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## Psychological Processes Underlying Microaggressive Communications by Majority Members Against Black People in Ireland

Sine Bering Holdensen

The European Master in the Psychology of Global Mobility, Inclusion and Diversity in Society

Supervisor:

Prof. Dr. Christin-Melanie Vauclair, Assistant Professor,  
ISCTE – University Institute of Lisbon

Co-Supervisor:

Prof. Dr. Milan Obaidi, Associate Professor & Researcher,  
University of Oslo

June, 2021



CIÊNCIAS SOCIAIS  
E HUMANAS

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## Resumo

Pesquisas sobre microagressões raciais como uma forma de discriminação racial sutil tem recebido atenção crescente. Todavia, a perspectiva do emissor e os antecedentes psicológicos das microagressões raciais permanecem pouco estudados. O presente estudo investigou os processos psicológicos que predizem a probabilidade de comunicar microagressões raciais entre membros adultos da maioria étnica irlandesa (N = 254). Considerando pesquisas anteriores sobre o tema, formulou-se a hipótese de que as normas anti preconceito intrínsecas e extrínsecas preveriam comunicações racialmente microagressivas com formas sutis de preconceito racial mediando essa relação. Com base nos princípios do modelo de justificação-supressão da expressão do preconceito, esperava-se perceber que a crença em um mundo justo ampliasse a relação entre o preconceito racial sutil e a probabilidade microagressiva. Como esperado: normas intrínsecas previram negativamente as comunicações microagressivas e normas extrínsecas as previram positivamente. O preconceito racial sutil como mediador foi parcialmente apoiado: a) o racismo moderno mediou o vínculo entre as normas intrínsecas e a probabilidade microagressiva, enquanto b) o racismo aversivo mediou o vínculo entre as normas extrínsecas e a probabilidade microagressiva. Este último sugere que as normas anti preconceito na sociedade podem levar ao aumento da ansiedade intergrupar que, por sua vez, pode aumentar a probabilidade de comunicar microagressões raciais. A crença em um mundo justo não foi um moderador significativo nas associações testadas. Resultados e implicações são discutidos. Sugestões para pesquisas futuras incluem um incentivo para incorporar as perspectivas do emissor e do recetor em estudos sobre microagressões raciais para compreender seus processos psicológicos subjacentes.

*Palavras-chave:* microagressões raciais, normas sociais, preconceito racial sutil, crença em um mundo justo, Irlanda

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**Abstract**

Recently, research on racial microaggressions as a form of subtle racial discrimination has received increasing attention. However, the perspective of the deliverer and the psychological antecedents of racial microaggressions remain understudied. The present study investigated the psychological processes that predict the likelihood to communicate racial microaggressions among adult Irish ethnic majority members ( $N = 254$ ). Considering previous research on predictors of subtle prejudice and microaggressive communication, it was hypothesized that intrinsic and extrinsic anti-prejudice norms would predict racial microaggressive communications with subtle forms of racial prejudice mediating this relationship. Based on the tenets of the justification-suppression model of the expression of prejudice, it was also expected that belief in a just world would exacerbate the relationship between subtle racial prejudice and microaggressive likelihood. As expected, intrinsic norms negatively predicted microaggressive communications while extrinsic norms predicted them positively. The mediating role of subtle racial prejudice was partially supported: a) modern racism mediated the link between intrinsic norms and microaggressive likelihood, while b) aversive racism mediated the link between extrinsic norms and microaggressive likelihood. The latter suggests that anti-prejudice norms in society may lead to increased intergroup anxiety which, in turn, may increase the likelihood to communicate racial microaggressions. Belief in a just world was not a significant moderator in any of the hypothesized associations. The results and their implications are discussed. Suggestions for future research include an encouragement to incorporate both deliverer and receiver perspectives in studies on racial microaggressions in order to understand their underlying psychological processes.

*Keywords:* racial microaggressions, social norms, subtle racial prejudice, belief in a just world, Ireland

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2930 Culture and Ethology

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## Introduction

Racial discrimination has been described as a highly contagious and resilient virus which spreads and mutates across different social contexts (e.g., Dovidio & Gaertner, 2000; Korff, 2000). Historically, blatant racial discrimination such as the South African Apartheid system and the American racial segregation laws have, rightfully, received a high level of priority in social psychological research (e.g., Bobo, 2011; Painter & Blanche, 2004). However, survey studies of racial attitudes and beliefs suggest that blatant racism has declined over the past decades (e.g., Dovidio et al., 2017a; Schuman et al., 1985; Taylor et al., 1978). Despite this tendency, support for anti-racist governmental policies has remained weak over time (e.g., Jacobson, 1985; Kinder & Sears, 1981; Yogeeswaran et al., 2018). In addition, a number of experimental studies have shown that subtle indicators, such as non-verbal responses, continue to reveal negative differential treatment of Black individuals, even among those who claim to be non-prejudiced (Crosby et al., 1980; Dovidio et al., 1997). When blatant racism is in decline, how do we explain these paradoxical findings?

Some researchers have proposed models of subtle racism and suggested that subtle forms of racial discrimination, such as racial microaggressions, have increased (e.g., King et al., 2011; Pager & Shepherd, 2008). As opposed to blatant discrimination, subtle discrimination is not necessarily conscious, intentional nor unlawful which can make such behaviors difficult to address for individuals both on the delivering and the receiving end. This presents a problem because it may create situational ambiguity that may cause higher stress levels on both sides which, in turn, makes it more difficult to decide on a coping response (Pascoe & Smart Richman, 2009). Furthermore, this potential ambiguity in conjunction with the cognitive automaticity that often lead to subtle discrimination make such behaviors highly complex which, in turn, make them difficult to tackle in interventions aimed at reducing them. Congruent with this line of arguments, a meta-analysis by Jones and colleagues (2016) has shown that subtle discrimination has as much a detrimental effect as blatant discrimination on minority members (see also Chakraborty & McKenzie, 2002; Okazaki, 2009). Moreover, previous research has shown that prevailing social norms of being unprejudiced (e.g., egalitarian norms) play a key role in the change from blatant to subtle discrimination that contemporary society has seen over the last decades (see e.g., Crandall et al., 2002). Hence, it is crucial to understand the psychological processes that predict subtle racial discrimination, including the role that social norms play, in order to design successful interventions aimed at minimizing its adverse effects.

A high volume of recent research on subtle discrimination has focused on racial microaggressions in the U.S. (see e.g., Sue et al., 2007, 2008, 2009). Yet, some authors have argued that the conceptualization and operationalization of microaggressions is problematic, among other due to a) the ambiguous, implicit and contradictory nature of the concept, and b) the fact that contextual and situational factors have been overlooked when defining the concept (see e.g., Garcia & Johnston-Guerrero, 2016; Haidt, 2017; Lilienfeld, 2019, 2017a, 2017b). These aspects point to the argument that the concept of microaggressions and their underlying psychological processes are more complex than what research has covered so far. Thus, with this study, we aim to contribute to a clarification of the con-

ceptualization and operationalization of racial microaggressions by investigating them outside the U.S. The fact that most research on racial microaggressions has been conducted in the U.S. presents a problem as discriminatory behaviors often differ across cultural contexts based on social norms (see e.g., De Franca & Monteiro, 2013). The present study aims to address this tendency by investigating how social norms may influence racial microaggressions in Ireland. This contributes greatly to the existing literature as, to our knowledge, only one study has been conducted on microaggressions in Ireland and only in the refugee population (Sheridan, 2021).

Compared with the U.S., Ireland is largely ethnically homogenous with 91.7% self-declaring as White in the most recent census (CSO Ireland, 2016). One of the reasons is that Ireland, historically, is a country of emigration and, thus, immigration is a relatively new phenomenon (Mac Éinrí & White, 2008). In the most recent census, individuals of Black ethnic origin only made up 0.002% of the Irish population and is only slowly increasing (CSO Ireland, 2016). Historically, Ireland has been largely politically conservative compared to several other European countries (Field, 2018). However, this tendency has changed in recent years where the political landscape has moved further toward the left. For instance, in 2015, Ireland was the first country in the world to legalize same-sex marriage by popular vote (Tobin, 2016). In sum, Ireland's migratory and political context migration and politics differs greatly from the U.S.-American context.

Subtle discrimination from the perspective of the deliverer has been studied extensively since the 1980s (Duckitt, 2010). However, subtle discrimination in the framework of racial microaggressions has mainly been studied from the perspective of the receiver (e.g., Constantine & Sue, 2007; Nadal et al., 2012a; Sue et al., 2010). Two recent studies by Kanter and colleagues (2017; 2020), which focused on the perspective of the deliverer, have shown that subtle forms of racial prejudice are related to ethnic majority members' likelihood to communicate racial microaggressions. Nevertheless, predictors of the likelihood to enact microaggressive behavior remain unclear. The present study extends previous research by examining anti-prejudice norms in society as an antecedent to racial microaggressive communication. Furthermore, subtle racial prejudice is considered to be a mediating variable for this association. Moreover, it was tested whether belief in a just world as a personal belief system moderated the relationship between subtle racial prejudice and microaggressive likelihood.

The aims of the present study were 1) to help gain greater clarity about how to conceptualize and operationalize microaggressions in the Irish context, 2) to replicate, in the Irish context, previous findings from the U.S. context in which a link between subtle racial prejudice and microaggressive behaviors has been established 3) to contribute to the existing literature by investigating the psychological processes that lead ethnic majority members to deliver racial microaggressions.

## Chapter I - Literature Review

Jones and colleagues (2016) defined subtle discrimination as “negative or ambivalent demeanor and/or treatment enacted toward social minorities based on their minority status membership that is not necessarily conscious and likely convey ambiguous intent. Compared to overt discrimination, subtle discrimination is less likely to be unlawful” (p. 1591). This implies that subtle discrimination as opposed to blatant discrimination, is frequently unrecognized by the deliverer. Moreover, it is sometimes, but not always, ambiguous (i.e., difficult to attribute to prejudice) which make such acts more difficult to pinpoint and address for the receiver, though they may still have underlying negative impacts on the receiver’s mental health and well-being (Jones et al., 2016). Subtle discrimination has long been studied in social psychology but mainly from the perspective of the deliverer, while research on microaggressions has mainly focused on the receivers. The present research integrated these two traditions by looking at the perspective of deliverers of subtle discrimination in a microaggressions framework.

Racial microaggressions can be considered a subtle form of perceived discrimination and was defined by Sue and colleagues (2007) as “brief and commonplace daily verbal, behavioral, or environmental indignities, whether intentional or unintentional, that communicate hostile, derogatory, or negative racial slights and insults toward people of color” (p. 271). According to Lui and colleagues (2020), blatant discrimination and subtle discrimination in the form of microaggressions differ on the dimension of ambiguity; the more ambiguous, the more subtle. However, individuals may perceive unfair treatment and unambiguously attribute it to prejudice. In turn, the adverse impact on the receiver’s mental health and well-being is linked to this attribution rather than the intention or consciousness with which the treatment was delivered.

Extensive research has shown a relationship between racial prejudice and racial discrimination (for a review, see Oswald et al., 2013). Fiske and North (2015) found that current measures of racial prejudice are more subtle than earlier ones while several scholars have found that these measures are associated with subtle forms of discrimination: For instance, Brief and colleagues (2000) found that modern racism predicts employment discrimination. Additionally, Dovidio and colleagues (2002) summarized empirical findings which indicated that aversive racism is positively associated with White individuals’ discriminatory behavior toward Black minority members in the U.S. Moreover, Yogeewaran and colleagues (2018) found empirical support that colorblindness predicted opposition to policies that redress inequalities between ethnic majority and minority groups in New Zealand. In sum, it appears that subtle racial prejudice plays a significant role in predicting subtle forms of racial discrimination.

Allport (1954) defined prejudice as an “aversive or hostile attitude toward a person who belongs to a group, simply because they belong to that group, and is therefore presumed to have the objectionable qualities ascribed to that group” (p. 7). This implies that prejudice typically involves biases against groups, however, contemporary research has shown that such biases do not necessitate absolute negativity. For example, ageism and sexism are not marked by overall antipathy, but rather a mix

of benevolence and negativity (e.g., Fiske et al., 2007; Glick & Fiske, 2001). What subtle forms of contemporary racial prejudice have in common is a core of devaluing sentiments which is less overt, to oneself and others, than the blatant negativity that classic prejudice encompasses (Gaertner & Dovidio, 1986; McConahay, 1986; Pettigrew & Meertens, 1995). To exemplify, we have reviewed subtle forms of contemporary racial prejudice:

*Modern Racism* (McConahay, 1983, 1986) was derived from symbolic racism theory (Sears, 1988; Henry & Sears, 2002), however, the concepts differ in where racial prejudice stems from. Symbolic Racism proposes that White individuals' negative attitudes are primarily rooted in concerns that Black individuals threaten White individuals by violating principles of individualism. Conversely, modern racism theory hypothesizes that various forms of negative affect may be acquired at an early age and persist into adulthood (Gaertner & Dovidio, 2005). Both concepts characterize the attitudes of individuals holding politically conservative and individualistic values and measures have been found to predict political attitudes and behaviors (Carney & Enos, 2017; Henry, 2009; Wright et al., 2021). Some researchers (e.g., Dovidio & Gaertner, 2004) have criticized the concepts, firstly for their great conceptual overlap. Additionally, they have argued that neither measure of racial prejudice should be characterized as subtle because they have developed a great sensitivity to social desirability bias over the years. This could point to a tendency that the standard for what is considered subtle has increased due to greater awareness as a consequence of prevailing egalitarian norms in society. Thus, modern and symbolic racism measures may no longer be as subtle as they used to. Yet, it remains interesting to include such measures of racial prejudice as extensive empirical evidence has indicated that the constructs continue to exist in society (Charlesworth & Banaji, 2021a, 2021b; Devine et al., 2001). Furthermore, their association with, especially, political orientation and their ability to predict voter behavior make them important to understand in order to reduce racial discrimination in society at large.

Contrary to symbolic and modern racism, *Aversive Racism* (Gaertner & Dovidio, 1986; Kovel, 1970) characterizes the biases of those who are politically liberal (Nail et al., 2003). Aversive racists genuinely regard themselves as non-prejudiced and often hold egalitarian values. However, they have an unconscious racial bias which is expressed in subtle, indirect, and often rationalizable ways (Pearson et al., 2009). Additionally, the negative feelings that aversive racists have toward Black individuals reflect discomfort, anxiety, or fear rather than open hostility or hatred (Gaertner & Dovidio, 2005). This anxiety may be influenced by a subconscious fear of revealing, to oneself and others, the adverse feelings that one has toward Black individuals. Aversive racist behavior is often avoidant (Dovidio & Gaertner, 2000, 2004) or may, in some instances, reflect the expression of more positive feelings toward Black individuals than toward White individuals (Gaertner et al., 1997; Greenwald & Pettigrew, 2014).

In a similar vein, *Colorblind Racial Ideology* (CBRI) is often adopted by individuals who hold egalitarian values and is defined according to two interrelated components: a) color-evasion, and b) power-evasion. Color-evasion refers to the denial of racial differences by emphasizing sameness while

power-evasion refers to denial of racism by emphasizing equal opportunities (Neville et al., 2013). Though, individuals who have adopted a CBRI often hold egalitarian values, CBRI does not reduce racial prejudice. Moreover, people who endorse greater levels of CBRI have been found to engage in racially insensitive behavior (e.g., Apfelbaum et al., 2008; Holoien & Shelton, 2012). Thus, CBRI can be regarded as an ultramodern form of subtle racial prejudice.

Modern racism, aversive racism and CBRI have certain conceptual overlaps, however, they differ on key aspects. Whereas the negative feelings that modern racists experience stem from early acquired negative attitudes toward Black individuals, the negative feelings that aversive racists experience stem from a dissonance between perception of own personal beliefs and value systems and experienced discomfort regarding racial issues and interracial interactions (Crandall & Eshleman, 2003, 2005). These personal belief and value systems may stem from internalized egalitarian norms (Dovidio & Gaertner, 2004), however, external pressures from social norms may also play a role in creating a feeling of anxiety. Modern racism and CBRI theories are similar in their denial of racism, although, the underlying motivation differs. Whereas modern racists deny racism because they believe it is a thing of the past and that ethnic minorities are themselves responsible for the discrimination they experience, individuals who have adopted a CBRI, deny that racial discrimination exists altogether based on internalized egalitarian norms and values (Neville et al., 2000). Finally, CBRI and aversive racism are similar in their underlying motivation which stems from internalized egalitarian norms. Neville and colleagues (2013) suggested that aversive racists may be motivated to adopt a CBRI because it is an ideal strategy to help them avoid racial topics or minorities so that they can preclude the discomfort that arises from addressing racial issues. Conversely, modern racists are less motivated by internal factors than by external factors to appear non-prejudiced in order to hide their negative attitudes to avoid social sanctions. Nevertheless, modern racists may still have internalized, to an extent, societal anti-prejudice norms. In sum, internal or external anti-prejudice norms should play an important role in the endorsement of subtle racial prejudice, and therefore, the expression of racial microaggressions. To the best of our knowledge, these associations have not been studied. Although this research tradition is in social psychology, focusing on subtle racial prejudice, it seem justifiable to think that it should help to better understand expressions of racial microaggressive behaviors.

### **Racial Microaggressions from the Perspective of the Deliverer**

Kanter and colleagues (2017, 2020) were the first to develop and validate a scale aimed at measuring racial microaggressions from the perspective of the deliverer in a U.S. context (see also Mekawi & Todd, 2018). The Cultural Cognitions and Actions Scale (CCAS; Kanter et al., 2017, 2020) aimed to measure self-reported likelihood to deliver racial microaggressions. The scale presents eight different scenarios involving potential Black–White individual or group interactions followed by a series of microaggressive communication statements. Participants are asked to what extent they are likely to think or behave in this way.

The CCAS was developed, first through a series of focus groups with Black students in the U.S. while consulting the literature in order to identify common microaggressions and the contexts in

which they are likely to occur. Afterwards, Kanter and colleagues (2017) conducted a series of focus groups with White students in the U.S. and asked them how likely they were to say or do these microaggressions in context. Finally, exploratory and confirmatory factor analyses were conducted which found support for a four-factor structure (Kanter et al., 2020). These yielded four sub-scales which included 1) Negative attitudes, 2) Colorblindness, 3) Objectifying, and 4) Avoidance. *Negative attitudes* items expressed explicit negative attitudes and stereotypes about Black people, for example, “A lot of minorities are too sensitive”. *Colorblindness* items expressed denials of race and racism, that one should ignore interracial divisions and view each person as an individual, and that one should seek common humanity across differences. A sample item was “I don’t think of Black people as Black”. *Objectifying* items expressed a focus on the superficial characteristics and othering of Black people, including the item “You look like an African Goddess”. Finally, *Avoidance* items expressed avoidance from interracial interactions and of discussions of racial issues. A sample items included someone making an excuse to go home early to avoid discussing a racially sensitive topic.

Kanter and colleagues (2017; 2020) found support that the delivery of racial microaggressions by ethnic majority members is not simply harmless behavior and may be symptomatic of “broad, complex, and negative racial attitudes and explicit underlying hostility and negative feelings toward Black students” (2017, p. 296). The authors found moderate to strong correlations between modern racism (McConahay, 1986), symbolic racism (Henry & Sears, 2002) and colorblind racial attitudes (Neville et al. 2000), respectively, and microaggressive likelihood. However, these results were only found for the negative attitudes and colorblindness sub-scales. Contrarily, only weak to moderate correlations were found between the aforementioned measures of subtle racial prejudice and the objectifying and avoidance sub-scales. These findings suggest that different forms of subtle racial prejudice may predict different types of microaggressive behavior.

***The Motivation to Respond Without Prejudice as a Social Norm Factor***

In recent years, a strong social norm has developed in Western society, where it is no longer acceptable to behave in a prejudiced manner toward ethnic minority members (Dovidio et al., 2017a; Shelton et al., 2005). Some individuals have internalized this norm and have a sincere intrinsic motivation to behave non-prejudiced and strive to respond in an egalitarian manner because responding with prejudice violates their personally important standards. Others act in a non-prejudiced manner merely in order to portray a non-prejudiced image due to extrinsic normative pressures in order to avoid social sanctions (Plant & Devine, 1998). Crandall and colleagues (2002) found that the public expression of prejudice toward social groups is highly correlated with social approval of that expression. This indicates that people closely adhere to social norms when, for instance, expressing prejudice, evaluating scenarios of discrimination, or reacting to hostile jokes. The two dimensions of motivation to respond without prejudice can be viewed on a continuum ranging from exclusively being motivated for external reasons, to being externally and internally motivated to varying degrees, to solely being motivated for internal reasons (Devine et al., 2002).

Extensive research has investigated the impact of motivation to be non-prejudiced in interracial interactions. Studies have indicated that individual motivational differences has important implications for the control of racial prejudice expression. Devine and colleagues (2002) found that people who are motivated primarily by their internalized beliefs to respond without prejudice are less likely to show racial bias. In addition, Johns and colleagues (2008) found that the relationship between intrinsic motivation and low levels of racial bias stems from the activation of egalitarian goals. Moreover, Butz and Plant (2009) found that individuals who are internally motivated effectively control their prejudice expression across situations and strive for positive interracial interactions. In contrast, individuals who are externally motivated consistently fail at regulating prejudice in situations where control is difficult (e.g., when they must respond quickly or their cognitive resources have been compromised) and consequently respond with anxiety and avoidance in interracial interactions. In their recent study, LaCosse and Plant (2020) found that internally motivated ethnic majority members are aware that ethnic minority members want to be respected, are concerned about showing this respect, and demonstrate it by focusing on getting to know and engaging with ethnic minority members. On the other hand, ethnic majority members who are externally motivated are focused on their own concerns about appearing prejudiced and focus on themselves and their own experience rather than the needs of ethnic minority members. These findings suggest that motivation to respond without prejudice as a(n) (internalized) social norm factor could prove central in predicting the likelihood to enact microaggressive behaviors. Based on the findings outlined above, we hypothesize that internal motivation to respond without prejudice would predict a lower likelihood to deliver racial microaggressions while external motivation to respond without prejudice would predict a higher likelihood to deliver racial microaggressions. Crandall and Eshleman (2003) proposed that social norms may play a central role as a suppressor which may inhibit the expression of racial prejudice. Additionally, they proposed that personal belief systems may serve as justifiers to allow the expression of racial prejudice which may trump the suppressing factors. In the following, we look closer at how belief in a just world as a personal belief system may serve as such a justifier.

### ***Belief in a Just World as a Personal Belief System***

Lerner (1965; 1980) defined Belief in a Just World (BJW) as the assertion that good things tend to happen to good people and bad things to bad people despite that this may not be true. BJW serves an important adaptive function as a coping strategy as it creates a sense of stability and control. Hence, it can both act as a buffer against stress but also enhance achievement behavior (Dzuka & Dalbert, 2000; Lerner & Miller, 1978). Moreover, in their meta-analysis, Furnham (2003) found that BJW is highly resilient and stable over time. Lerner (1998) argued that adults express two forms of BJW: a) a conscious which is about conventional rules, morality and social judgements and b) a pre-conscious which includes primitive rules of blaming and automatic emotional consequences. The latter downplays the role of situational factors and suggests, in essence, that the problem of social injustice lies not in society but in the victims of prejudice (Cowan & Curtis, 1994; Cozzarelli et al., 2001; Schuller et al., 1994)



Overall, empirical evidence suggests that a strong BJW predicts prejudiced attitudes to a range of disadvantaged groups (Furnham & Gunter, 1984; Montada, 1998; Reichle et al., 1998). Furthermore, Neville and colleagues (2000) found that colorblind racial ideology and modern racism were positively related to BJW, indicating that greater endorsement of colorblind racial attitudes and modern racism, respectively, were related to a belief that society is just and fair. The authors explained the findings regarding colorblind racial ideology with the idea that there is a conceptual link between colorblind racial attitudes and BJW as both concepts constitute a level of unawareness or ignorance of negative forces in society (e.g., racism or unfortunate incidents). Consequently, they both embrace a "blame the victim" perspective in which people are blamed for their misfortunes (p. 63). Extending these findings, Carney and Enos (2017) found empirical evidence that high levels of modern racism are linked to just world beliefs. This suggests that individuals who endorse modern racist attitudes have an underlying belief system consistent with BJW. Theoretically, Carney and Enos (2017) explained the association between the two concepts with the idea that when biological justifications of racism (i.e., "old-fashioned" racism) were abandoned, new justifications were constructed to explain the inability of Black individuals to achieve the same socioeconomic benefits as White individuals. BJW similarly asserts that individuals are motivated to reduce cognitive dissonance (Festinger, 1957) by adopting the belief that people of low social status deserve their status. Hence, as biological explanations for justifying the low social status of Black individuals declined, a belief in a just world would motivate people to search for alternative explanations for Black social status, such as a lack of hard work. In sum, research suggests that BJW might indeed serve as a justifying function in predicting prejudice expression and, therefore, might exacerbate the link between subtle prejudice and microaggressive behavior.

*Based on these findings, and that no such associations have been identified for aversive racism, we hypothesize that BJW would only moderate the links between modern racism and colorblind ideology, respectively, and microaggressive likelihood. In addition, we base this on the conceptual grounds of either construct which includes the denial of racism. Conceptually, it resonates well that individuals who deny racism, whether it being its merits or its existence entirely, would be the least sensitive to social cues inhibiting them from communicating racial microaggressions. Thus, they would be more prone to communicate racial microaggressions when justifying factors, such as BJW, are triggered. Hence, we hypothesize that the association between modern racism and colorblind racial ideology, respectively, and microaggressive likelihood is stronger at higher levels of belief in a just world than at lower levels. On the contrary, aversive racists are highly sensitive to social cues which could reveal their racial bias. In turn, this makes them hyper vigilant and, thus, more likely to avoid instead of engage in an uncomfortable situation where they may reveal their aversive emotions toward Black individuals. In that sense, justifying factors are less relevant for aversive racists.*

### **The Present Study**

The present study sought to explore the psychological underpinnings of ethnic majority members' likelihood to deliver racial microaggressions. Specifically, we expected that motivation to respond

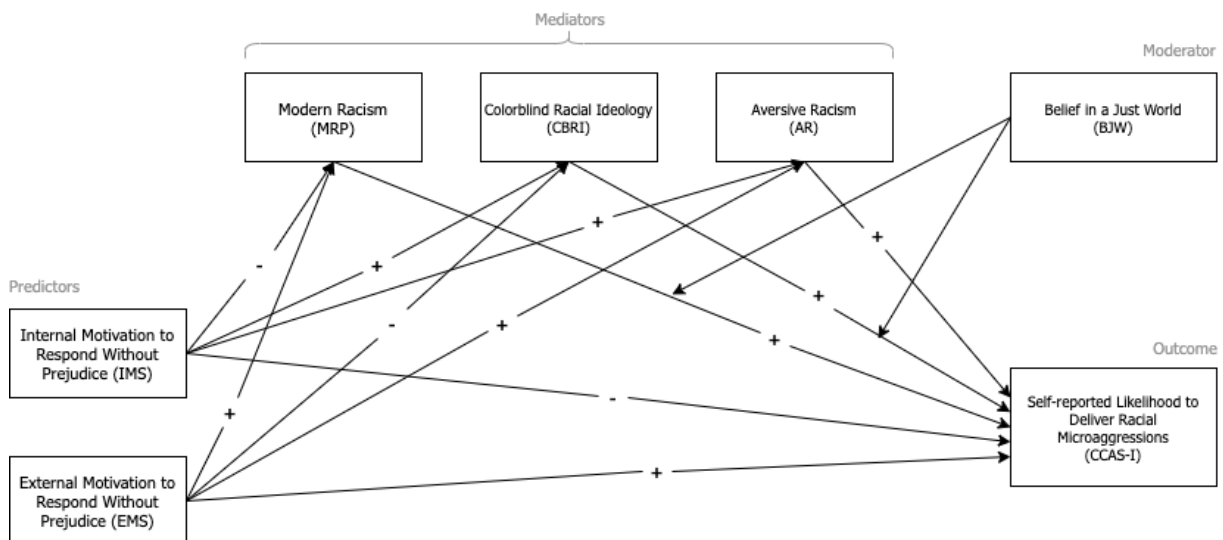
without prejudice is associated with the likelihood to deliver racial microaggressions and that subtle racial prejudice mediates this relationship. Moreover, we expected that belief in a just world would moderate the relationship between subtle racial prejudice (i.e., modern racism and colorblind racial ideology) and microaggressive likelihood. That is, the link between subtle racial prejudice and likelihood to deliver racial microaggressions would be stronger for those individuals who showed high belief in a just world than individuals with low belief in a just world.

The current study adds theoretical, empirical and practical value. Theoretically, the present research build onto the existing literature by gaining greater clarity about how to conceptualize and operationalize microaggressions. Furthermore, it contributes to the existing literature by taking a step further toward understanding the psychological processes which predict ethnic majority members' likelihood to deliver microaggressions to racialized minority members. Empirically, the study attempts to replicate and expand Kanter and colleagues' (2017; 2020) findings that subtle racial prejudice predicts the microaggressive likelihood by testing subtle racial prejudice as a mediating variable. Practically, we propose belief in a just world as a moderator which may help design successful interventions aimed at minimizing microaggressions.

Based on previous literature, we formulated the following conceptual model (Figure 1) and hypotheses. Study 1, conducted among ethnic minority members in Ireland, was based on focus groups exploring the conceptualization and operationalization of racial microaggressions with the practical aim of adapting the Cultural Cognitions and Actions Scale (CCAS; Kanter et al., 2017; 2020) to the Irish context. Study 2, conducted among ethnic majority members in Ireland, tested the relationship between internal and external motivation to respond without prejudice, respectively, and self-reported likelihood to deliver racial microaggressions utilizing the adapted version of the CCAS (CCAS-I). Modern racism, colorblind racial ideology and aversive racism were tested as mediators and belief in a just world was simultaneously tested as a moderator on the relationship between modern racism and colorblind racial ideology, respectively, and the outcome variable.

**Figure 1**

*Conceptual Moderated Mediation Model*



*Note.* Conceptual model estimating the effect of internal and external motivation to respond without prejudice, respectively, on the likelihood to deliver racial microaggressions as well as indirectly through modern racism, colorblind racial ideology and aversive racism, respectively, with conditional indirect effects moderated by belief in a just world for the mediators modern racism and colorblind racial ideology.

### ***Hypotheses***

H1: Internal motivation to respond without prejudice is negatively associated with self-reported likelihood to deliver racial microaggressions (H1a). This link is mediated by modern racism (H1b), colorblind racial ideology (H1c) and aversive racism (H1d).

H2: External motivation to respond without prejudice is positively associated with self-reported likelihood to deliver racial microaggressions (H2a). This link is mediated by modern racism (H2b), colorblind racial ideology (H2c) and aversive racism (H2d).

Although H1b, H1c, H2b and H2c test indirect effects, we were also interested in examining if these mediated effects were a function of belief in a just world. Therefore, we examined moderated mediation models in order to determine if significant indirect effects uncovered through our hypothesis testing (H1b, H1c, H2b and H2c) varied systematically as a function of belief in a just world. See Figure 1 for the conceptual model guiding the moderated mediation tests. Hypotheses of moderated mediation were proposed:

H3: The indirect effects of modern racism and colorblind racial Ideology on the likelihood to deliver racial microaggressions are moderated by belief in a just world such that the association between modern racism and self-reported likelihood to deliver racial microaggressions is stronger at higher levels of belief in a just world than at lower levels (H3a). We hypothesized a similar moderating effect of belief in a just world on the relationship between colorblind racial ideology and self-reported likelihood to deliver racial microaggressions (H3b).

## Chapter II - Study 1

Though the present study mainly focused on racial microaggressions from the perspective of the deliverer, it remains important to consider the perspective of the receiver in conceptualizing and operationalizing what constitutes racial microaggressions. Extensive research has been conducted on microaggressions from the perspective of the receiver in the U.S.-American context (e.g., Allen et al., 2013; Clark et al., 2011; Nadal et al., 2012b; Ong et al., 2013; Rivera et al., 2010). Extending this literature, Nadal (2011) developed the 45-item Racial and Ethnic Microaggressions Scale (REMS) which aimed to evaluate the types of racial microaggressions that individuals experience in their everyday lives. Respondents were presented with a list of microaggressive incidents and instructed to indicate the number of times that a microaggression occurred in the past six months ( $0 =$  "I did not experience this event in the past six months",  $5 =$  "I experienced this event 5 or more times in the past six months"). The REMS comprised six components; a) Assumptions of Inferiority, b) Second-Class Citizen and Assumptions of Criminality, c) Microinvalidations, d) Exoticization/Assumption of Similarity, e) Environmental Microaggressions, and f) Workplace and School Microaggressions. The items of the REMS have a great overlap with the items of the CCAS. However, the Environmental Microaggressions (e.g., "I observed that someone of my race is a government official in my state") and the Workplace and School Microaggressions (e.g., "I was ignored at school or at work because of my race") sub-scales differ. Environmental microaggressions were defined according to Sue and colleagues' (2007) taxonomy as "racial assaults, insults and invalidations which are manifested on systemic and environmental levels" (p. 278). Workplace and School Microaggressions are microaggressions that are specific to the workplace and school environments (Sue et al., 2009).

Research on how racial microaggressions manifest in the European context is scarce (but see e.g., Willis, 2015). This is a problem because social norms play a central role in the expression and suppression of racial prejudice (e.g., Walker et al., 2015; Zitek & Hebl, 2007) and, thus, these may differ across cultural contexts as do social norms. Similar to findings in the U.S. context, Pettigrew and Mertens (1995) posited that Western European countries have been developing a norm against blatant prejudice. However, they found empirical evidence that this norm was stronger and more deeply established in some countries than in others. Hence, it is plausible to hypothesize that the expression of racial microaggressions may differ between cultural contexts. In the present study, we aim to contribute to the literature on racial microaggressions outside the U.S. context by investigating how racial microaggressions are experienced in the European context through a series of focus groups with Black ethnic minority members in Ireland. The practical aim of the focus groups was to culturally adapt the CCAS to the Irish context. The adapted version of the CCAS was used to study microaggressive communications by majority members in Ireland in Study 2.

We focused on Black ethnic minority members in Ireland because they provide an interesting point of comparison with the U.S. context as the migratory history of the Black Irish community is significantly different from that of the African American community. In addition, previous research on deliverers of racial microaggressions has focused on Black ethnic minority members and, thus, provi-

de a relevant starting point for future research. That said, we do not rule out that other ethnic minority groups in Ireland, such as Irish travelers and members of the Asian Irish community, may experience racial microaggressions.

### **Method**

Four focus groups were conducted with two or three participants in each. The duration of the sessions was approximately 90 minutes. The study received approval from the Ethics Committee at ISCTE - Lisbon University Institute (approval number 115/2020). The practical aim of study 2 was to adapt the Cultural Cognitions and Actions Scale (CCAS; Kanter et al., 2020) to the Irish context. The original CCAS (Kanter et al., 2020) comprised eight scenarios. For example, one scenario described attending a mixed-race diversity workshop in which there was a discussion of White privilege. Each of the eight scenarios was presented with a picture and a brief title describing the scenario. Before each scenario, respondents were instructed to *“Please read each story and then use the following scales to rate how likely you would be to think or say/do each item”*. After each scenario, participants were asked to rate a number of statements on two separate scales. First, they were asked *“How likely would you be to think about the following (or something similar)?”* on a five-point scale (1 = “Very unlikely”, 5 = “Very likely”). Second, they were asked *“How likely would you be to actually SAY or DO the following (or something similar)?”* using the same five-point scale. The complete scale comprised 33 microaggressive items.

### **Participants and Materials**

Participants were ten individuals who identified as members of the Black Irish community. Prior to the focus groups, they completed an online form (see appendix A, pp. 60-66) containing question regarding socio-demographic information and previous knowledge and experiences with racial microaggressions. Participants were asked about their age, gender identification, country of birth, age of migration to Ireland (if not born there), father’s country of birth, mother’s country of birth, ethnic identification, the extent to which they felt they were perceived as Black in Ireland, the extent to which they thought they were racialized (i.e. ascribed to a certain ethnic and/or racial identity) in Irish society, current occupation, educational level, self-perceived socioeconomic status, religious affiliation, level of religiosity and familiarity with the concepts of racial microaggressions as defined by Sue and colleagues (2007).

Eight of the participants (80.0 %) were female and the mean age was 28.4 ( $SD = 9.30$ ). The age span ranged from 20 to 50 years. On a seven-point scale (1 = “Not at all”, 7 = “Very much”), on average participants self-declared that they were perceived by others as Black in Ireland ( $Mean = 5.40$ ,  $SD = 2.01$ ). In addition, on a seven-point scale (1 = “Not at all”, 7 = “Very much”), on average, they reported to be racialized ( $Mean = 5.20$ ,  $SD = 1.99$ ). Five participants (50.0 %) were born in Ireland and four (40.0 %) had moved there before adolescence ( $Mean = 12.60$ ,  $SD = 14.54$ ). The minimum age at the time of migration was three and the maximum age was 38. All participants’ fathers were born outside Ireland while three of the participants’ mothers (30.0 %) were born in Ireland. Seven participants (70.0 %) reported that they identify with an ethnic minority group. Ethnic identification includ-

ed Afro Caribbean, West African, East African, South African, Igbo, Indian and Irish. Nine participants (90.0 %) reported to be in paid work, two participants (20.0 %) reported to be in education, and one participant (10.0 %) reported to be unemployed. Eight participants (80.0 %) reported to hold at least an undergraduate degree which indicates an educational level above average of the population in the sample. All participants (100.0 %) reported to be coping or living comfortably on present income. Five participants (50.0 %) considered that they belong to a religious denomination (Roman Catholic or another Christian denomination). Regardless of belonging to a particular religion, the mean level of self-reported religiosity on a seven-point scale (1 = "Not at all religious", 7 = "Very religious") was 3.7 ( $SD = 2.50$ ) meaning that the sample was neither very religious nor unreligious. On a five-point scale, all participants (100.0 %) displayed a high familiarity with the concept of racial microaggressions ( $Mean = 4.80$ ,  $SD = .42$ ). This could also be connected to an above average educational level in the sample (see above). Eight participants (80.0 %) reported to have observed and/or been the receiver of microaggressions while two (20.0 %) answered "Maybe" to this question. Four participants (40.0 %) were willing to share and were able to give accurate accounts of own experiences with racial microaggressions in the form which was filled prior to the focus group session, whereas the remaining chose to leave this question blank. All participants were willing and able to share accurate accounts of own experiences with racial microaggressions during the focus group sessions indicating high familiarity with the concept of microaggressions.

### **Procedure**

Participants were recruited via existing networks through social media and snowball sampling. The focus group sessions were conducted and recorded via Zoom (Zoom Video Communications Inc., 2016) with informed consent from the participants collected through the online form providing full disclosure regarding the nature of the study. The form was sent via email upon expressed interest and after participants had been given the opportunity to ask questions regarding the study. The form was built in Qualtrics (Qualtrics, Provo, UT) and comprised questions regarding socio-demographics and previous knowledge and experiences with racial and ethnic microaggressions (see above).

A reflection sheet (see appendix B, pp. 67-71) was sent to the participants prior to the focus group session. The purpose of this was to facilitate the discussion. The sheet included the original eight scenarios from the CCAS (Kanter et al., 2020) as well as instructions to reflect upon a) whether the scenarios could happen in Ireland b) the likelihood of White Irish Individuals saying or doing the listed statements in the particular scenario c) what other microaggressive statements White Irish individuals may say or do in the scenarios and d) what other microaggressive scenarios that could happen in Ireland based on their personal experiences and/or observations.

A semi-structured interview guideline (see appendix C, pp. 72-78) was used during the focus group sessions. Firstly, information about the study was repeated and participants were reminded that their participation was strictly confidential, that they could withdraw at any time before, during or after the session without any justification and that the session would be recorded. A short warm-up session was performed where every participant introduced themselves and their motivation to

participate in the study. Afterwards each scenario was shown on the screen and read aloud by the lead investigator followed by the question *“To what extent do you think this or a similar situation would be likely to happen in Ireland? Why/Why not?”*. Follow-up questions were asked according to the reflections of the participants. The order in which the scenarios were presented varied according to the demographic characteristics of the particular focus group and according to which scenarios had been discussed in the previous focus group(s). This was done in order to optimize participants’ relatability to the scenarios while ensuring that equal amounts of data were collected about each scenario. All scenarios were discussed a minimum of two times across different focus groups.

A co-researcher from the Black Irish community was present for two out of four focus group sessions. This was in order to promote a sense of allyship and invoke trust between the participants and the lead investigator as the latter was of White ethnicity. Moreover, it served as quality assurance in order to ensure that no insensitive questions were asked or inappropriate behaviors were displayed due to lack of knowledge regarding the experience of being Black in Ireland.

The Racial and Ethical Microaggressions Scale (REMS; Nadal, 2011) was used to generate additional reflection questions for the focus groups. An analysis of overlapping and differing themes between the CCAS and the REMS was made prior to the focus group session in order to specifically ask about themes which were not covered by the CCAS if these did not come up naturally during the discussion. The purpose of this was to explore other potential racial microaggressions which were not included in the CCAS. Furthermore, items from the Modern Racism Scale (MRS; McConahey, 1986) and the Symbolic Racism 2000 Scale (SR2K; Henry & Sears, 2002) were probed in sessions where this was deemed appropriate. The purpose of this was to get a sense of the nature of racial prejudice in Ireland and how it manifests in everyday interactions.

At the end of the session, participants were given the opportunity to add information if needed. Finally a debriefing was given summarizing the aim of the study while encouraging participants to reach out if needed. After the focus group session, a written debriefing was sent to the participants including contact information to mental health helplines in Ireland in case they would have experienced any discomfort in regard to the topics discussed during the session.

The data were transcribed using the Descript software (Descript, San Francisco, CA) and the transcription feature of Zoom. Transcriptions were cross-checked, anonymized and adjusted manually by the lead investigator. A deductive thematic analysis was conducted with the aim of gaining greater knowledge about the nature of racial prejudice and how racial microaggressions are expressed in the Irish context. Moreover, a pragmatic approach to analyzing focus group data aimed at developing scale items was applied. This approach was inspired by that carried out by Kanter and colleagues (2017) in the initial stages of developing the original CCAS. Both analyses were conducted using the Nvivo software (QSR International, 2020).

### **Results**

Firstly, a deductive thematic analysis was performed with the aim of mapping out the nature of racial prejudice in Ireland within the framework of the reviewed literature: The transcribed data was struc-

tured in eight themes which included the factors of the four CCAS sub-scales (i.e., Negative Attitudes, Colorblindness, Objectifying and Avoidance), the sub-scales of the REMS which differed from the CCAS (i.e., Workplace and School Microaggressions and Environmental Microaggressions) and the measures of contemporary racial prejudice which were included in the study by Kanter and colleagues (2020) (i.e., Modern Racism, Symbolic Racism). Secondly, a pragmatic analysis with the aim of adapting the CCAS to the Irish context was conducted: The data were structured according to which scenario it was addressing. These data were extracted from the dataset and organized in a separate document to get an overview of all data which addressed each scenario. Finally, the scenarios and items were adapted according to this information. The co-researcher from the Black Irish community was consulted in the process and reviewed the reported microaggressive incidents.

### ***Thematic analysis***

As for the pre-defined coding scheme, the themes Negative Attitudes, Colorblindness, Objectifying and Avoidance were identified in length when discussing the different scenarios and items from the CCAS indicating that all these types of microaggressive behaviors were likely to occur in Ireland. A number of racial microaggressive behaviors were noticeable across the focus groups: Firstly, avoidant racial microaggressions appeared to be prevalent in terms of behaviors: *“I feel like a lot of people will just avoid talking about it [i.e., racist behavior], they’d just completely move on. Just kind of like not even not even say anything. Just pretend it didn’t happen.”* (FG4, P1) and also in terms of thoughts: *“So I think a lot of Irish people just don’t want to be called out as racist, they don’t want to be called out as being prejudiced so they just avoid it [i.e., the topic of race] altogether.”* [FG4, P2].

Additionally, episodes of objectifying racial microaggressive behavior were emphasized across all focus groups: *“Definitely had the, “Can I touch your hair?” on multiple, multiple occasions, multiple scenarios like: So. Many. Times. And a couple of times it’s also just not being asked it’s been touched without permission”* (FG1, P2).

School and Work Microaggressions were identified in the sense that episodes in the school and work context were described. However, these appeared to have a great overlap with the themes Negative Attitudes, Colorblindness, Objectifying and Avoidance. Therefore, no specific scenarios nor statements have been added to the adapted CCAS to reflect these types of racial microaggressions. Environmental microaggressions were also identified and there was a general census across focus groups that there was a lack of ethnic diversity across Irish media and in politics:

*“(…) growing up as somebody from, um, a mixed background in Ireland [red. there] is the lack of diversity in media. Like I’m just not seeing any of that, but to a point where you don’t even question it, because that’s just, that’s just how it is.”* (FG1, P2)

However, no specific scenarios nor statements have been added to reflect environmental microaggressions because the aim of the CCAS and the present study was to measure interpersonal microaggressions.



Moreover, modern racism was identified, both when directly addressed via probing questions but it also naturally came up during the discussion: *"They're not just like sitting silently looking at a wall during the entire conversation, but actually being vocal and saying, "Please stop talking about this. You're making me feel uncomfortable""* (FG3, P1). Finally symbolic racism was identified across different focus groups; some only when directly asked upon but also naturally during the conversation:

*"I feel like they would say something along the lines of "Ireland is very welcoming to foreigners, and we have like a lot of standards"... and (...), they would insinuate this term that Black people should work harder to fit into society. You know, (...) they would say something along the lines of, "Ireland has been very welcoming to people". And they should sort of be thankful and grateful for what they have."* (FG4, P1)

Three additional themes appeared: a) Aversive Racism, b) Social Media Microaggressions, and c) Contextual Information. Aversive Racism appeared to be prevalent in Ireland based on the emphasis which was put on the typicality in the description of episodes of such nature:

*"I just think the racism piece for me, especially with Ireland, is that feeling of like, you know, you're being caught by saying "I'm racist", therefore, "I'm a horrible person". Therefore, I can't be that. So I'm not even gonna, I'm not even going to enter into the fact that there may be any sort of racism within me. I think that's part of it. That's a real, to me, a real Irish thing."* (FG1, P2).

*Social Media Microaggressions* included accounts of microaggressions which participants deemed more likely to be uttered on social media than in face-to-face interactions. For example, in regard to a scenario describing negative racial attitudes expressed in connection with a police shooting: *"I feel like it would be more disclosed on social media. Like, you know, even with... given the pandemic [i.e., the Covid-19 pandemic], everything is like very social, just in general, everything is like very social media wise"* (FG2, P2). Finally, *Contextual Information* included specific comments about certain microaggressions which would only be perceived as such in specific situations. For example, participants reported that the statement *"I've always wanted to go to Africa"* would only be perceived as microaggressive if it was asked as a first question to initiate a conversation and by an individual with whom the receiver does not have an established relationship. For this reason, some contextual information has been added in brackets behind some statements, for example, *"I've always wanted to go to Africa (as a conversation starter)"*. Also, participants concurred that the question *"Are you from Africa?"* is highly intertwined with identity issues and whether one was comfortable and proud of being identified as of African descent: *"(...) there's a whole other layer of... it's almost like embarrassment, because I can't really talk about it or like... you know what I mean? Like, I can't really justify it. And then this brings my whole identity into question"* (FG1, P2). Hence, individual factors

may also play a role in determining whether a behavior would be perceived as microaggressive or not, however, they were not the focus of the present study.

A final additional finding which created the basis for adaptations of specific CCAS items is that White Irish people appear to be less likely than White Americans to openly racialize an individual. This indicated that subtle racism may be even more subtle and contextual in Ireland compared to the U.S.; a lot of information is being delivered in-between the lines:

*“They wouldn't go along the lines of say something like “Black people” or so, maybe they will say something along the lines of “foreigners”, or “people who are let into this country should work harder to fit into our society as well (...) be more general, that I know, to target any specific group but you would... you would understand sort of what the terms of what they were saying. It's sort of this mentality of “you're not from here, you're an outsider who will be allowed you in here. And you should be grateful for what you have.”” (FG4, P1)*

Based on this finding, we derive that social desirability bias would likely be evoked if the original CCAS was distributed in Ireland as it includes several openly racializing statements (e.g., *“Black people should work harder to fit into our society”*). Thus, we have modified such statements to be more generalizing though it is implied, given the scenario in which it is presented with, which ethnic group is referred to.

**Pragmatic Analysis**

Table 1 presents an overview of the original CCAS (Kanter et al. 2020) in comparison with the adapted CCAS (CCAS-I). The following presents, in detail, the reasoning behind the specific adaptations made. Firstly, as in the reflection sheet, the scenario titles and the pictures which were included in the original CCAS were omitted from the adapted scale in order to avoid priming effects. Secondly and importantly, none of the items (i.e., microaggressive communications) can be taken out of the context of the scenario. We conclude this based on the finding outlined above that the perception of microaggressions is affected by contextual and situational factors, hence, a statement or behavior may be considered offensive in one situation but not in another.

**Table 1**

*CCAS vs. CCAS-I: Overview of Scale Adaptations*

CCAS	CCAS-I
<p><b>SCENARIO 1:</b> “A friend of yours has wanted you to meet a friend, saying they think you will like the person. You meet this person one-on-one. He turns out to be a tall, fit-looking Black man who says he is a law student. He seems very smart, and he has a very sophisticated vocabulary. You like his personality</p>	<p><b>SCENARIO 1:</b> A friend of yours has wanted you to meet a friend, saying they think you will like the person. You meet this person one-on-one. He turns out to be a tall, fit-looking Black man who says he is a law student. He seems very smart, and he has a very sophisticated vocabulary. You like his personality.</p>

1. *"I have other Black friends"*

**SCENARIO 2:** An acquaintance at work starts a conversation with you. She is a 20-something-year-old African American female. She is wearing a traditional colorful African-style dress and has long hair with scores of tiny braids and golden beads woven into them. Her hair is rolled into a large twisted wrap.

2. *"Why do Black women wear their hair in these sorts of styles?"*
3. *"I've always wanted to go to Africa"*
4. *"Can I touch your hair?"*
5. *"Are you from Africa?"*
6. *"Have you ever even been to Africa?"*
7. *"How long has your family been in Ireland?"*
8. *"Is your hair real?"*
9. *"You look like an African goddess"*

**SCENARIO 3:** You are taking a required diversity workshop. The trainer starts to discuss race and explains that White people have an unfair advantage in most every area of American life due to "White privilege." A class discussion begins where one of the White students argues that she never got any special treatment in life due to her race. A Black student disagrees and seems visibly upset. You are asked for your opinion.

10. *"A lot of minorities are too sensitive"*
11. *"Everyone suffers. Not just Black people"*
12. *"Race doesn't matter. There is only one race – the human race"*

**SCENARIO 4:** You are 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, unemployment, and education.

13. *"Black people should work harder to fit into our society"*
14. *Everyone can succeed in this society, if they work hard enough"*
15. *"All lives matter, not just Black lives"*

1. *"I have other Black friends"*

**SCENARIO 2:** An acquaintance at work starts a conversation with you. She is a 20-something-year-old Black female and has long hair with scores of tiny braids and golden beads woven into them. Her hair is rolled into a large twisted wrap.

2. *"Why do Black women wear their hair in these sorts of styles?"*
3. *"I've always wanted to go to Africa" (as a conversation-starter)*
4. *"Can I touch your hair?"*
5. *"Are you from Africa?"*
6. *"Have you ever even been to Africa?"*
7. *"How long has your family been in Ireland?"*
8. *"Is your hair real?"*
9. *"How often do you wash your hair?"*
10. *Want to touch the woman's hair.*

**SCENARIO 3:** You are taking a required diversity workshop. The trainer starts to discuss race and explains that White people have an unfair advantage in almost every area of Irish life due to "White privilege." A class discussion begins where one of the White students argues that she never got any special treatment in life due to her race. A Black student disagrees and seems visibly upset. You are asked for your opinion.

11. *"A lot of minorities are too sensitive"*
12. *"Everyone suffers. Not just Black people"*
13. *"Race doesn't matter. There is only one race – the human race"*

**SCENARIO 4:** You are with a mixed (Black and White) group of friends, and you are talking about various current events and political issues, including racial inequality, police brutality, affirmative action, unemployment, and education.

14. *"Some people should work harder to fit into our society"*
15. *"Ireland is very welcoming to anyone. People should be more grateful"*
16. *"Everyone can succeed in this society, if they work hard enough"*

16. *"I don't think of Black people as Black"*

17. Stay quiet so you don't offend anyone.

17. *"All lives matter, not just Black lives"*

18. *"I don't see colour."*

19. Want to stay quiet so you don't offend anyone.

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**SCENARIO 5:** You are walking down the street in your neighborhood. You see an older Black man, who looks like he hasn't shaved in a few days, wearing weathered jeans and a t-shirt, standing on the corner. As you walk by, he asks you for directions to a store that you frequent a few blocks away.

18. Make sure not to make eye contact and just keep walking.

19. Cross the street to avoid the Black man.

20. Give the Black man directions as quickly as possible to minimize interaction.

21. Check that your wallet/purse is secure.

**SCENARIO 5:** You are walking down the street in your local neighborhood after dark. The street lights are lit and there are a few other people in the street. You see a Black man who is wearing all black clothes and standing on the corner. As you walk by, the man asks you for directions to a store that you frequent a few blocks away. He speaks English with a foreign accent.

20. Want to pretend that you need to answer a phone call to avoid interacting with the man and keep walking.

21. Want to indicate that you don't know and cross the street to avoid further interaction with the man.

22. Want to give the man directions as quickly as possible to minimize interaction.

23. Want to check that your wallet/purse is secure.

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**SCENARIO 6:** You are hanging out with a group of your closest friends doing Karaoke, listening to a well-known rap song in which the rapper uses the "N-word" a lot. One of your White friends is singing loudly, and you find yourself singing along. One of your Black friends objects to the use of the "N-word" in the song.

22. Say the word loudly every time you hear it.

23. *"It's unfair that Black people can say the N-word but White people can't"*

24. Leave the room to avoid an uncomfortable situation.

**SCENARIO 6:** You are hanging out with a group of your closest friends (Black and White) chatting and listening to music in a bar. A well-known rap song is playing in which the rapper uses the "N-word" a lot. One of your White friends is singing loudly, and you find yourself singing along. Another one of your White friends objects to the use of the "N-word" in the song.

24. Want to say the N-word loudly every time you hear it, pretending you didn't hear the objection.

25. *"It's unfair that some people can say the N-word but other people can't."*

26. Want to leave the room to avoid an uncomfortable situation.

27. *"It's just a part of the song, don't make such a big deal out of it."*

**SCENARIO 7:** You are at a sports bar with some racially diverse friends and acquaintances. There is clip on the news about an unarmed Black youth who was shot by police after neighbors complained about a loud party. Drugs were found at the party. A White friend of yours is looking at the footage and says that if Black people really want to be safe, they shouldn't be loud and run around with hoodies and baggy pants because it frightens people. You are asked for your opinion.

25. *"I would be pretty scared - that guy looks like a thug"*
26. *"The real problem is a lack of good role models in the Black Irish community"*
27. *"Drugs at the party show that the shooting was probably justified"*
28. *"The problem is that too many Black parents don't take responsibility for their kids"*
29. Make an excuse to go home early to avoid discussing this topic.

**SCENARIO 7:** You are at a sports pub with some racially diverse friends and acquaintances. A news ticker shows on the screen during the match about an unarmed young Black man who was shot by Gardaí after a chase down. A picture of the young Black man is shown on the screen. One of your White friends is looking at the footage and says that the Black man shouldn't have run away from the police because it seems suspicious. You are asked for your opinion.

28. *"I would be pretty scared - that guy looks like a thug"*
29. *"The real problem is a lack of good role models in these communities"*
30. *"The fact that he ran away from the Gardaí shows that the shooting was probably justified"*
31. *"The problem is that too many parents in these communities don't take responsibility for their children"*
32. Want to avoid expressing my opinion directly but comment any of the above statements on social media afterwards.
33. Want to make an excuse to go home early to avoid discussing this topic.

**SCENARIO 8:** You are facing a difficult science project and have been assigned to work with a young woman you have seen before but have not met personally. She has long dark wavy hair and light brown skin. You cannot tell what racial or ethnic group she belongs to, but she speaks English without an accent. She seems to understand the project better than you do.

30. *"Where are your parents from?"*
31. *"I'm not racist but I really want to know what race you are"*
32. *"You speak English really well"*
33. *"What is your nationality?"*

**SCENARIO 8:** You are facing a difficult science project and have been assigned to work with a young woman you have seen before but have not met personally. She has long dark wavy hair and light brown skin. You cannot tell what racial or ethnic group she belongs to, but she speaks English without an accent.

34. *"Where are your parents from?" (if not finding out her ethnic origin by asking "Where are you from?")*
35. *"Where are you really from?" (if she answers: "Ireland" to the above question)*
36. *"You speak English really well"*

**SCENARIO 9:** You are at a club with your friends and end up speaking with a young Black woman at the bar. Her hair is braided and she is wearing a colourful dress. She speaks English with an Irish accent.

37. *"You look like an African goddess"*

38. *"I like your big lips"*

39. *"You have beautiful curves"*

40. *"I like the colour of your skin"*

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*Note.* The table presents an overview of the changes made to the Cultural Cognitions and Actions Scale (Kanter et al., 2020) in order to adapt it to the Irish context.

### **Scenario 1**

No adaptations were made to Scenario 1.

### **Scenario 2**

In the scenario description, the sentence *"wearing a traditional colorful African-style dress"* was omitted because it would be highly uncommon and inappropriate in Ireland to dress in traditional cultural clothing for work as the dress code dictates otherwise. Hence, there would be confounds as to whether potentially microaggressive statements from co-workers would be racially motivated or motivated by social norms regarding the dress code in the workplace (FG2, P1). As mentioned above, a bracket containing the information *"used as a conversation starter"* was added to the statement *"I've always wanted to go to Africa"*. Two items were added 1) *"How often do you wash your hair?"* and 2) *Want to touch the woman's hair*. These were added based on participants' accounts, across different focus groups, which stated that these had been experienced frequently. The phrasing *"Want to (touch the woman's hair)"* was added as to be able to assess separately the likelihood to think and the likelihood to actually do this but without asking the question twice.

Comments for the statement *"Are you from Africa?"* were mentioned as it was ambiguous as to whether it would be considered offensive or not. Participants commented that it was highly contextual and connected to how comfortable and close one felt with one's ethnic ancestry (e.g., FG1, P1). We decided to keep the statement as the majority of participants seemed to agree that they would perceive it as offensive in the particular scenario. Similar comments were made for the statement *"You look like an African goddess"*. However, the statement was kept as there was general consensus that it would be perceived as offensive, though it could be due to underlying sexist connotations more so than racist connotations depending on the context and tone in which it was uttered. To counterbalance this, the item was moved to a new scenario (Scenario 9) which is elaborated below.

### **Scenario 3**

No adaptations were made to Scenario 3.

### **Scenario 4**

A minor adaptation to the phrasing of the scenario was made. The topic *"racial inequality"* was added to the list of topics discussed in order to specify the nature of the discussion and make it more obvious what the more subtly racializing statements were referring to. For example, the statement *"Black people should work harder to fit into society"* was slightly modified into *"Some people should work harder to fit into society"* as per the finding above that White Irish people would have a tendency to refrain from racializing another individual openly because it is socially undesirable to do so. The

statement *“I don’t think of Black people as Black”* was changed into *“I don’t see colour”* as participants reported that this phrasing would be more common in Ireland. Finally, the statement *“Ireland is very welcoming to anyone. People should be more grateful”* was added as participants reported this to be a widespread attitude among White Irish people (e.g., FG4, P1).

### **Scenario 5**

Major adaptations were made to the description of the scenario based on accounts of participants across several focus groups that they had never seen such a thing happen in Ireland:

*“I just can't imagine this scenario in Ireland (...) The stereotypes of Black people that's presented in this is something that's really negative in the American context, you know, like unkept type of like wearing a t-shirt. It's like... I don't even know what, weathered jeans are. So like, yeah, maybe it's kind of what that means to be like a Black man hanging around the corner, looking for something... it can mean something different in America versus in Ireland.”* (FG2, P1)

Firstly, participants agreed that the time of the day would significantly impact whether behaviors based on racial bias would be triggered or not; therefore we found it essential to describe a situation which was ambiguous in terms of security considerations in order to ensure that behaviors could not be confounded with these. Secondly, participants mentioned that the age and clothing of the man would influence whether or not a racial bias would be triggered. Therefore, we decided to omit information about his age to leave this out as a confound and rather leave it up to the racial stereotypes of the respondent. Additionally, participants suggested to remove the information about the man’s clothing being “weathered” and him appearing as he hadn’t “shaved in a few days” as not to give associations to a homeless person as Black homeless people are rarely encountered in Ireland. Furthermore, we specified the man’s clothing as “all black” as to give him neutral clothing, yet clothing that could be associated with criminality if the respondent held a racial bias. Finally, we added the information that “He speaks with a foreign accent” as Irish majority members tend to associate an Irish accent with familiarity and safety.

Adaptations were made to the phrasing of two out of four items: 1) *“Make sure not to make eye contact and just keep walking”* was changed to *“Want to pretend that you need to answer a phone call to avoid interacting with the man and keep walking”* and 2) *“Cross the street to avoid him”* was changed to *“Want to indicate that you don't know and cross the street to avoid further interaction with the man”*. Both adaptations were made based on accounts that blatantly ignoring someone who is asking for directions is considered very impolite in Ireland and it therefore borders with overt racism more than subtle. The phrasing *“Want to (...)”* was added to the remaining original items for the reason described above (see under “Scenario 2”).

### **Scenario 6**

Minor adaptations were made to the description of the scenario: “doing Karaoke” was changed to “chatting and listening to music” as karaoke is not a common activity among young people in Ireland.

In addition, the contextual setting was changed to a bar was added because it would, presumably, be easier to act microaggressively under the pretense (toward oneself and others) of unconscious, good-willed behavior when in a public setting (Plant & Devine, 1998). Moreover, the scenario was adapted so that it was a White Irish person who objects to the use of the “N-word” instead of a Black person. This in order to make the situation more ambiguous and because there is a more narrow range of reactions which would be considered microaggressive as opposed to overtly racist if a Black person directly states that they are uncomfortable with the situation.

The item *“Want to say the N-word loudly every time you hear it”* was extended with *“pretending you didn’t hear the objection”* as to specify the subtlety of the behavior. A minor adaptation was made to the statement *“It’s unfair that Black people can say the N-word but White people can’t”* as to avoid racializing openly. The statement *“It’s just a part of the song, don’t make such a big deal out of it”* was added as participants agreed that this would be commonly expressed in the described situation. Additionally, it overlaps with the concept of modern racism. The phrasing *“Want to (...)”* was added to the item *“Leave the room to avoid an uncomfortable situation for the reason described above (see under “Scenario 2”)*.

### **Scenario 7**

Major adaptation were made to the description of the scenario. Firstly, participants informed that it is not common for Irish news media to show explicit pictures from a police arrest or shooting. In a sports bar, only sports are shown and news may appear at the bottom of the screen as a news ticker. Therefore, *“There is clip on the news (...)”* was changed to *“A news ticker shows on the screen during the sports match (...)”*. Secondly, “police” was changed to “Gardaí” as this is the commonly used word to describe the police force in Ireland. Thirdly, It’s important to have an image of the person on the screen in order for the statements to make sense. Finally, the scenario was adapted to reflect a recent episode in Ireland where a Black person was shot by Irish police after having threatened people in a mall with a knife (Hussey, 2020). The shooting was heavily debated, especially on social media, as the person who was killed had a history of mental health illness and because these incidents are highly uncommon in Ireland. Attitudes similar to *“the person shouldn’t have run away from the police because it seems suspicious”* were frequently expressed by White Irish people in this context according to participants while the opinion *“If Black people really want to be safe, they shouldn’t run around with hoodies and baggy pants because it frightens people”* would not fit the Irish context as it is highly common for people of all ethnic origin to wear hoodies.

Items were slightly modified. Firstly, the item *“The real problem is a lack of good role models in the Black community”* was changed to *“The real problem is a lack of good role models in these communities”* in order not to express open racialization. Secondly, the statement *“Drugs at the party shows that the shooting was probably justified”* was changed to *“The fact that he ran away from the Gardaí shows that the shooting was probably justified”* in order to fit the adaptation of the scenario description. Thirdly, *“The problem is that too many Black parents in these communities don’t take responsibility for their kids”* was changed to *“The problem is that too many parents in these commu-*



*ities don't take responsibility for their children*" in order not to openly racialize and to use words more commonly used in the Irish language. Finally, the behavior *"Want to avoid expressing my opinion directly but comment any of the above statements on social media afterwards"* was added to reflect the tendency to express negative attitudes on social media regarding such episodes in Ireland (FG2, P2).

**Scenario 8**

The sentence *"She seems to understand the project better than you do"* was omitted from the scenario description as to avoid negative self-affirmation and unnecessary comparison. The contextual information *"if not finding out her ethnic origin by asking "Where are you from?""* was added in brackets behind the statement *"Where are your parents from?"* because participants agreed that the microaggression does not lie in the statement itself per se but in the insisting way in which it is often asked as to gain information about one's ethnic origin. The participants explained a highly frequent situation in which a White Irish person would ask directly: *"Where are you from?"*. If the racially ambiguous/non-White person then replied: *"I'm from Ireland"*, it would be followed up with: *"Where are your parents from?"* or *"Where are you really from?"*. Hence, this statement is very contextual and nuanced. Because *"Where are you from?"* could also be a question of which Irish country one is from from, though, it's usually implicit that they are asking for country of origin if asked from a White Irish person to Black Irish person. The item *"I'm not racist but I would like to know where you are really from?"* was changed to *"Where are you really from?" (if she answers: "Ireland" to the above question)*. The reason is that the phrase *"I'm not racist but (...)"* can appear overtly racist and it also does not correspond to the Irish tendency of not openly wanting to address race-related topics.

**Scenario 9**

One additional scenario was added based on suggestions from one particular focus group (FG3). The scenario described a situation in a bar at a club where a White Irish person is talking with a young Black Irish woman (see full description in table 1). The statement *"You look like an African goddess"* was moved from Scenario 2 to this scenario because participants deemed it unlikely to be uttered in a work context as it often has sexual undertones which could border to sexual harassment. Three items were added 1) *"I like your big lips"*, 2) *"You have beautiful curves"* and 3) *"I like the colour of your skin"*. All three items were suggested by participants as statements which could be ambiguous as they can look like compliments but are racist and objectifying in nature.

**Table 2**

*CCAS-I: Overview of Sub-scales and Items*

Item	Scenario
<b>Negative Attitudes</b>	
<i>"A lot of minorities are too sensitive"</i>	3
<i>"Some people should work harder to fit into our society"</i>	4
<i>"Ireland is very welcoming to anyone. People should be more grateful"</i>	4

Want to check that your wallet/purse is secure.	5
Want to say the N-word loudly every time you hear it pretending you didn't hear the objection.	6
<i>"It's unfair that some people can say the N-word but other people can't"</i>	6
<i>"I would be pretty scared - that guy looks like a thug"</i>	7
<i>"The real problem is a lack of good role models in these communities"</i>	7
<i>"The fact that he ran away from the Gardaí shows that the shooting was probably justified"</i>	7
<i>"The problem is that too many parents in these communities don't take responsibility for their children"</i>	7
Want to avoid expressing my opinion directly but comment any of the above statements on social media afterwards	7
<b>Colorblindness</b>	
<i>"Everyone suffers. Not just Black people"</i>	3
<i>"Race doesn't matter. There is only one race – the human race"</i>	3
<i>"Everyone can succeed in this society, if they work hard enough"</i>	4
<i>"All lives matter, not just Black lives"</i>	4
<i>"I don't see colour"</i>	4
<b>Objectifying</b>	
<i>"I have other Black friends"</i>	1
<i>"Why do Black women wear their hair in these sorts of styles?"</i>	2
<i>"I've always wanted to go to Africa" (as a conversation-starter)</i>	2
<i>"Can I touch your hair?"</i>	2
<i>"Are you from Africa?"</i>	2
<i>"Have you ever even been to Africa?"</i>	2
<i>"How long has your family been in Ireland?"</i>	2
<i>"Is your hair real?"</i>	2
<i>"How often do you wash your hair?"</i>	2
Want to touch the woman's hair.	2
<i>"Where are your parents from?" (if not finding out her ethnic origin by asking "Where are you from?")</i>	8
<i>"Where are you really from?" (if she answers: "Ireland" to the above question)</i>	8
<i>"You speak English really well"</i>	8
<i>"You look like an African goddess"</i>	9
<i>"I like your big lips"</i>	9
<i>"You have beautiful curves"</i>	9
<i>"I like the colour of your skin"</i>	9
<b>Avoidance</b>	
Want to stay quiet so you don't offend anyone.	4

## RACIAL MICROAGGRESSIONS IN IRELAND

Want to pretend that you need to answer a phone call to avoid interacting with the man and keep walking.	5
Want to indicate that you don't know and cross the street to avoid further interaction with the man.	5
Want to give the man directions as quickly as possible to minimize interaction.	5
<i>"It's just a part of the song, don't make such a big deal out of it"</i>	6
Want to leave the room to avoid an uncomfortable situation.	6
Want to make an excuse to go home early to avoid discussing this topic.	7

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*Note.* The table presents an overview of the sub-scales and items of the Cultural Cognitions and Actions Scale - Irish Adaptation which were found in the present study.

The adapted CCAS used in study 2 (i.e., the CCAS-I) was based on the changed items as shown in Table 1. Table 2 presents an overview of the sub-scales as determined by Kanter et al. (2020) and items of the final CCAS-I.

### Chapter III - Study 2

The aim of the second study was, among White Irish people, to test the relationship between intrinsic and extrinsic motivation to be unprejudiced and the likelihood to communicate racial micro-aggressions utilizing an adapted version of the CCAS based on the findings in Study 1. Modern racism, colorblind racial ideology and aversive racism were tested as mediators. Belief in a just world was simultaneously tested as a moderator on the relationship between modern racism and colorblind racial ideology, respectively, and microaggressive likelihood.

#### **Method**

Study 2 consisted of an online survey (see questionnaire in appendix D, pp. 79-91) inspired by Kanter et al. (2020) using the Irish adaptation of the Cultural Cognitions and Actions Scale (CCAS-I) from Study 1. According to Preacher and colleagues (2007), a sample of 100 people is needed to detect a single moderated mediation effect of medium size with a power of .95 and a sample of 500 is needed to detect a small effect with a power of .88. Therefore, we aimed at a sample size in between these two reference numbers. The target group for the present study was ethnic majority members residing in Ireland. In total, 417 individuals participated in the survey. The eligibility criteria were a) living in Ireland, b) being of White ethnic origin, c) being minimum 18 years of age and d) passing minimum one out of two predefined attention check items. The final sample size after filtering the data according to these criteria was 254. Out of these, a total of 239 participants (94.1 %) were recruited through the online platform Prolific ([www.prolific.co](http://www.prolific.co)) [May 20 2021] while the remaining sample was recruited through convenience sampling via social media. The former participant group were paid an hourly rate of GBP 7.40. The latter group was given the opportunity to enter into a draw to win a EUR 20.00 gift card for [amazon.co.uk](http://amazon.co.uk) as an incentive to participate. The study received approval from the Ethics Committee at ISCTE - Lisbon University Institute (approval number 115/2020).

#### **Participants and Procedure**

Participants were White individuals residing in Ireland. The average number of years that the participants had lived in Ireland was 28.87 ( $SD = 12.61$ ). Overall, 165 (65 %) were female and the mean age was 33.76 ( $SD = 10.24$ ). The age span ranged from 18 to 69 years. In total, 201 were White Irish (79.1 %), two (.8 %) were White Irish travelers and 51 (20.1 %) were of any other White ethnic origin (6.4 % Eastern European, 5.6 % English, 4.8 % Western European, 2.0 % Non-European, 1.3 % Other White background). According to the most recent Irish census (CSO Ireland, 2016), this was a relatively representative sample of the distribution in the ethnic majority population (89.0 % White Irish, 0.7 % Irish Travelers, 10.3 % Any other White ethnic origin).

The sample was highly educated with 197 (77.6 %) participants reporting to hold at least an undergraduate degree and 210 (83.6 %) participants reporting to be coping or living comfortably on their present income. In total, 87 participants (34.4 %) indicated that they belonged to a religious denomination (27.6 % Roman Catholic, 2.0 % Church of Ireland, 3.2 % other Christian denomination, 1.6 % other non-Christian denomination). Regardless of belonging to a particular religion, participants reported a low level of religiosity ( $Mean = 2.43$ ,  $SD = 2.57$ ) on a ten-point scale (1 = "not at all reli-

gious”, 10 = “very religious”). On average, participants reported to be predominantly liberal on a ten-point scale (1 = “Extremely Liberal, 10 = “Extremely Conservative”;  $Mean = 3.55, SD = 2.19$ ). Finally, the level of previous experience with Black people among participants was low ( $Mean = 2.38, SD = .74$ ). This construct was measured via four items indicating either frequent or infrequent interaction with Black individuals in different everyday settings (e.g., “*In the past, I have rarely interacted with Black people*”). The responses were measured on a five-point scale (1 = “Strongly Disagree”, 5 = “Strongly Agree”). These results indicate that the sample is representative of the Irish population in the sense that the sample is largely ethnically homogenous and due to the low number of Black people in Ireland, it makes sense, that the majority of the sample do not experience frequent interracial contact. As expected, this differs significantly from the U.S. context where interracial interaction is higher due to a more heterogeneous ethnic distribution (Hero & Tolbert, 1996).

Firstly, participants were given information about the study while omitting information that may have triggered social desirability bias (i.e., not specifically mentioning racial microaggressions). No risks or vulnerable populations were involved in the study. Afterwards, participants were given the opportunity to consent or not to consent. Given informed consent, they answered a questionnaire comprising the measures and socio-demographic questions as outlined in the section immediately below. Finally, a debriefing was given including full disclosure and aim of the study while providing resources for further information about the topic. Contact details for the lead investigator were provided. The data collection commenced on April 20 2021 and finished on May 18 2021. The median response time was 16 minutes 44 seconds.

### **Main Measures**

*Cultural Cognitions and Actions Scale - Irish Adaptation (CCAS-I)*. The CCAS-I was adapted from the original Cultural Cognitions and Actions Scale (Kanter et al., 2020) as described in Study 1. In the CCAS-I, respondents were presented with nine scenarios and asked how likely they would be to think and say/do a series of microaggressions within those particular situations. For example, one scenario referred to a discussion about various current events and political issues. The respondent was presented with this scenario and asked to indicate their likelihood of thinking or saying “*I don’t see color*” within that context. Items were rated separately on two five-point scales 1) from 1 = “Very likely to think” to 5 = “Very unlikely to think”, and 2) from 1 = “Very likely to say/do” to 5 = “Very unlikely to say/do”. The scale comprised 40 items which were each answered on two separate scales (Thoughts:  $\alpha = .908$ ; Behaviors:  $\alpha = .907$ ), yielding 80 responses per participant in total. Due to a high intercorrelation between the Thoughts and Behaviors scales ( $\rho = .836, p < .01$ ), we decided to consider these one total variable assessing the likelihood to either think or say/do racial microaggressions ( $\alpha = .949$ ). According to the factor analytical findings by Kanter and colleagues (2020), the CCAS-I items can be divided into four sub-scales measuring: a) Negative Attitudes toward Black people, b) Colorblindness, c) Objectifying and d) Avoidance. The reliabilities of the sub-scales are similar to the ones obtained in the original study (Kanter et al., 2020; Cronbach’s alpha [.69-.80]). However, due to a very high Cronbach’s alpha ( $\alpha = .949$ ) which was obtained with all CCAS-I items (80 items; comprised of thoughts

and behavior), it seemed justified to compute one mean score for the likelihood to think or say/do racial microaggressions which was used as the only outcome variable when testing our theoretical models.

*Internal and External Motivation to Respond Without Prejudice (IMS-EMS).* The Internal and External Motivation to Respond Without Prejudice Scale (IMS-EMS; Plant & Devine, 1998) comprised ten items ( $\alpha = .717$ ) rated on a five-point scale (1 = “Strongly agree” to 5 = “Strongly disagree”). The IMS-EMS includes two sub-scales 1) Internal motivation to respond without prejudice (IMS;  $\alpha = .867$ ). An internal motivation sample item was “*Being non-prejudiced toward Black people is important to my self-concept*” and 2) External motivation to respond without prejudice (EMS;  $\alpha = .847$ ). An external motivation sample item was “*I try to act non-prejudiced toward Black people because of pressure from others.*” The scale has been applied and validated across numerous studies on interracial interactions (e.g., LaCosse & Plant, 2020; Plant et al., 2003). Due to higher reliabilities for the sub-scales individually and because of the theoretical foundations for our conceptual models, we considered each composite sub-scale score as separate predictor variables. Hence, one mean score for IMS (five items) and one mean score for EMS (five items) was obtained by aggregating the respective scores.

*Modern Racism (MRP).* Kanter and colleagues found that measures of symbolic and modern racism predicted self-reported likelihood to deliver microaggressions in a very similar fashion. Hence, we chose to focus on only one of the concepts: The most commonly used measure of modern racism is the Modern Racism Scale (McConahay, 1986) which was developed in the U.S assessing the attitudes that White Americans hold toward African Americans. However, studies have suggested that modern racism might be expressed differently in Europe than in the U.S (see e.g., Pettigrew & Meertens, 1995). Based on such findings, Akrami and colleagues (2000) developed and validated the Classical and Modern Racial Prejudice Scale (CMRPS) in the European context. The Modern Racial Prejudice Scale is a nine-item scale ( $\alpha = .866$ ) which was developed and validated in Sweden. It comprises the modern racial prejudice items of the CMRPS and has been validated in other European contexts (see e.g., Gattino et al, 2011). A sample item is “*Discrimination against immigrants is no longer a problem in Ireland*”. Items were rated on a five-point scale (1 = “Strongly agree”, 5 = “Strongly disagree”). One mean score for modern racism (nine items) was obtained by aggregating the scores.

*Colorblind Racial Ideology (CBRI).* We have used the five colorblindness items ( $\alpha = .853$ ) of the Intergroup Ideologies Measure by Rosenthal and Levy (2012) to assess colorblind racial ideology. A sample item was “*At our core, all human beings are really all the same, so racial and ethnic categories do not matter*” and items were measured on a five-point scale (1 = “Strongly agree”, 5 = “Strongly disagree”). One mean score for colorblind racial ideology (five items) was obtained by aggregating the scores.

*Aversive Racism (AR).* Intergroup Anxiety was introduced by Stephan and Stephan (1985) and is inherent in the conceptualization of Aversive Racism (see e.g., Gaertner & Dovidio, 2005; Stephan & Stephan, 1985). We used a culturally adapted version of The Intergroup Anxiety Toward African Amer-

icans Scale (IATAA; Britt et al., 1996) to measure Aversive Racism. The scale comprises eleven items ( $\alpha = .731$ ) and a sample item was *“Although, I do not consider myself racist, I do not know how to present myself around*

*Black people.”* Items were rated on a five-point scale (1 = “Strongly agree”, 5 = “Strongly disagree”). One mean score for aversive racism (eleven items) was obtained by aggregating the scores.

*Belief in a Just World (BJW).* The Belief in a Just World Scale (Dalbert & Yamauchi, 1994) was a six-item ( $\alpha = .855$ ) measure which was developed and validated in Germany and Hawaii, U.S. A sample item was *“I think in general there is justice in the world”*. Items were rated on a five-point scale ranging (1 = “Strongly agree”, 5 = “Strongly disagree”). One mean score for belief in a just world (five items) was obtained by aggregating the scores.

#### **Additional Measures**

Political ideology was assessed with one item: *“Please indicate how you would categorize your own political ideology”* (0 = “Extremely Liberal”, 10 = “Extremely Conservative”).

Religious affiliation was addressed by asking *“Do you consider yourself as belonging to any particular religion or denomination?”*. If yes, participants were asked to indicate which religion or denomination they belonged to. Furthermore, religiosity was assessed with one item: *“Regardless of whether you belong to a particular religion, how religious would you say you are?”* (0 = “not at all religious”, 10 = “very religious”).

#### **Sociodemographic Questions**

Regarding the sociodemographic characteristics of the participants; age, gender, number of years lived in Ireland, educational level and self-perceived socioeconomic status were assessed. In addition, participants were asked to self-declare their ethnic background according to the categories in the most recent Irish census (CSO Ireland, 2016). Finally, we were interested in gauging intergroup contact quantity in order to assess the representativeness of our sample in this regard. Contact quantity with Black people was measured with four items on a five-point scale (1 = “Strongly agree”, 5 = “Strongly disagree”). A sample item was *“In the past, I have interacted with Black people in many areas of my life (e.g., school, friends, work, clubs)”* (Plant & Devine, 2003).

#### **Statistical Analyses**

Moderated mediation analyses were performed using IBM SPSS (26) to examine the relationship between all variables in the conceptual model. Using PROCESS macro version 3.4 (Hayes, 2019), two moderated mediation models were tested (Model 14)<sup>1</sup>.

The first model tested the empirical estimation of the association through which internal motivation to respond without prejudice (IMS) predicts the likelihood to think or say/do racial microaggressions (CCAS-I) (Figure 1: direct effect of IMS on CCAS-I; and indirect effects through modern racism, colorblind racial ideology and aversive racism, respectively). The second model tested the empirical

<sup>1</sup>Model 1. Internal Motivation to Respond Without Prejudice and Model 2. External Motivation to Respond Without Prejudice, with each model summarizing the results of all three mediator variables (i.e., modern racism, colorblind racial ideology and aversive racism). For aversive racism, a moderation effect was not hypothesized but is automatically tested in PROCESS (Hayes, 2019).

estimation of the association through which external motivation to respond without prejudice (EMS) predicts the likelihood to think or say/do racial microaggressions (CCAS-I) (Figure 1: direct effect of EMS on CCAS-I; and indirect effects through modern racism, colorblind racial ideology and aversive racism, respectively). The pathways in both models of modern racism and colorblind racial ideology, respectively, toward the likelihood to think or say/do racial microaggressions were assumed to be moderated by belief in a just world.

The resampling technique of bootstrapping was used to test indirect effects and to account for the fact that the variables were not normally distributed (all Kolmogorov-Smirnov  $ps < .05$ ). The option of 5,000 bootstrap resamples were utilized to construct 95% percentile confidence intervals. Confidence intervals that did not include the value of zero were considered statistically significant.

## Results

### *Preliminary Analyses*

All scales measuring the key constructs were reversed for the sake of simplifying the interpretation of results. Hence, higher scores indicated higher agreement. Spearman's rho ( $\rho$ ) is reported for correlations, due to the non-normal distribution of the variables. Mean scores, standard deviations and intercorrelations among the hypothesized variables are presented in Table 3. The correlations were interpreted with reference to Cohen (1992). As expected, the likelihood to *think* racial microaggressively (CCAS-I-T) was significantly and positively correlated with self-reported likelihood to actually *say/do* racial microaggressions (CCAS-I-B) ( $\rho = .836, p < .01$ ). However, the correlation was stronger than expected. Due to this significant and high correlation, these two measures were averaged into one composite score reflecting the likelihood to either think or say/do microaggressive statements (CCAS-I).

As expected, there was a significant association between the predictors and criterion variable: internal motivation to respond without prejudice (IMS) was significantly, negatively and strongly associated with CCAS-I. Moreover, external motivations to respond without prejudice (EMS) significantly, moderately and positively correlated with CCAS-I. This suggests that high scores on IMS may predict lower likelihood to think/ behave microaggressively while high level of EMS may predict higher likelihood to think/ behave microaggressively. Thus, initial support was found for H1a and H2a.

As could be expected based on the literature, there was also a significant association between the mediating variables and criterion variable: modern racism (MRP) correlated significantly, positively and strongly with CCAS-I. In addition, colorblind racial ideology (CBRI) demonstrated a significant and positive but only weak association with CCAS-I. However, a significant, positive and moderately strong relationship was found between aversive racism (AR) and CCAS-I. These results suggest that higher levels of subtle racial prejudice is associated with higher likelihood to think/ behave microaggressively.

Significant correlations were found between the predictors and mediating variables: As expected, IMS correlated significantly, negatively and strongly with MRP, while, surprisingly, only a weak, negative correlations was found between IMS and CBRI. Expectedly, a significant, positive and moderate



association was found between IMS and AR. Also, as expected, EMS correlated weakly and positively with MRP while, unexpectedly, no significant correlation was found between EMS and CBRI suggesting that path a in this particular mediation model might be non-significant. Finally, as expected, EMS correlated positively and moderately with AR.

Regarding the moderating variable, as expected, a significant, moderate and positive relationship was found between MRP and Belief in a Just World (BJW). Moreover, a positive but weak association was found between CBRI and BJW while, expectedly, no significant correlation was demonstrated between AR and BJW. BJW was significantly, positively and moderately associated with CCAS-I.

Among the additional variables, political ideology (with higher scores indicating higher levels of conservatism) correlated significantly with all variables in the model. As expected, it correlated positively and moderately with both CCAS-I ( $\rho = .435, p < .01$ ) and MRP ( $\rho = .463, p < .01$ ). Additionally, it correlated positively, but weakly with AR ( $\rho = .189, p < .01$ ) and CBRI ( $\rho = .226, p < .01$ ), respectively. Finally and expectedly, political ideology was moderately associated with IMS and EMS, respectively (IMS:  $\rho = -.424, p < .01$ ; EMS;  $\rho = .324, p < .01$ ).

Religiosity showed significant correlations with CCAS-I ( $\rho = .379, p < .01$ ). As expected, the direction of the relationship was positive. Furthermore, religiosity correlated weakly and positively with IMS ( $\rho = -.137, p < .05$ ), MRP ( $\rho = .254, p < .01$ ), AR ( $\rho = .131, p < .05$ ) and BJW ( $\rho = .212, p < .01$ ). Finally, as expected, religiosity correlated positively and moderately with political ideology ( $\rho = .425, p < .01$ ).

Finally, intergroup contact quantity (measured by previous experience with Black people) was not associated with the CCAS-I. However, it correlated moderately with AR and, interestingly, the association was negative ( $\rho = -.334, p < .01$ ).

**Table 3**

*Means, Standard Deviations and Intercorrelations Between the Variables Included in the Hypothesized Model.*

Variables	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
1. CCAS-I	1.95	.55	-									
2. CCAS-I-B	1.69	.50	.922**	-								
3. CCAS-I-T	2.20	.64	.976**	.836**	-							
4. IMS-EMS	3.46	.62	.017	-.037	.052	-						
5. IMS	4.29	.84	-.510**	-.503**	-.487**	.400**	-					
6. EMS	2.62	1.01	.366**	.305**	.391**	.778**	-.197**	-				
7. MRP	2.29	.76	.611**	.609**	.577**	-.158*	-.609**	.222**	-			
8. CBRI	3.00	1.05	.232**	.281**	.187**	-.094	-.129*	-.017	.236**	-		
9. AR	2.25	.57	.362**	.291**	.405**	.303**	-.201**	.470**	.167**	.025	-	
10. BJW	2.48	.90	.300**	.334**	.255**	-.003	-.222**	.151*	.312**	.255**	.114	-

*Note.* \* $p < .05$ . \*\* $p < .001$ ., CCAS-I = Cultural Cognitions and Actions Scale - Irish Adaptation (total score) CCAS-I-B = Cultural Cognitions and Actions Scale - Irish Adaptation (Behaviors); CCAS-I-T = Cultural Cognitions and Actions Scale - Irish Adaptation (Thoughts); IMS-EMS = Internal and External Motivation to Respond Without Prejudice (total score); IMS = Internal Motivation to Respond Without Prejudice; EMS = External Motivation to Respond Without Prejudice; MRP = Modern Racial Prejudice; CBRI = Colorblind Racial Ideology; AR = Aversive Racism; BJW = Belief in a Just World.

**Moderated Mediation Models**

For the moderated mediation analyses, we used the macro PROCESS for SPSS version 3.4 (Hayes, 2019). We specified two moderated mediation models (Model 14) with either internal (IMS; Model 1) or external (EMS; Model 2) motivation to respond without prejudice as the predictor variable, self-reported likelihood to think or say/do racial microaggressions as outcome variable, subtle racial prejudice as mediator (i.e., modern racism, colorblind racial ideology and aversive racism, respectively) and belief in a just world as a moderator tested simultaneously (see Figure 1 for the conceptual model). The procedures and recommendations outlined by Hayes (2017) to test conditional indirect effects were used to examine the moderated mediation models. However, no significant moderated mediation effects were found (modern racism:  $B_{BJW} = -.013$ ,  $SE = .010$  95% CI = [-.034, .005]; colorblind racial ideology:  $B_{BJW} = -.001$ ,  $SE = .005$ , 95% CI = [-.011, .009]; aversive racism:  $B_{BJW} = -.001$ ,  $SE = .008$ , 95% CI = [-.020, .015])<sup>2</sup>. Thus, we found no support for H3a and H3b. For parsimony reasons, we excluded belief in a just world as a moderator and subsequently specified two multiple mediation models to examine which is the stronger mediator for the social norms – microaggression link (Model 4 in Process; see Figure 3 and 4 for a visual summary of standardized path coefficients for all variables and Table 4 for a summary of unstandardized path coefficients and standard errors for a, b, and c' paths). Political ideology and religiosity were tested as covariates. The procedures and recommendations outlined by Hayes (2017) to test indirect effects were used to examine the multiple mediation models.

**Model 1. Internal Motivation to Respond Without Prejudice.** The first model included internal motivation to respond without prejudice (IMS) as a predictor with modern racism, colorblind racial ideology and aversive racism as mediators controlling for political ideology and religiosity. We report the results of the analysis in Figure 3 and Table 4 (Model 1). The results showed a significant, negative direct effect of internal motivation to respond without prejudice on the likelihood to think or say/do racial microaggressions (CCAS-I) (standardized total effect<sub>IMS</sub>:  $B = -.442$ ,  $SE = .036$ , 95% CI = [-.361, -.219]). Hence, the predictive role of IMS on CCAS-I (H1a) was found, in the hypothesized direction.

There was a significant association between IMS and modern racism (MRP) and MRP predicted significantly and positively CCAS-I. That is, participants who had higher levels of MRP, were more likely to report higher likelihood to think or say/do racial microaggressions. There was a significant indirect effect of IMS through MRP on CCAS-I ( $B = -.098$ ,  $SE = .025$ , 95% CI = [-.152, -.053]) with the relationship between IMS and CCAS-I becoming weaker with MRP mediating the relationship. Hence, we found evidence for partial mediation and, consequently, support for H1b.

No significant association was found between IMS and colorblind racial ideology (CBRI), however CBRI significantly and positively predicted CCAS-I. That is, participants who had adopted a higher level of CBRI, were more likely to report higher likelihood to think or say/do racial microaggressions. None-

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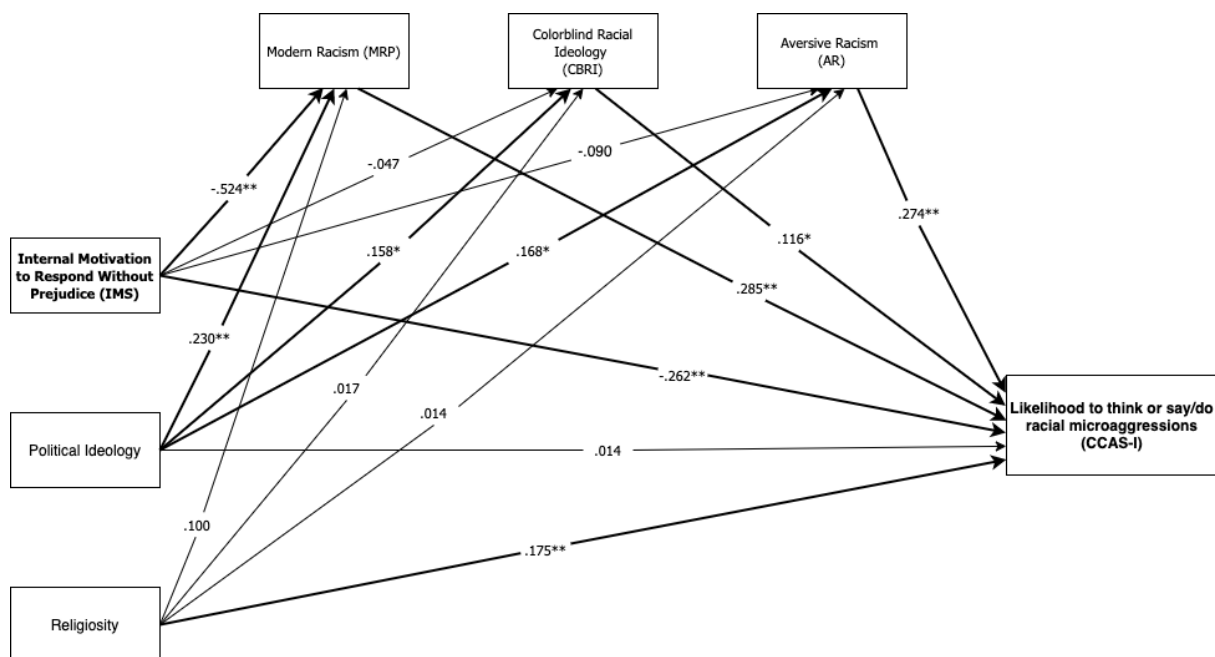
<sup>2</sup>Confidence intervals including zero for each index of moderated mediation indicate that any two conditional indirect effects are significantly indifferent from each other. Hence, the relationship between the indirect effect and the moderator is zero – no moderated mediation.

theless, there was no significant indirect effect of IMS through CBRI on CCAS-I ( $B = -.004$ ,  $SE = .006$  95% CI =  $[-.017, .009]$ ). Hence we did not find support for H1c.

No significant association was found between IMS and aversive racism (AR), however AR significantly and positively predicted CCAS-I. That is, participants who had higher levels of AR, were more likely to report higher likelihood to think or say/do racial microaggressions. Nevertheless, there was no significant indirect effect of IMS through AR on CCAS-I ( $B = -.016$ ,  $SE = .015$  95% CI =  $[-.052, .008]$ ). Hence, we did not find support for H1d.

**Figure 2**

*Mediation Results for Model 1*



*Note.*  $**p < .01$ ,  $*p < .05$ . Standardized regression coefficients are reported. Statistical model estimating the effect of internal motivation to respond without prejudice on the likelihood to deliver racial microaggressions as well as indirectly through modern racism, colorblind racial ideology and aversive racism, respectively. Political ideology and religiosity were included as covariates.

**Model 2. External Motivation to Respond Without Prejudice.** The second model included external motivation to respond without prejudice (EMS) as a predictor with modern racism, colorblind racial ideology and aversive racism as mediators. We report the results of the analysis in Figure 4 and Table 4 (Model 2). Results showed a positive direct effect of external motivation to respond without prejudice on the likelihood (EMS) to think or say/do racial microaggressions (CCAS-I) (standardized total effect<sub>EMS</sub>:  $B = .268$ ,  $SE = .032$ , 95% CI =  $[.083, .208]$ ). Hence, the predictive role of EMS on CCAS-I (H2a) was found, in the hypothesized direction.

No significant association was found between EMS and modern racism (MRP), however, MRP predicted significantly and positively CCAS-I. That is, participants who had higher levels of MRP, were

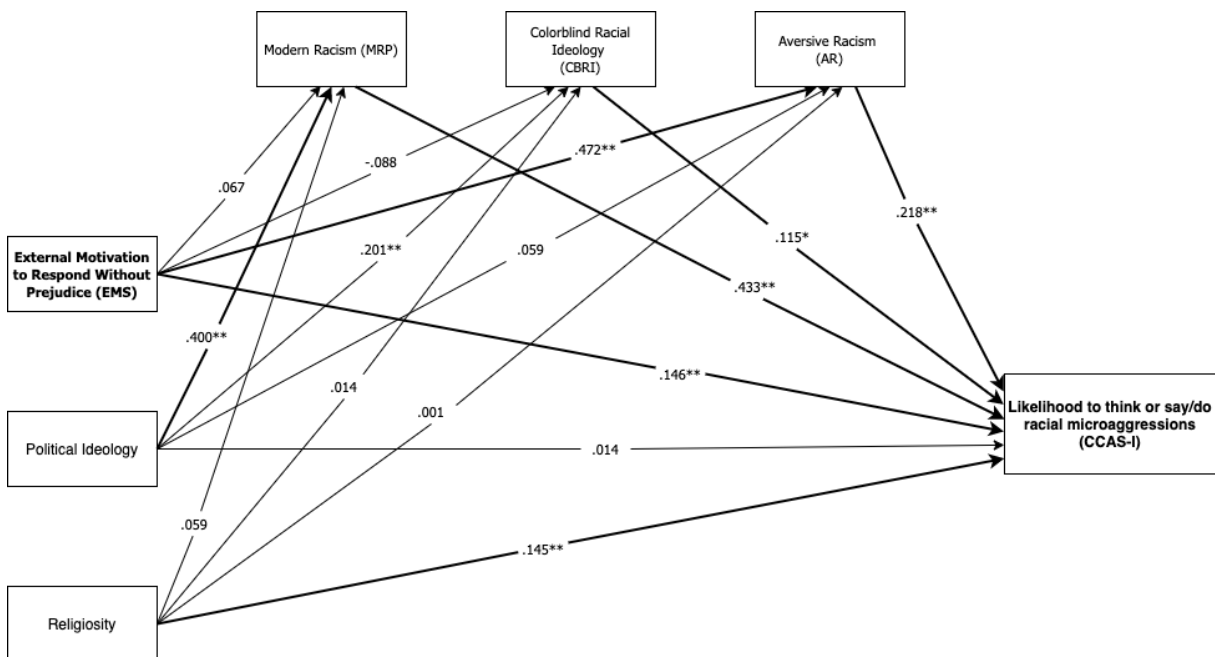
more likely to report higher likelihood to think or say/do racial microaggressions. Nonetheless, there was no significant indirect effect of EMS through MRP on CCAS-I ( $B = .016, SE = .015, 95\% CI = [-.016, .044]$ ). Hence, we did not find support for H2b.

No significant association was found between EMS and colorblind racial ideology (CBRI), however, CBRI predicted significantly and positively CCAS-I. That is, participants who had higher levels of CBRI, were more likely to report higher likelihood to think or say/do racial microaggressions. Nevertheless, there was no significant indirect effect of EMS through CBRI on CCAS-I ( $B = -.006, SE = .005, 95\% CI = [-.017, .002]$ ). Hence, we did not find support for H2c.

Finally, there was a significant association between EMS and aversive racism (AR) and AR predicted significantly and positively CCAS-I. That is, participants who had higher levels of AR, were more likely to report higher likelihood to think or say/do racial microaggressions. Furthermore, there was a significant indirect effect of EMS through AR on CCAS-I ( $B = .056, SE = .018, 95\% CI = [.023, .094]$ ) with the relationship between EMS and CCAS-I being weaker with AR mediating the relationship. Hence, we found evidence for partial mediation and, consequently, support for H2d.

**Figure 3**

*Mediation Results for Model 2*



*Note.* \*\*  $p < .01$ , \*  $p < .05$ . Standardized regression coefficients are reported. Statistical model estimating the effect of external motivation to respond without prejudice on the likelihood to deliver racial microaggressions as well as indirectly through modern racism, colorblind racial ideology and aversive racism, respectively. Political ideology and religiosity were included as covariates.

**Table 4***Model Coefficients for the Process Model 1-2*

Predictors	Outcomes											
	MRP			CBRI			AR			CCAS-I		
	<i>B</i>	<i>SE</i>	<i>p</i>	<i>B</i>	<i>SE</i>	<i>p</i>	<i>B</i>	<i>SE</i>	<i>p</i>	<i>B</i>	<i>SE</i>	<i>p</i>
<b>Model 1</b>												
Constant	3.972	.227	<.001	2.968	.413	<.001	2.346	.221	<.001	1.325	.261	<.001
<b>IMS</b>	-.475	.046	<.001	-.059	.083	.480	-.061	.044	.171	-.172	.038	<.001
MRP	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	.207	.045	<.001
CBRI	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	.061	.025	.015
AR	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	.267	.046	<.001
Pol. Ideology	.080	.019	<.001	.076	.035	.032	.044	.019	.021	.003	.014	.809
Religiosity	.030	.016	.059	.007	.028	.811	.003	.015	.841	.038	.011	.001
	$R^2 = .445$			$R^2 = .035$			$R^2 = .049$			$R^2 = .486$		
	F(3,247) = 66.087, $p < .001$			F(3,247) = 2.959, $p = .033$			F(3,247) = 4.232, $p = .006$			F(6,244) = 38.490, $p < .001$		
<b>Model 2</b>												
Constant	1.619	.126	<.001	2.883	.191	<.001	1.499	.091	<.001	.273	.137	.048
<b>EMS</b>	.051	.045	.259	-.091	.068	.180	.264	.032	<.001	.079	.030	.010
MRP	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	.313	.039	<.001
CBRI	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	.060	.026	.019
AR	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	.212	.053	<.001
Pol. Ideology	.139	.023	<.001	.097	.034	.005	.015	.016	.354	.004	.015	.807
Religiosity	.018	.019	.346	.006	.028	.838	.000	.014	.983	.031	.011	.006
	$R^2 = .206$			$R^2 = .040$			$R^2 = .244$			$R^2 = .459$		
	F(3,247) = 21.356, $p = .001$			F(3,247) = 3.410, $p = .018$			F(3,247) = 26.542, $p < .001$			F(6,244) = 34.539, $p < .001$		

*Note.* Non-standardized regression coefficients are reported. The columns MRP, CBRI and AR refer to effects on the mediators (modern racial prejudice, colorblind racial ideology and aversive racism, respectively), while the column CCAS-I refer to effects on the outcome (self-reported likelihood to think or say/do racial microaggressions). Pol. Ideology (political ideology) and Religiosity refer to the covariates controlled for in the models. The difference in degrees of freedom is due to missing values.

## Chapter IV - General Discussion

Departing from recent social psychological theory and research on self-reported microaggressive thoughts and behaviors against Black minority groups (Kanter et al., 2017, 2020), this study aimed at examining the psychological processes that predict microaggressive communications in an Irish context. Previous research found that subtle prejudice is a predictor of self-reported microaggressions among majority members, still, the psychological processes underlying this phenomenon have not been studied yet. Building on research analyzing the link between social norms, personal belief systems and prejudice expression (Crandall and Eshleman, 2003; Neville et al., 2000; Plant & Devine, 1998), we investigated whether subtle forms of racial prejudice explain the link between internal/external anti-prejudice norms and ethnic majority members' likelihood to communicate racial microaggressions. In order to design successful interventions aimed at minimizing racial microaggressions, it is important to understand, not only which factors may explain this link, but also which factors may exacerbate it. Thus, we examined whether belief in a just world would interact with subtle racial prejudice in predicting the likelihood to think or communicate racial microaggressions.

Prior to conducting the correlational study (Study 2), we implemented a qualitative explorative study to examine how microaggressions are expressed from the targets' perspective in Ireland (Study 1). The focus group discussions with Black ethnic minority members in Ireland already suggested that the expression of certain types of racial microaggressions seems to differ between the U.S. and the Irish contexts; being maybe even more subtle in Ireland than in the U.S. Key results include that objectifying and avoidant microaggressive behaviors as well as aversive racism appeared to be particularly prevalent in Ireland. Thus, preliminary support was found for our expectation that (internalized) social norms play a role in predicting racial microaggressive communication. In addition to contextual factors, situational factors were found to be central in deciding whether receivers of potential racial microaggressions attribute these to racial prejudice or not. Finally, a new type of racial microaggression was identified, namely, Social Media Microaggressions, which refers to certain racial microaggressions only being communicated via social media platforms.

In the correlational study, as expected, internalized anti-prejudice norms predicted a lower microaggressive likelihood, while external anti-prejudice norms predicted a higher microaggressive likelihood. Moreover, modern racism explained the prior relationship while aversive racism explained the latter, both when controlling for political ideology and religiosity. Surprisingly, colorblind racial ideology did not explain any of the relationships. Lastly, the link between subtle racial prejudice and microaggressive likelihood was not dependent on an individual's level of belief in a just world. These findings replicated Kanter and colleagues' (2017, 2020) findings that subtle racial prejudice is associated with microaggressive communications. Moreover, the present study added to the literature by finding that modern racism and aversive racism, respectively, explained the links between intrinsic and extrinsic norms, respectively, and microaggressive likelihood. This indicates that social norms in society are an underlying construct that drives microaggressive behavior.



Racial microaggressions have attracted significant attention in both academic and lay circles. However, despite this widespread attention, some researchers have pointed out a number of potential weaknesses in microaggressions research (Haidt 2017; Lilienfeld, 2017b, 2019; Wong et al., 2014). In the following, we attempt to outline how the present study may contribute to clarifying some of these weaknesses and how future research may further contribute. We discuss the following implications based on our findings: a) racial microaggressions are a valid construct because extensive empirical evidence has supported their existence in and adverse effects on the subjective reality of receivers, b) due to the subtle nature of racial microaggressions, it is important to understand the normative context in which they are communicated in order to address them, c) racial microaggression research must distance itself from a victim-perpetrator terminology in order to bridge and facilitate high quality intergroup contact rather than create fertile grounds for polarization, and d) as did the present study, future research should incorporate both receiver and deliverer perspectives focusing on the interpersonal interaction in which the microaggressive communication is delivered/perceived in order to understand more in-depth the complex psychological antecedents of racial microaggressions.

### **The Conceptualization and Operationalization of Racial Microaggressions**

In study 1, we found that the expression of racial microaggressions seem to differ across cultural contexts. Specifically, we found that the perception of certain racial microaggressions are highly determined by the context and the situation in which they take place. For example, the question *“Are you from Africa?”* may only be attributed to racial prejudice by the receiver if posed in the beginning of a conversation and by an individual whom the receiver does not have an established relationship with. Study 1 makes an important contribution to the conceptualization of racial microaggressions as it brings to light the pertinence that future research must take into account the context in which the interpersonal interaction takes place. This includes the cultural context and the social climate, guided by social norms, as these may affect whether potential microaggressions are attributed to prejudice or not by the receiver. Additionally, we found that objectifying and avoidant microaggressive behaviors appeared to be particularly prevalent in Ireland. Furthermore, ethnic majority members in Ireland appeared less likely than ethnic majority members in the U.S. to openly racialize an individual. These findings suggest that racial microaggression may be even more subtle in the Irish context than in the U.S. context, supporting our finding that the expression of racial microaggressions may differ across cultural contexts though their adverse effects may be as severe.

Based on study 1, we suggest operationalizing the contextualization of racial microaggressions by utilizing versions of scales measuring microaggressions in culturally similar contexts as where the scale was originally developed. Alternatively, a scale may be adapted to another cultural context similarly to what was done in the present study. Our results revealed that certain adaptations appeared crucial to detect microaggressive likelihood in Ireland. For example, we found that certain items in the original CCAS (Kanter et al., 2020) would be sensitive to social desirability issues since Irish individuals appear much less likely than U.S.-American individuals to openly racialize another individual. Additional-

ly, certain scenarios in the original CCAS were pointed out as unrealistic by ethnic minority members in Ireland, for example, the scenario describing a Black, seemingly homeless, man asking for directions in the street. Based on these findings we made some fundamental adaptations to the CCAS which indicate that the normative context matters as to how subtle racial prejudice is expressed and, thus, how it should be operationalized.

Moreover, the situational dimension of racial microaggressions may be operationalized by employing a scale using a vignette-design as proposed by Kanter and colleagues (2017; 2020) and replicated in the present study. Additionally, we propose that situational information in brackets behind some statements (e.g., *"I've always wanted to go to Africa" (as a conversation-starter)*) may help specify exactly under which situational circumstances receivers may attribute certain racial microaggressions to racial prejudice. This may make survey items less open to interpretation which, in turn, may help improve the validity of the Cultural Cognitions and Actions Scale. Finally, we recommend including items assessing social media microaggressions in future research as this may be particularly relevant in the digital era which is today's society and in light of the Covid-19 pandemic.

The findings of study 1 support the conceptualization by Sue and colleagues (e.g., 2007) and Lui and colleagues (2020) that, ultimately, what determines whether a racial microaggression becomes a reality is the perception of the receiver who may or may not attribute a potential microaggression to racial prejudice.

### **The Role of Social Norms**

A main finding of Study 2 was that intrinsic anti-prejudice norms negatively predicted microaggressive communications. In addition, extrinsic anti-prejudice norms positively predicted microaggressive communications. This supports findings in previous research (Butz & Plant 2009; LaCosse & Plant, 2020) suggesting that internalized norms are more efficient than external norms in controlling prejudice expression - also when it comes to racial microaggressions. Furthermore, the findings support the indications from study 1 that the normative context in which ethnic majority members are situated play a key role in predicting their likelihood to think/ behave microaggressively toward racial minorities. Therefore, it is crucial that future research further investigates how social norms influence the likelihood to deliver racial microaggressions.

Modern racism explained the link between internal anti-prejudice norms and microaggressive communications when controlling for political ideology and religiosity. Taking into consideration the direction of the predicted pathways, this indicates that higher levels of intrinsic motivation would indeed reduce an individual's level of modern racial prejudice, however, it cannot alone eliminate modern racists' likelihood to think/communicate racial microaggressions.

Referring to the conceptualization of modern racism, modern racists would be mainly externally motivated as external social pressures would inhibit them from expressing their negative attitudes toward Black individuals. This was supported by the strong, positive relationship found between external anti-prejudice norms and modern racism. However, referring to the continuum between external and internal motivation to respond without prejudice, it seems plausible that modern racists

are somewhere in between on the spectrum, also having internalized to some degree the prevailing egalitarian norms in society. Nonetheless, our results suggest that this intrinsic motivation is not strong enough to eliminate modern racists' negative attitudes toward Black people.

Of all three mediators, modern racism most strongly affected the likelihood to think/ behave microaggressively which indicates that this may be the strongest predictor of microaggressive communications. Returning to the criticism of the concept of modern racism, this strong association may be explained by the presumption that modern racism may not only be categorized as a form of subtle racial prejudice but may overlap with more blatant racial prejudice. Drawing on previous literature on the link between blatant racial prejudice and overt racial discrimination (e.g., Noh & Wickrama, 2007; Pettigrew and Meertens, 1995), it is possible that individuals who are blatantly prejudiced, as a by-product, are also more likely to communicate microaggressions. These findings provide a compelling argument to further investigate the role of modern racism in regard to racial microaggressions.

Contrary to what we expected, colorblind racial ideology did not explain the links between internal and external anti-prejudice norms, respectively, and microaggressive likelihood. This was especially surprising for internal norms as individuals who have adopted a colorblind racial ideology, from a conceptual viewpoint, are intrinsically motivated, through internalized egalitarian norms, to appear non-prejudiced. A significant relationship was, however, found between internalized norms and colorblind racial ideology, though, unexpectedly, the association was only weak and negative. Overall, significant associations were found between colorblind racial ideology and all main variables in our model (except for extrinsic motivation to be unprejudiced), however, all correlations were weak. A possible explanation could be that the measure we adopted for colorblind racial ideology mainly tapped into the color-evasion dimension of the construct (i.e., the denial of racial differences by emphasizing sameness). It is possible that the weak associations between colorblind racial ideology and the key constructs in our conceptual model are due to the missing dimension of power-evasion (i.e., denial of racism by emphasizing equal opportunities), hence, pointing to an issue regarding content validity. For future research investigating the association between colorblind racial ideology and microaggressive communications, we recommend using a measure of colorblind racial ideology which includes both dimensions of the construct such as the Colorblind Racial Attitudes Scale (Neville et al., 2000).

Aversive racism explained the link between extrinsic motivation to be unprejudiced and microaggressive communications when controlling for political ideology and religiosity. This indicates that external social norms predict aversive racism which, in turn, predicts a higher likelihood to think/ behave microaggressively. Only a negative and weak association was found between intrinsic motivation to be unprejudiced and aversive racism. The latter finding is surprising based on the conceptualization of aversive racism as it comprises both an externally and an internally motivated dimension: a) inter-group anxiety which is primarily extrinsically motivated, and b) a genuine intrinsic motivation based on explicit egalitarian attitudes. Our results showed that aversive racism was more strongly related to external than internal anti-prejudice norms; it was in fact the variable that correlated most strongly of

all with external motivation indicating that aversive racism is mainly predicted by extrinsic anti-prejudice norms which was supported by our mediation analyses. This may be due to issues of how we operationalized aversive racism as we only measured the anxiety dimension of the construct. In turn, and interestingly, this suggests that our results showed that external pressures from anti-prejudice norms in society predict intergroup anxiety which then predicts a higher likelihood to think or communicate racial microaggressions.

Plant and Devine (2001) found that those who are primarily extrinsically motivated to be unprejudiced feel constrained and bothered by politically correct pressures which, in turn, make these individuals respond with angry/threatened affect when pressured to comply with other-imposed pro-Black pressure. Moreover, these affective responses resulted in backlash (both attitudinal and behavioral). In addition, findings by Bartlett (2009) suggest that the non-recognition of intrinsic motivations to be unprejudiced - or "good intentions" - may demotivate individuals and, in turn, make them divert from their commitment to behave according to these motivations. Furthermore, they found that the commitment to internalize social norms of being unprejudiced such that it manifests into non-prejudiced behavior is enhanced by encouragement, trust and understanding by one's surroundings rather than social sanctions. Hence, we argue that it is compelling that researchers advance the literature on the normative context in which racial microaggressions are delivered as well as exacerbating and inhibiting factors which motivate them. In order to do so, we believe that it is crucial that research on racial microaggressions move away from a victim-perpetrator terminology as it may create a feeling of social pressure which may exacerbate the intergroup anxiety that ethnic majority members may experience. This, in turn, may increase their likelihood to deliver microaggressions. In other words, we believe that a victim-perpetrator terminology, rather than bridging and facilitating good-quality intergroup contact, may create fertile grounds for demotivation and intergroup anxiety on behalf of the deliverer which may lead to intergroup polarization.

We included a measure of intergroup contact quantity in our Study 2 survey. We included this mainly in order to describe the sociodemographic characteristics of our sample in relation to interracial contact quantity as the homogenous population in Ireland would suggest that the general population in Ireland would encounter Black individuals relatively infrequently. Thus, we wanted to ensure that our sample was representative on this parameter. However, on an exploratory basis, we found that intergroup contact quantity was negatively associated with aversive racism, indicating that higher intergroup contact quantity may decrease individual levels of aversive racism. The findings are in line with intergroup contact theory which posits that high quality intergroup contact decreases prejudice (for a review, see Dovidio et al., 2017b). We did not measure intergroup contact quality and, thus, we did not deem it appropriate to include the variable for further analyses. Nonetheless, the finding that intergroup contact may decrease aversive racism provides a highly interesting point for investigating both intergroup contact quantity and quality in future research on racial microaggressions aimed at designing interventions.

In line with our results, Dovidio and colleagues (2018) argued that there are certain overlaps in research on aversive racism and racial microaggressions, respectively, which provide interesting ideas on how to combine these in future research. Mendes and Koslov (2013) found that aversive racist may appear overly friendly which might be attributed to racial prejudice by the receiver. This resonates well with the conceptualization of racial microaggressions which may, in some instances, be based on misplaced (over-)curiosity regarding an ethnic minority member's ethnic ancestry. Indeed, Sue (2010) observed that "racial microaggressions are most similar to aversive racism in that they generally occur below the level of awareness of well-intentioned people" (p. 9), which again points to aversive racism as being possibly particularly central in predicting the likelihood to think/ behave microaggressively. However, Dovidio and colleagues (2018) point out that researchers investigating aversive racism and those studying microaggressions have typically emphasized different levels of analysis. Whereas aversive racism research has studied underlying psychological mechanisms, research on microaggressions has focused primarily on different behavioral manifestations of racial biases and their societal consequences. The present study aimed to bridge these two fields of research and strongly encourage future researchers to continue this path.

### **Boundary Conditions for Microaggressive Communication**

We did not find support for the moderating role of belief in a just world on the subtle racial prejudice-microaggressive likelihood link. This may be explained by conceptual issues regarding our chosen measure. Firstly, we might not have been able to gauge the preconscious dimension of belief in a just world which includes primitive rules of blaming and automatic emotional consequences (Lerner, 1998) due to only using self-report measures.

Secondly, the measure for belief in a just world that was employed in this study was a unidimensional measure assessing general belief in a just world (Dalbert & Yamauchi, 1994). Though the measure is widely used and has demonstrated sound reliability and validity across different studies and cultural contexts, it lacks a multidimensionality that may be relevant to the construct in relation to racial microaggressions. Furnham and Proctor (1992) developed the Multidimensional Belief in a Just World Scale (MBJWS) which is a 30-item questionnaire containing also reversed items as opposed to the measure that we employed. The MBJWS sub-scales refer to different spheres of belief in a just world and comprises a) personal sphere, b) interpersonal sphere and c) sociopolitical sphere. Neville and colleagues (2000) used the sociopolitical sub-scale in their study where they found associations between modern racism and colorblind racial ideology, respectively, and belief in a just world. Neville and colleagues (2000) argued that belief in a just world attitudes specifically related to sociopolitical beliefs are more closely conceptually linked to racial injustices and, thus, it may have been more accurate for us to use this measure in our study. Additionally, the interpersonal sub-scale may have been relevant as the Cultural Cognitions and Actions Scale assesses racial microaggressions being delivered during interpersonal interactions. We encourage future scholars to investigate the moderating role of belief in a just world on the subtle racial prejudice-microaggressive likelihood link using a multidimensional measure of belief in a just world.

Regarding modern racism specifically, the non-significant interaction effect may further be explained by the findings by Carney and Enos (2017) that belief in a just world covaries highly with modern racism which may make it difficult to detect an interaction effect. Although our correlations did not suggest any problems regarding multicollinearity between the two constructs, it may be that the effect size was too small to detect. Finally, regarding colorblind racial ideology, an interaction effect may not have been found due to the fact that our measure of colorblind racial ideology only showed weak correlations with the other main constructs in the model indicating an effect too low to be detected.

### **The Covariates Political ideology and Religiosity**

Political ideology did not significantly predict the likelihood to think/ behave microaggressively in either of our models, which indicates that it did not have any predictive power on its own. However, it significantly predicted modern racism, colorblind racial ideology and aversive racism, respectively, in model 1 (with internal norms as a predictor). In model 2 (with external norms as a predictor), political ideology only predicted modern racism and colorblind racial ideology. This suggests that political ideology (with higher scores indicating higher levels of conservatism) to some extent predict an individual's level of subtle prejudice. This is interesting in the case of Ireland considering the liberal turn the country has seen in recent years; if higher levels of conservatism predicts higher levels of subtle racial prejudice which, in turn, predicts higher likelihood to deliver racial microaggressions, then higher levels of liberalism may contribute to a lower likelihood of microaggressive communications in the future.

Religiosity significantly predicted the likelihood to think/ behave microaggressively in both models suggesting that religiosity has a predictive power on its own in predicting microaggressive likelihood. This finding is interesting in the case of Ireland because of the country's strong Roman Catholic roots and, hence, a part of the motivation to be unprejudiced may stem from Catholic norms in society. This makes an interesting case for investigating religiosity as a predictor of microaggressive communications in future research.

### **Limitations of the Studies**

There were three main limitations in regard to study 1: Firstly, the sample size comprised of only ten participants which could prove problematic in terms of representativeness as it could skew our results. Some researchers recommend "theoretical saturation" as the primary method for determining non-probability sample sizes in qualitative research (e.g., Byrne 2001; Fossey et al. 2002; Guest et al. 2006). Theoretical saturation was first defined by Glaser and Strauss (1967) as the point at which "no additional data are being found whereby the researcher can develop properties of the category" (p. 61) and has become the gold standard by which sample sizes for qualitative inquiry, including focus groups, are determined (Guest et al. 2006; Guest and MacQueen 2008). Thus, we used this method during the course of our data collection for determining our focus group sample size. However, this method has been criticized arguing that by definition, saturation can only be determined *after* data analysis (Charmaz 2014; Cheek 2000). Hence, Guest and colleagues (2017), set out to investigate sta-

tistically the sample size needed in order to achieve saturation for focus group studies. They found that a sample size of two to three focus groups will likely capture at least 80 % of themes on a topic in a study with a relatively homogeneous population using a semistructured guide. Furthermore, as few as three to six focus groups were likely to identify 90 % of the themes. With four focus groups, the present study falls within these intervals. However, the number of participants per focus group was only two-three which is much less than the eight participants per focus group in the study by Guest and colleagues (2017). It was the interviewers' experience that the low number of focus group participants in fact proved an advantage as the participants were highly engaging and open to share their personal experience and, thus, it could have proven counter-productive to have a larger focus group size, especially considering the sensitive nature of the topic. That said, it cannot be ruled out that additional focus groups with 3-4 participants in each would have yielded additional insights. In sum, for future research, we recommend conducting six focus groups with 3-4 participants in each yielding a total sample size of 18-24 participants.

Secondly, there were issues regarding representativeness in the sample: Nine out of ten participants were female, only one participant was a first-generation migrant, and all participants appeared to be highly educated. These aspects may lead to our results being skewed and, thus, not reflect the experiences of the Black community in Ireland in a truthful way. These aspects must be considered when interpreting the findings of study 1 and stresses that more research of a similar design is needed in order to map out the expression and experience of racial microaggressions in Ireland. Future research replicating the present study but employing a larger sample size could help develop the Irish version the Cultural Cognitions and Actions Scale further.

Finally, a co-researcher was present for only the first two out of four total focus group sessions due to scheduling issues and time constraints. Contrary to the main investigator who is of White ethnicity, the co-researcher was a member of the Black Irish community and, hence, served as an expert on the research context. Furthermore, they were able to serve a bridging function and create a sense of allyship between the main investigator and the participants with the aim of creating a safe space for sharing. After each of the first two focus group sessions, the co-researcher gave feedback to the main investigator on how to improve their interview technique and role as a moderator in the focus group discussion. These were valuable inputs which helped to improve the quality of the focus group data and the lead investigator felt that it positively affected the two final focus groups. However, it cannot be ruled out that the non-presence of the co-researcher in the two last focus groups could have negatively affected the level of trust between the participants and the lead investigator which, in turn, could have negatively affected the participants' willingness to share.

There were four main limitations in regard to study 2: Firstly, there were a number of issues regarding the validity of the chosen measures. Overall, we only employed self-report measures which, by default, are sensitive to social desirability bias and are limited to what the level of personal reflection and self-awareness of the individual participant. Hence, and especially considering the sensitive nature of the investigated topic, unconscious cognitive processes and behaviors may be difficult

to detect. Furthermore, as previously discussed, the measures we used for colorblind racial ideology and aversive racism may have been problematic as they only measured one out of two dimensions of each of the constructs, respectively. For future research, it is therefore highly encouraged to investigate the associations tested in the present study using more complete, potentially implicit, measures. Moreover, we encourage future researchers to include a measure of social desirability in order to control for this.

Secondly, the fact that we chose to collate the Thoughts and Behaviors sub-scales of the Cultural Cognitions and Actions Scale meant that the reliabilities risked artificial inflation which could have influenced our results. However, because the reliabilities of the sub-scales were already above .9 (Thoughts;  $\alpha = .908$ ; Behaviors:  $\alpha = .907$ ), it did not inflate the reliability of the total score to such an extent that it would alter the results (CCAS-I:  $\alpha = .949$ ).

Thirdly, based on feedback from participants in study 2, it was brought to our attention that some items of the adapted Cultural Cognitions and Actions Scale could have confounds. For example, the item *"I like your big lips"* could have sexual connotations which could be why ethnic majority members would refrain from uttering such statements more so than for race related reasons. Furthermore, the likelihood to report some behaviors, for example, avoiding a Black man late at night in the street could be more related to gender-related assumptions than race-related assumptions (i.e., one might want to avoid any man late at night, not only a black man). These aspects may have lead to validity issues for some items. Finally, as in study 1, the majority of the sample were female, highly educated and predominantly liberal which may have skewed the results.

### **Future Directions**

Firstly, we want to encourage future researchers to include measures of aversive racism in studies on the likelihood to communicate racial microaggressions. During our focus groups, we found that aversive racism was emphasized as an important issue in Ireland along with objectifying and avoidant racial microaggressive behaviors. In the studies by Kanter and colleagues (2017; 2020), objectifying and avoidant behaviors were most weakly correlated with subtle racial prejudice. However, aversive racism was not investigated in these studies, which makes an interesting case for investigating this construct in relation to racial microaggressions. We recommend using both an explicit and an implicit measure of aversive racism as recommended by Dovidio and Gaertner (1986; used by Gaertner & McLaughlin, 1983; Perdue et al., 1990). They base this recommendation on the assumption that self-report measures may only measure what the respondents are themselves consciously aware of in addition to being sensitive to social desirability bias while the concept of aversive racism comprises both conscious and unconscious elements.

Due to time and space constraints, we were not able to investigate whether different psychological processes predict different types of microaggressive behaviors. As indicated in the results by Kanter and colleagues (2017; 2020), the correlational strength differed between subtle racial prejudice and different types of microaggressive behaviors. More specifically, only moderate to weak correlations were found between subtle racial prejudice and avoidant and objectifying microaggressive be-



haviors, respectively, whereas, moderate to strong correlations were found between subtle racial prejudice and negative attitudes and colorblindness racial microaggressions suggesting that objectifying and avoidant microaggressive behaviors may be associated with different forms of subtle racial prejudice than the ones tested by Kanter and colleagues (i.e., modern racism, symbolic racial and colorblind racial ideology). As per the above arguments outlining the relevance of aversive racism in regards to racial microaggressions, for future studies, it would be highly interesting to test the relationships between aversive racism and objectifying and avoidant microaggressive behaviors. This could be done by investigating the different sub-scales of the CCAS as separate outcome variables via path analyses in order to map whether different forms of subtle racial prejudice predict different types of microaggressive behavior. Conceptually, it would make sense that different processes predict different types of microaggressive behavior. For example, negative attitudes and colorblindness racial microaggressions are very different in nature and, hence, could be motivated by different processes. However, a further adaptation of the scale and subsequent confirmatory factor analyses may be needed in order to ensure the validity of the sub-scale measures.

In addition to the suggestions for future research presented above, we argue that, in line with the present study, future racial microaggression research should employ an approach incorporating both receiver and deliverer perspectives. We believe that by doing so we may be able to better grasp the complex dimensions of the interpersonal interaction in which a racial microaggression is delivered/perceived. In turn, this may improve efforts to create interventions which may foster better quality interracial contact which has been found to decrease racial prejudice and discrimination (Gaertner et al., 2000; Gaertner et al., 1993). Under this argument, we suggest two directions for future research: 1) in line with our finding, we believe it is crucial to expand the research field of microaggressions across cultural contexts in order to better understand the generalizability of the concept. We suggest replicating the present study in other cultural contexts, and 2) we suggest replicating the present study including other ethnic minority groups. For example, according to Haynes and colleagues (2020), Irish travelers are and have been the most stigmatized group in Ireland over the last decades. It would be highly relevant to test whether the psychological processes that predict the likelihood to deliver racial microaggressions to Black ethnic minority members in Ireland also apply to this specific ethnic minority group.

### **Concluding Remarks**

The present study found empirical support that social norms play a central role in predicting microaggressive communications. Furthermore, modern racism and aversive racism, respectively, were found to mediate the relationship between internal and external anti-prejudice norms, respectively, and microaggressive likelihood. Especially notable, we found that strong external social pressures lead to anxious feelings which, in turn, increase the likelihood to communicate racial microaggressions. On a broader level, this indicates that society has been successful in its quest to reduce blatant racial discrimination by establishing strong anti-prejudice norms. However, these very same external social pressures may create intergroup anxiety which, in turn and paradoxically, may lead to increased sub-

tle racial discrimination. Based on these findings, we argued that it is crucial for future research to move away from a receiver-focused approach which has employed a perpetrator-victim terminology and instead move toward a multi-perspective approach.

Research on racial microaggressions is in a highly critical phase of increasing focus and growth. We recognize that certain problematic elements regarding the conceptualization and operationalization of racial microaggressions persist. However, we stress that their existence cannot be dismissed as they exist in and have a detrimental impact on the lives of receivers. Therefore, we must continue to try to understand all dimensions of the complex interpersonal interactions that are microaggressions in order to minimize them. That said, we want to make it unequivocally clear that the current study does not offer excuses for deliverers of microaggressions; it offers the first steps toward an explanation and an understanding of why majority members who are motivated to appear non-prejudiced yet end up offending and causing negative impacts on minority members. We fully support the sentiment from previous researchers on racial microaggressions (e.g., Sue et al., 2007); that good intentions cannot solve the issue alone and that they do not excuse discriminatory behaviors. However, we believe that the ecological social context in which the deliverer exists must be understood more in-depth in order to move forward in the research field. We believe that this is crucial for the purpose of bridging and facilitating high quality interracial contact which has been found to reduce racial prejudice and discrimination. If a perpetrator-victim terminology is carried forward, the results of the present study suggest that interventions based on such frameworks rather than minimizing microaggression, may exacerbate them.

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## Appendix A - Study 1 Questionnaire

### Study Information

**TITLE OF THE STUDY:** Ethnic and Racial Microaggressions in Ireland

Dear Prospective Participant,

The present study is a part of a master's dissertation as part of the Erasmus Mundus European Master in Global Mobility, Inclusion & Diversity in Society ([www.global-minds.eu](http://www.global-minds.eu)) at ISCTE - Lisbon University Institute. This information sheet will tell you what the study is about.

**DESCRIPTION:** The study aims to better understand the microaggressive incidents that racial minority members may experience in their daily lives. More specifically, it aims to find out if statements from previous research which are perceived as microaggressive in the US context are also perceived as such in the Irish context. The results of this study may be used in follow-up studies, such as diversity interventions aimed at raising awareness about microaggressions.

Please note that only participants 18 years of age or older are eligible to participate in this study.

**CONTACT:** The study is carried out by Ms. Sine Bering Holdensen, [sbhng@iscte-iul.pt](mailto:sbhng@iscte-iul.pt) who can be contacted if you have any questions or comments. It is important that you feel that your questions have been answered.

**PARTICIPATION:** Your participation in the study will be highly valued, because it will make a crucial contribution to better understand some of the subtle discrimination experiences of racial minorities in Ireland. Lead investigator Master student Ms. Sine Bering Holdensen and co-researcher PhD student Ms. Mamobo Ogoro will lead the session. If you agree to participate, participation will contain the following steps:

- **ONLINE FORM:** You will be asked to fill out a short online form (app. 10 minutes) in immediate extension of this form. This contains demographic questions and questions about previous experiences with microaggressions.
- **INFORMATION SHEET:** Prior to the focus group session, eight scenarios along with statements that show expressions of subtle discrimination against ethnic minority members in the US will be sent to you via email. You will be asked to reflect on these in order to facilitate the focus group discussion.
- **FOCUS GROUP DISCUSSION:** At a later date, you will take part in an online group discussion with 5-6 other members of the Black Irish community in Ireland. The session will be recorded

and it will have a duration of approximately 90 minutes. During the session, you will be presented with the scenarios and statements that you have become familiar with prior to the session. You will be asked to discuss the scenarios and possible reactions by White individuals according to whether they are similar to what you have experienced or observed in Ireland.

Please note that you will be asked to share your first name in the online form and during the focus group session with no other purpose than for the researchers and research participants to familiarise with one another. This is strictly voluntary: you are free to choose not to share your name if you do not wish to do so.

You can ask for a summary of the focus group discussion after the session, which will not include anybody's name.

**RISKS:** There are no significant expected risks associated with participation in the study.

**WITHDRAWAL:** Participation in the study is strictly voluntary: you can freely choose to participate or not to participate. If you choose to participate, you can stop your participation at any time without having to provide any justification. In addition to being voluntary, participation is also confidential.

**BENEFITS:** There are no direct benefits to your participation in this study.

**DATA STORAGE:** The information will be stored encrypted and will only be available to the researchers conducting the study. Your name will not be written on any stored information. You will be given a fictitious name when the information is written in a report by the researcher. The information that is gathered will be stored for seven years. After this time, it will be destroyed.

Thank you for taking the time to read this. I would be grateful if you would consider participating in this study.

Yours sincerely,

Ms. Sine Bering Holdensen

This research study has received ethics approval from The Ethic Committee at ISCTE - Lisbon University Institute (approval number 115/2020). If you have any concerns about this study or your participation and wish to contact an independent authority, you may contact:

Chairperson, Ethics Committee ISCTE - Lisbon University Institute

Email: [comissao.etica@iscte-iul.pt](mailto:comissao.etica@iscte-iul.pt)

**Participation Consent**

I declare that I have understood the objectives of what was proposed and explained to me by the researcher, that I have been given the opportunity to ask all the questions about the present study, and for all of them, to have received an enlightening answer, and I accept to participate in it.

- I have read and I DO give my consent to participate in this study.
- I have read and do NOT give my consent to participate in this study.

I am aware that the focus groups will be audio/video recorded and I agree to this. However, should I feel uncomfortable at any time, I can ask that the recording equipment be switched off. I know that I can ask for a summary of the focus group session, which will not include anybody's name. I understand what will happen to the recordings once the study is finished.

- I agree.
- I disagree.

**Q1 Demographics**

**1.1 What is your age?**

**1.2 Which gender do you identify with?**

- Male
- Female
- Other. If so, please specify:

- I prefer not to answer

**1.3 Were you born in Ireland?**

- Yes
- No
- I prefer not to answer

**1.4 Where were you born?**

**1.5 At what age did you move to Ireland?**

**1.6 Was your father both in Ireland?**

Yes

No

**1.7 Was your mother both in Ireland?**

Yes

No

**1.8 In which country was your father born?**

**1.9 In which country was your mother born?**

**1.10 Do you identify with an ethnic minority group? If so, please specify.**

**1.11 What is/are your ethnicity(ies)? (e.g., West African, East African etc.)**

**1.12 To what extent do you feel that you are perceived as Black in Ireland? (1 = Not at all, 7 = Very much)**

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>



**1.13 To what extent do you think that you are a racialised person (i.e., a person ascribed to a certain ethnic and/or racial identity)? (1 = Not at all, 7 = Very much)**

- |                          |                          |                          |                          |                          |                          |                          |
|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|
| 1                        | 2                        | 3                        | 4                        | 5                        | 6                        | 7                        |
| <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |

**1.14 Which of the following descriptions applies to what you have been doing for the last month? Select all that apply.**

- In paid work (or away temporarily) (employee, self-employed, working for your family business)
- In education, (not paid for by employer) even if on vacation
- Unemployed and actively looking for a job
- Unemployed, wanting a job but not actively looking for a job
- Permanently sick or disabled
- Retired
- In community or military service
- Doing housework, looking after children or other persons
- Other

**1.15 What is your highest education degree?**

- Below high school
- High school
- Undergraduate degree
- Graduate degree
- Above graduate degree

**1.16 Which on the following descriptions comes closest to how you feel about your household's income nowadays?**

- Living comfortably on present income
- Coping on present income
- Finding it difficult on present income
- Finding it very difficult on present income

**1.17 Do you consider yourself as belonging to any particular religion or denomination?**

- Yes
- No

**1.18 Which one?**

- Roman Catholic
- Protestant
- Eastern Orthodox
- Other Christian Denomination
- Jewish
- Islamic
- Eastern religion (Buddhist, Hindu etc.)
- Other non-Christian religions

**1.19 Regardless of whether you belong to a particular religion, how religious would you say you are? (1 = not at all religious, 7 = very religious)**

- |                          |                          |                          |                          |                          |                          |                          |
|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|
| 1                        | 2                        | 3                        | 4                        | 5                        | 6                        | 7                        |
| <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |

**Q2 Familiarity with the Concept of Racial Microaggressions**

**2.1 Are you familiar with the concept of ethnic and racial microaggressions?**

- Yes
- Somewhat
- No

**2.2 Definition**

Ethnic and racial microaggressions have been defined as "brief and commonplace daily verbal, behavioral, and environmental indignities, whether intentional or unintentional, that communicate hostile, derogatory, or negative racial slights and insults to the target person or group" (Sue et al., 2008).

To what extent does this definition match your preconception of racial microaggressions? (1 = Not at all, 5 = Very well)

- |                          |                          |                          |                          |                          |                          |                          |
|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|
| 1                        | 2                        | 3                        | 4                        | 5                        | 6                        | 7                        |
| <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |

**2.3 Have you ever observed and/or been the receiver of microaggressions?**

- Yes
- Maybe
- No
- I don't know

Would you like to share an example? If yes, please do so in the box below.

## Appendix B - Study 1 Reflection Sheet

### Introduction

Thank you for participating in this study!

The study aims to better understand the microaggressive incidents that members of a racial minority may experience in their daily lives. More specifically, it aims to find out if statements from previous research which are characterized as microaggressive in the US context are also perceived as such in the Irish context.

The results of this study may be used in follow up studies, such as diversity interventions aimed at raising awareness about microaggressions and the aversive psychological effects it may have on minorities.

This information sheet consists of eight different scenarios of potential interactions between Black Irish and White Irish individuals. In addition, it contains potential statements which might be said or done in these scenarios.

Before the focus group discussion, please read all scenarios and statements carefully and **reflect** on:

1. Whether the scenarios in question could happen in Ireland.
2. The likelihood of white Irish Individuals saying or doing the listed statements in the particular scenario.
3. What other microaggressive statements White Irish individuals may say or do in these scenarios.
4. What other microaggressive scenarios that could happen in the Irish contexts based on your personal experience or observation.

***It is not required for you to write anything down unless you find it helpful. The questions in the following are merely meant as questions for reflection.***

### SCENARIO 1

"A White Irish person introduces a new friend to their other friends, saying they think they will like the person. When they meet this person, it turns out that he is a tall, fit-looking Black man who says he is a law student. He seems very smart, and he has a *very* sophisticated vocabulary. They like his personality."

1. "I have other black friends"

*To what extent do you think this or a similar situation would be likely to happen in Ireland? Why/Why not?*

---

## **SCENARIO 2**

“A Black Irish female is starting a conversation with a White Irish person at work. The Black woman is a 20-something-year-old co-worker and wearing a traditional colorful African-style dress. She has long hair with scores of tiny braids and golden beads woven into them. Her hair is rolled into a large twisted wrap.”

1. “Why do Black women wear their hair in these sorts of styles?”
2. “I’ve always wanted to go to Africa”
3. “Can I touch your hair?”
4. “Are you from Africa?”
5. “Have you ever even been to Africa?”
6. “How long has your family been in Ireland?”
7. “Is your hair real?”
8. “You look like an African goddess”

*To what extent do you think this or a similar situation would be likely to happen in Ireland? Why/Why not?*

---

## **SCENARIO 3**

“A White Irish person is taking a required diversity workshop. The trainer starts to discuss race and explains that White people have an unfair advantage in almost every area of Irish life due to “White privilege.” A class discussion begins where one of the other White students argues that she never got any special treatment in life due to her race. A Black student disagrees and seems visibly upset. The White Irish person is asked for their opinion.”

1. “A lot of minorities are too sensitive”
2. “Everyone suffers. Not just Black people”
3. “Race doesn’t matter. There is only one race – the human race”

*To what extent do you think this or a similar situation would be likely to happen in Ireland? Why/Why not?*

---

#### SCENARIO 4

“A White Irish person is with a mixed (Black and White) group of friends, and they are talking about various current events and political issues, including police brutality, affirmative action, unemployment, and education.”

1. “Black people should work harder to fit into our society”
2. “Everyone can succeed in this society, if they work hard enough”
3. “All lives matter, not just Black lives”
4. “I don’t think of Black people as Black”
5. Stay quiet so they don’t offend anyone.

*To what extent do you think this or a similar situation would be likely to happen in Ireland? Why/Why not?*

---

#### SCENARIO 5

“A White Irish person is walking down the street in their local neighborhood. The person sees an older Black man, who looks like he hasn’t shaved in a few days, wearing weathered jeans and a t-shirt, standing on the corner. As the White Irish person walks by, the Black man asks them for directions to a store that the White Irish person frequent a few blocks away.”

6. Makes sure not to make eye contact and just keep walking.
7. Cross the street to avoid the Black man.
8. Give the Black man directions as quickly as possible to minimize interaction.
9. Check that your wallet/purse is secure.

*To what extent do you think this or a similar situation would be likely to happen in Ireland? Why/Why not?*

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#### SCENARIO 6

“A White Irish person is hanging out with a group of their closest friends doing Karaoke, listening to a well-known rap song in which the rapper uses the “N-word” a lot. One of the person’s White friends

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is singing loudly, and the person finds himself/herself singing along. One of the person's Black friends objects to the use of the "N-word" in the song."

1. Say the word loudly every time they hear it.
2. "It's unfair that black people can say the N-word but white people can't"
3. Leave the room to avoid an uncomfortable situation.

*To what extent do you think this or a similar situation would be likely to happen in Ireland? Why/Why not?*

---

### SCENARIO 7

"A White Irish person is at a sports bar with some racially diverse friends and acquaintances. There is clip on the news about an unarmed Black youth who was shot by the police after neighbors complained about a loud party. Drugs were found at the party. A White friend of the White Irish person is looking at the footage and says that if Black people really want to be safe, they shouldn't be loud and run around with hoodies and baggy pants because it frightens people. The White Irish person is asked for their opinion."

1. "I would be pretty scared - that guy looks like a thug"
2. "The real problem is a lack of good role models in the Black Irish community"
3. "Drugs at the party show that the shooting was probably justified"
4. "The problem is that too many Black parents don't take responsibility for their kids"
5. Make an excuse to go home early to avoid discussing this topic.

*To what extent do you think this or a similar situation would be likely to happen in Ireland? Why/Why not?*

---

### SCENARIO 8

"A White Irish person is facing a difficult science project and has been assigned to work with a young woman they have seen before but have not met personally. She has long dark wavy hair and light brown skin. The White Irish person cannot tell what racial or ethnic group she belongs to, but she speaks English without an accent. She seems to understand the project better than the White Irish person does."

1. "Where are your parents from?"
2. "I'm not racist but I really want to know what race you are"
3. "What is your nationality?"
4. "You speak English really well"

*To what extent do you think this or a similar situation would be likely to happen in Ireland? Why/Why not?*

---

### **FINAL REFLECTION**

*Can you think of any other microaggressive scenarios that could happen in Ireland based on your personal experience or observation?*

---

Once again, thank you for your participation. We look forward to meeting you soon!



## Appendix C - Study 1 Semi-Structured Interview Guide

### Introduction

Hello everyone, thank you for taking part in this focus group on ethnic and racial microaggressions in Ireland. My name is Sine and I am a second-year master student. I am currently in my final semester working on my master thesis at Lisbon University Institute in Portugal.

With me I have Mamobo Ogoro whom some of you may know. She is a PhD student at University of Limerick and her research revolves around the topics of multicultural identities, discrimination, integration, inclusivity and diversity. Mamobo, maybe you want to say a few words about yourself?

The study aims to better understand the microaggressive incidents that members of a racial minority may experience in their daily lives. More specifically, it aims to find out if statements from previous research which are characterized as microaggressive in the US context are also perceived as such in the Irish context.

The results of this study may be used in follow up studies, such as diversity interventions aimed at raising awareness about microaggressions and the aversive psychological effects it may have on minorities.

As previously informed, this session will take approximately 90 minutes and will be recorded.

I would like to note that your participation is strictly voluntary and that you can stop your participation at any time without having to provide any justification. In addition to being voluntary, participation is also anonymous and confidential.

Prior to this session, you have received eight different scenarios of potential interactions between Black Irish and White Irish individuals.

Based on your reflections, this session will consist of :

1. A general discussion around whether the scenarios in question could happen in Ireland.
2. A discussion about what White Irish individuals may say or do in these scenarios. You will also be asked to discuss the likelihood of such interactions happening in Ireland.
3. A discussion about other microaggressive scenarios that could happen in the Irish contexts based on your personal experience or observation.

Before we start, do you have any questions?

## WARM UP

- Please introduce yourself by saying something about your name (e.g. how you got it? Who named you, why? What does your name mean?)
  - If you are not comfortable with sharing your name feel free to share anything else about yourself that you would like.
- May I ask what motivated you to take part in this study? (will be asked if needed).

## Exploration questions

Thank you for sharing and nice to meet you all. Let us proceed with the group discussion. You have all received some materials prior to this session. This included a number of scenarios and potential statements which could have been said in that situation.

In the following we will go through each scenario by me reading it out loud followed by questions as outlined in the introduction.

Feel free to share any input, comment or question you may have to the question or to something said during the discussion.

### SCENARIO 1<sup>3</sup>

"A White Irish person introduces a new friend to their other friends, saying they think they will like the person. When they meet this person, it turns turns out that he is a tall, fit-looking Black man who says he is a law student. He seems very smart, and he has a *very* sophisticated vocabulary. They like his personality."

The White Irish person says the following:

1. "I have other black friends"

*To what extent do you think this or a similar situation would be likely to happen in Ireland? Why/Why not?*

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<sup>3</sup> The order which the scenarios were discussed differed between the focus groups in order to ensure reliability and that equal amounts of data were collected for all scenarios.

## SCENARIO 2

“A Black Irish female is starting a conversation with a White Irish person at work. The Black woman is a 20-something-year-old co-worker and wearing a traditional colorful African-style dress. She has long hair with scores of tiny braids and golden beads woven into them. Her hair is rolled into a large twisted wrap.”

The White Irish person says the following:

1. “Why do black women wear their hair in these sorts of styles?”
2. “I’ve always wanted to go to Africa”
3. “Can I touch your hair?”
4. “Are you from Africa?”
5. “Have you ever even been to Africa?”
6. “How long has your family been in Ireland?”
7. “Is your hair real?”
8. “You look like an African goddess”

*To what extent do you think this or a similar situation would be likely to happen in Ireland? Why/Why not?*

---

## SCENARIO 3

“A White Irish person is taking a required diversity workshop. The trainer starts to discuss race and explains that White people have an unfair advantage in most every area of Irish life due to “White privilege.” A class discussion begins where one of the other White students argues that she never got any special treatment in life due to her race. A Black student disagrees and seems visibly upset. The White Irish person is asked for his/her opinion.”

The White Irish person says the following:

1. “A lot of minorities are too sensitive”
2. “Everyone suffers. Not just Black people”
3. “Race doesn’t matter. There is only one race – the human race”

*To what extent do you think this or a similar situation would be likely to happen in Ireland? Why/Why not?*

---

#### SCENARIO 4

“A White Irish person is with a mixed (Black and White) group of friends, and he/she is talking about various current events and political issues, including police brutality, affirmative action, unemployment, and education.”

The White Irish person says/does the following:

1. “Black people should work harder to fit into our society”
2. “Everyone can succeed in this society, if they work hard enough”
3. “All lives matter, not just Black lives”
4. “I don’t think of Black people as Black”
5. Stay quiet so he/she don’t offend anyone.

*To what extent do you think this or a similar situation would be likely to happen in Ireland? Why/Why not?*

---

#### SCENARIO 5

“A White Irish person is walking down the street in his/her local neighborhood. The person see an older Black man, who looks like he hasn’t shaved in a few days, wearing weathered jeans and a t-shirt, standing on the corner. As the person walks by, the Black man asks him/her for directions to a store that the White Irish person frequent a few blocks away.”

The White Irish person does the following:

1. Makes sure not to make eye contact and just keep walking.
2. Cross the street to avoid the Black man.
3. Give the Black man directions as quickly as possible to minimize interaction.
4. Check that your wallet/purse is secure.

*To what extent do you think this or a similar situation would be likely to happen in Ireland? Why/Why not?*

---

**SCENARIO 6**

“A White Irish person is hanging out with a group of his/her closest friends doing Karaoke, listening to a well-known rap song in which the rapper uses the “N-word” a lot. Another White person is singing loudly, and the White Irish person find themselves singing along. One of the Black friends objects to the use of the “N-word” in the song.”

The White Irish person says/does the following:

1. Say the word loudly every time they hear it.
2. "It's unfair that black people can say the N-word but white people can't"
3. Leave the room to avoid an uncomfortable situation.

*To what extent do you think this or a similar situation would be likely to happen in Ireland? Why/Why not?*

---

**SCENARIO 7**

“A White Irish person is at a sports bar with some racially diverse friends and acquaintances. There is clip on the news about an unarmed Black youth who was shot by police after neighbors complained about a loud party. Drugs were found at the party. A White friend of the White Irish person is looking at the footage and says that if Black people really want to be safe, they shouldn't be loud and run around with hoodies and baggy pants because it frightens people. The White Irish person is asked for his/her opinion.”

The White Irish person says/does the following:

1. “I would be pretty scared - that guy looks like a thug”
2. “The real problem is a lack of good role models in the African American community”
3. “Drugs at the party show that the shooting was probably justified”
4. “The problem is that too many Black parents don't take responsibility for their kids”
5. Make an excuse to go home early to avoid discussing this topic.

*To what extent do you think this or a similar situation would be likely to happen in Ireland? Why/Why not?*

---

## SCENARIO 8

“A White Irish person is facing a difficult science project and has been assigned to work with a young woman he/she has seen before but has not met personally. She has long dark wavy hair and light brown skin. The White Irish person cannot tell what racial or ethnic group she belongs to, but she speaks English without an accent. She seems to understand the project better than the White Irish person does.”

The White Irish person says the following:

1. “Where are your parents from?”
2. “I’m not racist but I really want to know what race you are”
3. “What is your nationality?”
4. “You speak English really well”

*To what extent do you think this or a similar situation would be likely to happen in Ireland? Why/Why not?*

---

### Exit questions

Is there anything else you would like to add about your experience of microaggressive behaviour in Ireland?

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## DEBRIEFING

Thank you for having participated in this study. As indicated at the onset of your participation, the study is a part of a master’s dissertation as part of the Erasmus Mundus European Master in Global Mobility, Inclusion & Diversity in Society at ISCTE - Lisbon University Institute.

The study aims to better understand the microaggressive incidents that racial minority may experience in their daily lives. More specifically, it aims to find out if statements and behaviours from previous research which are perceived as microaggressive in the US context are also perceived as such in the Irish context.

The results of this study may be used in follow up studies, such as diversity interventions aimed at raising awareness about microaggressions.

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You will shortly receive a written debriefing information including contact information for a number of mental health help lines. If you have experienced any distress during or after this discussion and you feel the need to address this, we encourage you to contact any of these.

We remind you that you can contact me via the previously provided contact information for any questions that you may have, comments that you wish to share, or to indicate your interest in receiving information about the main outcomes and conclusions of the study.

Once again, thank you for your participation!

## Appendix D - Study 2 Questionnaire

### INFORMED CONSENT

**DESCRIPTION:** The present study is a part of a master's dissertation as part of the Erasmus Mundus European Master in Global Mobility, Inclusion & Diversity in Society at ISCTE - Lisbon University Institute. The aim of this study is to better understand the thoughts and behaviours of ethnic majority members in society concerning social issues.

Please note that only participants **18 years of age or older and living in Ireland** are eligible to participate in this study.

**CONTACT:** The study is carried out by Sine Bering Holdensen (sbhng@iscte-iul.pt) who can be contacted if you have any questions or comments.

**PARTICIPATION:** Your participation in the study will be highly valued, as it will contribute to the advancement of knowledge in this field. If you agree to participate, you will be asked to answer questions in an online survey which will take approximately 15 minutes to complete. You will be presented with different scenarios involving interactions between ethnic minority and majority individuals. And you will be asked about how likely it is that you will think or behave in certain ways and what you think about intergroup relations in general. Be aware that you have the right to skip any question.

Your IP address used to complete the survey will be blocked in order to ensure your full anonymity.

**RISKS:** There are no anticipated risks associated with participating in this study. However, we do recognise that the materials we use in this study may produce a certain degree of psychological discomfort for some participants. It is important to note though that this discomfort should not be greater than what you would experience if you read actual statements and opinions in your everyday life.

**WITHDRAWAL:** Participation in the study is strictly voluntary. You can freely choose to participate or not to participate. If you choose to participate, you can stop your participation at any time without having to provide any justification. In addition to being voluntary, your participation is also entirely anonymous and confidential.

The data are intended merely for statistical processing and no answer will be analyzed or reported individually. You will never be asked to identify yourself at any time during the study.

**BENEFITS:** There are no direct benefits to your participation in this study.



**INCENTIVE TO PARTICIPATE:** If you choose to participate you will receive payment equivalent of GBP 7.40/hr. If you wish to withdraw your statement after the completion of the survey, you will not lose this payment. However, if you fail to answer the attention check items correctly, you will be directed to the end of the survey and you will not receive payment for completing the study.

**DATA STORAGE:** The raw data will be stored encrypted and will only be available to the researchers conducting the study. Your individual privacy will be maintained in all published and written data resulting from the study.

- I have read and I DO give my consent to participate in this study.
- I have read and I do NOT give my consent to participate in this study.

**Q1 Self-reported likelihood to think or say/do racial microaggressions (CCAS-I)**

‘Think’ response scale:

Very likely to think	Somewhat likely to think	Neither likely nor unlikely to think	Somewhat unlikely to think	Very unlikely to think
1	2	3	4	5

‘Say/do’ response scale:

Very likely to say/do	Somewhat likely to say/do	Neither likely nor unlikely to say/do	Somewhat unlikely to say/do	Very unlikely to say/do
1	2	3	4	5

**1.1 Scenario 1:** ‘A friend of yours has wanted you to meet a friend, saying they think you will like the person. You meet this person one-on-one. He turns out to be a tall, fit- looking Black man who says he is a law student. He seems very smart and he has a very sophisticated vocabulary. You like his personality.’

*How likely is it that you would **think or actually say** the following during the interaction?*

		Think					Actually say				
		1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4	5
1.1.1	“I have other Black friends”	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

**1.2 Scenario 2:** “An acquaintance at work starts a conversation with you. She is a 20- something-year-old Black female and has long hair with scores of tiny braids and golden beads woven into them. Her hair is rolled into a large twisted wrap.”

How likely is it that you would **think or actually say/do** the following during the interaction?

	Think	Actually say/do
1.2.1 “Why do black women wear their hair in these sorts of styles?”	1 2 3 4 5 <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/>	1 2 3 4 5 <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/>
1.2.2 “I’ve always wanted to go to Africa” (as a conversation-starter)	1 2 3 4 5 <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/>	1 2 3 4 5 <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/>
1.2.3 “Can I touch your hair?”	1 2 3 4 5 <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/>	1 2 3 4 5 <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/>
1.2.4 “Are you from Africa?”	1 2 3 4 5 <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/>	1 2 3 4 5 <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/>
1.2.5 “Have you ever even been to Africa?”	1 2 3 4 5 <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/>	1 2 3 4 5 <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/>
1.2.6 “How long has your family been in Ireland?”	1 2 3 4 5 <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/>	1 2 3 4 5 <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/>
1.2.7 “Is your hair real?”	1 2 3 4 5 <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/>	1 2 3 4 5 <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/>
1.2.8 “How often do you wash your hair?”	1 2 3 4 5 <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/>	1 2 3 4 5 <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/>
1.2.9 Want to touch the woman's hair.	1 2 3 4 5 <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/>	1 2 3 4 5 <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/>

**1.3 Scenario 3:** ‘You are taking a required diversity workshop. The trainer starts to discuss race and explains that White people have an unfair advantage in almost every area of Irish life due to “White privilege.” A class discussion begins where one of the white students argues that she never got any special treatment in life due to her race. A Black student disagrees and seems visibly upset. You are asked for your opinion.’

How likely is it that you would **think or actually say** the following during the interaction?

	Think	Actually say
1.3.1 “A lot of minorities are too sensitive”	1 2 3 4 5 <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/>	1 2 3 4 5 <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/>

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	Think	Actually say
1.3.2 "Everyone suffers. Not just Black people"	1 2 3 4 5 □□□□□	1 2 3 4 5 □□□□□
1.3.3 "Race doesn't matter. There is only one race – the human race"	1 2 3 4 5 □□□□□	1 2 3 4 5 □□□□□

**1.4 Scenario 4:** "You are with a mixed (Black and White) group of friends, and you are talking about various current events and political issues, including racial inequality, police brutality, affirmative action, unemployment, and education."

How likely is it that you would **think or actually say/do** the following during the interaction?

	Think	Actually say
1.4.1 "A lot of minorities are too sensitive"	1 2 3 4 5 □□□□□	1 2 3 4 5 □□□□□
1.4.2 "Everyone suffers. Not just Black people"	1 2 3 4 5 □□□□□	1 2 3 4 5 □□□□□
1.4.3 "Race doesn't matter. There is only one race – the human race"	1 2 3 4 5 □□□□□	1 2 3 4 5 □□□□□

**1.5 Scenario 5:** 'You are walking down the street in your local neighborhood after dark. The street lights are on and there are a few other people in the street. You see a Black man, who is wearing all black clothes, standing on the corner. As you walk by, the man asks you for directions to a store that you frequent a few blocks away. He speaks English with a foreign accent.'

How likely is it that you would **think or actually say/do** the following during the interaction?

	Think	Actually say/do
1.5.1 Want to pretend that you need to answer a phone call to avoid interacting with the man and keep walking.	1 2 3 4 5 □□□□□	1 2 3 4 5 □□□□□
1.5.2 Want to indicate that you don't know and cross the street to avoid further interaction with the man.	1 2 3 4 5 □□□□□	1 2 3 4 5 □□□□□
1.5.3 Want to give the man directions as quickly as possible to minimize interaction.	1 2 3 4 5 □□□□□	1 2 3 4 5 □□□□□
1.5.4 Want to check that your wallet/purse is secure.	1 2 3 4 5 □□□□□	1 2 3 4 5 □□□□□

**1.6 Scenario 6:** ‘You are hanging out with a group of your closest friends (Black and White) chatting and listening to music in a bar. A well-known rap song is playing in which the rapper uses the “N-word” a lot. One of your White friends is singing loudly, and you find yourself singing along. Another one of your White friends objects to the use of the "N- word" in the song.’

How likely is it that you would **think or actually say/do** the following during the interaction?

		Think	Actually say/do
1.6.1	Want to say the N-word loudly every time you hear it, pretending you didn’t hear the objection.	1 2 3 4 5 □□□□□	1 2 3 4 5 □□□□□
1.6.2	“It’s just a part of the song, don't make such a big deal out of it.”	1 2 3 4 5 □□□□□	1 2 3 4 5 □□□□□
1.6.3	"It’s unfair that some people can say the N-word but other people can’t”	1 2 3 4 5 □□□□□	1 2 3 4 5 □□□□□
1.6.4	Want to leave the room to avoid an uncomfortable situation.	1 2 3 4 5 □□□□□	1 2 3 4 5 □□□□□

**1.7 Scenario 7:** ‘You are at a sports pub with some racially diverse friends and acquaintances. A news ticker shows on the screen during the match about an unarmed young Black person who was shot by Gardaí after a chase down. A picture of the young Black man is shown on the screen. One of your White friends is looking at the footage and says that the Black man shouldn’t have run away from the police because it seems suspicious. You are asked for your opinion.’

How likely is it that you would **think or actually say/do** the following during the interaction?

		Think	Actually say/do
1.7.1	“I would be pretty scared - that guy looks like a thug”	1 2 3 4 5 □□□□□	1 2 3 4 5 □□□□□
1.7.2	“The real problem is a lack of good role models in these communities”	1 2 3 4 5 □□□□□	1 2 3 4 5 □□□□□
1.7.3	“The fact that he ran away from the Gardaí shows that the shooting was probably justified”	1 2 3 4 5 □□□□□	1 2 3 4 5 □□□□□
1.7.4	“The problem is that too many parents in these communities don’t take responsibility for their children”	1 2 3 4 5 □□□□□	1 2 3 4 5 □□□□□

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		Think	Actually say/do
1.7.5	Want to avoid expressing my opinion directly but comment any of the above statements on social media afterwards.	1 2 3 4 5 □□□□□	1 2 3 4 5 □□□□□
1.7.6	Want to make an excuse to go home early to avoid discussing this topic.	1 2 3 4 5 □□□□□	1 2 3 4 5 □□□□□

**1.8 Scenario 8:** ‘You are facing a difficult science project and have been assigned to work with a young woman you have seen before but have not met personally. She has long dark wavy hair and light brown skin. You cannot tell what racial or ethnic group she belongs to, but she speaks English without an accent.’

*How likely is it that you would **think or actually say** the following during the interaction?*

		Think	Actually say
1.8.1	“Where are your parents from?” (if not finding out her ethnic origin by asking: “Where are you from?”)	1 2 3 4 5 □□□□□	1 2 3 4 5 □□□□□
1.8.2	“Where you are really from?” (if she answers: "Ireland" to above question)	1 2 3 4 5 □□□□□	1 2 3 4 5 □□□□□
1.8.3	“You speak English really well”	1 2 3 4 5 □□□□□	1 2 3 4 5 □□□□□

**1.9 Scenario 9:** ‘You are at a club with your friends and end up speaking with a young Black woman at the bar. Her hair is braided and she is wearing a colourful dress. She speaks English with an Irish accent.’

*How likely is it that you would **think or actually say** the following during the interaction?*

		Think	Actually say
1.9.1	"You look like an African goddess"	1 2 3 4 5 □□□□□	1 2 3 4 5 □□□□□
1.9.2	""I like your big lips""	1 2 3 4 5 □□□□□	1 2 3 4 5 □□□□□
1.9.3	“You have beautiful curves”	1 2 3 4 5 □□□□□	1 2 3 4 5 □□□□□
1.9.4	“I like the colour of your skin”	1 2 3 4 5 □□□□□	1 2 3 4 5 □□□□□

**Q3 Internal and External Motivation to Respond without Prejudice (IMS-EMS)**

Strongly agree	Somewhat agree	Neither agree nor disagree	Somewhat disagree	Disagree
1	2	3	4	5

**3.1 External Motivation to Respond without Prejudice**

3.1.1	Because of today's PC (politically correct) standards I try to appear non-prejudiced toward Black people.	1 2 3 4 5	<input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/>
3.1.2	I try to hide any negative thoughts about Black people in order to avoid negative reactions from others.	1 2 3 4 5	<input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/>
3.1.3	If I acted prejudiced toward Black people, I would be concerned that others would be angry with me.	1 2 3 4 5	<input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/>
3.1.4	I attempt to appear non-prejudiced toward Black people in order to avoid disapproval from others	1 2 3 4 5	<input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/>
3.1.5	try to act non-prejudiced toward Black people because of pressure from others.	1 2 3 4 5	<input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/>

**3.2 Internal Motivation to Respond without Prejudice**

3.2.1	I attempt to act in non-prejudiced ways toward Black people because it is personally important to me.	1 2 3 4 5	<input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/>
3.2.2	According to my personal values, using stereotypes about Black people is OK. (R)	1 2 3 4 5	<input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/>
3.2.3	I am personally motivated by my beliefs to be non-prejudiced toward Black people.	1 2 3 4 5	<input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/>
3.2.4	Because of my personal values, I believe that using stereotypes about Black people is wrong.	1 2 3 4 5	<input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/>
3.2.5	Being non-prejudiced toward Black people is important to my self-concept.	1 2 3 4 5	<input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/>

**Q4 Colorblind Racial Ideology (CBRI)**

Strongly agree	Somewhat agree	Neither agree nor disagree	Somewhat disagree	Disagree
1	2	3	4	5

4.1	Ethnic and cultural group categories are not very important for understanding or making decisions about people.	1 2 3 4 5	<input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/>
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RACIAL MICROAGGRESSIONS IN IRELAND

4.2	It is really not necessary to pay attention to people’s racial, ethnic, or cultural backgrounds because it doesn’t tell you much about who they are.	1 2 3 4 5 <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/>
4.3	At our core, all human beings are really all the same, so racial and ethnic categories do not matter.	1 2 3 4 5 <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/>
4.4	Racial and ethnic group memberships do not matter very much to who we are.	1 2 3 4 5 <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/>
4.5	All human beings are individuals, and therefore race and ethnicity are not important.	1 2 3 4 5 <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/>

**Q5 Aversive Racism (AR)**

	Strongly agree	Somewhat agree	Neither agree nor disagree	Somewhat disagree	Disagree
	1	2	3	4	5
5.1	I would feel nervous if I had to sit alone in a room with a Black person and start a conversation.				1 2 3 4 5 <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/>
5.2	I just do not know what to expect from Black people.				1 2 3 4 5 <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/>
5.3	Although I do not consider myself a racist, I do not know how to present myself around Black people.				1 2 3 4 5 <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/>
5.4	My lack of knowledge about the culture of Black people prevents me from feeling completely comfortable around them.				1 2 3 4 5 <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/>
5.5	I can interact with Black people without experiencing much anxiety.				1 2 3 4 5 <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/>
5.6	If I were at a party, I would have no problem with starting a conversation with a Black person. (R)				1 2 3 4 5 <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/>
5.7	It makes me uncomfortable to bring up the topic of racism around Black people.				1 2 3 4 5 <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/>
5.8	I experience little anxiety when I talk to Black people. (R)				1 2 3 4 5 <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/>
5.9	The cultural differences between Black Irish people and White Irish people makes interactions between them awkward.				1 2 3 4 5 <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/>
5.10	I would experience some anxiety if I were the only White person in a room full of Black people.				1 2 3 4 5 <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/>
5.11	I worry about coming across as a racist when I talk with Black people.				1 2 3 4 5 <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/>

### Q6 Belief in a Just World

	Strongly agree	Somewhat agree	Neither agree nor disagree	Somewhat disagree	Disagree
	1	2	3	4	5
6.1	I am confident that justice will always win in the world no matter what.				1 2 3 4 5 <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/>
6.2	I think in general there is justice in the world.				1 2 3 4 5 <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/>
6.3	I am convinced that one of these days everybody will get restitution for suffered injustice.				1 2 3 4 5 <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/>
6.4	I firmly believe that injustice in life in general is the exception rather than the rule.				1 2 3 4 5 <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/>
6.5	I believe that, in the matter as a whole, everybody gets what they fairly deserves.				1 2 3 4 5 <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/>
6.6	When asked to decide on important issues, I think that all parties concerned will try hard to be just.				1 2 3 4 5 <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/>

### Q7 Modern Racism

	Strongly agree	Somewhat agree	Neither agree nor disagree	Somewhat disagree	Disagree
	1	2	3	4	5
7.1	Discrimination against Black people is no longer a problem in Ireland.				1 2 3 4 5 <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/>
7.2	There have been enough programs designed to create jobs for Black Irish people.				1 2 3 4 5 <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/>
7.3	Racist groups are not a threat toward Black Irish people.				1 2 3 4 5 <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/>
7.4	It is easy to understand Black Irish peoples' demands for equal rights. (R)				1 2 3 4 5 <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/>
7.5	Black Irish people get too little attention in the media. (R)				1 2 3 4 5 <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/>
7.6	Black Irish people are getting too demanding in their push for equal rights.				1 2 3 4 5 <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/>



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- 7.7 It is important to invest money in teaching Black Irish people their mother tongue. (R) 1 2 3 4 5
- 7.8 Special programs are needed to create jobs for Black Irish people. (R) 1 2 3 4 5
- 7.9 A multicultural Ireland would be good. (R) 1 2 3 4 5

### Q8 Intergroup Contact Quantity

Strongly agree	Somewhat agree	Neither agree nor disagree	Somewhat disagree	Disagree
1	2	3	4	5

### Q9 Demographics

#### 9.1 What is your age?

#### 9.2 Which gender do you identify with?

Male

Female

Other. If so, please specify:

I prefer not to answer

#### 9.3 How would you describe your ethnic or cultural background?

White Irish

Irish Traveller

Any other White background. Please elaborate:

Mixed / Multiple ethnic groups. Please elaborate:

Asian / Asian Irish. Please elaborate if needed:

Black / Afro Irish. Please elaborate if needed:

Any other Black background. Please elaborate:

Other ethnic group. Please elaborate:

I prefer not to answer

**9.4 Do you currently live in Ireland?**

Yes

No

**9.5 For how many years have you lived in Ireland?**

**9.6 What is your education level?**

Junior Certificate

Leaving Certificate

Undergraduate Degree

Postgraduate Qualification

Above Postgraduate Qualification

Other. If so, please specify:

I prefer not to answer

**9.7 Which on the following descriptions comes closest to how you feel about your household's income nowadays?**

RACIAL MICROAGGRESSIONS IN IRELAND

- Living comfortably on present income
- Coping on present income
- Finding it difficult on present income
- Finding it very difficult on present income

**9.8 Please indicate how you would categorise your own political ideology (0 = Extremely Liberal, 10 = Extremely Conservative)**

- |                          |                          |                          |                          |                          |                          |                          |                          |                          |                          |
|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|
| 1                        | 2                        | 3                        | 4                        | 5                        | 6                        | 7                        | 8                        | 9                        | 10                       |
| <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |

**9.9 Religion and Religiosity**

**9.9.1 Do you consider yourself as belonging to any particular religion or denomination?**

- Yes
- No

**9.9.2 Which religion or denomination do you belong to?**

- Roman Catholic
- Church of Ireland
- Protestant
- Presbyterian
- Eastern Orthodox
- Greek Orthodox
- Other Christian Denomination. If yes, please specify:

- Jewish
- Islamic
- Buddhist
- Hindu
- Other non-Christian religions. If yes, please specify:

- I prefer not to answer

**9.9.3 Regardless of whether you belong to a particular religion, how religious would you say you are? (1 = not at all religious, 10 = very religious)**

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>