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The Conceptualization of Everyday Racism in Research on the Mental and Physical Health of Ethnic and Racial Groups: A Systematic Review

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Abstract

Background Research on the influence of everyday racism and discrimination on the mental and physical health of ethnic and racial groups are on the rise. Scholars use self-reported experiences of racism and discrimination scales to study the relationship between everyday racism/discrimination and health. Throughout the years, these scales have been tested for psychometric measures, validity, and reliability of the items. However, less attention is paid to *how* the concept of everyday racism and discrimination is defined in the first place.

Methods

Based on the Preferred Reporting Items for Systematic Reviews and Meta-Analyses (PRISMA) guidelines, a systematic review perusing 106 papers is conducted of studies investigating the relationship of everyday racism/discrimination and the physical and mental health of ethnic and/or racial groups. This review allows to synthesize how everyday racism is conceptualized, interpreted and operationalized.

Results

Following the original conceptualization of everyday racism, results indicate that research pays attention to the repeatability of everyday racism. However, racism was only defined in 7% of the papers and in different ways varying from individual to institutional racism. In 86% of the papers did they measure everyday racism/discrimination through the Everyday Discrimination Scale. This influenced the way in which everyday discrimination was defined taking on a more individual perspective paying less attention to the micro-macro link of everyday racism.

Keywords: everyday discrimination scale, everyday racism, everyday discrimination, health disparities, ethnicity, race.

1. Introduction

The influence of racial/ethnic discrimination on health disparities between populations has become the center of attention due to its harmful consequences on both their mental and physical health[1]. Individuals confronted with discrimination or racism have a higher chance of depression, anxiety and psychological distress. It also increases the chance of hypertension, chronic health diseases and breast cancer[2]. The severity of the health risks of discrimination also depend on the type and intensity of discrimination that individuals experience. In recent years, scholars have highlighted the major effects of ‘everyday racism’ and ‘everyday discrimination’ on a variety of health indicators [3]–[5].

Philomena Essed, with currently more than 2700 citations on Google Scholar only, coined the concept of everyday racism. Her aim was twofold. First, she wanted to uncover mechanisms that are particular to contemporary racism. These mechanisms, amongst others, reveal the transformation of ‘old racism’ that is overt and explicit to a new form of racism that is hidden and subtle. Second, she constructed a theory that bridged the micro-macro gap in the social sciences to develop a universal definition of racism by linking macro-structures and micro-interactions[6]. Being one of the first to take an experiential point of view in understanding everyday racism, she launched ground-breaking research. At that time, it was innovative to study the experiences of women of color because it was very much criticized as ‘subjective’ and ‘biased’.

Today, research has accepted different self-reported measures to estimate racism and discrimination [7], [8]. One of which is the Everyday Discrimination Scale, a self-reported measure that allows respondents to define for themselves to what extent they experience pre-defined forms of everyday discrimination[1]. The scale, with its different variations, is adopted as a key measure for everyday discrimination in health research. While these scales have been tested for psychometric measures, validity and reliability [7], [9], few research investigates the conceptualization of everyday racism in health. Scholars have criticized the under-theorization of many concepts related to race and ethnicity, among them discrimination and racism [10]. A recent systematic review of Castle et al. [11] discusses the insignificant attention to systemic racism as a social determinant of health. Bastos et al. [12], who conducted a systematic review on the psychometric properties of self-reported scales on discrimination, advised future research to look into the theoretical grounds of these scales. They specifically mentioned the Everyday Discrimination Scale, which is widely used as a main measure of day-to-day experiences with

discrimination. An answer to Castle et al.'s findings of the absence of systemic racism and overrepresentation of individual racism, could lie in a better development of everyday racism.

The aim of this paper is to explore the conceptualization and operationalization of everyday racism in relation to the mental and physical health of ethnic and racial minority groups. As we have laid out, everyday racism has been a focal point in studying the health of ethnic and racial minorities and have added to a broader understanding of its effects. While this concept is salient within the field of health, little attention is paid to its theoretical foundations, which is undoubtedly relevant if we want future research to build upon a more complete understanding of everyday racism. We first offer a discussion on the theory of Everyday racism distilling its central components. This framework will be the reference to evaluate to which extent the main components of the theory have been adopted in health research. Although we used Essed's theory for comparison, this paper does not intend to argue that there is only one way to conduct research on everyday racism and discrimination. Instead, the original theory is a point of departure that will allow to lay out the essential components of everyday racism theory and how this has been adopted and adapted in past and current research. Next to our conceptual aim, we are also interested in the methodologies that are currently used to measure everyday racism. Finally, based on the results we discuss recommendations to enhance and facilitate future research.

2. Everyday racism

Before we look into how the concept of everyday racism is utilized in health research today, we would like to pay closer attention to the theory on everyday racism. Three components that are unique to everyday racism are identified.

The first component is 'the everyday'. Essed defines everyday life as 'a matrix of social relations present in and reproduced by everyday practices. Everyday practices are present in and reproduced by everyday situations. The situations of the everyday world are substructured by relations of race, ethnicity, class and gender'[10,p.49]. This theorization was inspired by Heller's work on everyday life, from which she emphasized two major components: the repeatability and familiarity of our daily lives. These components refer to how social relations in our daily lives become routine over time and the practices performed within those relations become consequently habitual. The familiarity of performed practices are necessary to survive in everyday life. Most activities, interactions, and practices are second nature because they are founded on implicit knowledge and internalized scripts. This knowledge entails all the norms and roles that are expected to be performed in certain situations. Moreover, implicit knowledge is accustomed to the underlying structures of race, gender and other

characteristics that define everyday situations and interactions. This means that the internalized roles and scripts are not constructed within a social vacuum but are influenced by the inherently racialized structuration of societies.

This structuration of racism is the second component of everyday racism. The social sciences has for long been in the grip of how racism should be defined. In general, racism is studied from two main streams. The first is a micro-interactional approach, which is often very popular within social psychology, as they explain racism and discrimination as the result of (implicit) prejudices and biases [13], [14]. The latter are considered a mental process in which individuals categorize people in groups as aim to get a more simple view of the complex social world[15]. This social categorization, however, is often based on generalizations containing false and exaggerated assumptions about particular groups. The second perspective is a macro-view on racism that concentrates on how power structures and ideology have a grip on society[16]. In the past decades, scholars have found both to be limited. On the one hand, what is often neglected by a micro-approach is that the power of stereotypes and prejudices depends on contextual differences and an individual's social position in society[17]. On the other hand, the macro-perspective leaves very little space to agency. It considers racism as an entity detached from individuals and their interactions[18]. This deterministic view does not consider the possibility of change that can be created through micro-acts.

The theory of everyday racism is one of the attempts to bridge this micro-macro gap. Inspired by Omi and Winant's social formation theory[19], race is constructed via macro-structures and -cultures that in their turn are reproduced and reinforced through micro-interactions. While individuals rely on their prejudices during inter-group interactions, the effects of their performance are influenced by underlying power structures. These power structures create a hierarchy of groups in society, in which the majority rules over minority groups. Consequently, Essed describes how the majority uses power in three ways – exclusion, marginalization, and oppression- to 'control' minority groups[6]. On the contrary, members of minority groups may hold prejudices but they do not hold the same power to marginalize, oppress or exclude members from the majority group. This further enhances the inequality patterns in society. Therefore, racism is best understood when micro and macro-perspectives are intertwined, which is also the final component.

Finally, "everyday racism is a process that relates micro and macro structures of racism". Following Collins' aggregation hypothesis and Cicourel's representation hypothesis which perceive the macro-world through a micro perspective (see e.g.[20]–[22]) state that macro-phenomena are 'aggregates' of micro-phenomena or a

macro reality cannot stand on its own, because it is built on micro-situations[23]. Collins, for example, mentions that ‘states and economies’ only exist because of the total sum of individual interactions within them[23]. They only exist because of the continual and repetitive patterns of interaction and behavior among individuals[24]. At the same time, it means that race relations are not the product of individuals exercising power. It is their membership to a group defined as dominant that influences their practices within interactions. Therefore, Essed indicates that we can understand racism by observing the political, social, cultural and historical context of society. Based on these three components from the original theory of everyday racism, we want to answer two research questions:

(1) In comparison to the theory of everyday racism, how is everyday racism conceptualized within health research concerning ethnic/racial minorities?

(2) How is everyday racism operationalized?

Using the original theory as a frame of reference allows us to analyze in more detail how this concept has been adapted and developed within health. Therefore, the next section will entail how the systematic review has been conducted, what results have come out of it and what recommendations we can make for future research.

3. Methodology

Based on the PRISMA guidelines [25], we conducted standard procedures for systematic reviews (see figure 1). The literature search was completed on March 31, 2018 and includes articles from 1991 until date of completion. Ethics board approval was not required as this research does not involve human subjects. We did not perform a meta-analysis due to the high variety in research designs, methodologies and populations. We conducted a systematic electronic search on databases such as PubMed, Web of Science and Google Scholar, for their rich collection of academic journals.

Figure 1 Inclusion and exclusion-process based on PRISMA guidelines

(FIGURE 1 HERE)

Search

Across all databases, accounting for possible variation in database options, four criteria were created to peruse articles: (1) identification, (2) screening, (3) eligibility, and (4) inclusion.

Identification

Papers were compiled based on a variety of search terms: ‘everyday racism’, ‘daily racism’, ‘everyday discrimination’, and ‘daily discrimination’. This does, however, not mean that we consider racism and discrimination to have the same meaning, though they are interrelated. Throughout the paper we consider discrimination as the unfavorable treatment towards someone based on unjustifiable factors and through this behavior racism as a larger process can be reinforced. We included every paper that contained one of these concepts in the title or abstract. This is a common strategy as the title and abstract entail a research’s central focus.

Screening

After this first step, we combined a total of 637 search results based on one of the search terms in the title or abstract of which 195 duplicates. This sample, however, also contains other materials such as books, book reviews, posters, reports, dissertations etcetera. We opted to only include peer-reviewed studies published in identified academic journals for reasons of accessibility (113 excluded).

Eligibility

175 papers were excluded as their scope did not relate to the study of the relationship between everyday discrimination/racism on the mental and physical health of ethnic and racial minorities. Topics of these studies were health care utilization, drug use, sleep quality, overall quality of life, health behavior and dietary behavior. Also papers that focused on testing the Everyday Discrimination Scale were excluded (9). Everyday discrimination had to relate to ethnic or racial discrimination; other forms of everyday discrimination were excluded (27). Articles that were not written in English, were excluded (5). Due to access-restrictions 7 papers were not included. Contacting the authors did not help in obtaining the papers. Our final sample consisted of 106 papers. We first wrote an annotated bibliography for each paper. We organized them into the following groups: aim of study, sample, country of study, methodology, and measurement. In addition, the papers were thematically analyzed with the program MAXQDA. Table 1 provides a summary of all characteristics.

(TABLE 1 HERE)

4. Results

4.1. Conceptualization of everyday racism

Figure 2 gives us an indication of the increasing popularity of the use of everyday racism in (public) health and medical sciences.

(FIGURE 2 HERE)

Our first goal was to explore how everyday racism is currently studied and interpreted. We consider the components defined above for comparison: (1) the everyday with its familiarity and repeatability-aspects, (2) racism and (3) the micro-macro link. We looked for these components through the paper, and in particular, the introduction, theoretical framework and methodological sections.

First, although Essed has been cited more than 45 times in total, papers that did not refer to her work on everyday racism, mainly took on an individual and social psychological perspective on the harmful health consequences of racism and discrimination in general. This individual perspective was accentuated through the use of ‘microaggressions’. In 13% of the cases did everyday racism and microaggressions appear together [26]–[29] and/or the work of Sue et. al [30], who popularized the concept, was referred to [11], [30]–[34][26]–[29], [31]–[40]. Introduced by Pierce, but popularized by Sue et al. [30], the concept was established to measure its effect on minorities’ health. Racial micro-aggressions are defined as ‘brief commonplace daily verbal, behavioural, or environmental indignities, whether intentional or unintentional, that communicate hostile, derogatory, or negative racial slights and insults toward people of color’[41, p. 271]. As we will discuss in more detail later on, everyday racism and microaggressions are used interchangeable because they both seem to touch upon ‘daily hassles’ and ‘trivial’ forms of discrimination [28], although their lens and theoretical foundation are distinct in several ways.

Considering the three main components of everyday racism, 40 papers that offered a definition of everyday racism mainly emphasized the everyday, through the familiarity and repeatability-component in two ways. A first way was highlighting how everyday racism is chronic and cumulative over time and transforms into a stressor to show the distinct detrimental health impact it has. Another reference to the familiarity and repeatability-component is the focus on the frequency of experiences with racism. Familiarity is expressed in the notions of ‘day-to-day’, and ‘daily’ to refer to ‘daily hassles’ or more specific forms like ‘daily insults’. They are defined in terms of ‘common’ and ‘trivial’ incidents. Furthermore, familiarity is also expressed by contrasting ‘minor’ continuing incidents from ‘major’ acute life events. The interpretation of the everyday seems to be influenced by the Everyday Discrimination Scale. This scale mainly emphasizes the ‘everyday’ component as its aim is to measure the effect of chronic exposure of racism on health. By asking respondents the question ‘In your daily life, how often do you experience any of the following events?’, repeatability and familiarity is translated

into a measurable frequency. Additionally, the fact that familiarity is mainly spoken about in terms of the divide between minor and major life events, indicates the influence of the Everyday Discrimination Scale which is separated from the Discrimination Scale that looks at acute major life time discrimination like being denied access to the labour market, or police-profiling[1].

Only 7 papers (6.6%) provided a definition on racism. Instead, racism is replaced by discrimination in 80% of the papers. Although scholars take everyday/daily discrimination as central concept (described in title and abstract), this does not indicate an increase in defining discrimination. Furthermore, racism and discrimination are used alternately. Explicit examples [42]–[45] show no separation between both concepts. Additionally, if everyday racism is employed as central concept, some scholars operationalize racism into discriminatory behaviors (6%). Even though discrimination only refers to the differential treatment based on unjustifiable personal factors such as race, ethnicity or gender [46], discrimination is not explicitly distinguished from racism. These results are in line with existing debates surrounding the inadequate understanding of concepts around ‘race’ and ‘ethnicity’ as categories of analysis [47]. A systematic review on self-reported racism of Paradies also showed a poor conceptualization and definition of racism [48]. More frequent was the description of the nature and form in which racism or discrimination occurred. 37% of the papers particularly spoke about the covertness and subtlety of everyday racism. This is remarkable as everyday discrimination covers both overt and subtle forms. This might be influenced by theories on modern racism [49] and color-blind racism [50] in which the transformation from explicit forms of racism have been replaced by ambiguous subtle forms.

Finally, only 3.8% of the papers have paid attention to the link between micro-interactions and macro-structures [39], [51]–[53]. As previously mentioned, the concept of everyday discrimination was more frequently used than everyday racism, possibly suggesting that their focus is more on the immediate behavior rather than the influence of macro-processes on the development of that behavior. The macro-level was mainly acknowledged in the few definitions that were given of racism. They, among others, briefly refer to the ‘systematic’ situation and ‘interpersonal patterns of bias’ and how these racist encounters are part of the ‘social fabric of the US’. But no societal level indicators are taken into account.

To conclude, everyday racism is mostly defined and interpreted from an individual perspective. The most highlighted feature was the everyday, especially in terms of its repeatability to refer to the daily stressors that individuals experience in interaction with others. In addition, the little attention paid to the reciprocal dynamics

between micro-interactions and macro power-structures emphasizes that an individual lens to define everyday racism stands central. As the studies predominantly were interested in discrimination instead of racism, it appears that the Everyday Discrimination Scale plays a crucial role in the framework scholars employ.

4.2. Measuring everyday discrimination

As mentioned previously, most papers are centered around everyday discrimination instead of everyday racism. Everyday discrimination was in 91 of 106 (86%) cases analyzed as an independent variable. Everyday discrimination was also used as a dependent variable (6%), mediator (3), moderator (2%) and control variable (1%). 6% of the studies combined the measurement of everyday discrimination with major life time discrimination operationalized through the Discrimination Scale that consolidates items regarding unfair treatment on the labor market and by the police.

(TABLE 2 HERE)

4.2.1. Design and methodology

74.5% of the papers had a cross-sectional design. Besides that, longitudinal studies measured the evolution of ill health over time. More than half (58.5%) of the papers collected their data on everyday racism/discrimination through surveys and more than one-third (46.2%) through (in-depth) interviews. Diary methodology was used in 3 papers. This method provides respondents with a notebook in which they are requested to write down their experiences on a daily basis.

Most researchers used a scale to measure everyday discrimination. The most common scale, the Everyday Discrimination Scale is used in 92.5% of the papers. The Everyday Discrimination Scale asks respondents about 9 items that indicate day-to-day minor forms of discrimination based on the question: 'In your daily life, how often do you experience any of the following events?'. Williams et al. references Essed's work to construct and measure subjective experiences of discrimination: (1)'being treated with less courtesy than others', (2)'less respect than others', (3)'receiving poorer service than others in restaurants or stores', (4)'people acting as if you are not smart', (5)'they are better than you', (6)'they are afraid of you', (7)'they think you are dishonest', (8)'being called names or insulted', and (9)'being threatened or harassed' [1, p.340]. Based on the scales' items, we can understand the emphasis on the subtle nature of everyday discrimination as these items mainly refer to 'small' incidents.

While more than 90% included the Everyday Discrimination Scale, a range of adapted versions from 4 to 10 items

are utilized for several reasons. First of all, some researchers decided to limit the scale to specific items, mainly due to the critique on the validity of the items. Research studying the psychometric properties of the scales found that the items 'you are treated with less courtesy' and 'you are treated with less respect than others' are highly correlated. The correlation is due to the similar meaning many respondents tend to give to the terms 'courtesy' and 'respect' [54], [55]. Secondly, some questioned whether every item can be justified to be defined as everyday discrimination. For example, the items 'being called names or insulted' and 'being threatened or harassed' are considered as more overt types of discrimination, which seems to contradict the subtle nature that Williams has employed for everyday discrimination. Besides downsizing the scale, some studies added new items to suit the minority group of interest. Kim et al. [56] for example used a modified version specifically developed for Asian Americans. They provided an extra item for language discrimination on the scale due to its salience for this minority group. Also Pachter et al. who studied everyday discrimination among youngsters added three items related to teacher discrimination to get closer to youngsters' daily reality [57].

Secondly, also the questionnaire was adjusted. The original everyday discrimination scale frames all items within a context of unfairness instead of race, mainly speaking about unfair treatment [1]. Research shows that these questions were unclear for certain social groups, especially majority groups that are not often confronted with discrimination. They have a difficult time ascribing a certain event as discriminatory [54]. As a consequence, the questionnaire either asks for experiences related to one specific identity attribute, such as race or gender. Or respondents are given the option to explain on which personal attribute they felt discriminated. In this sample, half of the papers still use the original version of the Everyday Discrimination Scale without any ascription to a personal characteristic. These papers mainly include a multi-ethnic sample involving ethnic majority respondents.

Besides the Everyday Discrimination Scale, 8% of the papers used: the brief perceived ethnic discrimination scale, the daily life experience scale, the daily racial hassles scale, the ethnic microaggressions scale, the perceived racism scale and other self-composed scales. De Castro et al. [58], for example, added a self-composed scale to fit the workplace context. All scales refer to self-reported experiences of racism which makes everyday discrimination a synonym for perceived and/or experienced discrimination.

4.2.2. Population/sample

With exception of 11 papers, research was mostly executed within the US on multi-ethnic samples. The racial/ethnic populations of study were Asians, Blacks, Latinos, Hispanics, and American Indians. In the European studies they either took a multi-ethnic sample or a specific migrant group. Next to race and ethnicity, research also considered gender, socio-economic status, and sexual orientation as category of analysis. Concerning gender, most samples consisted both men and women. When they focused on a specific gender, it was mostly because they were interested in a gender-specific health outcome, such as maternal diseases. Socio-economic status was also a recurring feature due to higher risks of specific diseases related to economically disadvantaged individuals.

5. Conclusion and recommendations for future research

This paper particularly looked at everyday racism because of its increasing popularity. Based on the framework on everyday racism and the results from the systematic review, we reveal some caveats and discuss recommendations for future research.

5.1. Microaggressions and everyday racism

Previously, we showed a heightened popularity of research on the effects of everyday racism on health since 2008. This aligns with the introduction of ‘microaggressions’ by Sue et al.[30] within social-psychology, a concept later on adopted into many health related fields. As a first gap we would like to discuss the interchangeable use between microaggressions and everyday racism. At first sight there does not seem to be very stark differences between everyday racism and microaggressions. They both seem to study self-perceived forms of discrimination in interactions and daily settings. However, if we want to enhance future research by building upon a more sophisticated theoretical foundation of everyday racism, we recommend to distinguish both concepts. As extensively discussed in a study on the conceptualization of everyday racism within the social sciences, these concepts are grounded on their own theoretical foundation. Omi and Winant’s racial formation theory [19] has been an inspiration for Essed, as this allowed her to bridge the micro-macro gap in the social sciences. While more attention is given to the construction of racism on the micro-level and its interaction with macro-spheres, the concept of microaggressions seems to be indifferent to the role of macro societal structures on experienced discrimination. This is the result of the social psychological take on microaggressions. Sue grounded the concept of microaggressions in Dovidio and Gaertner’s theory of aversive racism[59]. It generally refers to how in the ‘post-racial’ era individuals consider themselves as having egalitarian beliefs. However, when they are confronted with minority groups they will often rely on their implicit negative biases to interact or react. Although they both

focus on the experiences of individuals and their interpretation process, researchers should be more aware in the distinct theoretical foundations and ensuing lenses of these concepts.

5.2. The micro-macro link

A second conceptual gap, in line with the previous, is the vague interpretation and understanding of the relation between micro-interactions and macro-structures. The macro-sphere should be understood via two structures. First, the macro-level contains the socio-symbolic context in which the ideological mental framework of society influences the history, culture and political discourse. The socio-symbolic macro-level shapes power structures and, in turn, carves out the power relations on the micro-level [16]. A second macro-level is the economic frame of society that, in this globalized world, is how a certain capitalist system influences the power dynamics in one's society[60]. By bridging the culture-economy debate on how to explain racism, we argue interlinking the cultural and economic framework in order to understand how they contribute to asymmetric (race) relations in day-to-day life. Methodologically, it is possible to include macro-level indicators to study its effect on everyday racism and, furthermore, on an individuals' health[61]. Analytically, performing multi-level analyses enables to test for the effects of societal and contextual indicators on the type and intensity of everyday racism. By using this perspective on everyday racism, it will contribute to studying the impact of structural factors on health disparities. Most research still tends to start from an individual and culturally based framework [62], but the idea to pay equal attention to the macro-reality is becoming more popular.

5.3. Rethinking the Everyday Discrimination Scale

From our findings it appears that everyday racism has become a popularized concept within the (public) health and medical sciences. The concept mostly emerges through the methodological choice of most researchers to use the Everyday Discrimination Scale. There are, however, certain caveats that we need to reconsider in order to move towards a renewed and more theoretically grounded scale. Firstly, many have criticised the external validity of these scales, because most of the times it is employed for US populations (see [63], [64]), which we also noticed in our systematic analysis. Following the racial formation theory, the form racism takes on depends on the social, political and economic characteristics of society. Therefore, racism cannot be considered to be identical in different parts of the world. This again sheds light on the importance of the macro-level. We can only understand and capture racism if we take into account contextual factors. We could add upon this criticism by leaving behind its generalizing standpoint.

Secondly, individuals experience different types of discrimination and racism depending on the salience of certain individual attributes [65], [66]. For example, research shows that men are more confronted with extreme types of discrimination, such as harassment, in comparison to women [50]–[52]. Not only that, but one’s identity also influences which event is considered to be racist. Their interpretation of an event depends on the ‘experience’ individuals have with racism. This expertise is the result of minorities’ “double consciousness” or “healthy paranoia” [70] which refers to minorities having an eye for distinguishing racist from non-racist events. Taking into account the expertise of minorities was exactly what made Essed’s research ahead of her time.

Thirdly, the items of the scale refer to nine specific situations that individuals can be confronted with on a daily basis. Because these items are constructed on Essed’s work, it is relevant to notice that Essed has explored different forms of racism and discrimination that were experienced by a particular minority group, namely African-American women in the United States and Surinamese women in the Netherlands. Essed particularly chose women in the US and the Netherlands to discuss ‘gendered racism’, the simultaneous dynamic of racism and sexism. She explored the experiences of highly-educated black women which is not generalizable to lower-educated counterparts. For example, most women’s accounts discussed the difficulties they faced on the workplace which resulted from being surrounded by a majority of white people. In a (race-)stratified labour market, a majority of lower-educated women end up in market segments with a high level of racial or ethnic diversity, illustrating that the workplace might not be the most salient site of racism. Consequently, we can question whether these nine events are universal to all minority groups. Instead, scholars should move towards an understanding in which minority groups are considered unique from as well as within each other. A possible framework, which is increasingly applied, is intersectionality.

5.4. Intersectionality

In relation to the previous argument, most papers overlooked the intersectional perspective on everyday racism. The tradition of intersectionality is interested in how the crossroads of different axes of our identity determine our privileged or oppressed position in society. Its roots are grounded in the black feminist movement that brought to light black women’s experiences to not only be defined by their race, but also through their gender and class [71], [72]. Instead of adding different social categories on top of each other, intersectionality looks at the simultaneous effects of all social categories. Scholars are increasingly taking into account an intersectional perspective accounting for the heterogeneity between and within groups. Because losing intersectional differences out of sight can lead to an estimation bias, and over- or under-estimating the effect of racism for certain groups. By pursuing an intersectional view on social identity, construct validity will be improved.

We, consequently, recommend research in the area of medicine and (public) health to be cautious in the interpretation of results extracted from these scales for distinct minority groups. More rigorous scales can be constructed if we conduct more explorative research on the forms everyday racism takes on for different minority groups. Mapping the most common forms of racism for a particular group increases the chances that individuals will recognize their experiences. Furthermore, it will allow to investigate the effects of racism more accurately. Following the intersectional tradition, it will permit a more proper and accurate estimation of their health outcomes. This is especially important for health policy to detect possible risk factors that might be overlooked if we homogenize minority groups and to create policies that appropriately target individuals on the intersection of their different identities.

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Table 1 Characteristics of 173 empirical quantitative studies of everyday racism

	Number of studies	% of total studies
First year of publication		
1994-1998	2	1%
1999-2003	2	1%
2004-2008	14	8%
2009-2013	49	28%
2014-2018	106	61%
Theoretical or conceptual foundation		
<i>Everyday</i>		
None	108	62%
Repetitive and familiarity	56	32%
<i>Racism</i>		
Micro-Macro link	6	3%
Study design		
Cross-sectional	134	77%
Longitudinal	39	23%
Experimental	1	1%
Methodology		
(In-depth) interviews	74	43%
Surveys	102	59%
Diary methodology	8	5%
Analysis		
OLS regression	123	71%
Multilevel regression	15	9%
Cox/Poisson regression	16	9%
Study Setting		
US	154	89%
Europe	12	7%
South-America	1	1%
Asia	1	1%
Canada	2	1%
Africa	1	1%
Study sample		
<i>Participants racial or ethnic group</i>		
Blacks	56	32%
Multi-ethnic/racial	75	43%
Hispanics	16	9%
Asians	13	8%
Indigenous groups	2	1%
Migrant groups (Europe)	4	2%
<i>Participants' sexual orientation</i>		
LGBTQ	10	6%
<i>Participants' sex</i>		
Female only	34	20%
Male only	9	5%
Discrimination Scale		
Brief Perceived Ethnic Discrimination Scale	1	1%
Daily Life Experience of Racism/Discrimination Scale	1	1%
<i>Scale</i>		
Daily Life Experiences Scale	4	2%
Daily Racial Hassles Scale	1	1%
Discrimination in Medical Settings Scale	1	1%
Everyday Discrimination Scale	150	87%
Perceived Racism Scale	2	1%
Krieger Experiences of Discrimination Scale	1	1%
Other	10	6%

Table 1: Summary of empirical quantitative studies (N=152) on everyday racism									
References	Sample		Components of definition			Methods			Measurement
	Country	Population	The everyday	Racism	Micro-macro link	Design	Methodology	analysis	
(Ajrouch et al., 2010)	United States	• Blacks • Women	+	-	+	Cross-sectional	Interviews	Multilevel analysis Cox proportional hazard regression	Everyday Discrimination Scale (11-item, no option)
(Albert 2010)	United States	• Blacks • Women	-	-	-	Longitudinal	Survey		Everyday Discrimination Scale (5-item, no option)
(Anglin et al., 2014)	United States	• Blacks	+	-	+	Cross-sectional	Interviews	OLS regression	Everyday Discrimination Scale (10-item, options)
(Araújo Dawson 2009)	United States	• Hispanics • Women	+	-	-	Cross-sectional	Survey	OLS regression	Daily Racial Hassles subscale (18-item, no option)
(Assari 2016)	United States	• Multi-ethnic	-	-	-	Cross-sectional	• Survey • Interviews	Bivariate correlations	n/a
(Assari et al., 2015)	United States	• Blacks • Men and women	-	-	-	Cross-sectional	Interviews	OLS regression	Everyday Discrimination Scale (10-item, no option)
(Assari and Caldwell 2017)	United States	• Blacks	+	-	-	Cross-sectional	Interviews	OLS regression	Everyday Discrimination Scale (13-item, no option)
(Assari et al., 2017)	United States	• Blacks • Men • Multi-ethnic	+	-	-	Cross-sectional	• Survey • Interviews	OLS regression	Everyday Discrimination Scale (10-item, no option)
(Ayalon and Gum 2011)	United States	• Age-group: 50+ • Blacks	+	-	-	Cross-sectional	Interviews	OLS regression Cox proportional hazard regression	Everyday Discrimination Scale (5-item, no option)
(Bacon et al., 2017)	United States	• Women • Blacks	-	-	-	Longitudinal	Survey		Other (/, option-specific)
(Banks et al., 2006)	United States	• Men and Women • Multi-ethnic	+	-	-	Cross-sectional	Interviews	Multilevel analysis Generalized Estimating Equations	Everyday Discrimination Scale (9-item, no option)
(Beatty Moody et al., 2014)	United States	• Men and Women • Multi-ethnic	+	-	-	Longitudinal	Interviews	Cox proportional hazard regression	Everyday Discrimination Scale (10-item, no option)
(Beatty Moody et al., 2017)	United States	• Men and Women	+	-	-	Longitudinal	Survey • Survey		Everyday Discrimination Scale (10-item, no option) Experiences of Discrimination scale & Everyday Discrimination Scale (9-item, option-specific)
(Benjamins 2012)	United States	• Multi-ethnic • Multi-ethnic	-	-	-	Cross-sectional	• Interviews	OLS regression	
(Bennett et al. 2010)	United States	• Women • social class: low SES • Blacks	-	-	-	Cross-sectional	Interviews	Poisson regression	Everyday Discrimination Scale (9-item, no option)
(Burrow & Ong, 2009)	United States	• Age-group: youth • Men and women	-	+	-	Cross-sectional	Diary	Multilevel analysis	Daily Life Experience Scale (20-item, option-specific)
(Chakraborty, King, Leavy & McKenzie 2011)	United Kingdom	• Blacks	+	-	-	Longitudinal	Interviews	OLS regression	Perceived Racism Scale (n/a)
(Clark et al., 2015)	United States	• Blacks • Men and women	-	+	-	Cross-sectional	Survey	OLS regression	Everyday Discrimination Scale (9-item, no option)
(Cobb et al., 2017)	United States	• Hispanics • Blacks	+	-	-	Cross-sectional	Survey	Multi-path analysis Cox proportional hazard regression	Everyday Discrimination Scale (9-item, no option)
(Coogan et al., 2014)	United States	• Women • Blacks	-	-	-	Cross-sectional	Survey		Everyday Discrimination Scale (5-item, option-specific)
(Cozier, Wise, Palmer, & Rosenberg, 2009)	United States	• Women	-	-	-	Longitudinal	Survey	OLS regression Cox proportional hazard regression	Everyday Discrimination Scale (5-item, option-specific)
(Cozier et al., 2014)	United States	• Blacks • Asians	-	-	-	Longitudinal	Survey		Everyday Discrimination Scale (5-item, option-specific)
(Datu and Jose Mateo, 2017)	Philippines	• Age-group: youth • Multi-ethnic	+	-	-	Cross-sectional	Survey	OLS regression	Everyday Discrimination Scale (9-item, no option)
(Dehkordy et al., 2016)	United States	• Women	+	-	-	Cross-sectional	Survey	OLS regression	Everyday Discrimination Scale (5-item, no options)

Table 1: Summary of empirical quantitative studies (N=152) on everyday racism

References	Sample	Components of definition			Methods	Measurement			
(de Castro, Gee, & Takeuchi, 2008)	United States	• Asians	-	-	-	Cross-sectional	Survey	OLS regression	Everyday Discrimination Scale (9-item, no option)
(de Castro, Rue & Takeuchi, 2010)	United States	• Asians	-	-	-	Cross-sectional	Interviews	OLS regression	Everyday Discrimination Scale (9-item, options)
(Dewaele, Van Houtte, & Vincke, 2014)	Belgium	• Multi-ethnic • LGBTQ	-	-	-	Cross-sectional	Survey	OLS regression Structural Equation modelling	Everyday Discrimination Scale (10-item, option-specific)
(Doyle, Factor-Litvak & Link, 2018)	United States	• Multi-ethnic • Men and women • Multi-ethnic	-	-	-	Longitudinal	Interviews		Everyday Discrimination Scale (not mentioned, no option)
(Dugan et al., 2017)	United States	• Women	-	-	-	Longitudinal	Survey	OLS regression Cox proportional hazard regression	Everyday Discrimination Scale (10-item, no option)
(Dunlay et al., 2017)	United States	• Blacks • Blacks	-	-	-	Longitudinal	Interviews		Everyday Discrimination Scale (9-item, no option)
(Earnshaw et al., 2016)	United States	• Men and women • Multi-ethnic	+	-	-	Cross-sectional	Interviews	OLS regression Multi-group path analysis	Everyday Discrimination Scale (5-item, no option)
(Earnshaw et al., 2013)	United States	• Women	+	-	-	Cross-sectional	Interviews	Cox proportional hazard regression	Everyday Discrimination Scale (10-item, options)
(Everson-Rose et al., 2015)	United States	• Multi-ethnic • Blacks	-	-	-	Longitudinal	Survey	regression Multilevel analysis	Everyday Discrimination Scale (9-item, no option)
(Ford et al., 2009)	United States	• Men and women • Multi-ethnic	+	+	+	Cross-sectional	Survey		Perceived Racism Scale (10-item, option-specific)
(Francis et al., 2017)	United States	• Women	-	-	-	Longitudinal	Survey	OLS regression ANOVA & bivariate analysis	Everyday Discrimination Scale (9-item, no option)
(Friedman et al., 2009)	United States	• Multi-ethnic • Multi-ethnic • Men and women	+	-	-	Longitudinal	Survey	Maximum Likelihood estimation	Everyday Discrimination Scale (9-item, no option)
(Fuller-Rowell et al., 2018)	United States	• Low SES	-	-	-	Longitudinal	Interviews		Everyday Discrimination Scale (9-item, no option)
(Gabbidon et al., 2014)	United Kingdom	• Multi-ethnic • Latino	+	-	-	Cross-sectional	Interviews	OLS regression Multilevel analysis	Everyday Discrimination Scale (10-item, no option)
(Gassman-Pines, 2015)	United States	• Men and women • Multi-ethnic	-	-	-	Cross-sectional	Diary		Perceived workplace discrimination scale (4-item, option-specific)
(Gayman, Brown & Sui, 2010)	United States	• Men and women • Blacks	-	-	-	Cross-sectional	Interviews	OLS regression Multi-path analysis	Everyday Discrimination Scale (9-item, no option)
(Gayman et al., 2017)	United States	• Men	+	-	-	Longitudinal	Interviews		Everyday Discrimination Scale (9-item, no option)
(Gee et al., 2016)	United States	• Asians	-	-	-	Cross-sectional	Interviews	OLS regression	Everyday Discrimination Scale (9-item, no option)
(Gee et al., 2007)	United States	• Asians	-	+	-	Cross-sectional	Survey	OLS regression	Everyday Discrimination Scale (9-item, options)
(Giasson et al., 2017)	United States	• Age-group: older adults	-	-	-	• Longitudinal • Cross-sectional	Survey	OLS regression Poisson regression	Everyday Discrimination Scale (6-item, own option)
(Glover et al., 2017)	United States	• Blacks • Multi-ethnic	-	+	-	Cross-sectional	Interviews		Everyday Discrimination Scale (9-item, no option)
(Gong et al., 2017)	United States	• Men and women • Blacks	-	-	-	Cross-sectional	Survey	OLS regression	Everyday Discrimination Scale (9-item, no option)
(Goosby et al., 2015)	United States	• Age group: youth	-	-	-	Cross-sectional	• Survey • Interviews	OLS regression	Everyday Discrimination Scale (13-item, no option)

Table 1: Summary of empirical quantitative studies (N=152) on everyday racism

References	Sample	Components of definition			Methods	Measurement			
(Gregoski et al., 2013)	United States	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • social class: low SES • Blacks • men and women 	-	-	-	Longitudinal	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Survey 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • OLS regression • Cox proportional hazard regression • Multilevel analysis 	Everyday Discrimination Scale (9-item, no option)
(Hall et al., 2005)	United States	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Multi-ethnic • Age group: young adults • Women 	-	-	-	Longitudinal	Survey	OLS regression	Everyday Discrimination Scale (9-item, no option)
(Han & Richardson, 2015)	United States	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Multi-ethnic • Multi-ethnic • Multi-ethnic 	-	-	-	Longitudinal	Survey	OLS regression	Everyday Discrimination Scale (5-item, options)
(Hartman, Hoogstraten, & Spruijt-metz, 1994)	Netherlands	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Multi-ethnic • Age group: youth 	+	+	-	Cross-sectional	Experiment	ANOVA	n/a
(Hatch et al., 2016)	United States	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Multi-ethnic 	+	-	-	Longitudinal	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Survey • Interviews 	OLS regression	Everyday Discrimination Scale (10-item, no option)
(Hickson et al., 2012)	United States	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Blacks 	-	-	-	Cross-sectional	Interviews	OLS regression	Everyday Discrimination Scale (9-item, options)
(Himmelstein, Young, Sanchez, & Jackson, 2015)	United States	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Blacks • Blacks 	-	-	-	Cross-sectional	Survey	Multi-path analysis	Everyday Discrimination Scale (9-item, no option)
(Hoggard, Byrd, & Sellers, 2015)	United States	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Age-group: youth • Blacks 	-	-	-	Cross-sectional	Diary	OLS regression	Other
(Hudson et al., 2012)	United States	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Men • Multi-ethnic 	+	-	-	Cross-sectional	Interviews	OLS regression	Everyday Discrimination Scale (10-item, no option)
(Hunte, 2011)	United States	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Men and Women 	-	-	-	Longitudinal	Survey	OLS regression	Everyday Discrimination Scale (9-item, no option)
(Hunte & Barry, 2012)	United States	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Blacks 	-	-	-	Cross-sectional	Interviews	OLS regression	Everyday Discrimination Scale (10-item, no option)
(Hunte, & Finlayson, 2013)	United States	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Multi-ethnic 	-	-	-	Cross-sectional	Survey	OLS regression	Everyday Discrimination Scale (5-item, no option)
(Huynh, Guan, Almeida, McCreath & Fuligni, 2016)	United States	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Multi-ethnic • Multi-ethnic • Age group: youth 	-	-	-	Cross-sectional	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Survey • Interview 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Bivariate correlations 	Everyday Discrimination Scale (10-item, options)
(Ikram et al., 2017)	Netherlands	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Multi-ethnic 	+	-	-	Cross-sectional	Interviews	OLS regression	Everyday Discrimination Scale (9-item, option-specific)
(Ikram et al., 2016)	Netherlands	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Multi-ethnic 	-	-	-	Cross-sectional	Interviews	OLS regression	Everyday Discrimination Scale (9-item, option-specific)
(Ikram et al., 2015)	Netherlands	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Multi-ethnic 	+	-	-	Cross-sectional	Survey	OLS regression	Everyday Discrimination Scale (9-item, option-specific)
(Jacobs et al., 2014)	United States	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Multi-ethnic 	-	-	-	Longitudinal	Survey	OLS regression	Everyday Discrimination Scale (10-item, options)
(Janevic et al., 2015)	Macedonia & Serbia	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Group with migrant background • Women 	-	-	-	Cross-sectional	Interviews	DIF analysis	Everyday Discrimination Scale (9-item, options)
(Jasinskaja-Lahti, Liebkind, & Perhoniemi, 2006)	Finland	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Multi-ethnic 	-	-	-	Cross-sectional	Survey	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • OLS regression • Path analysis 	Other
(Kemp et al., 2016)	Brazil	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Multi-ethnic • Multi-ethnic 	-	-	-	Cross-sectional	Survey	OLS regression	Everyday Discrimination Scale (5-item, options)
(Kendzor et al., 2014)	United States	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Men and women 	-	-	-	Cross-sectional	Survey	OLS regression	Everyday Discrimination Scale (6-item, options)
(Kendzor et al., 2014)	United States	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Hispanic 	-	-	-	Cross-sectional	Survey	OLS regression	Everyday Discrimination Scale (10-item, options)
(Kershaw et al., 2016)	United States	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Multi-ethnic 	+	-	-	Cross-sectional	Survey	OLS regression	Everyday Discrimination Scale (9-item, no option)
(Kim, 2016)	United States	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Multi-ethnic 	-	-	-	Cross-sectional	Survey	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • OLS regression • Path analysis 	Everyday Discrimination Scale (5-item, options)
(Kim et al., 2011)	United States	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Chinese minority • Men and women 	-	-	-	Longitudinal	Survey	Structural Equation modelling	Everyday Discrimination Scale (10-item, no option)
(Krieger et al., 2005)	United States	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Multi-ethnic • Multi-ethnic 	-	-	-	Longitudinal	Survey	OLS regression	Experiences of Discrimination scale (10-item, options)
(Kronfli et al., 2017)	United States	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Women 	-	-	-	Cross-sectional	Survey	OLS regression	Everyday Discrimination Scale (8-item, no option)

Table 1: Summary of empirical quantitative studies (N=152) on everyday racism

References	Sample	Components of definition			Methods	Measurement		
(Lacey et al., 2015)	United States	• Blacks	-	-	Cross-sectional	Interviews	OLS regression	Everyday Discrimination Scale (10-item, no option)
(Lamkaddem et al., 2011)	Netherlands	• Women • Migrant group • Multi-ethnic	-	-	Longitudinal	Interviews	OLS regression	Other
(Latner et al., 2014)	United States	• Women	-	-	Cross-sectional	Survey	OLS regression	Everyday Discrimination Scale (11-item, no option)
(LeBron et al., 2014)	United States	• Multi-ethnic • Men and women	-	+	Cross-sectional	Survey	OLS regression	Everyday Discrimination Scale (5-item, options)
(Lee & Turney, 2012)	United States	• Multi-ethnic	+	-	Cross-sectional	Interviews	OLS regression	Everyday Discrimination Scale (5-item, options)
(Leu et al., 2011)	United States	• Asians • Blacks	-	-	Cross-sectional	Interviews	OLS regression	Everyday Discrimination Scale (9-item, no option)
(Lewis, 2012)	United States	• Age-group: 65+ • Men and women	-	-	Cross-sectional	Interviews	OLS regression	Everyday Discrimination Scale (4-item, no option)
(Lewis et al., 2006)	United States	• Blacks • Women	+	-	Longitudinal	Interviews	OLS regression	Everyday Discrimination Scale (10-item, no option)
(Lewis et al., 2010)	United States	• Blacks • Age-group: 65+ • Multi-ethnic	+	-	Cross-sectional	Interviews	OLS regression	Everyday Discrimination Scale (9-item, no option)
(Lewis et al., 2013)	United States	• Women	+	-	Cross-sectional	Interviews	OLS regression	Everyday Discrimination Scale (10-item, no option)
(Liu & Kawachi, 2017)	United States	• Multi-ethnic • Multi-ethnic • Men and women	-	-	Cross-sectional	• Survey • Interviews	OLS regression	Everyday Discrimination Scale (9-item, options)
(Livingston et al., 2017)	United States	• LGBTQ	-	-	Cross-sectional	• Diary • Clinical evaluation	Multilevel analysis	Everyday Discrimination Scale (n/a)
(Lorenzo-Blanco & Delva, 2012)	United States	• Hispanics	-	-	Longitudinal	Interviews	OLS regression	Everyday Discrimination Scale (9-item, options)
(Lorenzo-Blanco et al., 2013)	United States	• Hispanics • Multi-ethnic	-	-	Cross-sectional	Survey	OLS regression	Everyday Discrimination Scale (10-item, no option)
(Luo et al., 2012)	United States	• Age group: older adults	+	-	Longitudinal	Interviews	OLS regression	Everyday Discrimination Scale (5-item, options)
(March et al., 2015)	United States	• Hispanics	-	-	Cross-sectional	Survey	OLS regression	Everyday Discrimination Scale (10-item, no option)
(Mason et al., 2017)	United States	• Women • LGBTQ • Blacks	-	-	Cross-sectional	Diary	Multilevel analysis	Everyday Discrimination Scale Discrimination Scale (10-item, option-specific)
(Mattis et al., 2004)	United States	• Men	+	-	Cross-sectional	Survey	OLS regression	Daily Life Experience of Racism Scale (18-item, option-specific)
(Mattis, Fontenot, & Hatcher-Kay, 2003)	United States	• Blacks	+	+	Cross-sectional	Survey	OLS regression	Daily Life Experience Subscale (18-item, option-specific)
(McCubbin & Antonio, 2012)	United States	• Indigenous	+	-	Cross-sectional	Survey	OLS regression	Everyday Discrimination Scale (9-item, no option)
(Mendez, Hogan, & Culhane, 2014)	United States	• Women • Latinos	-	-	Cross-sectional	Survey	analysis	Everyday Discrimination Scale (9-item, option-specific)
(Molina, Alegría, & Mahalingam, 2013)	United States	• Men and women	+	-	Cross-sectional	Interviews	Multi-group path analysis	Everyday Discrimination Scale (9-item, no option)
(Molina & James, 2016)	United States	• Blacks	-	-	Longitudinal	Survey	OLS regression	Everyday Discrimination Scale (9-item, no option)
(Molina, Jackson, & Rivera-Olmedo, 2016)	United States	• Hispanics • Latinos	-	-	Cross-sectional	Survey	OLS regression	Everyday Discrimination Scale (10-item, no option)
(Molina, Little, & Rosal, 2016)	United States	• Men and women • Latinos	+	+	Cross-sectional	Interviews	Multi-group path analysis	Everyday Discrimination Scale (8-item, no option)
(Molina & Simon, 2014)	United States	• Men and women	+	-	Cross-sectional	Interviews	OLS regression	Everyday Discrimination Scale (8-item, no option)
(Mölsä et al., 2017)	Finland	• Group with migrant background	-	-	Cross-sectional	Survey	OLS regression	Brief Perceived Ethnic Discrimination scale (17-item, option-specific)
(Mossakowski, 2003)	United States	• Asians	+	-	Cross-sectional	• Survey • Interviews	OLS regression	Everyday Discrimination Scale (8-item, no option)
(Mossakowski & Zhang, 2014)	United States	• Asians	-	-	Cross-sectional	• Survey • Interviews	OLS regression	Everyday Discrimination Scale (9-item, no option)

Table 1: Summary of empirical quantitative studies (N=152) on everyday racism

References	Sample	Components of definition			Methods	Measurement			
(Mossakowski & Wongkaren 2016)	United States	• Multi-ethnic	-	-	-	Cross-sectional	Survey	OLS regression	Everyday Discrimination Scale (9-item, no option)
(Mossakowski, Wongkaren, & Uperesa, 2017)	United States	• Age group: youth	+	-	-	Cross-sectional	Survey	OLS regression	Everyday Discrimination Scale (9-item, no option)
(Mossakowski, 2018)	United States	• Multi-ethnic	+	-	-	Cross-sectional	Survey	OLS regression	Everyday Discrimination Scale (9-item, no option)
(Mouzon et al., 2017)	United States	• Blacks	-	-	-	Cross-sectional	Interviews	Poisson regression	Everyday Discrimination Scale (10-item, options)
(Mouzon et al., 2017)	United States	• Blacks	-	-	-	Cross-sectional	Interviews	OLS regression	Everyday Discrimination Scale (10-item, options)
(Mujahid et al., 2011)	United States	• Men and women	+	+	-	Cross-sectional	Interviews	OLS regression	Everyday Discrimination Scale (10-item, options)
(Nadimpalli et al., 2017)	United States	• Multi-ethnic	-	-	-	Cross-sectional	Survey	OLS regression	Everyday Discrimination Scale (9-item, no option)
(Oakley, Harvey, & López-Cevallos, 2018)	United States	• Asians	-	-	-	Cross-sectional	Survey	OLS regression	Everyday Discrimination Scale (9-item, no option)
		• Latino	-	-	-				
		• Women	-	-	-				
		• Age-group: youth	-	-	-	Cross-sectional	Interviews	Multilevel analysis	Experience of Discrimination scale (9-item, no-option)
								• OLS regression	
								• Multilevel analysis	
								• Poisson regression	
(Okhomino, 2017)	United States	• Blacks	-	-	-	Cross-sectional	Survey		Everyday Discrimination Scale (9-item, no option)
		• Men and women	-	-	-				
(Ong et al., 2017)	United States	• Asians	-	-	-	Cross-sectional	Survey		Racial microaggressions Scale (20-item, option-specific)
							• Diary		
(Ong, Fuller-Rowell, & Burrow, 2009)	United States	• Asians	-	-	-	Cross-sectional	Diary	OLS regression	Daily Life Experience Subscale (20-item, option-specific)
								Multilevel analysis	
(Owens et al., 2017)	United States	• Blacks	+	-	-	Cross-sectional	Diary		Everyday Discrimination Scale (9-item, no option)
		• Multi-ethnic							
		• Age-group: youth	-	-	-	Longitudinal	Interview	OLS regression	Everyday Discrimination Scale (9-item, no option)
		• Blacks							
(Pachter et al., 2017)	United States	• Age-group: youth	-	+	-	Cross-sectional	Interviews	OLS regression	Everyday Discrimination Scale (13-item, no option)
		• Multi-ethnic							
(Panter et al., 2008)	United States	• Men and women	-	-	-	Cross-sectional	Survey	Multilevel analysis	Everyday Discrimination Scale (9-item, no option)
		• Blacks							
(Parker et al., 2017)	United States	• Men	-	-	-	Cross-sectional	Interviews	OLS regression	Everyday Discrimination Scale (10-item, no option)
		• Blacks							
(Parker et al., 2016)	United States	• Men	-	-	-	Cross-sectional	Interviews	OLS regression	Everyday Discrimination Scale (10-item, no option)
		• Multi-ethnic							
(Pearl et al., 2018)	United States	• Men and women	+	+	+	Cross-sectional	Survey	OLS regression	Everyday Discrimination Scale (9-item, options)
		• Latino							
(Pérez, Fortuna, & Alegria, 2008)	United States	• Men and women	-	-	-	Cross-sectional	Interviews	OLS regression	Everyday Discrimination Scale (9-item, no option)
		• Blacks							
		• Age-group: youth							
(Perry et al., 2016)	United States	• Men and women	-	-	-	Longitudinal	Survey	OLS regression	Everyday Discrimination Scale (9-item, no option)
		• Multi-ethnic					• Survey		
(Pilver et al., 2011)	United States	• Women	-	-	-	Cross-sectional	Interviews	OLS regression	Everyday Discrimination Scale (9-item, options)
		• Blacks					• Survey		
		• Multi-ethnic					• Interviews		
(Powell et al., 2016)	United States	• Men	-	-	-	Cross-sectional	Interviews	Multi-path analysis	Daily Life Experience subscale (18-item, option-specific)
(Priester, Foster, & Shaw, 2017)	United States	• Blacks	-	-	-	Cross-sectional	Survey	OLS regression	Everyday Discrimination Scale (9-item, options)
(Reid et al., 2016)	United States	• Multi-ethnic	+	-	-	Cross-sectional	Interviews	OLS regression	Everyday Discrimination Scale (10-item, options)
		• Women							
(Reisner et al., 2016)	United States	• LGBTQ	-	-	-	Cross-sectional	Survey	OLS regression	Everyday Discrimination Scale (11-item, options)
		• Multi-ethnic							
(Riggle, Rostosky, Danner, 2009)	United States	• LGBTQ	-	-	-	Cross-sectional	Survey	OLS regression	Everyday Discrimination Scale (9-item, no option)
		• Multi-ethnic							
(Rosenthal et al., 2015)	United States	• Women	-	-	-	Longitudinal	Interviews	OLS regression	Everyday Discrimination Scale (10-item, options)
		• Multi-ethnic							
(Rosenthal et al., 2018)	United States	• low SES	-	-	-	Longitudinal	Survey	OLS regression	Everyday Discrimination Scale (10-item, no option)

Table 1: Summary of empirical quantitative studies (N=152) on everyday racism

References	Sample	Components of definition			Methods	Measurement		
(Saban et al., 2014)	United States	• Women	-	-	Cross-sectional	Survey	OLS regression	Everyday Discrimination Scale (9-item, no option)
(Saban et al., 2018)	United States	• Multi-ethnic • Women	-	-	Cross-sectional	Experiment	Multilevel analysis	Everyday Discrimination Scale (9-item, no option)
(Santos et al., 2018)	United States	• Multi-ethnic • Women • Latino	+	-	Longitudinal	Interviews	Poisson regression	Everyday Discrimination Scale (9-item, own option)
(Scandurra et al., 2017)	Italy	• LGBTQ	-	-	Cross-sectional	Survey	OLS regression	Everyday Discrimination Scale (9-item, option-specific)
(Schmengler et al., 2017)	Netherlands	• Multi-ethnic • Blacks	-	-	Cross-sectional	Survey	OLS regression	Everyday Discrimination Scale (9-item, option-specific)
(Schulz et al., 2006)	United States	• Women	-	-	Longitudinal	Interview	OLS regression	Everyday Discrimination Scale (5-item, no option)
(Sellers et al., 2013)	United States	• Multi-ethnic	-	-	Cross-sectional	Survey	OLS regression	Everyday Discrimination Scale (5-item, no option)
(Sellers et al., 2013)	United States	• Multi-ethnic • Men and women	-	-	Cross-sectional	Survey	OLS regression	Everyday Discrimination Scale (5-item, no option)
(Seng et al., 2012)	United States	• Multi-ethnic	-	-	Cross-sectional	Survey	OLS regression	Everyday Discrimination Scale (9-item, options)
(Shankar & Hinds, 2017)	United Kingdom	• Women • Blacks	-	-	Cross-sectional	Interview	OLS regression	Everyday Discrimination Scale (5-item, no option)
(Shariff-Marco et al., 2011)	United States	• Multi-ethnic • Men and women	+	-	Cross-sectional	Survey	Factor analysis	Everyday Discrimination Scale (8-item, options)
(Shippee, Schafer, & Ferraro, 2012)	United States	• Multi-ethnic	+	-	Cross-sectional	Survey	OLS regression	Everyday Discrimination Scale (9-item, options)
(Shires and Jaffee 2015)	United States	• LGBTQ	-	-	Cross-sectional	Survey	OLS regression	Other
(Siddiqi et al., 2017)	Canada	• Blacks • Blacks • Women	-	-	Cross-sectional	Survey	OLS regression	Everyday Discrimination Scale (not mentioned)
(Siefert et al., 2007)	United States	• Social class: low SES	+	-	Cross-sectional	Interview	OLS regression	Everyday Discrimination Scale (9-item, no option)
(Sims et al., 2012)	United States	• Blacks	-	-	Cross-sectional	Survey	OLS regression	Everyday Discrimination Scale (9-item, options)
(Sims et al., 2016)	United States	• Multi-ethnic	-	-	Cross-sectional	Interview	OLS regression	Everyday Discrimination Scale (9-item, no option)
(Slopen & Williams, 2014)	United States	• Blacks	-	-	Cross-sectional	Survey	OLS regression	Everyday Discrimination Scale (5-item, options)
(Song, Mailick & Greenberg, 2018)	United States	• Multi-ethnic	+	-	Longitudinal	Survey	Conditional process analysis	Everyday Discrimination Scale (9-item, no option))
(Stepanikova et al., 2017)	United States	• Blacks • Black Caribbeans	-	-	Cross-sectional	Survey	OLS regression	Everyday Discrimination Scale (9-item, options)
(Taylor et al., 2017)	United States	• Men and women • Blacks	-	-	Cross-sectional	Interviews	OLS regression	Everyday Discrimination Scale (10-item, option-specific)
(Taylor et al., 2018)	United States	• Men	+	-	Cross-sectional	Interviews	OLS regression	Everyday Discrimination (10-item, options)
(Taylor et al., 2017)	United States	• Blacks	+	-	Cross-sectional	Interviews	OLS regression	Everyday Discrimination Scale (10-item, options)
(Taylor et al., 2007)	United States	• Indigenous • Women	-	-	Longitudinal	Survey	Cox proportional hazard regression	Everyday Discrimination Scale (5-item, no option)
(Thayer et al., 2017)	United States	• Multi-ethnic	-	-	Cross-sectional	Survey	OLS regression	Everyday Discrimination Scale (9-item, options)
(Tomfohr et al., 2010)	United States	• Multi-ethnic • Men and women	+	-	Cross-sectional	Survey	Hierarchical regressions	Everyday Discrimination Scale (10-item, option-specific)
(Torres-Harding & Turner, 2015)	United States	• Blacks • Both men and women	-	-	Cross-sectional	Survey	OLS regression	Everyday Discrimination Scale (9-item, no option), and the Ethnic Microaggressions scale (not mentioned)
(Torres & Ong, 2010)	United States	• Latino	+	-	Cross-sectional	Diary	Multilevel analysis	Perceived Racism Scale for Latinos (35 item)
(Utsey & Ponterotto, 1996)	United States	• Blacks	+	+	Experimental	Interviews	Factor analysis	n/a

Table 1: Summary of empirical quantitative studies (N=152) on everyday racism

References	Sample	Components of definition			Methods	Measurement			
(Vaghela & Sutin, 2016)	United States	• Multi-ethnic • Both men and women	-	-	-	Longitudinal	• Survey • Interviews	OLS regression	Everyday Discrimination Scale (not mentioned , own option)
(Vaughn et al., 2015)	United States	• Asians	-	-	-	Cross-sectional	Survey	OLS regression Hierarchical linear regression	Everyday Discrimination Scale (9-item, no option)
(Walton, 2012)	United States	• Blacks • Black	-	-	-	Cross-sectional	Interviews	OLS regression	Everyday Discrimination Scale (9-item, no option)
(Warren-Findlow, 2013)	United States	• Both men and women	-	-	-	Cross-sectional	Survey	OLS regression	Everyday Discrimination Scale (9-item, no option)
(Wheaton et al., 2018)	United States	• Men • Multi-ethnic • Women	+	-	-	Cross-sectional	Survey	OLS regression	Everyday Discrimination Scale (9-item, no option)
(Westcott et al., 2018)	United States	• Age-group: older adults	-	-	-	Cross-sectional	Survey	OLS regression Cox proportional hazard regression	Not mentioned
(Whitaker et al., 2017)	United States	• Multi-ethnic • Age-group: older adults	-	-	-	Cross-sectional	Survey	Multi-path analysis	Everyday Discrimination Scale (9-item, no option)
(White Hughto et al., 2017)	United States	• LGBTQ • LGBTQ • Multi-ethnic	-	-	-	Cross-sectional	Survey	analysis	Everyday Discrimination Scale (10-item, no option)
(White Hughto & Reisner, 2017)	United States	• Age-group: older adults	-	-	-	Cross-sectional	Survey	OLS regression	Everyday Discrimination Scale (11-item, own option)
(Williams et al., 2017)	Canada	• Multi-ethnic • LGBTQ	-	-	-	Cross-sectional	Survey	OLS regression	Everyday Discrimination Scale (8-item, own choice)
(Williams et al., 2012)	South-Africa	• Blacks	-	-	-	Cross-sectional	Interviews	OLS regression Cox proportional hazard regression	Everyday Discrimination Scale (10-item, options)
(Wise et al., 2007)	United States	• Asians • Women	-	-	-	Longitudinal	Survey	regression	Everyday Discrimination Scale (5-item, options)
(Zhang & Hong, 2013)	United States	• Multi-ethnic	+	-	-	Cross-sectional	Interviews	OLS regression	Everyday Discrimination Scale (9-item, no option)
(Zhang et al., 2012)	United States	• Asians	+	-	-	Cross-sectional	Interviews	OLS regression	Everyday Discrimination Scale (9-item, no option)

Fig. 1 Inclusion and exclusion process based on PRISMA guidelines

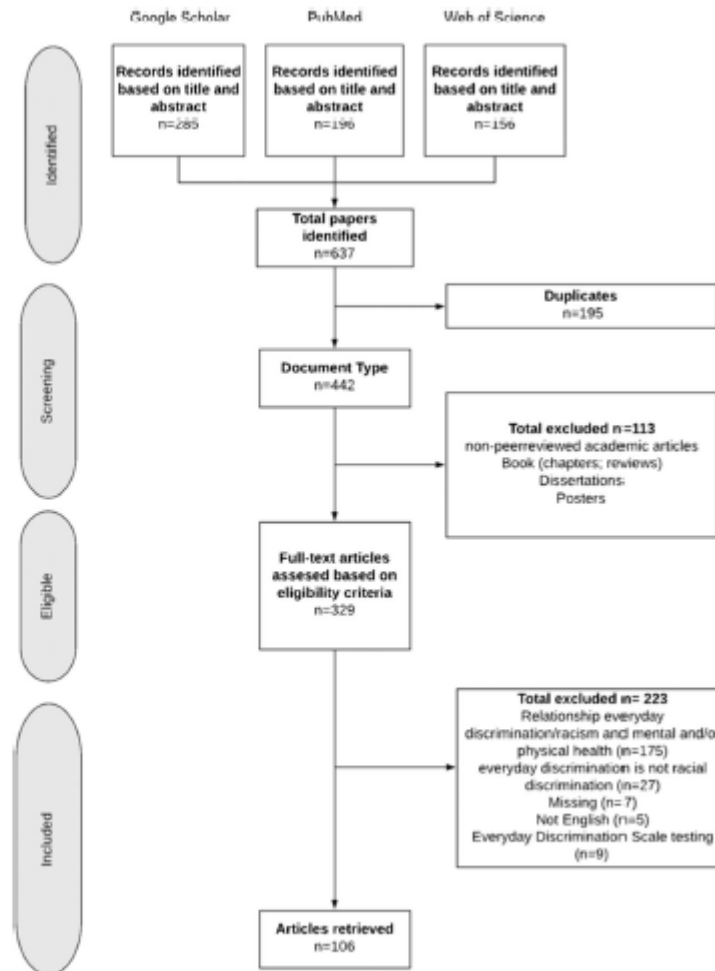


Figure 2 Publications by year, 1991-2018

