

EVERYDAY RACISM IN SOCIAL SCIENCE RESEARCH

A Systematic Review and Future Directions

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Abstract

Since the 1980s, everyday racism has gained ground within the social sciences. However, the theory of everyday racism has not been properly adopted and, consequently, varies across different research fields. The main goal of this study is to improve the scientific rigor within research on everyday racism in the human and social sciences. Following a review of the ground-breaking work of Philomena Essed, three main components in everyday racism literature are theoretically distilled and conceptualized: (1) repetitiveness and familiarity, (2) racism and (3) the interdependent link between micro-interactions and macro-structures. This is followed by a critical assessment of *what* everyday racism means and *how* it is assessed in research today, by performing a systematic electronic review of qualitative-methods papers. We make three suggestions towards a more complete and sophisticated understanding of everyday racism. Firstly, the concepts of everyday racism and microaggressions need to be disconnected from each other. Secondly, research should focus more on the symbiotic relation between micro-interactions and macro-structures and should also identify relevant situational features at the spatial meso-level. Lastly, it is important to be cautious of the pitfall of cultural determinism that is still a popular perspective in today's field of (everyday) racism.

Keywords: Race/Ethnic Relations, Everyday Discrimination, Everyday Racism, Philomena Essed, Systematic Review, Microaggressions

INTRODUCTION

Over the past decades, research on racism, race, and race relations went through two major shifts. First, the transition from overt forms of racism to more subtle ones became the center of attention. The latter is also called modern racism (McConohay 1986), symbolic racism (Sears 1988), aversive racism (Gaertner and Dovidio, 1986) or

Du Bois Review. 18:2 (2021) 221–250.

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doi:10.1017/S1742058X21000102

colorblind racism (Bonilla-Silva 2017). What they have in common is their perceivably invisible but intrusive character and the simultaneous denial of racism in contemporary Global North societies. The changing appearance of racism led to an increasing interest in the exploration of hidden forms of racism. A second shift was an attempt to replace a micro-interactional perspective on racism with a macro-structural perspective. Social psychologists focused on the reproduction of racism in everyday life disregarding racism as a macro-entity, which has been heavily criticized by alternative approaches (Bonilla-Silva 1997).

Within these developments, Philomena Essed conducted ground-breaking research on contemporary racism, which she coined 'everyday racism,' in 1984. Her point of departure was the experiential point of view of women of color. This made her work innovative as it countered the traditional 'outsider view' perceived as 'objective' and 'detached'. Essed's insights shed light on the defining features of contemporary racism, such as the more subtle or hidden character of everyday racism, and overcame major limitations, such as the micro-macro gap in the social sciences, which will be the focus of our theoretical framework.

With the current upheavals and antiracism protests throughout the Global North, we argue that it is imperative for scientific research to use a congruent concept of everyday racism. This would enable rigorous scientific research to be conducted about the ways racism is evolving in different contemporary socio-historical cultural contexts. To that end, the primary purpose of this paper is to address conceptual and methodological questions within the broad field of academic studies on everyday racism. As an introduction, everyday racism is placed within a theoretical framework thus explaining *what* everyday racism means. Essed's work will be the frame of reference for this research. The main components that are central to Essed's conceptualization of everyday racism are then distilled. Based on this framework, *how* everyday racism is currently being studied is then explored. The conclusion of this paper contains a number of recommendations to enhance further conceptualization of everyday racism.

WHAT IS EVERYDAY RACISM?

In order to distinguish everyday racism from other forms of racism Essed emphasizes some major characteristics. According to Essed (1984), everyday racism is:

a process in which (a) socialized racist notions are integrated into meaning that make practices immediately definable and manageable, (b) practices with racist implications become in themselves familiar and repetitive, and (c) underlying racial and ethnic relations are actualized and reinforced through these routine or familiar practices in everyday situations (p. 52).

Based on this definition, our first objective is to exhaustively discuss each component: the everyday, racism, and the micro-macro link.

The Everyday: Repetitiveness and Familiarity

The first component that distinguishes everyday racism from other forms of racism is 'the everyday'. What 'the everyday' specifically entails is hard to define. For decades, well-known philosophers and sociologists such as Henri Lefebvre and Christine Levich (1987) and Erving Goffman (1996), have attempted to formulate a demarcated definition. The academic controversy around this concept, however, remains. Nevertheless,

Essed defines the everyday through Agnes Heller's (1984, 1990) conceptualization in which she distinguishes the everyday from non-everydayness.

In sociology, everyday life is described as a "known-in-common world" (Zimmerman and Pollner, 1970, p. 85) and "the realm of common-sense and taken-for-grantedness" (Felski 1999, p. 17). It is everything that is not extra-ordinary, and is the background of mundane human activities. Everyday life exists out of constant and variable features of which the former play a crucial role in the maintenance of social order. This "regularity, repetition, repeatability, and uniformity which are the order of living things" (Heller 1990, p. 47) is a relevant characteristic of everyday life for Essed's theory. Therefore, the everyday as the first component of everyday racism consists of two aspects: repetitiveness and familiarity.

The repetitiveness is grounded in the macro-system of time. Our contemporary notion of time emerged during nineteenth-century industrialization as daily lives became visibly repetitive. The factory clock demarcated life into work and leisure. This 'natural' repetition contains 'rational' repetition referring to the monotony in our daily human activities (Lefebvre and Levich, 1987). Most of our days consist of ordinary interactions and practices in identical settings. The repetitiveness of everyday life makes interactions and practices habitual and familiar, which results in them becoming second nature over time.

The familiarity of the performed day-to-day practices and interactions is based on our common sense, which consists of scripts that individuals internalize and use implicitly. As such, they provide instructions on how to behave and how to interpret the behavior of others (Garfinkel 1967). Essed (1991) contributes to the idea of common sense by indicating that "socialized racist notions are integrated into meaning that make practices immediately definable and manageable" (p. 52). She describes how internalized scripts are not neutral but are instead influenced by society's dominant ideology and structures. This is where racism comes into play as these scripts are shaped by society's common racist notions resulting in different consequences for minority and majority groups.

The repetitiveness and familiarity of everyday life operate differently for minority and majority groups. Minorities, on the one hand, encounter the same racist practices on a day-to-day basis by (non-)strangers. Majority group members, on the other hand, do not perceive the same racist practices and interactions as racist. This is caused by the majority's ability and power to normalize these acts. To them, racist interactions are perceived as harmless because racist notions are an integral part of their everyday scripts. Furthermore, performing racist practices becomes habitual. Consequently, in everyday life which is "the direct reproduction of the person embedded in social relations" (Essed 1991, p. 48), it is those social relations that lead to everyday racism.

Racism: Racial Formation Theory

The second component of everyday racism is 'racism'. In the past decades, racism has been conceptualized from a micro-individual perspective. Eduardo Bonilla-Silva (1997) pinpointed how the existent body of research on racism was heavily reduced to a social psychological approach. This means that racism was, and still is, predominantly interpreted and subsequently studied as the result of personal prejudices, attitudes, and a set of negative ideas. The macro-structural perspective on racism has more or less slowly faded away. With the concept of everyday racism, Essed has tried to bring back this macro-perspective on racism. Essed's work draws substantially from the racial formation perspective and combines this with feminist theory which she later uses to construct the intersectional concept of 'gendered racism'.

For Essed the ‘racial formation’ theory is imperative as she critiques the structure-agency gap within the social sciences. She disagrees with the categorization of racism into structural, institutional, and individual racism as, according to her, these are intertwined (Essed 1991). Therefore, she aims to overcome this micro-macro problem by building on Randall Collins’ (1981) aggregation hypothesis and Aaron V. Cicourel’s (1981) representation hypothesis stating that a macro reality cannot stand on its own, but is built on micro-situations. More specifically, entities such as nations that are studied holistically in macro sociology exist because of the continual and repetitive patterns of interaction and behavior among individuals rather than in its physical-material state (Porpora 1989). At the same time, this means that race relations are not the product of individuals exercising power but it is their membership in a group defined as dominant that influences their practices within interactions.

Micro-Macro Link: Between Interactions and Structures

A third and final major component, bringing ‘the everyday’ and ‘racism’ together, is the mutual interdependent link between micro-interactions and macro-structures. As explained above, everyday interactions follow scripts that are influenced by society’s socio-historic framework. Following this argument, Heller (1984) explains that when talking about ‘contact’ between individuals, the position of the individual in the division of labor must be accounted for—which, for Heller’s Marxist perspective, is the main structure in society. In terms of everyday racism, daily interactions between individuals constantly shape and are shaped by underlying power relations (Essed 1991). Furthermore, racist practices during interactions reproduce racist structures in society and vice-versa. This essentially means that individuals do not interact and perform within a vacuum. Therefore, Essed pays particular attention in her conceptualization of everyday racism to overcome the structure-agency gap. According to Essed, it is essential to take the macro-perspective into account because the social, political, economic, and cultural conditions of society decide which form racism takes on. In the colonial past, for example, racism took an overt form due to its legitimizing feature for colonialism. People from colonies were considered inferior, therefore, the horrible living conditions and treatment were supposedly justified. However, in modern liberal societies, racism is less tolerable, hence the emergence of ‘new’ racism. This did not eliminate racism, but rather made it covert (Bonilla-Silva 2017; Gaertner and Dovidio, 1986; McConohay 1986).

This then brings us to the objectives of this systematic review:

- From a conceptual point of view, the aim is to examine what scholars understand by everyday racism: What is everyday racism? Do they study all three components of the concept of everyday racism?
- The way in which scholars have measured everyday racism is investigated from a methodological point of view. This part considers both their research designs, methodologies and chosen samples/populations: How is everyday racism studied?
- Based on the previous questions: Which research gaps still need to be explored?

METHODOLOGY

In order to create an overview of the conceptualization of everyday racism in academic research, a systematic electronic search was conducted using Google Scholar and Web of Science. These databases were selected because of their multidisciplinary nature and

their rich collection of academic journals. To collect academic studies, a variety of similar search terms were applied to the databases. In addition to the concept of ‘everyday racism’, search words like ‘everyday discrimination’, ‘daily racism’, and ‘daily discrimination’ were included. It is important to note that racism and discrimination are interrelated, but not identical. Studies that used one of these terms in their title and/or abstract were selected for our research purposes. Having the concept as part of the title almost always indicates the centrality of the concept within the article. On the contrary, having the concept in the abstract does not immediately tell anything about its relevance. We, therefore, selected papers based on their content to find out whether everyday racism is a central element in their discussion.

This first phase obtained a total of 441 search results. These results included articles published in peer-reviewed journals, books, book chapters, abstracts or posters of symposiums or conferences, reports, book reviews, and bachelors, masters, and PhD dissertations. A number of exclusion criteria were then applied leading to a sample of seventy-one papers. The exclusion-criteria were: duplicates (64), terminology other than everyday/daily racism/discrimination (24), non-academic papers (117), book reviews (12), non-English written papers (5), missing papers (4) and the research methodology (151). Only articles with a qualitative methodology have been included, rather than those with a quantitative methodology. The aim is to focus on improving the scientific rigor of research on everyday racism in the humanities and social sciences, which is why papers with a quantitative methodology would misdirect the research from its aim. This is because the majority of papers with a quantitative methodology focused on the health effects of racism and were linked to the fields of health and epidemiology (Bourabain and Verhaeghe, 2020). In addition, the concept of everyday racism is mainly used in context of the Everyday Discrimination Scale, which is founded on Essed’s conceptualization, but for different research purposes.

In the second phase of the research, the articles were coded and analyzed with the coding program MaxQDA in which the papers were thematically organized based on the three components discussed to identify the conceptualization of everyday racism, sample, country of study, methodology, and measurement. Table 1 provides a full summary of these characteristics.

RESULTS

The Use of the Concept ‘Everyday Racism’ in Research: Definition and Interpretation

This section looks at how everyday racism is studied and interpreted in the selected literature. The extent to which the selected studies incorporate the three components of everyday racism, as defined by Essed, is examined: (1) the everyday with its familiarity and repetitiveness aspects, (2) racism, and (3) the micro-macro link.

In our sample of academic papers, the everyday is less defined in terms of the ‘familiar and repetitive’ components which Essed emphasizes (30.5%). Instead, they define the everyday through the component of ‘space’ (65.3%). In particular, the specific setting in which respondents experience racism or discrimination is the main object of inquiry. Papers either look at experiences within one particular context and/or respondents explicitly mention the setting in which they experience racism or discrimination (see Appendix for full list of settings). The majority of racist events described occurred in public space. The most discussed situations are schools,¹ services,² places of entertainment,³ streets,⁴ and public transportation.⁵ In addition, the labor market has been discussed along a continuum. Firstly, major lifetime forms of racism were

Table 1. Characteristics of seventy-one studies of everyday racism in humanities and social sciences with a qualitative-methods approach

	Number of studies	% of total studies
Theoretical-conceptual foundation		
<i>None</i>	41	57.7%
<i>Everyday</i>		
Repetitive and familiar	22	30.9%
Context	47	66.2%
<i>Racism</i>	11	15.5%
<i>Micro-Macro link</i>	20	28.2%
Methodology		
(In-depth) interviews	48	67.6%
Focus groups	4	5.6%
Surveys	10	14.1%
Diary methodology	4	5.6%
Participant observation	11	15.5%
Study Setting		
US	19	26.8%
Europe	20	28.2%
South-America	1	1.4%
Canada	7	9.8%
Africa	3	4.2%
Australia/New Zealand	11	15.5%
Asia	8	11.3%
Study sample		
<i>Racial or ethnic group</i>		
Ethnic/racial majority	6	8.4%
African (migrants)	25	35.2%
Multi-ethnic/racial	16	22.5%
Hispanics and Latinos (US)	2	2.8%
Asian (migrants)	4	5.6%
Indigenous groups	7	9.8%
Migrant groups (Europe)	4	5.6%
<i>Other identity-markers</i>		
Religious minorities	2	2.8%
Sexual minorities	1	1.4%

discussed, such as during the phase of recruitment or promotion opportunities.⁶ Secondly, very specific cases were brought up, in terms of racist incidents in the workplace.⁷

Very few papers exhaustively and properly discuss racism as it is described in Essed's theory. Only 20% of the papers offered their interpretation of racism within their framework to a certain extent. They mainly referred to a general definition of racism considering it as a system of power structures that produces and reproduces a hierarchy of groups based on the groups' characteristics such as ethnic origin, culture, religion, or

nationality.⁸ It is defined as a social problem that causes unfair inequalities in society. When the papers discuss racism they refer to the transformation of racism into the contemporary new or modern form. They explicitly mention the subtleness of racism today and how this harms individuals' wellbeing. In addition, racism is divided into different levels, such as the individual, institutional, or structural. As stated above, the division of racism into different levels contradicts Essed's critique on the 'structure-agency' or 'micro-macro' disconnection. According to Essed, this disconnection oversimplifies both forms of racism and leads to a loss of substantial information. Keeping in mind Collins' (1981) hypothesis, Essed wants to overcome the fallacies of so-called individual and structural racism precisely by emphasizing the interconnection between the micro- and macro-level.

Regarding the micro-macro link, research has a hard time connecting micro-interactions to macro-structures. On the one hand, the macro structure was only described as contextual background information. On the other hand, the link was avoided through the use of 'microaggressions' as a concept.

Sometimes a macro perspective was provided in their theoretical framework by giving a general background on the history of migration, slavery, and/or racism in the particular country.⁹ For example, many studies discuss the specific migration patterns to the country and how these influence the political discourse within society¹⁰ but also the so-perceived failure of the multicultural society¹¹ and the emergence of a color blind society.¹² Others discuss the current position of minorities and how they still face racism within important domains of life.¹³ Even though these papers provide introductory background information on the socio-political context, the authors do not further elaborate on how the macro-level shapes individuals' behavior toward each other. Although qualitative-method driven research offers the opportunity to focus on personal experiences and allows rich data collection about how micro-interactions occur, the insights from these experiences or micro-interactions are not generally combined and explained through influences of the macro-level. Consequently, although some papers provided information on structural inequalities and shed light on individual experiences with racism, as mentioned above, most of them did not elaborate on the micro-macro gap.

The neglect of the micro-macro gap was also apparent in the usage of the concept of 'microaggressions'. Of the papers that used the words 'everyday racism' in their title or abstract, 15% introduced the concept of 'microaggressions' at some point in their paper.¹⁴ Coined by Chester Pierce (1978), and subsequently popularized by Derald Wing Sue and colleagues (2007), microaggressions are defined as "brief 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). Even though this definition of microaggression shows similarities with everyday racism, the two concepts cannot be used interchangeably. The use of 'microaggressions' rather than 'everyday racism' as well as the objects of inquiry show the dominance of the social-psychological perspective. They predominantly take on an individual and interactionist approach to racism, and neglect the macro-link in the work of Essed.

Measuring Everyday Racism: Design, Methodology, Analysis

Following Essed's methodology, about 72% of the studies (see [Appendix](#)) conducted (in-depth) interviews, including focus groups, with members from the minority and/or majority group.¹⁵ Another recurring method of data collection used in these papers was the diary methodology (5.5%).¹⁶ For this method, respondents receive a

notebook in which they are requested to write down their experiences on a daily basis. In addition, some researchers acted as a participant-observer to examine racist interactions within a particular setting.¹⁷ The collected data was analyzed using mainly three research methodologies: content, thematic, or critical discursive analysis.

Regarding the geographic distribution of the research populations (see [Appendix](#)), a remarkable 61% of the articles originated from the following countries: The United States,¹⁸ the United Kingdom,¹⁹ Scotland (Hopkins 2004), Canada,²⁰ Australia,²¹ and New Zealand (Came and McCreanor, 2015; Guerin 2005). European research on everyday racism was only conducted in five countries: Germany (Arisaka 2010; Hartmann 2011; Osterkamp 1993), Belgium (Billiet and de Witte, 2008), Italy (Fabbro and Ranieri, 2016), Sweden,²² and Finland (Leppänen 2015; Sotkasiira and Haverinen, 2016). Compared to research on everyday racism in North America and Europe, less attention is paid to everyday racism in South-America, Asia, and Africa. Other parts of the world were represented with a few studies in India (Girard 2018), Singapore (Velayutham 2017), China (Lan 2017), Russia (Ziemer 2011), the Philippines (San Juan 1998), Israel (Ben-Eliezer 2008; Mjdoob and Shoshana, 2017; Shoshana 2016), South Africa (Mtose 2011; Thackwell et al., 2016; Walker 2016) and Ecuador (Torre 1999). As the form in which racism occurs depends on the socio-cultural and economic context of a country, it is hard to generalize and compare research on everyday racism in terms of their findings.

Depending on the geographical area, the samples in the studies include either members of one of the largest minority groups, those with a long history within the country, those with a colonial history and/or those with the lowest social status. Minority groups are mostly defined as such based on their ethnic/racial origin. More specifically, the most-researched racial/ethnic minorities (see [Appendix](#)) were either of African descent²³ (mostly African American), Asian,²⁴ Latinos or Hispanics (Fabbro and Ranieri, 2016; Gaudio and Bialostok, 2005), indigenous groups,²⁵ or specific migrant groups in Europe.²⁶ In addition, 8.3% of the studies have taken on the perspective of the ethnic majority on everyday racism.²⁷ This is explicitly contrary to Essed's argumentation, as she states that accounting for the majority's perspective undervalues the knowledge that minorities hold based on their experience.

There are a few exceptional studies in which samples are not composed based on ethnicity. One article (Swim et al., 2007) looked at everyday discrimination based on sexual orientation. There were also two studies that examined religious minority groups, more specifically Christians in the United States (Hyers and Hyers, 2008) and Muslims in Australia (Bloch and Dreher, 2009). Concerning gender, all samples consisted of both men and women. Few studies looked at the intersection of ethnicity with other identity-aspects, such as gender, sexual orientation, disability, and so forth.

HOW TO IMPROVE RESEARCH ON EVERYDAY RACISM: GAPS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Microaggressions are Part of Everyday Racism, but Everyday Racism is Not the Same as Microaggressions

As previously mentioned, racism is primarily studied from a social-psychological perspective. This perspective studies the perpetrator's thoughts, attitudes, and beliefs and whether they were conscious of their racist practices ([Figure 1](#), micro-level). Within this field, the concept of microaggressions has gained ground. An adverse effect of this

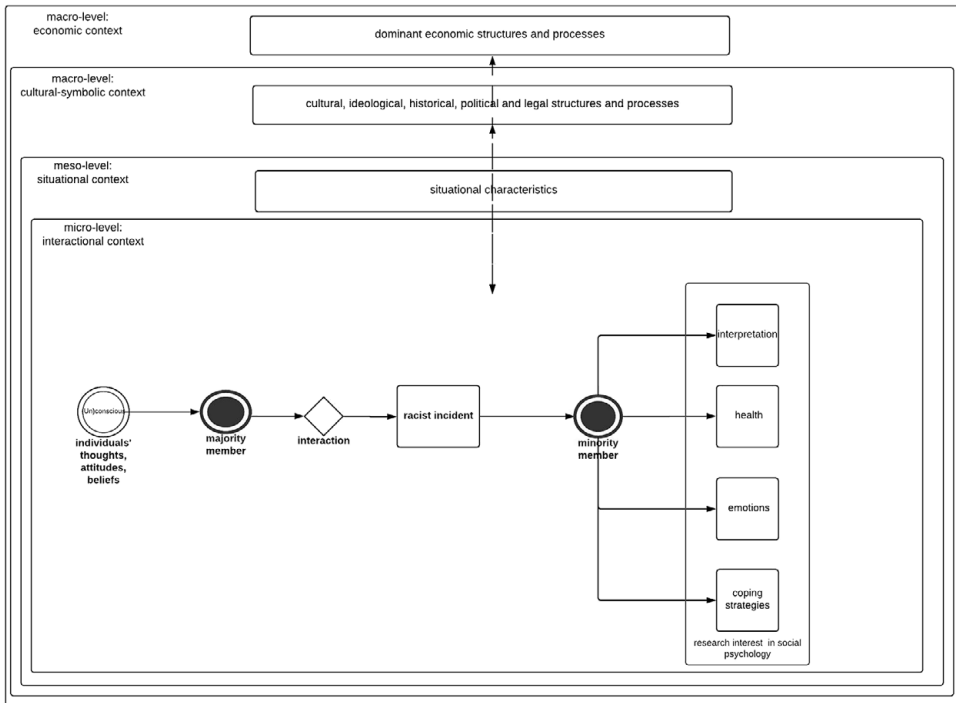


Fig. 1. Schematic framework of everyday racism

evolution is that it has overshadowed the concept of everyday racism. Our results have shown that the concepts of microaggressions and everyday racism are often used interchangeably. Their shared principles make researchers perceive that they describe a similar form of racism. They both focus on the experiences of minority members. While Sue and colleagues (2007) create a taxonomy of microaggressions categorizing specific acts and practices, Essed distinguished three main mechanisms (marginalization, problematization, and containment) behind everyday racism. In addition, they both discuss the interpretation process individuals go through when experiencing a racist event. In contrast to Essed, Sue's aim is to measure the coping-strategies, emotions, and health consequences of minorities (Figure 1, micro-level).

Although they have the same heuristic principles, it could be said that microaggressions are part of everyday racism, but everyday racism is not the same as microaggressions. Their theoretical foundations are particularly distinct. As previously mentioned, Essed bases her work on the 'racial formation' theory, an alternative perspective that considers racism structurally and deals with the construction of race relations on the micro-level and the perpetuating connection with the macro-level. Sue's (2007) conceptualization is, on the contrary, grounded in social psychology where the macro-level is disregarded.

A second relevant difference is that microaggressions are described as part of a specific form of racism, namely aversive racism (Gaertner and Dovidio, 1986). Aversive racism is defined as the implicit negative biases held by egalitarian individuals. Individuals in a so-perceived 'postracial' era believe that they only carry egalitarian beliefs; however, they often use their prejudices to interact with minorities. Samuel L. Gaertner and John F. Dovidio (1986) explain this process as primarily unintentional and unconscious, which brings us to the last major difference with everyday racism. While unawareness and unintentionality are essential for the study of microaggressions, Essed

considers this to be a dangerous pitfall for anti-racism. She argues that if focus is on the 'goodwill' of individuals, underlying power relations will be neglected. It would bring us back to a renewed form of "social control" (Essed 1991, p. 210). Therefore, Essed instead aims at explaining why the performance of certain acts and interactions are racist instead of explaining why an individual is racist. Due to their different perspectives and aims, researchers should be careful not to use these concepts interchangeably and instead make a choice based on their research objective.

The Relevance of Space in Defining Everyday Racism

As mentioned in our theoretical framework, everyday life is defined by Essed based on the characteristic of repetitiveness and familiarity. In our selected literature, most papers do not refer to the repetitiveness or familiarity of everyday life to contrast everyday racism to other forms of racism. Instead, they use space as a feature for defining everyday racism. When Essed (1984) speaks about space, she uses the concept of the 'setting,' which can include specific locations like the workplace, academic institutions, and stores as well as abstract macro contexts including politics, culture, sciences, and the media. Even though Essed did not pay particular attention to space, this can be innovative and give a new direction on the conceptualization of everyday racism. To this end, the discussion should be widened by using an interdisciplinary lens to explain everyday racism.

The social sciences have not paid particular attention to the spatial context in which race relations take place and how this shapes racist practices. To our knowledge, Goffman's (1996) work has concerned itself with the context that inhibits social interactions, something which he calls 'gathering'. With the concept of gathering, he delineates the social space based on the interaction between two or more people who are in one another's immediate presence. Furthermore, the 'situation' is what he describes as the spatial environment in which the gathering takes place. Essed (1991), however, mentions that everyday racism does not only occur in direct interactions but exists also indirectly. One of her examples is the racist communication in media that spreads throughout society and with which targeted individuals are confronted on a daily basis.

Joe R. Feagin's (1991) theory of public discrimination has also received a lot of attention. He divides space into public and private settings to explain the chances of being confronted with racism. However, in contemporary society, his theory is becoming outdated. As one of the papers shows, everyday racism is also emerging on social media platforms (Patton et al., 2017). Social media cannot be considered either a public or a private space. It is an area that can be accessed from the privacy of your own home just as well as from public spaces. This requires a perspective that is more encompassing. Therefore, a sociological perspective should be complemented with a social geographic perspective.

A social geographic perspective can bring more precision to the definition of the everyday space. According to social geographers, repetitive interactions happen within 'micro-publics'. These are public spaces or semi-public spaces, in which individuals from different backgrounds encounter others for short or long interactions (Peterson 2017). Not all (semi-)public spaces automatically result in intergroup exchanges (Dines et al., 2006; Holland et al., 2007). Some spaces are more likely to force people into intergroup relations than others. To understand everyday racism, more focus should be placed on the semi-public spaces in which individuals are not able to live side-by-side (Amin 2002). These spaces are also defined as 'zones of encounters' (Wood and Landry, 2008). The workplace is a good illustration; it is a setting that forces people to have recurrent interactions with colleagues and strangers. Different dynamics come into play

depending on whom you are closer to, both spatially as well as emotionally, consequently influencing the chance to be confronted with racist practices and interactions. Furthermore, the settings mentioned in our systematic review can be defined as ‘zones of encounters’. They are all (semi-)public spaces in which individuals often are forced to interact with others. Because of these inevitable interactions, individuals rely on their racist scripts thus forming racialized interactions. This concept also offers a solution to new spaces, such as social media. In this case, social media is a digital rather than a physical ‘zone of encounter’.

Reading Between the Lines: Meso-Level

However, the focus should not only be on the micro-macro link, but the importance of the meso-level (see [Figure 1](#), meso-level) must also be considered. Once it has been established that spaces in which everyday racism occurs can be defined as ‘zones of encounters’, the next step is specifying the unique features that influence the intensity and type of racism. Until now, most papers have specified a particular space but have not considered the characteristics that influence the appearance of everyday racism. The situational context has both generic characteristics that appear in similar contexts and unique characteristics that are not transferable to other contexts. One example is the workplace, where everyday racism frequently occurs. The form everyday racism takes on, however, differs due to characteristics such as the institutional hierarchy and workplace culture, policies, and regulations. Towibah Mjdoob and Avihu Shoshana (2017) present an exemplary study in which they showed the experiences of Palestinians with everyday racism in different work organizations. They suggested that everyday racism differs in civil service organizations and corporate organizations due to different workplace policies. So, to understand the dynamics of everyday racism, the situational characteristics at the spatial meso-level have to be accounted for.

This makes it necessary to construct a typology of situational characteristics that are generic for similar spaces before customizing them to a particular space of study. Referring back to the example of the workplace, a generic feature that could influence everyday racism in European and North American contexts is the presence of Whiteness. Following the argument of Frantz Fanon’s (1986) and Sarah Ahmed’s (2007) theory on Whiteness, a space relies on a particular historic-racial framework. Ahmed explains how some spaces are familiar to some bodies but not to all. Due to the history of colonialism and slavery, White bodies have shaped their world in accordance with their characteristics. As history is inherited through time and generations, White bodies have an ease of moving around within such a space compared to non-White bodies. Also, the Whiteness of *some-bodies* is transmitted into the social space, making it White space. The non-White bodies become hyper-visible as they do not resemble the White space. This leads to feelings of non-belonging and feelings of uneasiness for non-White bodies and superiority feelings for White bodies. Consequently, the stronger the presence of Whiteness in the workplace, the higher the chances that non-White bodies will be confronted with everyday racism. By creating a more ‘inclusive’ and diverse workplace, the White workplace culture can be disrupted and, consequently, may decrease everyday racism or possibly change the appearance of everyday racism.

The Culture-Economy Gap

Finally, there is a culture-economy gap at the macro-level. The macro dimension is oftentimes divided into two parts. The most commonly accepted macro dimension is the

cultural-symbolic context (Figure 1, first macro-level) in which the ideological mental framework is interrelated with the history, culture, and political discourse of a particular society. A racialized worldview is diffused through cultural beliefs and discourse, as well as everyday interactions, reproduced over generations (Jones 1997). These power relations create asymmetrical interactions in a daily setting. Most researchers, Essed included, often operate from a cultural or historical perspective.

The second macro dimension, however neglected in recent years, refers to the economic context (Figure 1, second macro-level). Many Black and anti-colonial authors (e.g. W. E. B Du Bois (1911) and bell hooks (1981)) point out the relationship between economic structures and racism. Their work draws attention to the dialectic forces of racism and capitalism, demonstrating exploitation as the basic principle behind these forces. They believe that the construction of 'race' as a concept was necessary for the operations of capitalism. From this perspective, Black slavery in U.S. history was institutionalized for the sake of capitalism in need of a 'super-exploited' labor class (Spector 2014).

The cultural and economic perspectives can in some ways be conflicting. However, the trap is to fall into the idea of economic determinism or cultural determinism. They are strongly interrelated and influence behavior in specific ways. Even though Essed's point of departure was to neutralize economic differences because many scholars before her had paid attention to the race-class nexus but not to race-gender solely, future research should combine race, class, and gender and thus make the effects of the cultural and economic forces upon everyday behavior more explicit.

CONCLUSION

Essed's theory of everyday racism has brought with it a large body of work within the social sciences. This paper has tried to offer a critical analysis of her theory and the existing research using everyday racism and/or discrimination as a concept. Essed has been thorough in her conceptualization of everyday racism. It is therefore even more remarkable that her concept continues to be misinterpreted and misused in academic studies working within this field.

Our first objective was to look at what everyday racism means in research that took place after Essed's conceptualization. By focusing on three major components of everyday racism, a comparison was made between Essed's theorization and research that adopted her concept. The first component was 'the everyday', which was mainly defined in terms of the repetitiveness and familiarity of racist practices and interactions. It was clear that the everyday was less defined in terms of repetitiveness but rather in terms of space. The second component, racism, was only rarely explicitly defined. The existence of racism was primarily explained by discussing evidence of the lower life chances of the specific minority group(s) in important domains of society or how they were confronted with explicit racist practices, such as racial slurs. Thirdly, the micro-macro link, which is of crucial importance to Essed, was not adopted and instead, an increasing popularity of social psychology in race and ethnic studies was observed. Even though some researchers understood the relevance of the history and socio-political context of society, this was often mentioned as introductory information but was never referred back to in the analysis of individuals' experiences on a micro-level.

Our second objective was to map out the way in which everyday racism was being studied. The main findings are that, in line with Essed's findings, everyday racism is mainly studied through interview or diary methodology. It would be interesting to use field experiments, which is currently a popular method for studying major lifetime

discrimination (Pager and Shepherd, 2008; Riach and Rich, 2002), when measuring everyday forms of racism. Another finding was the concentration of research in North American and European countries and less in other parts of the world. Following the racial formation theory, racialization processes are highly dependent on the socio-historical processes that are shaped within a particular society. This means that it is not possible to generalize forms of everyday racism in North America to the rest of the world. Most research is also focused on particular minority groups, though it could be of interest and innovative to focus on other minority groups as this might lead to the exploration of new forms of everyday racism.

Finally, ways in which research around everyday racism could be enhanced are of interest. Our main conclusion is that the study of racism lacks a proper working definition of everyday racism. In order to move towards an innovative theoretical foundation for research on everyday racism, it is necessary to gain a deeper understanding of several issues. First, it is important to understand the distinction between everyday racism and microaggressions. They are oftentimes interchangeably used which incorrectly blurs the boundaries. The interchangeable use is the result of adopting concepts to explain research findings while paying less attention to a clear theoretical foundation. Secondly, by building on the conceptualization of Essed, the concept can be improved if more attention is given to the feature of space. As discussed previously, space should be considered as the situational context in which micro-interactions take place. The situational context has both generic characteristics that appear in similar contexts as well as unique characteristics that are not transferable to similar contexts. In order to move to a deeper understanding and form a theoretical foundation for the social sciences, the next step would be to identify these general characteristics in different 'zones of encounters' by constructing a typology. And lastly, when moving to a more structural understanding of everyday racism and taking the macro-level into account, it is important to not fall into cultural determinism. Instead of only explaining racism as the result of the cultural-symbolic framework of society, the effects of society's culture and economic system should be discussed in interconnected ways.

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NOTES

1. Beagan and Etowa, 2009; Swim et al., 2003; Bailey 2016; Leah 1995; Hartmann and Oder, n. d.; Hein 2000; Ben-Eliezer 2008; Wise 2010; Hayes and Casstevens, 2017; Hübinette and Tigervall, 2009; Mtose 2011; Girard 2018; Beagan 2003; Clark et al., 2015; Hopkins 2004; Walker 2016; Hyers and Hyers, 2008; Lund 2006; Guerin 2005.
2. Kwate 2015; Torre 1999; Swim et al., 2007; Smye et al., 2011; Velayutham 2017; Wise 2010; Ziemer 2011; Humphris 2018; Came and McCreanor, 2015; Mtose 2011; Rusche and Brewster, 2008; Wigerfelt and Wigerfelt, 2014; Whitley 2006; Guerin 2005.
3. Beagan and Etowa, 2009; Swim et al., 2003; Baker-Lewton et al., 2017; Velayutham 2017; Bloch and Dreher, 2009; Hübinette and Tigervall, 2009; Hopkins 2004; Wigerfelt and Wigerfelt, 2014.
4. Kwate 2015; Lan 2017; Pendergrass 2013; Rootham et al., 2015; Hayes and Casstevens, 2017.
5. Kwate 2015; Velayutham 2017; Ziemer 2011; Hällgren 2005.
6. Beagan and Etowa, 2009; Tinarwo 2017; Leah 1995; Herbert et al., 2008; Creese and Wiebe, 2012; Rätzzel 2006.
7. Deitch et al., 2003; Shoshana 2016; Mapedzahama et al., 2012; Lander and Santoro, 2017; Mjdoob and Shoshana, 2017; Ben-Eliezer 2008; Hyers and Hyers, 2008; Velayutham 2017; Baker-Lewton et al., 2017; Pendergrass 2013; Tinarwo 2017; Mulinari 2017; O'Brien and Ackroyd, 2012; Thackwell et al., 2016; Brettell 2011; Dovemark 2013; Dunn et al., 2011.

8. Pérez Huber and Solorzano, 2015; Baker-Lewton et al., 2017; Tinarwo 2017; Walton et al., 2013; Torre 1999; Swim et al., 2007; Smye et al., 2011; Schömer 2016; San Juan 1998; Leah 1995; Hartmann and Oder, n.d.
9. Herbert et al., 2008; Hein 2000; Baker-Lewton et al., 2017; Ben-Eliezer 2008; Lan 2017; Pendergrass 2013; Rootham et al., 2015; Tinarwo 2017; Velayutham 2017; Wise 2010.
10. Mjdoob and Shoshana, 2017; Shin 2015; Arisaka 2010; Baker-Lewton et al., 2017; Lan 2017; Tinarwo 2017; Velayutham 2017; Ziemer 2011; Humphris 2018)
11. Herbert et al., 2008; Rootham et al., 2015; Bloch and Dreher, 2009.
12. Deitch et al., 2003; Shoshana 2016; Mapedzahama et al., 2012; Dovemark 2013; Came and McCreanor, 2015; Copeland 2010; Arisaka 2010; Ben-Eliezer 2008; Tinarwo 2017; Gaudio and Bialostok, 2005; Hällgren 2005; Harrison 2013; Hayes and Casstevens, 2017; Hübinette and Tigervall, 2009; Mtose 2011; Mulinari 2017; Osterkamp 1993; Rusche and Brewster, 2008; Wang 2002.
13. Beagan and Etowa, 2009; Lander and Santoro, 2017; Bailey 2016; Brettell 2011; Girard 2018; Baker-Lewton et al., 2017; Ben-Eliezer 2008; Pendergrass 2013; Humphris 2018; Mtose 2011; Rusche and Brewster, 2008; Banaji 2013; Beagan 2003; Clark et al., 2015; Creese and Wiebe, 2012; Dunn et al., 2011; Hopkins 2004; Räthzel 2006; Sotkasiira and Haverinen, 2016; Thackwell et al., 2016; Walker 2016; Wigerfelt and Wigerfelt, 2014 (see Appendix).
14. Deitch et al., 2003; Beagan and Etowa, 2009; Shoshana 2016; Swim et al., 2003; Pérez Huber and Solorzano, 2015; Mapedzahama et al., 2012; Lander and Santoro, 2017; Mjdoob and Shoshana, 2017; Bailey 2016; Kwate 2015.
15. Deitch et al., 2003; Beagan and Etowa, 2009; Shoshana 2016; Mapedzahama et al., 2012; Lander and Santoro, 2017; Mjdoob and Shoshana, 2017; Bailey 2016; Leah 1995; Hartmann and Oder, n.d.; Hein 2000; Ben-Eliezer 2008; Wise 2010; Hayes and Casstevens, 2017; Hübinette and Tigervall, 2009; Mtose 2011; Beagan 2003; Clark et al., 2015; Hopkins 2004; Walker 2016; Torre 1999; Swim et al., 2007; Smye et al., 2011; Velayutham 2017; Rusche and Brewster, 2008; Wigerfelt and Wigerfelt, 2014; Whitley 2006; Baker-Lewton et al., 2017; Bloch and Dreher, 2009; Lan 2017; Pendergrass 2013; Hällgren 2005; Tinarwo 2017; Herbert et al., 2008; Creese and Wiebe, 2012; Räthzel 2006; Mulinari 2017; O'Brien and Ackroyd, 2012; Thackwell et al., 2016; Brettell 2011; Dovemark 2013; Walton et al., 2013; Gaudio and Bialostok, 2005; Fabbro and Ranieri, 2016; Robinson 2013.
16. Swim et al., 2003; Hyers and Hyers, 2008; Swim et al., 2007; Fabbro and Ranieri, 2016.
17. Wise 2010; Smye et al., 2011; Velayutham 2017; Whitley 2006; Baker-Lewton et al., 2017; Lan 2017; O'Brien and Ackroyd, 2012.
18. Deitch et al., 2003; Swim et al., 2003; Pérez Huber and Solorzano, 2015; Kwate 2015; Swim et al., 2007; Hartmann and Oder, n.d.; Hein 2000; Pendergrass 2013; Copeland 2010; Gaudio and Bialostok, 2005; Hayes and Casstevens, 2017; Rusche and Brewster, 2008; Wang 2002; Brettell 2011; Clark et al., 2015; Hyers and Hyers, 2008; Eliasoph 1999; Patton et al., 2017; Robinson 2013.
19. Lander and Santoro, 2017; Tinarwo 2017; Herbert et al., 2008; Rootham et al., 2015; Humphris 2018; Banaji 2013; Whitley 2006; O'Brien and Ackroyd, 2012.
20. Beagan and Etowa, 2009; Bailey 2016; Smye et al., 2011; Shin 2015; Beagan 2003; Creese and Wiebe, 2012; Lund 2006.
21. Mapedzahama et al., 2012; Lander and Santoro, 2017; Baker-Lewton et al., 2017; Walton et al., 2013; Leah 1995; Wise 2010; Bloch and Dreher, 2009; Dunn et al., 2011; Fordyce et al., 2016.
22. Dovemark 2013; Hällgren 2005; Hübinette and Tigervall, 2009; Mulinari 2017; Räthzel 2006; Wigerfelt and Wigerfelt, 2014.
23. Deitch et al., 2003; Beagan and Etowa, 2009; Swim et al., 2003; Mapedzahama et al., 2012; Lander and Santoro, 2017; Kwate 2015; Baker-Lewton et al., 2017; Tinarwo 2017; Schömer 2016; Ben-Eliezer 2008; Lan 2017; Pendergrass 2013; Harrison 2013; Hayes and Casstevens, 2017; Mtose 2011; Mulinari 2017; Wang 2002; Clark et al., 2015; Creese and Wiebe, 2012; Sotkasiira and Haverinen, 2016; Thackwell et al., 2016; O'Brien and Ackroyd, 2012; Patton et al., 2017; Robinson 2013.

24. Lander and Santoro, 2017; Hein 2000; Velayutham 2017; Shin 2015; Hopkins 2004; Leppänen 2015.
25. Bailey 2016; Torre 1999; Smye et al., 2011; Leah 1995; Came and McCreanor, 2015; Lund 2006.
26. Shoshana 2016; Mjdoob and Shoshana, 2017; Hartmann and Oder, n.d.; Herbert et al., 2008; Ziemer 2011; Humphris 2018.
27. Walton et al., 2013; Rootham et al., 2015; Wise 2010; Gaudio and Bialostok, 2005; Walker 2016; Eliasoph 1999; Fordyce et al., 2016; Billiet and de Witte, 2008; Fabbro and Ranieri, 2016.

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APPENDIX SUMMARY OF QUALITATIVE-METHODS PAPERS

Bibliography	Sample Characteristics			Components of Definition (References to Essed's work)				
	Country	Population	Methodology	The everyday	Racism	Micro-Macro link	Micro-Macro: Framing	Setting
Arisaka 2010	Germany	not applicable	not applicable	-	-	-	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • color blind society • political discourse 	not applicable
Banaji 2013	UK	multi-ethnic	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • textual analysis 	-	-	-	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • migrants' position in society 	not applicable
Bailey 2016	Canada	indigenous	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • (in-depth) interviews • participant observation 	+ (Essed)	-	+	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • migrants' position in society 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • school
Baker-Lewton et al., 2017	Australia	ethnic/racial minorities: Sudanese minority	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • (in-depth) interviews 	-	-	-	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • political discourse • migrants' position in society • migration history (colonialism) • explanation of racism/discrimination 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • places of entertainment
Beagan 2003	Canada	multi-ethnic	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • (in-depth) interviews • survey 	+ (Essed)	-	+	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • migrants' position in society 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • school

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Bibliography	Sample Characteristics			Components of Definition (References to Essed's work)			Micro-Macro: Framing	Setting
	Country	Population	Methodology	The everyday	Racism	Micro-Macro link		
Beagan and Etowa, 2009	Canada	ethnic/racial minorities: African Nova Scotia	• (in-depth) interviews	+ (Essed)	-	+	• migrants' position in society	• labor market • school • workplace • places of entertainment
Ben-Eliezer 2008	Israel	ethnic/racial minorities: Ethiopian Jews	• (in-depth) interviews	-	-	-	• migration history • migrants' position in society • color blind society	• school • workplace
Billiet and de Witte, 2008	Belgium	ethnic/racial majority	• survey	-	-	-	no explanation	not applicable
Bloch and Dreher, 2009	Australia	religious minority: Muslims	• (in-depth) interviews	-	-	-	• failure of multicultural society	• places of entertainment
Brettell 2011	US	multi-ethnic	• (in-depth) interviews	-	-	-	• migrants' position in society	• workplace
Came and McCreanor, 2015	New Zealand	indigenous	• not applicable	-	-	+	• color blind society	• services: public institutions
Clark et al., 2015	US	ethnic/racial minorities: African American	• (in-depth) interviews	-	-	-	• migrants' position in society	• school

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Bibliography	Sample Characteristics			Components of Definition (References to Essed's work)				
	Country	Population	Methodology	The everyday	Racism	Micro-Macro link	Micro-Macro: Framing	Setting
Creese and Wiebe, 2012	Canada	ethnic/racial minorities: African migrants	• (in-depth) interviews	-	-	-	• migrants' position in society	• labor market
Copeland 2010	US	not mentioned	• not applicable	-	-	-	• color blind society	not applicable
Deitch et al., 2003	US	ethnic/racial minorities: African American	• (in-depth) interviews	+	-	-	• color blind society	workplace
Dovemark 2013	Sweden	multi-ethnic	• (in-depth) interviews • participant observation	+	-	+	• color blind society	• workplace
Dunn 2011	Australia	multi-ethnic	• survey	-	-	-	• migrants' position in society	• workplace
Eliasoph 1999	US	ethnic/racial majority	• (in-depth) interviews	-	-	-	• no explanation	not applicable
Fabbro and Ranieri, 2016	Italy	ethnic/racial majority	• (in-depth) interviews • diary • survey	-	-	-	• no explanation	not applicable
Fordyce et al., 2016	Australia	ethnic/racial majority	• not applicable	-	-	-	• no explanation	not applicable
Gaudio and Bialostok, 2005	US	ethnic/racial minority: Hispanic	• (in-depth) interviews	-	-	-	• color blind society	not applicable

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	Sample Characteristics			Components of Definition (References to Essed's work)			Micro-Macro: Framing	Setting
	Country	Population	Methodology	The everyday	Racism	Micro-Macro link		
Bibliography								
Girard 2018	India	castes	• survey	-	-	-	• migrants' position in society	not applicable
Guerin 2005	New Zealand	Not applicable	• not applicable	-	-	-	• no explanation	• housing • school • services: shops
Hällgren 2005	Sweden	multi-ethnic	• (in-depth) interviews	+ (Essed)	-	+	• color blind society	• public transportation • services: shops
Harrison 2013	US	ethnic/racial minorities: Black	• (in-depth) interviews	+ (Essed)	-	+	• color blind society	not applicable
Hartmann and Oder, 2011	Germany	ethnic/racial minorities: Turks	• (in-depth) interviews	+ (Essed)	+	+	• explanation of racism/discrimination	• school
Hayes and Casstevens, 2017	US	ethnic/racial minorities: African American	• (in-depth) interviews	+	-	-	• color blind society	• school
Hein 2000	US	ethnic/racial minorities: Asian migrants	• (in-depth) interviews	+ (Essed)	-	+	• migration history (colonialism)	• streets • private setting • school • services: retail stores
Herbert et al., 2008	UK	Ethnic/racial minorities: Ghanaian migrants	• (in-depth) interviews • survey	-	-	+	• failure of multicultural society • migration history	• labor market

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Bibliography	Sample Characteristics			Components of Definition (References to Essed's work)			Micro-Macro: Framing	Setting
	Country	Population	Methodology	The everyday	Racism	Micro-Macro link		
Hopkins 2004	Scotland	ethnic/racial minorities: Pakistani	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • (in-depth) interviews • survey 	-	-	-	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • migrants' position in society 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • school • places of entertainment
Hübinette and Tigervall, 2009	Sweden	multi-ethnic	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • (in-depth) interviews 	+ (Essed)	-	+	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • color blind society 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • services: customs • school • services: retail stores, daycare center • places of entertainment
Humphris 2018	UK	ethnic/racial minorities: Romanian	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • participant observation 	+	-	+	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • political discourse • migrants' position in society 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • services: public institutions
Hyers and Hyers, 2008	US	religious minority: Christians	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • diary • survey 	-	-	-	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • no explanation 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • school
Kwate and Goodman, 2015	US	ethnic/racial minorities: African American	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • mixed methods: quantitative analysis • (in-depth) interviews 	-	-	-	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • no explanation 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • workplace • streets • public transportation • services: retail stores, restaurants

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Bibliography	Sample Characteristics			Components of Definition (References to Essed's work)				
	Country	Population	Methodology	The everyday	Racism	Micro-Macro link	Micro-Macro: Framing	Setting
Lan 2017	China	ethnic/racial minorities: Black African migrants	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • (in-depth) interviews • participant observation 	-	-	-	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • political discourse • migration history (colonialism) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • streets
Lander and Santoro, 2017	Australia, UK	Multi-ethnic	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • (in-depth) interviews 	-	-	-	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • migrants' position in society 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • workplace
Leah 1995	Australia	indigenous	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • (in-depth) interviews 	-	+	-	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • explanation of racism/discrimination 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • housing • labor market • school • services: shops, hotels
Leppänen 2015	Finland	ethnic/racial minorities: Asian	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • media analysis 	-	-	-	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • no explanation 	not applicable
Lund 2006	Canada	indigenous	Not applicable	-	-	-	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • no explanation 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • school
Mapedzahama et al., 2012	Australia	ethnic/racial minorities: Black African migrants	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • (in-depth) interviews 	+	-	-	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • color blind society 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • workplace
Mjdoob and Shoshana, 2017	Israel	ethnic/racial minorities: Arabs	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • (in-depth) interviews 	+	-	+	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • political discourse 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • workplace
Mtose 2011	South Africa	Black population	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • (in-depth) interviews 	+	-	+	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • color blind society • migrants' position is society 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • school • services: shops

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Bibliography	Sample Characteristics			Components of Definition (References to Essed's work)				
	Country	Population	Methodology	The everyday	Racism	Micro- Macro link	Micro-Macro: Framing	Setting
Mulinari 2017	Sweden	multi-ethnic	• (in-depth) interviews	+	-	+	• color blind society	• workplace
O'Brien and Ackroyd, 2012	UK	multi-ethnic	• (in-depth) interviews • participant observation	-	-	-	not applicable	• workplace
Osterkamp 1993	Germany	not applicable	Not applicable	-	-	-	• color blind society	not applicable
Patton 2017	US	ethnic/racial minorities: African American	• Theory building	-	-	-	• no explanation	• social media
Pendergrass 2013	US	ethnic/racial minorities: African American	• (in-depth) interviews	-	-	-	• migrants' position in society • migration history (colonialism)	• workplace • streets
Pérez Huber and Solorzano, 2015	US	ethnic/racial minorities: Hispanic	• discourse analysis	-	-	-	• explanation of racism/discrimination	not applicable
Rätzl 2006	Sweden	multi-ethnic	• (in-depth) interviews	-	-	+	• migrants' position in society	• labor market

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Bibliography	Sample Characteristics			Components of Definition (References to Essed's work)			Micro-Macro: Framing	Setting
	Country	Population	Methodology	The everyday	Racism	Micro-Macro link		
Robinson 2013	US	ethnic/racial minorities: African American	• (in-depth) interviews	-	-	-	• no explanation	• school
Rootham et al., 2015	UK	multi-ethnic	• (in-depth) interviews	-	-	-	• failure of multicultural society • migration history (colonialism)	• streets
Rusche and Brewster, 2008	US	multi-ethnic	• (in-depth) interviews • survey • participant observation	+ (Essed)	-	+	• color blind society • migrants' position is society	• services: shops
San Juan 1998	Philippine	not applicable	not applicable	+	+	+	• explanation of racism/discrimination	not applicable
Schömer 2016	Sweden	ethnic/racial minorities: Black	not applicable	-	+	-	• explanation of racism/discrimination	not applicable
Shin 2015	Canada	ethnic/racial minorities: Asian	• participant observation	-	-	-	• political discourse	not applicable
Shoshana 2016	Israel	ethnic/racial minorities: Palestinians	• (in-depth) interviews	+ (Essed)	-	+	• color blind society	workplace

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Bibliography	Sample Characteristics			Components of Definition (References to Essed's work)			Micro-Macro: Framing	Setting
	Country	Population	Methodology	The everyday	Racism	Micro- Macro link		
Smye et al., 2011	Canada	indigenous	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • observation • focus groups 	-	+	-	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • explanation of racism/discrimination 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • services: health care institutions
Sotkasiira and Haverinen, 2016	Finland	ethnic/racial minorities: African American	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • media analysis • (in-depth) interviews 	-	-	-	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • migrants' position in society 	not applicable
Swim et al., 2003	US	ethnic/racial minorities: African American	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • (in-depth) interviews • diary • survey 	+	-	-	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • no explanation 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • school • places of entertainment: sports • service • private setting
Swim et al., 2007	US	sexual minorities	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • diary 	+	+	-	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • explanation of racism/discrimination 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • services: restaurants
Thackwell et al., 2016	South Africa	ethnic/racial minorities: Black	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • (in-depth) interviews 	-	-	-	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • migrants' position in society 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • workplace
Tinarwo 2017	UK	ethnic/racial minorities: Black	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • (in-depth) interviews 	-	+	+	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • political discourse • migration history • explanation of racism/discrimination (colonialism) • color blind society 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • workplace • labor market

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Bibliography	Sample Characteristics			Components of Definition (References to Essed's work)				
	Country	Population	Methodology	The everyday	Racism	Micro-Macro link	Micro-Macro: Framing	Setting
Torre 1999	Ecuador	indigenous	• (in-depth) interviews	-	+	-	• explanation of racism/discrimination	• services: shops, restaurants
Velayutham 2017	Singapore	ethnic/racial minorities: Asians	• (in-depth) interviews • participant observation	+ (Essed)	-	+	• political discourse • migration history (colonialism)	• workplace • places of entertainment • public transportation • services: retail stores, restaurants
Walker 2016	South Africa	multi-ethnic	• (in-depth) interviews	+ (Essed)	-	+	• migrants' position in society	• school
Walton et al., 2013	Australia	ethnic/racial majority	• (in-depth) interviews • focus groups	+ (Essed)	-	+	• explanation of racism/discrimination	not applicable
Wang 2002	US	ethnic/racial minorities: African American	not applicable	+ (Essed)	-	-	• color blind society	not applicable
Whitley et al., 2006	UK	multi-ethnic	• (in-depth) interviews • focus groups • participant observation	+ (Essed)	-	-	• no explanation	• services

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Bibliography	Sample Characteristics			Components of Definition (References to Essed's work)			Micro-Macro: Framing	Setting
	Country	Population	Methodology	The everyday	Racism	Micro-Macro link		
Wigerfelt and Wigerfelt, 2014	Sweden	multi-ethnic	• (in-depth) interviews	+	-	+	• migrants' position in society	• services: shops • places of entertainment
Wise 2010	Australia	ethnic/racial majority	• (in-depth) interviews • participant observation • focus groups	-	-	-	• migration history (colonialism)	• services
Ziemer 2011	Russia	ethnic/racial minorities: Armenian	• participant observation	-	-	-	• political discourse	• school • services: library • public transportation