

The Impact of Microaggressions on Men of Color in Graduate Counseling Programs

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Abstract

Racial microaggressions are subtle and covert language that communicates a negative perception of people of color. The study investigated the perceived racial microaggressions of Asian, Hispanic, and Black males in graduate counseling programs. Participants (n= 99) completed the Racial Ethnic Microaggression Scale. The one-way analysis of variance (ANOVA) was used to analyze the data. The findings revealed a statistically significant difference in the perceptions of microaggressions between Asian, Hispanic, and Black males.

Keywords: Racial Microaggressions, Minority Males, Graduate Counseling

Introduction

With recent the murders of George Floyd and Ahmaud Arbery, and the Black Lives Matters protests on racial profiling and police brutality, it is apparent that racism and prejudices still besiege us in society today. Although racism may not always be as evident as these events, it is still very rampant; but now it is more covert and subtle. These racial inequities are harmful to individuals who experience them. Because they are hidden in nature, it is sometimes complicated to recognize discriminatory behavior (Sellers, Caldwell, Schmeelk-Cone, & Zimmerman, 2003).

Men of color are often the recipients of microaggressions, and their experiences are downplayed or minimized (Perez, Furtuna, &Algeria, 2008). They are left with the burden of confronting these issues alone. When no others are available to acknowledge or validate these experiences, consequently, these experiences can seriously impact an overall physical and mental well-being (Sue, Lin, Torino, Capodilupo, & Rivera, 2009). This is particularly true for individuals who pursue graduate education. In higher education, men of color experience a variety of

challenging situations that contribute to more considerable psychological distress than their white counterparts. At predominantly white institutions (PWIs), minority males, specifically those pursuing graduate education, are often victims of microaggressions and racism. These behaviors can lead to negative and unwelcome campus climates that can impact academic success and degree attainment. Since graduate programs are small in capacity, difficulties posed by microaggressions may be worsened for male students of color who lack a supportive social network (Nichols, 2016).

This study aimed to investigate the effect of racial microaggressions on minority males in counseling graduate programs. Understanding what affects the growth and advancement of men of color is essential to the field of counseling. The researchers explored the impact of racial microaggressions among Asian, Hispanic, and Black students. As such, the study answered the following question: What effect does perceived microaggression have on Asian, Hispanic, and Black male graduate students in counseling programs?

Literature Review

Microaggressions are intentional or unintentional brief exchanges that communicate hostile, derogatory, negative slights and insults that result in harmful or unpleasant psychological influence on an individual or group (Sue et al., 2007). According to Allen (2010), microaggressions affect marginalized groups and exhibit environmental cues through verbal and nonverbal hidden messages. The individuals who experience microaggressions have feelings of self-doubt and confusion that can also result in anger, irritation, and a decrease in self-esteem. Microaggression theory posits that any expression, or comment that is judged by the individual to be inappropriate or hurtful. Stambaugh & Ford (2015) asserted that microaggressions, albeit brief and commonplace in nature, communicate racial or ethnic insults toward others, most often experienced by Blacks and Hispanics.

Solórzano (1998) explained that racial microaggressions are daily expressions of racism that people of color contend with in their public and private lives. They are a form of systemic racism in which verbal or nonverbal assaults are targeted toward a person of color, often automatically or unconsciously. They are often centered on not only a person of color's race/ethnicity but also how they interconnect with other perceived differences of gender, class, sexuality, language, immigration status or accent. The effect of racial microaggressions is cumulative, taking a psychological and physiological toll on targeted individuals. A model for understanding racial microaggressions theory is based on four factors:

1. **Type:** How one is targeted by a racial microaggression. Verbal microaggressions are frequently casual comments (regarding appearance, language, or country of origin) Nonverbal microaggressions can be kinetic (body language) or visual (images).
2. **Context:** Where the racial microaggression occurs (classrooms, faculty meetings).
3. **Effect:** The physiological and psychological consequences of racial microaggressions (self-doubt, anger, stress, racial battle fatigue, poor academic performance, poor health).
4. **Response:** How one responds to racial microaggressions (denial, self-policing, proving aggressors wrong, resistance).

Racial microaggressions theory is critical because it provides a framework for people of color to "name" the pain caused by everyday racism so that it cannot be dismissed. Additionally, the framework allows individuals to have open dialogues about how racism is manifested in our society (Solórzano, 1998).

What Do Microaggressions Look Like?

Sue et al. (2007) examined several types of microaggressions and found three distinct categories: microassaults, microinsults, and microinvalidations. Microassaults were described as racial derogation characterized primarily by a verbal or nonverbal attack meant to hurt or to be purposefully discriminatory actions (Sue et al., 2007, p. 274). An example of this is a restaurant hostess seating African American customer in the back of a restaurant while reserving seating for White American customers in the front.

Microinsults were described as ignoring individuals of color. For example, a professor may cut off students of color during class discussions or make facial expressions (rolling eyes) when a Black person speaks in class (Sue et al., 2007). Microinvalidations were described as communications that deliberately exclude or express indifference to the psychological thoughts or feelings of a person of color (Sue et al., 2007). The fundamental

premise is microaggression experiences can have long term effects when people of color find themselves repeatedly in situations of microaggressions and are unable to find validation for their perceptions.

Microaggressions in Graduate School

Graduate school is already stressful for students and experiencing racial microaggressions can result in students feeling isolated, doubting their abilities, and overall feeling disconnected from the academic community. Forrest-Bank (2015) examined differences in microaggression experiences among a sample of 409 Asian, Latino, Black, and White young adults using the Racial and Ethnic Microaggressions Scale (REMS). The results revealed that young adult experiences in all the non-White groups are significantly higher for microaggression than its White counterpart. Black participants experienced the highest rate of microaggression, followed by Latinos/Hispanics and Asians (Forrest-Bank, 2015).

Shah (2008) found that many African American, Hispanic American, and Asian American students in graduate programs are often faced with situations in which they experience racial microaggression. Examples of racial microaggressions within the university setting include being invalidated or ignored in class discussions; assigned academic readings focus only on the dominant culture, or ascription of intelligence based on visible racial identity. This internal confusion microaggression can cause a significant amount of stress that can gradually impact academic development and mental well-being (Shah, 2008).

Graduate Faculty and Microaggressions

Faculty possess a vital role in the development of students on their psychological, social/emotional, and intellectual development. Due to the cultural incongruence between White faculty (Landsman & Lewis, 2011) and their students, primarily composed of minorities, the racial demographic imbalance warrants a discussion concerning the impact of faculty level microaggressions on minority students in classroom. Overall, the classroom and university climate is defined by the interactions between students and staff and how these interactions can influence school outcomes for minority students. Faculty perceptions, deficit versus asset-based perspectives, and the lack of culturally relevant practices serve as faculty level microaggressions that ultimately marginalize African American, Hispanic and Asian students.

Faculty perception, which a professor believes about his/her students regarding their abilities, capabilities, expectations, and likely outcomes, can manifest microaggressions against their students. As such, faculty perceptions set the overall tone for the classroom climate, and this climate can significantly affect students' experiences. Because racial bias can unconsciously exist in faculty perceptions, faculty must possess tools to deconstruct their life experiences, historical contexts, and socio-racial-economic realities (Landsman & Lewis, 2011).

Asian-Americans and Racial Microaggression

The lack of Asian American representation in higher education is often overlooked. When exploring the role of race, Asian Americans are frequently viewed as a model minority who are successful and experience little racism (Wong, Derthick, David, Saw, & Okazaki, 2013; Wong & Halgin, 2006). The public perception of Asian Americans being the "non-minority" minority creates invisibility and a lack of racial identity. This problem impacts degree attainment explicitly for males. Asian males are targeted by racism (perception of emasculation) bullying and hazing during college (Teranishi, 2010). This ethnic group possesses low college participation rates and low college completion rates among some of its sub-populations.

The absence of Asian males in graduate education, including within counseling discipline, reflects the limited understanding and knowledge for its demographic. Harper and Hurtado (2006) confirmed that Asian males are understudied in the campus racial climate literature. Because this group is ignored in research, their invisibility reinforces the token stereotypical perceptions of the White society (Teranishi, 2010; Teranishi, 2012). Booker (2013) reported that Asian Americans experience considerable everyday prejudice and discrimination. The findings suggest that exposure to day-to-day racial microaggressions is frequent and that statements, such as being asked "Where were you born?" or being told "You speak good English" can have an adverse effect on Asian-Americans, in part, because such innocuous statements often mask an implied message that Asians are not real Americans (Booker, 2013). These experiences harm Asian American males pursuing graduate education because they are associated with elevated levels of anxiety, anger, and stress, leading to depression and sickness.

Hispanic Americans and Microaggressions

The population of Hispanic Americans has surpassed that of all other ethnic minority groups and is now considered the largest in the United States (Ennis, Rios-Vargas, & Albert, 2011). Despite their rapid growth, Hispanic Americans still experience disparities in most social, economic, employment, and educational domains in American society. Ennis, et al (2011), postulated that research on educational outcomes suggests that when campus racial climates foster isolation and hostility toward students of color, Hispanic American students have lower rates of educational success. Additionally, educational discrimination in the form of verbal harassment and exclusion has been correlated with adverse outcomes, such as withdrawal from school and intentions to quit, for Hispanic American students (Ennis, Rios-Vargas, & Albert, 2011).

The 2016 United States presidential election has highlighted discrimination toward Hispanic Americans with derogatory remarks about Hispanic Americans being illegal and connecting them to crime. This discrimination has been reconceptualized to include chronic stressors or everyday experiences with bias, which takes a significant toll on individuals' physical and psychological health (Araújo & Borrell, 2006). Thus, it is becoming increasingly important to identify the stressors that negatively affect Hispanic American Americans' daily lives and other marginalized groups. A study by Rivera et al (2010) found several distinctive themes demonstrating the various ways that Hispanic Americans experience microaggression. These themes were:

1. Ascription of intelligence (i.e., experiences in which the Hispanic are treated as intellectual inferiors).
2. Second class citizen (i.e., instances in which Hispanics receive subordinate treatment than their White counterparts).
3. Pathologizing communication style/cultural values (i.e., occurrences in which Hispanics are taught their cultural norms or ways of speaking are inferior or inadequate, while learning that Western/ White American norms or ways of speaking are superior or good).
4. Characteristics of speech (i.e., incidents in which Hispanics are invalidated because of their accents).
5. Alien in own land (i.e., interactions in which all Hispanics are assumed to be foreign-born or "not American enough").
6. Criminality (i.e., experiences in which Hispanics are assumed to be deviant or prone to crime); and
7. Invalidation of the Latina/o American experience (i.e., statements in which Hispanics are taught their perceptions of discrimination were unfounded or in which their racial/ethnic realities were denied).

Rivera et al. (2010) research reinforces the discrimination that exists on college campuses for Hispanic males. Steel and Aronson (1995) confirmed that these linkages between racial stereotypes and racial microaggressions contributed to the negative experiences and poor academic performances of Hispanic males pursuing graduate education.

African Americans and Microaggression

Racial microaggressions among African Americans have been the focus of much research over the past decade. Researchers mainly focused on how educators can perpetrate microaggression that harms students and undermines their learning (Sue et al., 2009). Consequently, these barriers prevent non-White people from accessing educational and other health-related services. African American males have grappled with distinctive experiences with racial microaggressions. These are often attributed to the stereotypes and prejudices typically associated with their group affiliations (Allen, Scott, & Lewis, 2013; Wang, Leu, & Shoda, 2011).

Stambaugh and Ford (2015) analyzed microaggressions perpetuated among Blacks, and low-income individuals identified as gifted students. The researchers theorized that gifted individuals are subject to microaggressions based on their distinctive characteristics (Forrest-Bank, 2015). The researchers found that microaggressions were propagated when gifted individuals were Black or low income (Allen et al., 2013 & Forrest-Bank, 2015). The authors recommend counseling for culturally different and low-income gifted students. The premise is that when individuals differ significantly from the general population in terms of beliefs, ability, cultural differences, or race or ethnicity, they become more susceptible to being misunderstood and microaggressive (Stambaugh & Ford, 2015).

Allen et al. (2013) examined the shared experiences of racial microaggressions experienced by African American males to their well-being, self-concept, and racial identity development. They used Critical Race Theory (CRT) as the theoretical framework and as a basis for their discussion. The CRT framework uncovered valuable

information concerning how and why Black males experience subordination through social and institutional racism. The researchers explored racial microaggressions through the lens of the educational setting. Allen et al. (2013) concluded that African American males experience high levels microaggressions in institutional settings. This impact of racial microaggressions permeates into educational settings. People of color, specifically African American males, often feel isolated on college campuses, especially true for males pursuing doctoral degrees. The constant unequal distribution of resources and opportunities that provide advantages to their White counterparts result in negative experiences in college settings. These negative experiences often lead to minorities not completing their degrees.

Methodology

Population

The participants in this study were Asian, Hispanic, and Black male doctoral recipients from counseling related programs in the United States. The participants were selected from the following associations: American Counseling Association (ACA), National Board of Certified Counselors (NBCC), American Psychological Association (APA), Asian American Psychological Association (AAPA), Asian Counseling and Referral Service (ACRS), National Latino Behavioral Health Association (NLBHA), National Latina/o Psychological Association (NLPA), Association of Hispanic Mental Health Professionals (AHMHP), Association of Black Psychologists (ABP), National Black Counseling Psychologists, and the Society for Psychological Study of Culture, Ethnicity, and Race. The associations were selected because they are the catalyst that brings together counseling professionals.

Sample

The sample final consisted of approximately (n=99) participants comprised of Asian (n=30) Hispanic (n=33), and Black (n=36) male doctoral recipients. The researcher sought to obtain equal representation in each group of participants. The independent variable is race. The dependent variables are perceived microaggression scores from the Racial and Ethnic Microaggression Scale (REMS).

Instrumentation

The data in the study were collected using the Racial and Ethnic Microaggressions Scale (REMS). The REMS was developed by Nadal (2011) and was used in a series of studies of microaggressions by focusing on people of color, women, LGBTQ persons, religious minorities, disabled people, and multiracial persons. The REMS was developed to evaluate the types of racial microaggressions individuals experience in their everyday lives (Nadal, 2011). The scale identifies 45 microaggression items and categorized them into six major subscales: (a) Assumptions of Inferiority, (b) Second-Class Citizen and Assumption of Criminality, (c) Microinvalidations, (d) Exoticization and Assumptions of Similarity, (e) Environmental Microaggressions, and (f) Workplace and School Microaggressions. The items were scored by placing a "0" or "1" next to each microaggression incident. The instructions ask for participants to think about their experiences with race and the frequency of which the events have occurred within the past six months. The six subscales are the following:

1. Assumptions of Inferiority
2. Second-Class Citizen and Assumption of Criminality
3. Microinvalidations
4. Exoticization and Assumptions of Similarity
5. Environmental Microaggressions
6. Workplace and School Microaggressions

Validity and Reliability

The Racial and Ethnic Microaggressions scale (REMS) is the most widely used instrument to measure subtle statements and behaviors that unconsciously communicate discriminatory comments to people of color. Regarding reliability, REMS produced a coefficient of alpha of .882 with each subscale eliciting a coefficient alpha well above .70. Forty-five microaggression incidents were categorized into six major subscales: (a) Assumptions of Inferiority, (b) Second-Class Citizen and Assumption of Criminality, (c) Microinvalidations, (d) Exoticization/Assumptions of Similarity, (e) Environmental Microaggressions, and (f) Workplace and School Microaggressions. Evidence of reliability through satisfactory internal consistency supports REMS as a

satisfactory measure. The overall scale and the subscales support recent literature of minority experiences and everyday occurrences that are race related (Nadel, 2011).

Procedures

A web-based survey was distributed to potential participants the survey which included the letter of consent to participate and a link to the survey. The consent form explained the purpose of the study, subjects' voluntary participation, and anonymity. The participants also were informed on how to contact the researchers. The web-based survey sent a reminder e-mail to non-respondents to encourage their completion and return of the survey. The web-based survey had a maximum response count and kept track of email Internet protocol addresses and email accounts to restrict participants from completing the survey more than once.

Data Analysis and Results

The Statistical Package for the Social Science (SPSS) software was used to analyze the quantitative data. A One-way Analysis of Variance (ANOVA) was utilized to analyze the null hypotheses. The following null hypotheses were tested at the .05 level of significance:

- Research Question: What effect does perceive microaggression have on Asian, Hispanic, and Black male graduate students in counseling programs?
- Null Hypothesis: There is no statistically significantly difference in perceived microaggressions between Asian, Hispanic, and Black male doctoral recipients in counseling programs.
- Alternative Hypothesis: There is a statistically significantly difference in perceived microaggressions between Asian, Hispanic, and Black male recipients in counseling programs.

Demographics

The respondents were nearly equally distributed with Asians 30% ($n = 30$), Hispanics, 33.3% ($n = 33$), and Blacks 36.4% ($n = 36$) (See table 1). Aside from race, descriptive statistic revealed that of the 99 respondents, 35.4% ($n = 35$) held enrolled in graduate school for 1-2 years, 21.2% ($n = 21$) for 3-4 years, and 43.4% ($n = 43$) for 5 or more years (See table 2).

Inferential Statistics

Comparisons between groups were made using the one-way ANOVA. The One-way ANOVA reported a significance level for Subscales 1, 2, 3, and 6 ($p=.000$, $.043$, $.005$, $.024$ consecutively) are below $.005$. Therefore, there is a statistically significant difference in the mean of the groups. The alternative hypothesis was accepted, and the null hypothesis was rejected for these subscales. Subscale 1 (Assumptions of Inferiority) average, [$F(2, 96) = 10.57, p < .005$]. Subscale 2 (Second-Class Citizen and Assumptions of Criminality) average [$F(2, 96) = 3.26, p < .043$]. Subscale 3 (Microinvalidations) average, [$F(2, 96) = 5.62, p < .005$]. Subscale 6 (Workplace and School Microaggressions) average [$F(2, 96) = 3.85, p < .05$]. Subscales 4 and 5 were not significantly different, the null hypothesis accepted (See table 3).

Significant Differences Between Races

In Subscale 1 (Assumptions of Inferiority), it appears that there is a significant difference between Asians, Hispanics, and Blacks ($p < .005$). There is a significant difference Assumptions of Inferiority between Hispanics and Asians but not Hispanics and Blacks. The same held true for Blacks.

In subscale 2 (Second-Class Citizen and Assumptions of Criminality), there is no significant difference between Asian and Hispanics, but significant difference between Asian and Blacks. ($p=.013$). There is no significant difference between Hispanics, Blacks, and Asians. Blacks indicated significant differences between Asians but not Hispanics ($p=0.13$).

In subscale 3 (Microinvalidations), no significant differences between Asians and Hispanics, but significant difference between Asian and Blacks ($p=.003$). No significance between Hispanics and Asians, but significance between Hispanics and Blacks. Blacks suggested significant differences between Asians and Hispanics.

Subscale 4 (Exoticization and Assumptions of Similarity) and Subscale 5 (Environmental Microaggressions) indicated no significant difference between all racial groups ($p > .05$) on REMS average or subscale scores.

Subscale 6: (Workplace and School Microaggressions) revealed no significant differences between Asians and Hispanics, but Asians and Hispanics revealed significant differences with Blacks, and Black revealed significant differences with Asians and Hispanics on REMS average or subscale scores ($p=.006, 0.25$) (See table 4) .

Implications and Recommendations

The findings identified in this study have direct implications for practice. This study provided essential data for Asian, Hispanic, and Black male students in graduate counseling programs. The first recommendation is to create awareness and educate students of color on ways to successfully cope with microaggressions and encourage and support them throughout their graduate career. Male students of color are resistant or are less likely to seek assistance when feeling emotional distress. Thus, it is crucial to engage in intrusive practices to increase the likelihood that men of color will take advantage of this support to cope with microaggressions successfully.

It is recommended that counseling programs address racial stereotypes through cultural competency training and hiring diverse faculty and staff. Most universities and colleges recognize the importance of diversity outreach and engagement but often fail in reconciling its importance and associated implications for organizational decision-making (Price et al., 2005). Faculty and staff members should become aware of the challenges that men of color experience in their academic and personal lives. By understanding the challenges that men of color experience, faculty members can become more mindful of how to engage and support men of color in and out of the classroom.

A mentoring program or network for minority males is recommended for male students of color. One of the most effective methods for supporting men of color is through mentorship. Numerous studies have shown that mentoring is an effective way to retain and promote the advancement of minority males and that the absence of or inadequate formal mentoring has disproportionately adverse effects on men of color. Hernández, Carranza, and Almeida (2010) validated the importance of mentoring to combat racial microaggressions. The authors examined adaptive responses that mental health professionals of color use to cope with racial microaggressions. Through mentorship, the research revealed that participants were able to voice and share their interest in addressing the challenges of microaggressions.

In closing, institutions should provide training for staff and students in handling racial microaggressions. Lewis et al. (2013) asserted that universities must provide training to staff and students to address racial microaggressions and reduce their ongoing presence directly. To create an inclusive university community, it is important to educate staff about how they could unknowingly perpetuate microaggressions and make students of color feel uncomfortable in campus settings. Comprehensive multicultural education and training are direct ways to combat racial microaggressions (Sue, 2010a).

Table 1. Race Demographics

Race	Frequency	Valid Percent
Asian	30	30.3
Hispanic	33	33.3
Black	36	36.4
Total	99	100.0

Table 2. Demographic Characteristics by Enrollment

Variable	Frequency	Valid Percent
1-2 years	35	35.4
3-4 years	21	21.2
5 years or more	43	43.4
Total	99	100.0

Table 3. Scores of Participants by Subscales

		Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
Subscale 1	Between Groups	1.593	2	.796	10.576	.000
	Within Groups	7.228	96	.075		
	Total	8.820	98			
Subscale 2	Between Groups	.519	2	.260	3.260	.043
	Within Groups	7.643	96	.080		
	Total	8.162	98			
Subscale 3	Between Groups	.905	2	.452	5.620	.005
	Within Groups	7.725	96	.080		
	Total	8.630	98			
Subscale 4	Between Groups	.147	2	.073	1.078	.344
	Within Groups	6.529	96	.068		
	Total	6.675	98			
Subscale 5	Between Groups	.325	2	.163	1.868	.160
	Within Groups	8.362	96	.087		
	Total	8.687	98			
Subscale 6	Between Groups	.796	2	.398	3.859	.024
	Within Groups	9.896	96	.103		
	Total	10.692	98			

Table 4. Multiple Comparison Chart

Dependent Variable	(I) Race	(J) Race	Mean Difference (I-J)	Std. Error	Sig.	95% Confidence Interval	
						Lower Bound	Upper Bound
Subscale 1	1	2	-.20114*	.06922	.005	-.3385	-.0637
		3	-.30972*	.06783	.000	-.4444	-.1751
	2	1	.20114*	.06922	.005	.0637	.3385
		3	-.10859	.06613	.104	-.2398	.0227
	3	1	.30972*	.06783	.000	.1751	.4444
		2	.10859	.06613	.104	-.0227	.2398
Subscale 2	1	2	-.07929	.071179	.269	-.220511	.062070
		3	-.17698*	.069753	.013	-.315443	-.0385
	2	1	.079220	.071179	.269	-.06207	.2205
		3	-.09776	.06800	.154	-.23274	.0372
	3	1	.17698	.069753	.013	.03852	.31544
		2	.097763	.068001	.154	-.03721	.2327
	1	2	-.041077	.07155	.567	-.1831	.10096

Subscale 3	3		-.217283	.07012	.003	-.356481	-.07808
	2	1	.041071	.071559	.567	-.1009	.1831
		3	-.176206	.06836	.011	-.3119	-.0405
	3	1	.217283	.07012	.003	.07808	.35648
		2	.17620*	.06836	.011	.04050	.3119
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Subscale 4	1	2	-.08417	.065784	.204	-.21475	.04640
		3	-.08333	.06446	.199	-.2112	.0446
	2	1	.08417	.06578	.204	-.04640	.214
		3	.0008	.06284	.989	-.12390	.1255
	3	1	.08333	.06446	.199	-.0446	.2112
		2	-.0008	.062847	.989	-.12559	.12390
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Subscale 5	1	2	-.05541	.07444	.459	-.20319	.09236
		3	.080952	.07295	.270	-.0638	.2257
	2	1	.05541	.07444	.459	-.09236	.20319
		3	.13636	.07112	.058	-.00481	.2775
	3	1	-.08095	.07295	.270	-.225	.06386
		2	-.13636	.07112	.058	-.2775	.00481
Subscale 6	1	2	-.019	.081	.817	-.18	.14
		3	-.196*	.079	.016	-.35	-.04
	2	1	.019	.081	.817	-.14	.18
		3	-.177*	.077	.025	-.33	-.02
	3	1	.196*	.079	.016	.04	.35
		2	.177*	.077	.025	.02	.33

*. The mean difference is significant at the 0.05 level. 1=Asians, 2=Hispanics, 3=Blacks.

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