cause physiological and psychological stress leading to mental health problems. But we also have this other factor at the bottom here: clinician biases, stereotypes, implicit biases. These are enacted as microaggressions which cause disparities in clinicians' decision-making, so clinicians may have false ideas about people of color because of the wrong stereotypes they hold. So, they make mistakes and they prescribe wrong things leading to ethnic mental health care disparities. And, we also have disparities in clinical communication which means that when they talk to the patients, they're not speaking to them in a way that makes them feel understood or cared for. That causes negative reactions which, as I pointed out, makes them not want to come back, leading to ethnic mental health care disparities, leading to ethnic disparities in mental health.

Additionally, microaggressions can cause trauma. Racist incidents are traumatic and they affect survivors in ways that are analogous to the effect that rape and domestic violence have on victims. These acts are a violation of an individual's personhood. The person feels disempowered or powerless to do anything about it. The events are unpredictable and uncontrollable and may be challenged, ridiculed, or dismissed by others when people try to bring attention to it. Particularly, microaggressions which many people feel are small and harmless, but they're not. The reoccurring violence of microaggressions is similar to bullying or sexual harassment and that these are humiliating things that are happening over and over, you don't know when they're happening, and they start to accumulate and take a toll. Some people have even speculated that subtle acts are worse than overt acts because at least with the overt act, if you tell somebody they're going to give you sympathy and they may offer to help you, but with the small acts, people might say, "Oh, don't think about it."

But research shows, including our own research, that all types of racism contribute to traumatization, including everyday discrimination, including major discrimination over the lifetime, including general ethnic discrimination over the lifetime, and including microaggressions. Our most recent study on this shows that all of these were similar in their contribution towards traumatization. So, bottom line, even microaggressions can be traumatizing. Let me show you where they fit in when we talk about trauma.

One thing that we know about trauma is that it is cumulative. Most people think about post-traumatic stress disorder as a problem that somebody gets after one very shocking, upsetting experience but research shows that usually one experience does not result in PTSD. It's usually multiple experiences. So, people in racialized groups already usually have cultural and historical trauma as a layer of stress. Then, on top of this, you have microaggressions or everyday racial discrimination, which is another daily stressor. And then, there may be a traumatic event. It may be a large event like somebody losing their job due to racism or could be a small event like being questioned by police when you're out jogging.

But at some point, the stress becomes so great that it passes the threshold of stress and tips over into trauma and the person is traumatized. When they try to talk to others about it, other people don't understand if they're not minoritized themselves. The person may be met with invalidation which compounds their stress even more. And then, when they try to get help for it, what they may end up finding is they run into structural racism in terms of barriers to care. They cannot find a clinician who understands their problem or maybe they want a therapist of their own ethnic group and that person isn't in their community, that person does not exist because those folks can't even get into universities, or the person, because of their marginalized identity is low income and doesn't have money for treatment. And so, this, again, compounds the trauma.

Now, we did some focus groups of Black students at predominantly White universities to better understand their experiences of microaggressions. We did focus groups in Kentucky, at a large undergraduate University and then we did two focus groups in Seattle, one at the University of Washington and one at Bastyr Medical School. And I want to share a little bit of what the students told us about their experiences of microaggressions. This helped us to develop new measures to better understand microaggressions.

One of them describes the following event:

We are alternating group leaders to lead discussions about a paper we read for the week. And it was kind of like this random thing, so I was excited when it was my turn to be the group leader because I was interested in the subject. I had spent hours thinking of, you know, thoughtful questions to talk about, and then nobody showed up to my group… There was like five different group leaders, and so everyone kind of dispersed to the other four groups and no one showed up to my group, and I was just in tears because this has happened my whole life. Like no one has ever wanted to hear what I had to say.

This was from a young African-American female who's an undergraduate student.

Based on the focus groups we conducted, we put together some categories of microaggressions and we compared these to the categories proposed by Sue in 2007. And, we found a lot of evidence that the categories that Sue came up with were correct. We had some minor

adjustments that we made to the categories based on our study and a review of the literature of other studies but they were pretty much the same. And I won't read all of these to you, but you can see the type of microaggression on the left and then an example of what that might look like on the right. Although I should point out that microaggressions are context-dependent and so, someone could say something that might be a microaggression in one case, might not be in another, although I tried my best to come up with examples that were almost always microaggressions.

I'd like to also point out that microaggressions are not always direct actions, they can be environmental. We have two categories of environmental microaggressions. These are things that maybe were set up in the environment a long time ago but they're still there and they're painful reminders of racism or of colonialism, and that certain groups find these decorations or exclusionary behaviors objectionable or offensive.

Now, from the focus group study, as I pointed out, we were able to confirm the categories that Sue had proposed and we wrote a paper just about the focus groups. And then, we wrote another paper about our exhaustive literature review. Those are available now in the literature describing the categories of microaggressions. What we wanted to do with this research was to expand as much as possible to help people understand it better. I know that there's also been research looking at how we can have fewer groups which I think is useful in some cases. But when I think about my work with clinicians and educating them about microaggressions, it's more useful for that purpose to have more categories because that helps people better understand and learn about microaggressions.

And as good behaviorists and scientists, we have to ask ourselves what is the function of a microaggression. Given that microaggressions have been around for a long time, at least since 1970 when Dr. Chester Pierce, a Black Harvard psychiatrist first defined them. They've been going on for a long time and nobody who receives microaggressions has been saying, "Oh yeah, we love these." So, why are they still happening? These are common, ambiguous, subtle, innocent, and unintentional behaviors that are racially motivated that go on to cause stress and anxiety and sometimes even trauma.

But what we cannot forget is also that these are socially learnt, unspoken means of establishing or re-establishing dominance. That's what racism is about at the end of the day and that's how you can identify microaggressions. Microaggressions communicate dominance or exclusion and with the negative stereotype as its basis. And we're going to talk more about that, too.

You saw in that example a White student asking a Black student with curly hair, "Can I touch your hair? Is it real?" and I should point out that this happens often to people of African heritage, who have their hair in natural styles. My hair is straight because I flat-ironed it today but it's not naturally straight. It will curl up with a little bit of water and sometimes people will say, "Can I touch your hair?"

We asked Black people, "Do you think this is racist if someone says 'Can I touch your hair?'" and often they're actually coming to touch your hair as they're asking so it's not even really a question. 43% said "No, that's not racist." but then, 30% said, "Well it's possibly racist", and 27%, over a quarter said it's racist: "Very or Somewhat Racist." Even though not everybody thought it was racist, there was still a lot of people that had a problem with this. If you think about it, it's a very intimate act, touching somebody's head. You can touch a child's head or your partner, your boyfriend, your girlfriend, your husband but you don't normally touch a stranger's head.
And yet, this happens often to people of color with these curly hairstyles. We asked White students if this was something they might do. 12% said yeah, they might. They might say or do this, and you might think, "Well, 12% maybe that's a minority of people" but imagine you are at a party, that means if there's 10 people there, one of them might do this. So, this is going to happen maybe even frequently and if you don't like it if you're one of these quarter to two-thirds of people who do not want their hair touched or who think that's racist or may be racist, that's going to make a disharmonious interaction out there.

And I should also point out that these racial microaggressions are not confined to any one area in the world. Just this week, the *Afrozensus* was released in Germany. This is the first national survey of Black Germans and their racial experience done by Black Germans, for Black Germans. Very very exciting. This report just came out. It's 100 pages. Unfortunately, I cannot read it because it is in German, but my sister lives in Germany and she speaks German. She told me that it's a very good report, so I hope they translate it into English soon. But there was this one little tidbit that she showed me where Black Germans were asked if anybody had touched their hair before, and 90% said, "Yeah, that's happened to me," so they don't like it in Germany either.

But anyway, we are actually planning our own survey of Black Germans and the microaggressions they experience to build on the limited work that currently exists.

Now, when we talk about microaggressions, I have called them racism. You might be wondering "How do we know it's racism?" and some critics of the microaggressions research agenda have said, "Oh, we don't really know that's racism. How do you know it's just not a cultural *faux pas*?" So, I said, "Well, I never really felt the need to prove that microaggressions were racism before" but I thought, "I could see why some people might think that this is not racism."

So, we did a study and we looked at almost a thousand people. We gave them a measure of microaggressiveness, that's this CCAS measure. We call it the *kick-ass* for short. It's got four subscales on the right there: negative attitudes, colorblindness, objectifying, and avoidance. Those are the four subscales, but you can just look at the total score to get the point. We have all these measures of racism: the Colorblind Racial Attitudes Scale, the Symbolic Racism Scale 2000, the Modern Racism

Scale, we also have the Allophilia Scale -- you may not be familiar with the term, it means basically just the opposite of prejudice, it means you really really like the out-group -- and then, the Racial Feeling Thermometer which is a very pure measure of racism, just basically, "How much do you like Black people on a scale of one to ten?" where 10 is like you like them a lot so, that's why this is negative. What you see here is every single measure that we looked at we found a very highly significant correlation between the propensity to commit microaggressions using this CCAS scale and these different measures of racism.

You're probably wondering, "What's on that scale?" and that's whole another story because we had to invent this scale to measure how microaggressive people were. There's already a bunch of measures on how microaggressed you are. I could fill out a measure, I could pick half a dozen measures of microaggressions that happened to me as a person of color, but how do you measure microaggressions that other people do? So, we had to invent this measure, and these are the items that are on the different scales, although this isn't the whole measure because each question has a scenario that goes with it. But for those of you who want to geek out on it, you can take a look at the items, and we ran them by Black people and we added diversity experts also who actually decided which items we would use. You can see that there's a lot of agreement there. Basically, we define microaggressions, racial microaggressions specifically, as deniable acts of racism that reinforce pathological or false stereotypes about out-groups that reinforce inequitable social norms and power differentials and communicate exclusion.

Now, some people have said, "We should not call these microaggressions because they are not aggressive" and, again, I think that some people said, "Well, this is really splitting hairs." They feel aggressive when they land on me, so that's good enough, right? But then, some psychologists, social psychologists, or people who study aggressions say, "No, we have very specific definitions of aggression and it means you intend to harm people and this doesn't fall into that category so you shouldn't call it aggression." So, I said, "Okay, well, you know what? We can study this, too." And, I went back, we did a big survey of people using that same CCAS scale, which is "How microaggressive are you?" and we gave them a bunch of measures of aggression too.

Slide 1: How are microaggressions aggressive?

This is my model of how microaggressions are aggressive. And then, I will show you the data. So basically, people have these false stereotypes about people of color or whoever the out-group happens to be and there are different types of out-groups in Japan as compared to what we see in the States. But there's these false ideas about these folks which results in bias. These biases are based on these false stereotypes. If somebody is in contact with one of these people who are in the out-group, they have this interracial anxiety because they have all these negative thoughts in their head about them which then bring about hostility and fear. Then, in the midst of this, what do people do when they feel hostility, fear, and threat? They want to control the situation. And that's what aggression comes from, a desire to control other people. In this case, through the commission of microaggressions which can be a directed offensive action, avoidance, or flight. This is my model for how it works. Let's see if it's true…

Measure of Aggression or Affect	Total CCAS	Negative Attitudes (F1)	Color-blindness (F2)	Objectifying (F3)	Avoidance (F4)
Buss–Perry Aggression Questionnaire (BPAQ)	.464**	.396**	.298**	.391**	.388**
Overt–Covert Aggression Inventory (OCAI)	.428**	.337**	.268**	.374**	.380**
Inventory Hostility Suspicious Thinking (IHS)	.369**	.271**	.229**	.332**	.340**
PANAS- Negative (last 2 weeks)	.231**	.015	.084	.045	-.182**

N = 322
(for PANAS N = 238)

National sample of White Americans

Mean age of sample 35.7 years (SD = 10.7)

Williams (2021)

Note. *p< .05, **p<.01; ***p<.001

Slide 2: But racial microaggressions are unintentional, not a form of aggression…

Now, what we found was that when we correlated the CCAS to these measures of aggression, you can see we've got a gold standard measure of aggression called the Buss-Perry Aggression Questionnaire. We also included the Overt-Covert Aggression Inventory, which is actually a Japanese measure of aggression with the idea that perhaps aggression may be expressed differently in different cultures. We used the Inventory of Hostility and Suspicion of Thinking, which is a kind of measure of paranoia. It's sometimes used for people with thought disorder also. And then, the PANAS which is a Positive and Negative Affectivity Schedule for how people are feeling over the last 2 weeks which is just a kind of measure of bad mood more or less. We found, again, clear correlations. They were very robust and very highly significant. This whole affectivity piece, this PANAS, when we put it into a regression with the Buss-Perry Aggression Questionnaire, actually dropped out. And, aggression ended up predicting the microaggressions.

So, I feel very comfortable saying that microaggressions are a form of aggression. Now, does this mean that everyone who commits a microaggression is an aggressive person? No, but it's safe to say, the more microaggressions people commit, the more aggressive they are. That seems to be the case, so I'm going to say this is official now. Microaggressions are aggression.

Now we have all these bad things about microaggressions, we know they're racist, we know they're aggressive and we know they cause psychological problems, so clearly something has to be done. What are we going to do about it? What are we going to do to stop microaggressions? That's the next question that we have to answer. I don't think we need any more research to prove that they're bad.

That's where the Racial Harmony Workshop comes in which is what I'm really excited to tell you about today. We designed an intervention to reduce microaggressions. How do we do that? We reduced the racial biases that lead to the microaggressions and to promote interracial connection between college students. We did this experiment with college students and it was designed to increase connectedness across groups. We used principles from different validated types of psychotherapy approaches which I'll talk a little bit more about as we get into the protocol. It was conducted with Black and White undergraduate students for a total of 44, who were randomly assigned to an active control group or the racial harmony workshop. Both workshops started and ended at the same time, they occurred in the same facility -- in adjacent rooms almost, and involved an hour-long lunch break. Both conditions were six hours, which included pre and post testing and lunch. Participants were given the pretest, posttest, and follow batteries to assess their intergroup feelings and racial attitudes. Now, again, these participants were undergraduates at a large public university in New England. We were really just looking for people who are either Black or White for the purpose of the study but the idea is that this workshop would hopefully be good for people from all ethnic and racial groups. We balanced the randomization of the groups by race and sex. So, we tried to have the same number in each. Again, this was the racial harmony workshop.

The procedure was that there was a control group where people watched the documentary film *The Color of Fear* and then discussed it with some very knowledgeable diversity educators, actually my graduate students, who were very good, in fact they were so good that we were a little worried that we would not find a difference because they did such a good job, and the racial harmony workshop group, which was moderated by myself and a colleague. Everybody gave consent and, again, with the pretest, posttest, one-month follow-up.

It was designed to be both educational and experiential, using the experiences and the diversity of the participants in the room to promote sharing and social connection. So, the intervention used Contextual Behavioral Science Principles. It uses connections from techniques from what's called FAP, Functional Analytic Psychotherapy, to promote closeness and it uses techniques from ACT, Acceptance and Commitment Therapy, to facilitate acceptance of challenging emotions. When we say accepting challenging emotions, we do not mean accepting racism. We mean that people will accept the fact that they act in biased ways and that they feel uncomfortable in these situations. But they're going to challenge themselves to stay in them nevertheless.

The protocol of the workshop was there was first introduction, expectations, there was a mindfulness exercise to get people in the space to encourage self-reflection and setting intentions to our connection with others. We delivered instructional material teaching about microaggressions, much like the information that I presented today. We defined race, we talked about false or pathological stereotypes, the impact of racism with examples, what we mean when we talk about race

and ethnicity, microaggressions, and implicit bias. We also taught the participants how people tend to respond to these things. We defined "away moves", feelings and behaviors that push others away and "towards moves", behaviors that facilitate social connection.

The second half of the workshop was designed to promote connectedness through small group interactions. So, people broke into groups of two or three. These were integrated groups, so there would be like a Black and a White participant in the group. And participants shared vulnerable details of their lives and responded empathetically to each person's disclosures. We went around and coached to encourage people in the process. We went from group to group as facilitators but after we gave the instructions, we really didn't need to do much. People seemed to understand that this was a time to be sensitive to the other person and to really listen and show you care. So, that was how that happened.

Then, the workshop ended with participants developing a plan for the future including behaviors they wanted to reduce as well as behaviors that they wanted to increase in the service of racial harmony and connection.

There were four experiential exercises in that second half protocol, and we have a facilitator manual actually you can access, if you want more details, but the exercises included:
The first one was just sitting and making eye contact with another person and spending several minutes just looking into the other person's eyes.

The second exercise was focused on exploring discomfort through personal narratives, so each person shared something painful that had happened to them with the other person and the other person responded with caring and empathy. And then, they switched.

Another exercise was a racial identity exploration exercise where people talked about when they first started to understand that they were racialized and that they might be treated differently than others, when they first came to understand what race was.

And then, the last part was an ending exercise, it was a large group exercise, where people expressed appreciation to everybody that they had learnt from that plan that I talked about for new behaviors.

Now, I mentioned there were batteries of measures that were given. All participants were asked to complete a satisfaction rating. They all also completed the PANAS, Positive and Negative Affectivity Schedule, to assess their mood around the workshop. They all completed the Allophilia Scale. Remember, this is a measure of anti-prejudice: how much you like that out-group. And then, there was a measure of Intergroup Anxiety and Avoidance because one of our theories was that social anxiety is contributing to the problem.

And then, there were some measures that were really only given either to one group or the other. So, the Black participants all completed the Multigroup Ethnic Identity Measure which is a

measure of the strength of the person's ethnic identity. The White participants completed the Colorblind Racial Attitude Scale, the Symbolic Racism Scale 2000, and the Cultural Cognitions and Action Scale that I mentioned before. And I want to give you an example of what questions might look like on that scale because I mentioned before that they were all contextual.

For example, they might be given a story: You're with a mixed Black and White group of friends and you are talking about various current events and political issues including police brutality, affirmative action, employment, and education. "How likely would you be to SAY or DO something like this?" and the number 12 might be: How likely are you to say "All lives matter not just Black lives", or how likely are you to say "I don't think of Black people as Black" or stay quiet so you don't offend anyone, or say "Black people should work harder to fit into our society." And so, that's how the items were scored. Now, not all of the items, only the bold ones, were scored. The other ones were anti-microaggressions, so to speak, and we'll get to that. But for the sake of this study, we just scored the microaggressions. And, we had several different scenarios.

Now, in terms of statistical procedures, each of our dependent measures was subjected to a two-way mixed ANOVA with two or three within subject levels of time. So, time was pre-test, post-test, and follow-up, and two between subject levels of condition, the racial harmony workshop and the control group, for relevant measures. And for each measure of primary interest was the condition by time interaction. We looked at significant main effects. Significant main effects were reported when there was no interaction and partial eta-squared was used to measure the effect sizes for the ANOVAS. And, when significant interactions occurred, post hoc tests of simple main effects were conducted to determine where the differences were present.

Some of the research questions we had for this stemmed from critiques of microaggressions research from other researchers, for example, Scott Lilienfeld who's now deceased was a big critic of this work. One thing that he said was that microaggression education makes just about everyone feel threatened and could amp up already simmering racial tensions. Is this true? Now we have a chance to answer this question, actually, because we just gave this microaggression workshop and we gave measures of affectivity. How do they feel when they come out of the workshop? And, did they like it? Did they like learning about microaggressions? Let's find out.

We asked on a scale of one to ten: "How satisfied were you with the workshop that you attended?" Oh, look at that! They all liked it. And Black people were very happy with it and White people were even happier. How often does that happen? And then, we asked the students how they felt before and after learning about the microaggressions. So, we looked at the PANAS scale. The higher scores reflect higher positive emotions. And look at this, before and after the workshop, they actually felt a lot better afterwards. Now, in all fairness, maybe they just felt better because they were

done but either way, they weren't feeling worse. So, it seems that Scott Lilienfeld's assertions were not true, or at least not supported.

Another critique of this work is the notion that heightened attention to microaggressions may sensitize minority individuals leading them to become hyper-vigilant and emotionally fragile. In other words, it might harm people if they know how badly they're being mistreated. And so, here we have the chance to look at this, too. We looked at the Black students. How did they respond in that measure of ethnic identity realizing that higher, stronger ethnic identity for people of color is correlated to resilience against microaggressions? And we see that from pre to post-workshop there was an increase in both groups, actually. That increase kept increasing a month later to the point where actually the racial harmony workshop outperformed the control condition. But both conditions improved ethnic identity. So, that assertion was also not supported.

Finally, the big question: Can we make people less microaggressive? So here, we're looking at the Cultural Cognitions and Action Scale (CCAS) in White students from pre-test to post-test to after. And that blue line is the racial harmony workshop and this is the control, in the red line and you can see pre to post the microaggressions went down. But post workshop, the control group got worse again actually and the pre-test and four-week follow-up there was no significant difference for the control group but for the racial harmony workshop, actually people continued to get less microaggressive. So, we consider that a success that the White students were less likely to commit microaggressions.

Now, another thing that I thought was interesting when we looked at the data, remember that I said that there were some supportive statements in those batteries as well as microaggressions. What we found was that some of the items　that diversity experts and the Black people alike agreed were supportive, we found that a lot of White people were very unlikely to endorse that they would do, which I thought was interesting. You know, and I think that a lot of it is that so many White people are worried about being offensive that they just completely avoid talking about race, ethnicity, and culture. But supportive and positive statements about a person's culture can be an important means of helping them feel understood. And many people miss opportunities to be supported out of fear of offending. In fact, the research shows that the most common racial microaggressions by clinicians is avoidance of cultural material -- when clients want to talk about it, clinicians don't. So, this brings me to my next area of research which is racial justice allyship, which is connected to all of this.

Now, let me define allyship: allies are people who recognize the honor and privileges they receive from society's patterns of injustice and take responsibility for changing these patterns. So allies include White people who work to end racism, men who work to end sexism, heterosexual people who work to end heterosexism or homophobia, and cisgender people who work to end ciscentrism or transphobia. Those are some examples.

But allyship is behavioral. It's not just about how you feel in your heart, it's about what you do. So, simply deciding to treat all people fairly is not anti-racist. A racial justice allyship requires anti-racist behavior such as identifying and decentering Whiteness, empowering people of color, disrupting racism, confronting uncomfortable or shameful race-based topics through ongoing education, reciprocal vulnerability with people of color, accountability to people of color and unfortunately, it includes disapproval and punishment from people in the in-group. Who wants that, right? Nobody wants to deal with disapproval and punishment which is why this is actually not more popular. But it's something that we want to do because it aligns with our values. I thought to myself: we need allies, we need allyship, and we need allies to help combat racism to help stop microaggressions.

There was a study that was done by Mekawi and Todd called "*Okay to say?*" This was actually very similar to the study we did with the Cultural Cognitions and Action Scale, the CCAS. They were developing a scale, too. As part of the study, the university students were presented with these different microaggressive situations and they were also asked, "Would you do something if this was presented, if this happened?" 93% said that they would openly disagree if met with this microaggressive situation in the real world, which I thought was a little interesting and honestly I was skeptical of this because it's very incongruent with the reports of the lived experiences of people of color who often feel abandoned by their would-be allies.

We created a measure of allyship using those supportive items from the CCAS and we called it the Interpersonal Racial Allyship Scale which we validated. I won't go into excruciating details about that process but you can read the paper.

As part of the study that we did where we validated the CCAS is, we did a behavioral study, we wanted to determine the extent to which self-reported allyship behavior would correspond with real-life allyship behavior. We had a laboratory behavioral task that we wanted to use to measure the allyship. A subset of participants who completed the self-report measures for the CCAS study, they came into the lab and we had them do a conversation with a confederate, a lab assistant that they thought was another participant in the study. We brought in White students and we had them do a conversation with another White "student" about three different topics, racially charged news stories. Each participant was greeted by a Black RA who got the informed consent and introduced the participant, the confederate ,and then said I'm going to be in the other room recording this, watching, so they knew that there was a Black person there watching. We wanted to see what they said.

In the first scenario, the first subject was a fraternity party that involved members using Black stereotypes and doing blackface for Martin Luther King Day and then they got suspended on campus, then there was a campus-wide debate about this and free speech. So, supporting the fraternity party-goers using the Black stereotypes and against their suspension would be microaggressive

whereas denouncing both would be an indication of supportive or allyship behaviors. This is meant to be a depiction of that although that isn't actually a fraternity party, that's actually our Prime Minister Justin Trudeau sadly, in blackface.

The next story, we called this "Monument", was about a fight between activists and the city government concerned with removing a confederate monument in Kentucky which is a painful reminder of slavery and an example of environmental microaggression. So, support for keeping the monument in place would be microaggressive whereas denouncing it would be supportive allyship behavior.

Lastly, there was a story of the killing of an unarmed Black male college student by police after a car accident, the type of problem that has sparked the Black Lives Matter movement, and so support for killing of the Black student would be more microaggressive whereas denouncing that and denouncing the police officer's action would be supportive allyship behavior.

This discussion generated ample opportunity for people to express microaggression or allyship behaviors. There were 31 participants. What did we find as a result of this? What percentage of individuals demonstrate allied behaviors in a real-life setting. Sadly, very very sadly, it was very very few.

If you look at the table, we have this broken down by low allyship, moderate allyship, and high allyship, broken down by scenario. What you can see is basically if it was a zero for example a person got a zero if they said nothing supportive. And they got a one if it was a little supportive, two if it was somewhat supportive, and three, it was very supportive. I'll just say off the bat there was not one person that had three across the board. So, we had to lower the bar and we said you're an ally if you got a two or higher on all the scenarios. You know how many allies we had? One. Out of 31 people, we have one ally. Only one, 3% of the participants were allies in all three scenarios, 10% were allies in two scenarios, and 16% were allies in one scenario, which is this column here for high allyship.

That was a bit depressing honestly but telling, I think, because it shows that this isn't easy. And the next question is "Well, what's getting in the way?" In case you missed it, racial justice allyship can be hard, it can be painful. We conceptualize it as avoidance of thoughts and feelings about race, anxiety, and fear of punishment, and the pain of in-group disapproval and rejection, which led us to write this paper "*Unicorns, leprechauns, and White allies*." I never thought I would use the word unicorn in a journal article before, but I did, and in the title. Yeah, that's all I have to say about that. Anyway.

Also, I wanted to revisit our findings from the racial harmony workshop looking at the supportive items that had exemplified these interpersonal behaviors. What I found when I looked at these IRAS scores was that both workshops increased allyship and tensions immediately post-

workshop but this was followed by a drop at follow-up with the levels of allyship -- in the control group actually even lower than their original pre-workshop scores. For the racial harmony workshop, the allophilia gains were maintained, which are not displayed here, whereas the allyship gains were not maintained. So, people backslid baseline for that, indicating that just having a positive regard for people of color is not enough to create lasting allies.

I want to talk a little bit about addressing microaggressions. What do you do when it happens in real-time? This is the next step for our research. Sue in 2019 wrote a really fantastic paper called "*Disarming Racial Microaggressions*" and some of the techniques that were advanced included making the invisible visible, calling attention to the microaggression in some way, disarming the microaggression, educating the person who commits the microaggression like why that's a microaggression, why you shouldn't do it, and then rejecting microaggression, which is actually my thing that I put in there.

Microaggressions may appear in clinical care in a number of ways. For example, you can have a situation as a therapist where the client of color wants to discuss microaggressions experienced at work or in daily life or a client commits a microaggression in therapy, that happens, or the therapist commits a microaggression in therapy, and we talked about that.

Now, in clinical care, this is what you should do. Don't question if it was really a microaggression, respond with empathy validation and support, and then problem solve around the issue. And, the clinician should begin discussing valued action that the client can take to start combating the racist behavior that they encounter when it's safe rather than being a passive victim. Now, sometimes clients commit microaggression in therapy. In these cases, this is a great opportunity to teach clients that microaggressions are hurtful acts of racism and because if they're doing the microaggressions to you as a therapist they're doing it to other people. So, they need to be taught that this is hurtful and it's damaging their relationship.

Lastly, the therapist commits a microaggression in therapy. These are steps therapists should take. Don't get defensive, show you care about the person's feelings, ask why what you did was racist and listen, validate their perspective, acknowledge your biases, clarify misinterpreted remarks -- don't start there though or you look defensive -- and then make it right in other words you want to own it and repair it. That's a whole process if you need details on that, get my book *Managing Microaggressions*, I explain all of that.

And then, in your real life, when and how do we address microaggressions? What's the nuts and bolts of it? There are different ways you can respond. How do you know how to respond in what situation?

The type of response should vary based on the relationship between the target or observer and the perpetrator, as that's going to dictate the level of vulnerability appropriate for the situation. If

it's a close friend or a caring family member, share how it makes you feel and why. Here you're appealing to the quality of the relationship to help bring about mutual understanding and positive change. If it's a co-worker or acquaintance, gently educate them about stereotypes and racism. If it's a stranger, be assertive and correct the person; you want to reject any controlling aspects of the encounter because ultimately racism is a powerplay and racialized people shouldn't allow themselves to be treated that way. Finally, if it is　with a powerful person in a dangerous situation, you want to remove yourself from the situation as quickly as possible. Maybe you make a report after the fact once you're safe.

Now, my newest line of work is in the area of civil courage because we need courage to be good allies. I don't have a lot of time to talk about it but I'll just say in the big picture we can't hope to change our broken system without allyship. We need allies, and allyship as you can see is hard so this is a paper about how to build courage to do that.

In terms of future directions in research, first of all, I'm going to be continuing to do research on anti-Black microaggressions globally, like I mentioned in Germany. We need a new application for the racial harmony workshop. We already did a study looking at using this workshop for medical students. Did it reduce microaggressions with their patients? Sneak preview: It did.

How to cultivate racial justice allies who will stand up to microaggressions. We're still trying to figure that out.

How targets should respond to microaggression in order to maximize their mental health and reduce incidence of future racism. I gave you my guidelines but those aren't empirically supported. That's just my idea.

So, that's all for today. Here are some resources you can take with you. *Eliminating Race-Based Mental Health Disparities* and my book on *Managing Microaggressions* if you're a therapist. Thank you very much. It's been a pleasure to share this with you. Here's my contact information, if you want to reach out to me anytime, feel free to call or email. And I'll also include information on my papers. I have educational papers, empirical papers, and allyship papers. And you can get a copy of that.

That's all for today. Thank you very much.

The 41st IGC-SSRI Joint International Symposium
December 5th, 2021

Microaggressions: Empirical Papers

1. Williams, M. T., Ching, T., & Gallo, J. (2021). Understanding microaggressions and aggression by and against People of Color. *Cognitive Behaviour Therapist, 14*(e25), 1-19. doi: 10.1017/S1754470X21000234
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5. Williams, M. T., Kanter, J. W., Peña, A., Ching, T. W. C., & Oshin, L. (2020). Reducing microaggressions and promoting interracial connection: The Racial Harmony Workshop. *Journal for Contextual and Behavioral Science, 16*, 153-161. doi: 10.1016/j.jcbs.2020.04.008
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9. Williams, M. T., Kanter, J. W., & *Ching, T. H. W. (2018). Anxiety, stress, and trauma symptoms in African Americans: Negative affectivity does not explain the relationship between microaggressions and psychopathology. *Journal of Racial and Ethnic Health Disparities, 5*(5), 919–927. doi: 10.1007/s40615-017-0440-3
10. Kanter, J. W., Williams, M. T., *Kuczynski, A. M., *Manbeck, K., *Debreaux, M., & Rosen, D. (2017). A preliminary report on the relationship between microaggressions against Blacks and racism among White college students. *Race and Social Problems, 9*(4), 291-299. doi: 10.1007/s12552-017-9214-0

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Slide 3: Microaggressions: Empirical Papers

Microaggressions: Educational Papers

1. Williams, M. T. (2021). Racial microaggressions: Critical questions, state of the science, and new directions. *Perspectives on Psychological Science, 16*(5), 880-885. doi: 10.1177/17456916211039209
2. Steketee, A., Williams, M., Valencia, B., Printz, D., & Hooper, L. M. (2021). Racial and language microaggressions in the school ecology. *Perspectives on Psychological Science, 16*(5), 1075-1098. doi: 10.1177/1745691621995740
3. Williams, M. T. (2020). Psychology cannot afford to ignore the many harms caused by microaggressions. *Perspectives on Psychological Science, 15*(1), 38-43. doi: 10.1177/1745691619893362
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Slide 4: Microaggressions: Educational Papers

Slide 5: Allyship Papers