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Racial Microaggressions on an Online Anonymous Platform

Honors Thesis based on Student Content Analysis

Presented to the Faculty of the Honors College

In partial fulfillment of the requirements for a co-degree in University Honors

By

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Abstract

In sociology there has been an increase amount of scholarly attention devoted to the microaggressions as a theoretical construct. Efforts have been devoted towards understanding the themes, track the progress of the term to its modern day use, the different forms that microaggressions take, and the consequences to individuals that suffer in these encounters. Typically, microaggression research is centered around interviews with minorities but there is minimal investigation into the presentation of these encounters on online platforms where users can maintain an anonymous identity. A content analysis with 5 codes was conducted of a blog that is open to anonymous users to share their encounters with microaggression. The results indicated that on this limited platform microaggressions occur most often against Black Americans and in the form of using stereotypes as a frame of reference for the actions of racial minorities. Though there are significant results from this study there are implications for further study to assess if the results can be generalized to other online platforms and the public.

Introduction

Though society claims to have evolved to look past lines of race, it is difficult to deny that racism is still present today. However, it does not always manifest in ways that one would expect. Most would imagine racist comments to come in the form of angry outright hatred remarks or actions, but this is typically not the case. “Seeing color” and jumping to conclusions based on stereotypes is something that society has instilled in most people irrespective of whether they realize it or not. Comments based on racial preconceptions now present themselves in subtler ways in the form of racial microaggressions. The term first came into use in the 1970’s and is now defined in the dictionary as “a statement, action, or incident regarded as an instance

of indirect, subtle, or unintentional discrimination against members of a marginalized group such as a racial or ethnic minority.” Those that partake in microaggressions do not always realize that their comments are offensive or hurtful. Though the term was developed over 40 years ago it has only recently been more heavily researched and explored. Microaggressions present themselves in daily life and can be directed at different marginalized groups including race, gender, class, religion, and sexuality. In addition, the consequences of microaggression are not only in the moment but can affect an individual’s health, self-esteem, and productivity at work. While this can be a very difficult topic to discuss openly, anonymous posting online allows for individuals to share their story without fear of being identified or embarrassed. This research will explore the patterns and codes within an online platform for instances of microaggressions. The implications of my results will be discussed.

Origin of the Term

The term was first used by Chester Pierce in 1970 and he defined it as “...the most grievous of offensive mechanisms spewed at victims of racism and sexism are microaggressions. These are subtle, innocuous, preconscious, or unconscious degradations, and putdowns, often kinetic but capable of being verbal and/or kinetic. In and of itself a microaggression may seem harmless, but the cumulative burden of a lifetime of microaggression can theoretically contribute to diminished mortality, augmented morbidity, and flattened confidence” (Pierce 1995 p. 281). Eventually the term was expanded to include other minority groups such as women, lower classes, and those with a nontraditional sexuality. However, in the research world the term was not widely used for some time. It is in the late 1990’s and 2000’s that the term gained more interest in the research community, “For example, prior to 2007, the largest database of

psychology-related literature—PsycINFO—identified only one paper (Solorzano et al. 2000) using the search term “racial microaggression.” However, by the date of our review in 2012, PsycINFO produced 58 unique results using “racial microaggression” as a keyword search term” (Wong et. al. 2014 p. 2). Much of the research was in investigating the instances and to find a way to categorize these occurrences. Though the term was initially used in the scientific community it has also gained considerable attention in popular culture.

Microaggressions Today

Since Chester Pierce first introduced the term, scientific research has come a long way in its investigation of racial microaggressions, the most heavily studied of the microaggressions which will also be the focus of this paper. The ignition for the beginning of this research can be pinpointed to D. W. Sue and his team that wrote an article entitled *Racial Microaggressions in Everyday Life* that categorized racial microaggressions to make it more accessible to the general academic community and called for an advancement in the research as there were many implications to still consider. With this landmark article research rapidly increased into the nature and consequences of microaggressions. Nevertheless, there continue to be questions that need to be addressed as research in this area is still in its infancy. Wong et. al. in 2014 identified three questions that they believe to be pertinent and need to be addressed by the scientific community if progress in this field is to continue: What are racial microaggressions and who do they affect? Why are they important to study? And finally, how are racial microaggressions presently studied and how can these approaches be improved? Wong and her team provided a framework that they believe would help to structure and direct future research. At this time it seems that the research has mainly focused on qualitative descriptions of microaggression

instances based on interviews and self-reports rather than quantitative data to provide clearer boundaries to the concept and the variations that some researchers claim are present.

For example, Dr. Lilienfeld in 2017 argues that the field has not made an effort to provide precise boundaries to the concept and as a result the topic does not allow for scientific progress to be made with this ambiguity, “For example, it is not evident which kinds of actions constitute a verbal, behavioral, or environmental indignity, nor what approximate severity of indignity is necessary for an action to constitute a microaggression” (Lilienfeld 2017 p. 143). He does not necessarily criticize the concept and actually acknowledges that there is a need to understand the racial undertones in our society but he is critical of the lack of scientific rigor evident in most studies centered on the microaggression construct. For instance, he agrees with Wong et. al. (2014) that the research, “should move beyond self-report measures and conduct more rigorous examinations of the potential effects of microaggressions on minority mental health” (Lilienfeld 2017 p. 140). Both Wong (2014) and Lilienfeld (2017) argue that this introduces mono source bias so that there is no exploration of the complexity and various perspectives of the concept. Sources for self-reports and interviews will most likely feel that comments are acts of racial microaggression which has resulted in very high measures of internal consistency. He concludes his review of microaggression research by stating that the issues present within microaggression research are present in other areas with its ambiguity, contradictory examples of instances, and limited research approaches. But these holes in the research are more the result of “absence of evidence than of evidence of absence. Few of the core premises of the MRP have been subjected to adequate research scrutiny, and it is possible that some or even all of them will be corroborated in future research” (Lilienfeld 2017 p. 160). He acknowledges that though the

research is limited it needs to advance to fill in the gaps to a large number of questions and it has gotten unwarranted attention as a field before it was properly developed.

Different Types of Microaggressions

The research in this area of interest has advanced and now has been able to create scales and categories to organize the different types of microaggressions. Firstly, microaggressions can be categorized by the minority group that they target. While researchers have examined gender, and sexuality microaggressions the majority of the scientific community has focused on exploring racial microaggressions. Even within racial majority there are distinctions as each racial group experiences the effects of different stereotypes and assumptions and therefore different themes within racial microaggressions. For example, one may say to a black individual that performed well “you were so articulate and smart for being black!” Whereas comments to an Asian man may be centered around questioning their American heritage with microaggressions being focused on commenting on the quality of their English. Though the prejudice comments come from different sources of prejudice the different forms of microaggressions are still the same regardless of who they target.

In their article D. W. Sue and his colleagues (2007) identified three different types of microaggression: microassault, microinsult, and microinvalidation, Firstly, microassault is defined as “an explicit racial derogation characterized primarily by a verbal or nonverbal attack meant to hurt the intended victim through name-calling, avoidant behavior, or purposeful discriminatory actions” (Sue et. al. 2007 p. 274). Behavior in this form is typically intentional and meant to hurt or signal to the individual that they are not accepted. These instances are the closest to traditional racism, according to Sue. However, analyzing the definition seems simply

to be direct racism with there being little indication of subtlety to specify microaggressions. Though this is included in Sue's article, this hardly seems to be a category of microaggression with there being intention behind the comment and the comment itself being so direct.

Next, microinsult is "characterized by communications that convey rudeness and insensitivity and demean a person's racial heritage or identity. Microinsults represent subtle snubs, frequently unknown to the perpetrator, but clearly convey a hidden insulting message to the recipient of color" (Sue et. al. 2007 p. 274). These are typically indirect and though they may not initially seem harmful there are underlying prejudices present. Microinsults can also be nonverbal for instance when a teacher ignores the hand of a colored student it indicates that their contribution is not important without directly saying this. Sue indicates that for this type of microaggression context is important so as not to incorrectly classify instances.

The final type of microaggression that Sue identifies is microinvalidation which are "characterized by communications that exclude, negate, or nullify the psychological thoughts, feelings, or experiential reality of a person of color" (Sue et. al. 2007 p. 274). This type of microaggression is not intentional but tends to make the individual feel isolated. An example is when a person of a racial minority tries to address issues of race or begin a discourse with their white friend and they are told that they are being too sensitive and paranoid or if an Asian American is asked where they are from implying that they are not American and will forever be considered a foreigner. This interaction diminishes the racial experience of the individual and demonstrates to them that their feelings about racial occurrences are not valid. Comments of microinvalidation are also explored in the content analysis of this thesis. The figure below is an excerpt taken from Sue et. al. (2007 p. 276) and demonstrates examples and the corresponding themes present in the racial microaggressions literature. Though there are only three types of

microaggressions discussed in this article there are many different forms that it can take allowing for multiple demeaning messages to be conveyed.

Table 1
Examples of Racial Microaggressions

Theme	Microaggression	Message
Alien in own land When Asian Americans and Latino Americans are assumed to be foreign-born	"Where are you from?" "Where were you born?" "You speak good English." A person asking an Asian American to teach them words in their native language	You are not American. You are a foreigner.
Ascription of intelligence Assigning intelligence to a person of color on the basis of their race	"You are a credit to your race." "You are so articulate." Asking an Asian person to help with a math or science problem	People of color are generally not as intelligent as Whites. It is unusual for someone of your race to be intelligent. All Asians are intelligent and good in math/sciences.
Color blindness Statements that indicate that a White person does not want to acknowledge race	"When I look at you, I don't see color." "America is a melting pot." "There is only one race, the human race."	Denying a person of color's racial/ethnic experiences. Assimilate/acclurate to the dominant culture. Denying the individual as a racial/cultural being.
Criminality/assumption of criminal status A person of color is presumed to be dangerous, criminal, or deviant on the basis of their race	A White man or woman clutching their purse or checking their wallet as a Black or Latino approaches or passes A store owner following a customer of color around the store A White person waits to ride the next elevator when a person of color is on it	You are a criminal. You are going to steal/ You are poor/ You do not belong. You are dangerous.
Denial of individual racism A statement made when Whites deny their racial biases	"I'm not racist. I have several Black friends." "As a woman, I know what you go through as a racial minority."	I am immune to racism because I have friends of color. Your racial oppression is no different than my gender oppression. I can't be a racist. I'm like you.
Myth of meritocracy Statements which assert that race does not play a role in life successes	"I believe the most qualified person should get the job." "Everyone can succeed in this society, if they work hard enough."	People of color are given extra unfair benefits because of their race. People of color are lazy and/or incompetent and need to work harder.

Sue's methods of classification are not the only way to interpret microaggressions. The team at Roosevelt University built on the categories of Sue and his team to develop the Racial Microaggressions Scale (RMAS). It explores the frequency of micro aggressions as well as the degree of the distress caused by the incident based on personal experiences elicited from individuals in online surveys and questionnaires using the categories of microinvalidations and microinsults. The authors of this study found that though there is a positive correlation with many of the factors that they investigated, "the current scale is more narrow in scope in its focus

on specific microaggression categories rather than a general racial microaggression factor” (Torres-Harding, Andrade, and Diaz 2012 p. 162). This study did well to demonstrate that though there are ways to categorize racial individual’s microaggression experiences there needs to be further research to find a more general microaggression factor rather than the sum of the individual components to be able to quantify this concept.

Consequences and Implications of Microaggressions

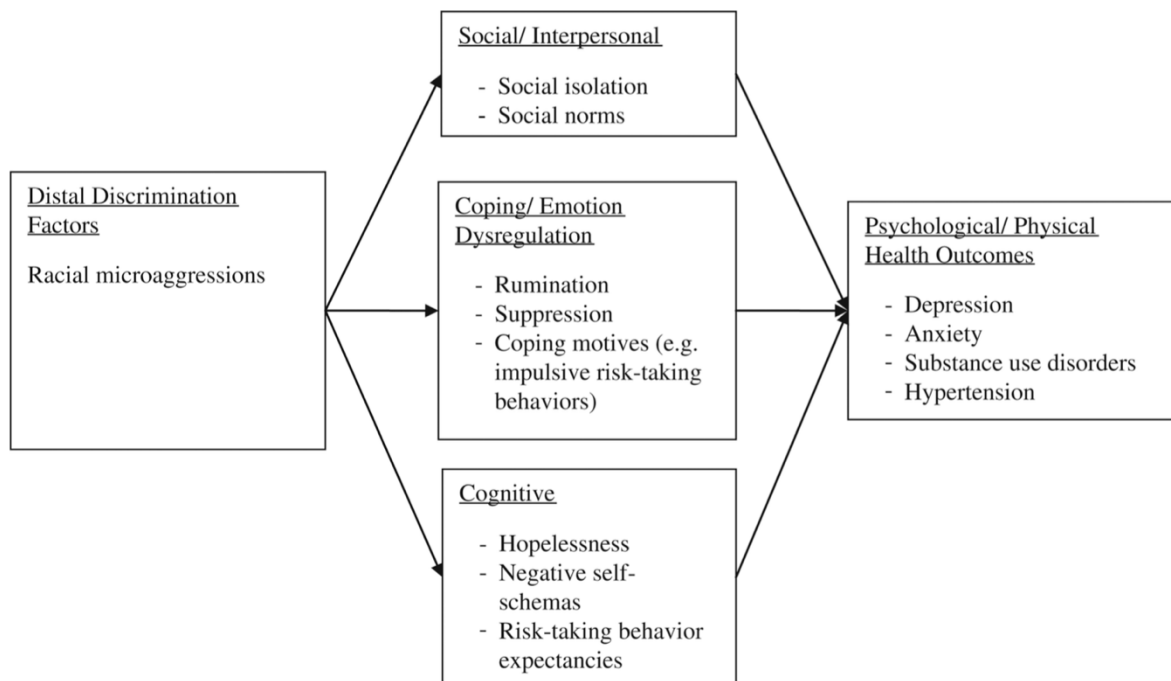
When studying microaggressions it is important to keep in mind the end goal: to better understand the experiences of those that endure it and the effects that these incidents can have on them. While the boundaries and clear definition of microaggressions are contested by scholars it is difficult to deny that they have an effect on the individual. In a further study, Sue and his team investigated the Black American racial experience and the effects that microaggressions have on their psychological well-being. “Participants reported feelings of anger, frustration, doubt, guilt, or sadness when they experience microaggressions and noted further that the emotional turmoil stayed with them as they tried to make sense of each incident” (Sue et. al. 2008 p. 336). Based on the research, Sue et. al (2008) concurred with prior research that though microaggressions are subtle remarks they can nevertheless threaten the mental health of Black Americans, which may lead some to suppress their Black or Afrocentric selves in order to conform with the Eurocentric values of our society.

In the previously discussed article by Wong and her colleagues (2014) the authors not only reviewed racial microaggression research but also the evidence of the impacts of racial microaggressions. Though the psychological effects of racial discrimination that lead to depression, anxiety, lower self-esteem and physical health issues are well documented there is

not as much investigation into the long term effects of subtle racial comments. “Our review found that perceived psychological distress in ethnic and racial minority groups (e.g., anxiety, diminished self-esteem, diminished self-efficacy, etc.) as the result of experiencing racial microaggressions has been documented in several settings, namely therapy, clinical supervision, academia, university classrooms and environment and the community” (Wong et. al. 2014 p. 8). From the reviews that Wong and her team were able to compile a model for the psychological effects as a result of racial microaggressions which is depicted below (2014 p. 21).

Wong et al.

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Microaggressions Presented on an Online Platform

As previously stated, there is a significant amount of research into the experiences of microaggressions by individuals of racial minority and how they report feeling. A majority of this research has been conducted by collecting accounts of personal experiences through interviews or surveys. However, this is not the only method for collecting data about people's experiences with racial microaggressions. As many of the studies that have been mentioned before, there needs to be a variety in the research methods to explore new questions. Since the increase in the popularity of the term microaggressions, online platforms have become available for individuals to share their experiences and stories with the public, "For example, a Facebook page, The Microaggressions Project, was launched in 2010 to document instances of microaggressions and to demonstrate 'how these comments create and enforce uncomfortable, violent, and unsafe realities onto people's workplace, home, school, childhood/adolescence/adulthood, and public transportation/space environments'" (Lilienfeld 2017 p. 139). These platforms are more accessible to a greater sample of the population than surveys that recruit people from specific sources.

Another online platform that has become available for users to post their experiences or instances that they have witnessed anonymously is a website blog run from Tumblr. This project began in 2010 and states that "This blog, however, is a space to extend this concept [racial microaggression] to different socially constructed identities that embody privilege in different ways - sexuality, class, religion, education level, to name a few - in hopes of making visible the ways in which social difference is produced and policed in everyday lives through comments of people around you" (<http://www.microaggressions.com>). This blog allows for people to post about any kind of microaggression that they experience. The contributions are anonymous and

can be read by anyone. Though this blog does address multiple microaggressions the focus of this content analysis will be those with the race tag.

The purpose of this content analysis is to address the following objectives: to understand how minority groups express their experiences with microaggressions, to analyze if there are certain trends or comments that are the most prevalent, to determine if there is one racial group that posts more frequently about their microaggression online than others, and to look at how people report feeling or acting after experiencing microaggression.

Method

The content analysis used a qualitative approach to explore how individuals present their racial microaggressions in online and anonymous platform. The content on this website is not only from people that experienced racial microaggressions but those that witnessed the incidents. There were 1610 posts that were tagged as “race” since the beginning of the blog, and this sample used 75 posts from over the last 4 years. Posts were selected randomly, 25 from each year 2015-2013. The posts were then analyzed based on the 5 codes that were developed. Though there are 5 distinct codes for racial microaggressions there is evidence of multiple codes in a post as well as examples of microaggressions other than racial such as gender, class or sexuality.

The first code that was defined will be referred to as: *Stereotypes*. Poster reports being stereotyped- which is an often unfair and untrue belief that many people have about all people or things with a particular characteristic (which in this case will be race). This code will include racial stereotypes, generalizing ethnicities into broad categories (such as calling all Asians Chinese), fear and hostility towards Non-White people, assuming socioeconomic status based on

race, and attempting to use stereotypes as complements. An example of one of the posts within this category is: “OMFG! It’s like little Mexico beneath my floors! New neighbors moved in below us and all I hear are babies crying and the bass of latino music!’ From a Facebook post from a fellow counseling colleague.” This was posted five years ago from an individual that witnessed this racial comment.

The second code will be referenced as: *Lack of Acknowledgment of the Microaggression*. This specifically means that the microaggression is described by the poster to have gone overlooked or ignored by others who witnessed it even if they recognized the incident. This includes: People in positions of authority ignoring microaggressions and people justifying their actions or comments when their microaggression comment was pointed out to them. One of the posts in this category was: “I walk into a party where there is all white people. As soon as I walk in the door, a guy asks what my race is. It was literally the first words spoken to me. When I answered “black”, his girlfriend immediately said “well we say the word nigga here so just letting you know.” Later she even justified herself by saying it was OK because she says it with an “a” on the end instead of “er.” Made me feel like not going out to parties and less interested in meeting new people.” This post was from five years ago as well.

The third code in this study is entitled: *Microaggressions in Physical Appearance*. This code categorizes any microaggression that involves comments made on physical appearance or comments/actions that directly relate to the poster’s physical appearance, which includes remarks about skin tone, hair texture, and religious garb or cultural appropriation through clothing. An example of this code would be: “Black and what?’ A random man aggressively shoving his face in mine at a party. Caught off guard and unsure of what he is asking, all I can say is ‘What?’ ‘Well you are clearly black but there is obviously something else mixed in.’” This post was from

two years ago.

The fourth code is entitled: *Microinvalidation* which refers to microaggressions that involve people assuming someone to be inferior based on their appearance or language. This includes statements that offer unwarranted explanations of American culture, compliments on “speaking White” or articulately, and questioning the nationality of Non-White people. An example from a post that was submitted three years ago, “**Guy next to me on plane:** So, where are you from? **Me:** Florida. **Guy:** No, like, where are you FROM? **Me:** Um, I was born in New York... **Guy:** But, what about... (He pulls the corners of his eyes back in an effort to look Asian.)” Through these kinds of comments, the man is negating his fellow passenger’s identification as an American.

The final code that was used to analyze the posts is: *Feelings of the Original Poster*. If, or how, the poster reports feeling about the microaggression or how they responded. Many of the common emotions that were seen were violated, uncomfortable, like an outsider, shocked, disgusted, and angry. A prime example of how posters express their feelings is in this post, “Being in a class the first day, when the professor is trying to learn names. He asks the names of everyone who speaks. I speak; he doesn’t ask my name. I notice he also doesn’t ask any of the other Asian-appearing students their names when they speak, either. What, do we all look so alike you know you wouldn’t be able to tell us apart, so you’re not even going to bother learning our names? In class, college, female, Chinese-American. Made me feel like I was less than a person, and that my opinion didn’t matter as much because of my race.” This code is used in an attempt to understand how racial microaggressions affect individuals in the short term when the incident occurs. Provided below as an example is an excerpt of the coding chart that was used to collect data, this data was from posts of 4 years ago.

Document Type	Code #1: stereotypes	Code #2: lack of acknowledgment of the microaggression	Code #3: microaggressions in physical appearance	Code #4: microinvalidation]	Code #5: feelings of original poster
Post from a mixed race person from 4 years ago		A girl in my English class described president Obama as 'Black.' I mentioned that he had a White mother and therefore this side of his heritage should be acknowledged too as it's just as much a part of him.		The response: "Yeah, but he still has Black heritage, so he's Black, isn't he? Doesn't matter what vagina he came out from."	Made me angry, frustrated at the ignorance, categorised and disheartened
Post from African American woman from 4 years ago				"Sorry, that must be my Black coming out." My biracial friend (African American and Mexican). Whenever she does or says something negative she blames it on the "Black" side of her.	Makes me feel angry, belittled, resentful.
A post from a South Asian female from 4 years ago	I am South Asian, and I was ranting about how a fellow college student had told me I was pretty, but only because I looked "ethnic".	My friend replies, "At least he thinks you're pretty."			It made me feel confused, annoyed, and like I wasn't being heard.

Results

In the 75 posts that were analyzed each was coded for the aforementioned themes and the number of instances in each theme were tabulated. There were 43 instances of Stereotypes, 11 instances of Lack of Microaggression Acknowledgement, 10 instances of Microaggressions in Physical Appearance, 30 instances of Microinvalidation and 36 Instances of Feelings of the Original Poster. The codes were also broken down by race when the information was available, and this table is provided below. At times, it was difficult to elicit any demographic information from the post about who was the victim if the remark is general or if the poster does not specify.

	Black	Muslim/Arab	Asian	Latin
Code 1: Stereotypes	9	2	14	10
Code 2: Lack of acknowledgment	8	0	2	0
Code 3: physical appearance	6	0	3	2
Code 4: microinvalidation	7	3	7	9
Code 5: feelings of poster	12	1	7	9
Total	42	6	36	29

The table also helps to demonstrate that while the experiences of Black Americans are fairly evenly distributed, incidents of racial microaggressions for Asian Americans are concentrated in stereotypes and microinvalidation. From the data that was available it seems that though each group posted, Black Americans were the most frequent posters closely followed by Asian Americans. Typically it was women that posted more frequently than men. This trend was present in all of the races.

In further analyzing the data to address the objective focused on understanding how individuals feel and react to microaggressions another table was built to look at which words were most often used in code 5. It seems that the two most often feelings were frustrated/angry and isolated.

	Accounts
Sad/upset	5
Frustrated/angry	13
Isolated	8
Less/degraded	6

	Accounts
Shocked	4
Embarrassed	2
Offended	4
Disappointed	1

Discussion

In this study I aimed to advance our understanding of how minority groups experience microaggressions, to analyze if there are certain trends or comments that are the most prevalent, to determine if there is one racial group that posts more frequently about their microaggression online than others, and to look at how people report feeling or acting after experiencing microaggression.

To begin with the first objective, there was a trend of two different kinds of posts. Some simply state what happened as they were an observer and then the others were direct recipients of the microaggression. The first type of poster was just there to post their stories and show that these incidents do occur and to educate, as was stated in the mission of the website. Those that are involved in the incidents are not as neutral. Many of them use colorful language to express their frustration and shock. For most of these people this is a matter of emotion and they certainly express that. The final objective can also be addressed when discussing the emotions that were most used by the posters. Though there were posts that did not discuss how the poster felt, there were also many that did with the most frequent words used were frustrated/angry and isolated. While extant research on the effects of microaggressions have addressed the potential for depression and anxiety that individuals may experience as a result of these instances there is an absence of attention to the isolation that was evident in these posts. Made to feel like an outsider repeatedly left many people angry at the racial undertones in our society and feeling as though they were not accepted in America.

The trends that were present within the posts were based upon qualitative analysis after the posts were coded. The trends also addressed the objective about the racial group that posted most frequently. It appears that Black and Asian Americans were the most frequent posters on

this blog, though they differed in the kinds of racial microaggressions that they experienced. Most of the Asian American posts were concentrated in stereotypes and microinvalidation. Though the literature has explored criminality in Black Americans, in this study that was included and applied within the first code of stereotypes. In addition, there were more women than men represented on this platform with many of them tagging their posts with gender as well as race. However, research into the website that the blog is based out of, it seems to have a higher percentage of female users as opposed to men anyways.

Limitations of the Study

This content analysis was limited in a few different ways. Though the anonymity of the blog encouraged people to post their experiences this also meant that there was limited data about the demographics of who was posting. If not specified, occasionally the content of the post revealed the ethnicity and gender of the poster. Other times there was no data or way of knowing the demographics of the individual that was posting the incident. Along these lines it was also difficult to make definitive statements as there was not enough data for a statistical analysis.

In addition, there was sometimes overlap of the themes in a post and it became complicated to classify into the codes that were developed. The posts were coded by the same individual but if the study was to be replicated another individual may place the same post into a different code. Furthermore, there were multiple codes and themes present within one post.

With the limited scope and source of the study there was not a significant data to be able to apply the results generally. The conclusions that were made apply to this platform but cannot be expanded to other online anonymous blogs for microaggressions and definitely not to the general public for all instances of microaggressions.

Further Study

This preliminary study was beneficial in understanding the presentation of racial microaggressions in this limited scope, however as discussed earlier these results cannot truly be generalized to all experiences of microaggressions. It would be advantageous to expand this content analysis to similar platforms and see if comparable results are achieved. For example, female Black Americans are the most frequent posters, however it is difficult to extrapolate if they are the most often to fall victim to microaggressions or simply the most represented on this platform and this merits further research. As there was a difference in the posting of males versus females it would be interesting to use intersectionality to understand how men and women's experience with microaggressions differ. Finally, though there was data available (limited as it was) about those that posted the microaggressions, there was no information on the demographics of the people performing the microaggression and this would also be interesting to explore as this issue is not simply colored vs white.

Conclusion

Looking at the research that has already been conducted in racial microaggressions, there is significant progress in understanding the term and attempting to categorize it. Though Chester Pierce coined the term, D.W. Sue has been instrumental in beginning the movement of research in racial microaggressions with his studies to categorize the different types and exploration into the experiences of Black and Asian Americans. Though there has been a rapid increase in microaggression research, there are still many questions that remain to be answered with holes in the scientific claims that have been made regarding the present state of microaggressions that require more evidence.

The content analysis of this paper took a different approach from the typical personal surveys and interviews that are typical of the microaggression concept. Though the conclusions that were made could not be applied more generally they are still significant in confirming the literature that has already been presented in this field as well as raising new questions that need to be answered about microaggressions.

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