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Microaggression and Japanese Muslim Women
Mikroagresyon ve Japon Müslüman Kadınlar

Elif Büşra KOCALAN

Dr. Öğr. Üyesi | Asst. Prof.
Hitit Üniversitesi, Felsefe ve Din Bilimleri Bölümü, Din Sosyolojisi
Çorum, Türkiye
Hitit University, Department of Philosophy and Religious Sciences, Sociology of Religion
Çorum, Türkiye
ebusrakocalan@hitit.edu.tr
https://orcid.org/0000-0002-8051-4647

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Microaggression and Japanese Muslim Women

Abstract

Microaggressions are subtle, mostly unintentional and not ill-intended but discriminatory or biased behaviours, actions or conversations that have negative impacts towards minorities, disadvantaged or marginalised groups. Even though they are not intentional or not ill-intended, due to their cumulative nature, they still can have harmful effects on those who experience them. These effects include emotional ones such as anger, stress, frustration, anxiety, self-doubt and depression as well as stress-related physiological diseases: hypertension and heart diseases. Therefore, they significantly impact the life of those who are exposed to them. Microaggressions can take three forms: microassaults, microinsults and microinvalidations. They are several types of microaggressions: racial, sexist, albeit or ageist, or religious.

Japan has approximately 150.000 Muslims. A majority of them are immigrant Muslims, and only %10 of them are estimated to be native Japanese Muslims. This makes Japanese Muslims a minority among a minority. Although both immigrant and Japanese Muslims are quite contented with their lives in Japanese society, Japanese Muslim women are easily identified as Muslims in the society due to their hijab, and come across microaggressions from time to time. This work is an ethnographic study focusing on religious microaggressions that Japanese Muslim women encounter during their daily lives in Japan. The data is obtained during the researcher's almost two and half years of studies in Japan, Tokyo. The participant observation, semi-structured interviews and field notes data are analysed thematically to discover the religious microaggression types of Japanese women experience and their responses towards them. It is also aimed to see to what extent religious microaggressions have an influence on their lives.

It is discovered that Japanese Muslim women encounter three types of microaggressions: being mistaken as a foreigner, underestimation of personal agency and offensive jokes. Due to a lack of familiarity with Japanese society about hijab-wearing Japanese Muslim women, they are frequently assumed to be foreigners and approached in English, and this is the first microaggression, being mistaken as a foreigner. The second one is when society assumes it is their Muslim husbands or boyfriends who convinced them for religious conversion and for hijab as well, thus, underestimating Japanese Muslim women's personal agency. The last one is offensive jokes: jokes on stereotypes such as terrorism and jokes on their mental health. These three microaggressions affect Japanese Muslim women's lives in four ways: frustration, efforts to prove themselves, leading double lives, and last but not least, detachment from the society. The first step is getting frustrated. Dealing with daily assumptions on them frustrates them. Next comes more serious steps. Some get into an effort of proving their decision to be correct: showing the society the rightness and/or the beauty of Islam. Some, rather than dealing with the society, prefer to hide their religious identity and continue their daily lives as secret Muslims. They do not wear hijab in front of their non-Muslim friends, family and acquaintances, but wear it while attending to Islamic events. They do not pray openly and they find excuses for not eating non-halal. They lead double lives. Lastly, some, perhaps the most serious impact of microaggressions, distance themselves from Japanese society. They leave their jobs. They do not socialise with non-Muslim friends. Due to microaggressions they experience, they detach themselves from the society.

Microaggression is still a new discussion topic among social scientists and the public. Due to the suspicions of its nature or harmful results, awareness-raising activities are not widespread enough. Therefore, in order to understand migroaggression and its harmful results better, and to create more equal and inclusive societies, it is necessary to increase the microaggression studies.

Key Words: Sociology of Religion, Microaggression, Religious Microaggression, Discrimination, Japanese Muslim Women.

Mikroagresyon ve Japon Müslüman Kadınlar

Öz

Mikroagresyon, azınlıklara, dezavantajlı veya marjinal gruplara yönelik olumsuz etkileri olan gizli, çoğunlukla kasıtlı ve kötü niyetli olmayan ancak ayrımcı veya önyargılı tarafları bulunan tavır, eylem veya konuşmalardır. Kasıtlı veya kötü niyetli olmasalar bile, kümülatif ve günlük doğaları nedeniyle, bunları yaşayanlar üzerinde yine de zararlı etkilere sahip olabilmektedirler. Bu etkiler; öfke, stress, hayal kırıklığı, kaygı, kendinden şüphe duyma ve depresyon gibi duygusal etkilerin yanı sıra hipertansiyon ve kalp hastalıkları gibi strese bağlı fizyolojik etkileri de içermektedir. Bu nedenle mikroagresyonlar maruz kalanların yaşamlarını ciddi bir biçimde etkileyebilmektedirler. Mikroagresyon üç şekilde gerçekleşebilmektedir: mikro-hakaretler, mikro-aşağılamalar ve mikro-değersizleştirmeler. Ayrıca ırka, cinsiyete, yaşa, engele veya dine yönelik olmak üzere pek çok türü bulunmaktadır.

Japonya'nın Müslüman nüfusu yaklaşık 150.000 civarındadır. Bunun büyük bir çoğunluğu göçmen Müslümanlardır. Yaklaşık %10'unun etnik Japon Müslüman olduğu tahmin edilmektedir. Bu nedenle Japon Müslümanlar azınlık içinde azınlık konumundadırlar. Hem göçmen hem de Japon Müslümanlar Japon

toplumundaki hayatlarından oldukça memnun olsalar da, Japon Müslüman kadınlar başörtüleri nedeniyle toplumda kolayca Müslüman olarak fark edilmekte ve zaman zaman mikroagresyonlara maruz kalabilmektedirler. Etnografik bir çalışma olan bu araştırma, Japon Müslüman kadınların Japonya'daki günlük yaşamları sırasında karşılaştıkları dini mikroagresyonlara odaklanmaktadır. Veriler araştırmacının Japonya, Tokyo'daki yaklaşık iki buçuk yıllık çalışmaları sırasında elde edilmiştir. Katılımcı gözlem, yarı yapılandırılmış mülakat ve saha notu verileri, Japon kadınların deneyimledikleri dini mikroagresyon türlerini ve bunlara yönelik tepkilerini keşfetmek için tematik olarak analiz edilmiştir. Ayrıca dini mikroagresyonların onların yaşamları üzerinde ne ölçüde etkili olduğunu görmek amaçlanmıştır.

Bu çalışmada Japon Müslüman kadınların üç tür mikroagresyon ile karşılaştıkları tespit edilmiştir: yabancı sanılma, kişisel irade güçlerinin küçümsenmesi ve saldırgan şakalar. Japon toplumu başörtü takan Japon Müslüman kadınlara aşina değildir, bu sebeple karşılaştıklarında yabancı olduklarını varsayıp İngilizce iletişim kurmaya çalışmaktadırlar. İlk mikroagresyon budur: yabancı sanılmak. İkincisi, toplumun Japon Müslüman kadınların din değiştirme ve başörtüsü kullanma sebeplerini eşlerinin ya da erkek arkadaşlarının karar ve ısrarları olduğunu varsaymasıdır. Bu Japon Müslüman kadınların kişisel irade güçlerini hafife almaktır. Sonuncusu ise terörizm ve akıl sağlığı gibi konular üzerine stereotipik ve saldırgan şakalardır. Bu üç tip mikrosaldırganlığa karşı Japon Müslüman kadınların dört şekilde tepki gösterdikleri görülmüştür; bıkkınlık, kendilerini kanıtlama çabaları, ikili hayatlar sürme ve son olarak da toplumdan kopma. İlk adım bıkkınlıktır. Günlük olarak uğraşmak durumunda kaldıkları varsayımlardan yorulmuşlardır. Ardından daha ciddi adımlar gelmektedir. Bazıları verdikleri kararların doğruluğunu ve İslam'ın doğruluğunu ve güzelliğini ispat etme çabasına girmektedir. Bazıları ise toplumla uğraşmaktansa dini kimliklerini gizlemeyi ve gizli birer Müslüman olarak gündelik yaşamlarına devam etmeyi tercih etmektedir. Müslüman olmayan Japon arkadaşlarının, ailelerinin ve tanıdıklarının önünde başörtüsü takmamaktadırlar. Açıktan namaz kılmamakta ve helal olmayanı tüketmemek için başka bahanelere başvurmaktadırlar. Son olarak, mikroagresyonların belki en ciddi etkisi, bazıları da kendilerini Japon toplumundan uzaklaştırmaktadır. İşlerini bırakmakta ve gayrimüslim arkadaşları ile görüşmemeye başlamaktadırlar. Yaşadıkları mikroagresyonlar onları Japon toplumundan uzaklaştırmaktadır.

Mikroagresyon sosyal bilimciler arasında bir hala yeni bir tartışma konusudur. Doğası ya da zararlı sonuçları konusundaki şüpheler nedeniyle farkındalık artırma faaliyetleri yeterince yaygın değildir. Bu nedenle, daha eşit ve kapsayıcı toplumlar yaratmak için mikroagresyonu ve sonuçlarını daha iyi anlamaya ve açıklamaya yönelik çalışmalarının artırılması gerekmektedir.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Din Sosyolojisi, Mikroagresyon, Dini Mikroagresyon, Ayrımcılık, Japon Müslüman Kadınlar.

Introduction

We are having a cup of coffee with a young Japanese woman in her twenties, a participant of my doctoral research, and a friend. She has just converted to Islam a few months ago, and upon following her conversion started to wear hijab. Hijab in Japanese society is a rare sight, and then mostly observed among immigrant Muslims. Seeing a Japanese Muslim woman wearing hijab is not an everyday sight. The coffee shop clerk greets my friend in English, and she responds in a frustrated voice tone in Japanese. She does not complain to coffee shop clerk, but while walking away from the shop she turns to me and says "She hates being treated like a foreigner all the time."

This situation, experienced by Japanese Muslim women frequently in their daily lives, is called microaggression. First used by a Harvard university professor in 1970s[1], microaggression initially was a term defining perhaps unintentional, seemingly innocent and harmless verbal or behavioural interactions that sends negative messages towards people of colour. Sue et al. define microaggressions as "brief and commonplace daily verbal, behavioral and environmental indignities, whether intentional or unintentional, that communicate hostile, derogatory or negative racial slights and insults toward people of color."[2] Although the discussions on microaggression has started in the racial context, in time it is noticed that these type of negative

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[1] Chester M. Pierce, "Psychiatric Problems of the Black Minority", *American Handbook of Psychiatry*, ed. S. Arieti (New York: NY Basic Books, 1974), 515.

[2] Derald W. Sue et. al. "Racial Microaggressions in Everyday Life: Implications for Clinical Practice", *American Psychologist* 62/4 (2007), 271.

interactions are not limited to race. Gender or sexuality based[3], ableism, ageism and religious microaggressions are some of them. For example, assuming one gender is less competent than the other gender is a gender microaggression,[4] or assuming a disabled person is incompetent on performing certain task and commenting on it as ableism microaggression,[5] or making assumptious or derogatory comments on a particular religious group is a religious microaggression.[6]

Based on the type of interaction, microaggressions can have categories such as microassaults, microinsults and microinvalidations.[7] Microassaults are prejudiced or discriminative actions or expressions towards a person or a group. Getting scanned by the airport security more frequently than the others[8] or when entering a store being followed by a security guard just in case[9] are some of the microassault types. They stem from a prejudiced perspective that some group of people are more prone to unlawful acts than the others, hence controlling them more. Microinsults are disrespectful or impolite interactions towards a group, such as assuming lesser intelligence or ability and making related remarks. Having low academic expectations of/from a group or not accepting their accomplishments[10] and assuming lesser social status for people of colour[11] are some examples for this situation. Microinvalidations are the denials or dismissals of discriminative experiences. It happens when a member of a marginalised group relies their negative experience to someone and receives underestimation or doubt. Being constantly ignored by the waitress at a restaurant and getting treated as a foreigner/non-native of the country they were born, and when telling these stories to a friend getting accused of being "'oversensitive' or 'paranoid'"[12] is one example of this phenomenon.

As mentioned above, majority of the studies on the microaggression has been done in racial context. Sue and others identifies nine themes of racial microaggressions: "alien in one's own land, ascription of intelligence, color blindness, criminality/assumption of criminal status, denial of individual racism, myth of meritocracy, pathologizing cultural values/communication styles, second-class status, and environmental invalidation."[13] Yosso and others find three types of microaggressions that Latin American students encounter: interpersonal microaggressions, racial jokes and institutional microaggressions. They argue that these migroagressions "cast doubt on students' academic merits and capabilities, demean their ethnic identity, and dismiss

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[3] Wouter J. Kiekens et. al."Sexuality and Gender Identity-Based Microaggressions: Differences by Sexual and Gender Identity, and Sex Assignment at Birth Among Dutch Youth", *Journal of Interpersonal Violence* 37 (2022), 21293-21319; Kevin L. Nadal et. al, "Sexual Orientation and Transgender Microaggressions: Implications for Mental Health and Counseling", *Microaggressions and Marginality: Manifestation, Dynamics and Impact*, ed. Derald W. Sue (New Jersey: John Wiley & Sons, 2010), 217–240.

[4] Tessa E. Basford et. al. "Do You See What I See? Perceptions of Gender Microaggressions in the Workplace", *Psychology of Women Quarterly* 38/3 (2014), 340-349; Emily R. Kaskan et. al. "Microaggression and Female Athletes", *Sex Roles* 74 (2016), 275-287.

[5] Richard M. Keller – Corinne E. Galgay, "Microaggressive Experiences of People with Disabilities", *Microaggressions and Marginality: Manifestations, Dynamics and Impact*, ed. Derald W. Sue (New Jersey: John Wiley & Sons, 2010), 241-267.

[6] Kevin L. Nadal et. al. "Religious Microaggressions in the United States: Mental Health Implications for Religious Minority Groups", *Microaggressions and Marginality: Manifestation, Dynamics and Impact*, ed. Derald W. Sue (New Jersey: John Wiley & Sons, 2010), 287-310.

[7] Sue et. al. "Racial Microaggressions in Everyday Life: Implications for Clinical Practice", 270.

[8] Nadal et. al. "Religious Microaggressions in the United States", 290.

[9] Derald W. Sue, *Overcoming our Racism: The Journey to Liberation* (San Francisco: John Wiley & Sons, 2003), 119; 156.

[10] Daniel Solorzano et. al. "Critical Race Theory, Racial Microaggressions, and Campus Racial Climate: The Experiences of African American College Students", *Journal of Negro Education* 69/1-2 (2000), 60-73.

[11] Lauren Freeman – Heather Stewart, "Microaggressions in Clinical Medicine", *Kennedy Institute of Ethics Journal* 28/4 (2018), 411.

[12] Sue, *Overcoming our Racism*, 126.

[13] Sue et. al. "Racial Microaggressions in Everyday Life: Implications for Clinical Practice", 275.

their cultural knowledge."[14] Sue and others talks about eight types of migroagressions for Asian Americans: alien in own land, ascription of intelligence, exoticization of Asian women, invalidation of interethnic differences, denial of racial reality, pathologizing cultural values/communication styles, second class citizenship, and invisibility.[15]

Capodilupo and others argue that in our contemporary world where there are legal and social preventions towards overt discriminations such as racism and sexism, discriminations have not diminished but changed their nature, becoming subtler and more covert. A male boss may claim his stance on gender equality by hiring equal number or male and female workers, however intentionally or unintentionally, he may continue subtle sexism or may favour his male employees more due to cultural and social habits,[16] and this behaviour may be difficult to notice because its subtle nature and "it is built into cultural and societal norms."[17] Swim and others also name this as everyday sexism: subtle, ambiguous, seemingly common and not openly discriminatory everyday sexist occurrences that is difficult to name and well-hidden into the daily hustle and bustle[18] and easy to dismiss due to it is perceived as normative and nothing unusual.[19] They identify the most common three as traditional gender role beliefs and prejudices, demeaning comments and behaviours, and sexual objectification. According to their research, although not as frequently as women, men also experience this modern forms of subtle sexism.[20] Studying on female athletes, Kaskan and others finds three types of microaggressions that female athletes experience: assumption of inferiority, sexual objectification and restrictive gender roles. They convey that female athletes are assumed to be inferior to their male versions, both in media and in sports field, their appearance is talked more than their achievements and they get criticised in case of not applying to traditional gender roles.[21] In the workplace gender microaggressions, women have found to experience them more than men[22] and it is determined that these experiences lower their organisational commitment to their workplaces.[23]

Freeman and Stewart discuss microaggressions in clinical medicine. They describe microaggression as the socially dominant one's oppression the vulnerable ones, thus according to their research patients also experience microaggressions due to their vulnerable status. They argue that there are three types of microaggression in the field of clinical medicine: epistemic, emotional and self-identity microaggressions, which result in epistemic, emotional and existential harm and undermining physician-patient relations, thus, urging the physicians to be informed and avoid committing them.[24]

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[14] Tara J. Yosso et. al. "Critical Race Theory, Racial Microaggressions, and Campus Racial Climate for Latina/o Undergraduates", *Harvard Educational Review* 79/4 (2009), 667.

[15] Derald W. Sue et al. "Racial Microaggressions and the Asian American Experience", *Cultural Diversity and Ethnic Minority Psychology* 13/1 (2007), 72.

[16] Christina M. Capodilupo et. al. "The Manifestation of Gender Microaggressions", *Microaggressions and Marginality: Manifestations, Dynamics and Impact*, ed. Derald W. Sue (New Jersey: John Wiley & Sons, 2010), 193-216.

[17] Janet K. Swim – Laurie L. Cohen "Overt, Covert and Subtle Sexism: A Comparison Between the Attitudes Toward Women and Modern Sexism Scales", *Psychology of Women Quarterly* 21 (1997), 103.

[18] Janet K. Swim et. al. "Everyday Sexism: Evidence for its Incidence, Nature, and Psychological Impact from Three Daily Diary Studies", *Journal of Social Issues* 57/1 (2001), 31–53.

[19] Janet K. Swim et. al. "Understanding Subtle Sexism: Detection and Use of Sexist Language", *Sex Roles* 51/3/4 (2004), 117.

[20] Swim et. al. "Everyday Sexism", 31–53.

[21] Kaskan et. al. "Microaggression and Female Athletes", 275-287.

[22] Basford et. al. "Do You See What I See?", 344-345.

[23] Sharon Foley et. al. "Perceptions of Discrimination and Justice: Are There Gender Differences in Outcomes?", *Group & Organization Management* 30/4 (2005), 442.

[24] Freeman – Stewart, "Microaggressions in Clinical Medicine", 415.

Religious microaggression is another new sphere in the microaggression research. In a 2010 paper Nadal and others hypothesise that due to changing nature of discriminations in the modern world (becoming more covert than overt) and occurring as subtle microaggressions more frequently than the blatant discrimination, religious discrimination probably occurs in this form as well and has to be researched.[25] Later, in 2012, he and his team publish a paper on the American Muslims' experience and disclose six types of microaggressions: endorsment of religious stereotypes, pathology of the religion, assumption of religious homogeneity, exoticization, discriminatory language, and alien in own land.[26] Focusing on Jewish and Muslim communities, Kaplin also discusses six similar types: "(a) endorse religious stereotypes, (b) engage in exoticization of Jews and Muslims, (c) pathologize different religious groups (d) assume their religious identity is the norm, (e) assume that all members of a religious faith practice their faith similarly (f) deny the existence of religious prejudice."[27] Both researches shed light on the religious microaggression problem with their similar results. However, comparing with other types of microaggression research, the studies on religious microaggressions are still new and in quite limited number and area.

Nevertheless, some scholars are suspicious of the microaggressions. Lilienfeld claims that the term microaggression is not well-defined and is ambiguous, the acts described as microaggressions are not always interpreted negatively by all those who experienced them, they are not implicitly prejudicial and aggressive, they base upon subjective reports and their impact on mental health are not well researched and proved. Thus, he argues microaggression is an exaggerated term and calls for the suspension of public awareness activities on the matter. [28] Commenting on Lilienfeld's work, Haidt furthers the discussion and finds the applications to raise public awareness and to prevent microaggression as "more damaging and less salvageable" because teaching about microaggressions is actually an "instruction in how to detect ever-smaller specks in your neighbor's eye",[29] advising not to see every little fault of others to find happiness in life. Thomas criticises Sue's research on migroagression and finds his arguments flawed, implying Sue misunderstands or exaggerates every incident and warning against its "chilling effect on free speech."[30]

Looking the claims against microaggression above, one can be reminded of a type of microaggression that Sue describes: microinvalidation. Sue explains the underestimation, denial or nullification of the experiential reality of people who experienced microaggressions as microinvalidation.[31] Finding microaggressions ambigious and subjective,[32] and claiming that people who convey their experiences on microaggressions have depression and anxiety disorders and "the tendency to perceive oneself as a victim",[33] as well as dismissing their feelings on incidents[34] perfectly fit into the microinvalidation category. Williams responds to

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[25] Nadal et. al. "Religious Microaggressions in the United States", 289.

[26] Kevin L. Nadal et. al. "Subtle and Overt Forms of Islamophobia: Microaggressions toward Muslim Americans", *Journal of Muslim Mental Health* VI/2 (2012), 15-37.

[27] Daniel Kaplin, "Microaggressions and Macroaggressions in Religiously Diverse Communities", *The Official Journal of the New York State Psychological Association* XXIX/3 (2012), 16.

[28] Scott O. Lilienfeld, "Microaggressions: Strong Claims, Inadequate Evidence", *Perspectives on Psychological Science* 12/1 (2017), 138-169.

[29] Jonathan Haidt, "The Unwisest Idea on Campus: Commentary on Lilienfeld (2017)", *Perspectives on Psychological Science* 12/1 (2017), 176-177.

[30] Kenneth R. Thomas, "Macrononsense in Multiculturalism", *American Psychologist* 63/4 (2007), 274-275.

[31] Sue et. al. "Racial Microaggressions in Everyday Life", 274.

[32] Lilienfeld, "Microaggressions: Strong Claims, Inadequate Evidence", 138-169.

[33] Haidt, "The Unwisest Idea on Campus", 176.

[34] Thomas, "Macrononsense in Multiculturalism", 274-275.

Lilienfeld's article refuting all his objections. She starts with sharing the clear definition of migroagression and reminds that for an experience and a feeling to be taken seriously it is not necessary for everyone who fits the category to feel the same. She argues that microagressive acts and attitudes clearly stem from discriminative motives towards minorities, whether they are performed consciously of unconsciously, that referring on self-reports is a reliable method to assess the experiential reality of people, and reminds the studies on the effects of microaggressions on mental health.[35]

Microaggression is still a controversial concept. Its existence and effects are discussed among scholars. It is thought of "political correctedness run amok", it is argued that "even if the microaggression causes harm, it is everyone's right under free speech to say it anyway", it is criticised as feeding of the victim culture, and it is not given enough importance due to scarcity of scientific research.[36] However, as it as explained in the paragraph above, it is a valid concern for those who experience them, affecting their well-being seriously, thus it should be researched further.

Also called as automatic and unconscious subtle insults[37] or subtle discriminations these type of interactions may not always have an ill intention behind them and can seem harmless from outside.[38] However, encountering with seemingly innocuous or ambiguous microaggressions can be very tiresome, stressful and even harmful for those who experience them frequently.[39] Considering racial microaggressions, being considered as an outsider/foreigner in one's own country[40] can result in "feeling invalidated, belittled and frustrated."[41] Microaggressions can cause sadness, anger, frustration or anxiety, as well as some physical symptoms such as headaches and sleeping difficulties. Having to deal with microaggressions on a daily basis can also impair the academic or work performances of individuals.[42] Rather than dealing with microaggressive remarks, individuals can withdraw from society and prefer a social isolation or fall into loneliness. Individuals who experience microaggressions frequently can internalise the derogatory remarks they receive and can start to feel self-doubt or a sense of inferiority.[43]

The prolonged stress caused by persisted continuous migroagressions are found to be linked to hypertension and heart diseases,[44] as well as increasing anger and depression and decreasing self-esteem.[45] Even in cases that individuals self-report their nonchalance and indifference towards discriminatory encounters, studies have found these encounters have an impact on their blood pressure, without them noticing any momentarily physical changes.[46] Scheitle and Ecklund also discovers that ambiguous discrimination causes more stress to ones who experience it than the clear and organisational discrimination. This is because people deploy

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[35] Williams, "Microaggressions: Clarification, Evidence, and Impact", 3-26.

[36] Tiffany Jana - Michael Baran, *Subtle Acts of Exclusion: How to Understand, Identify, and Stop Microaggressions*. Kindle Edition. (Broadway: Berrett-Koehler Publishers, 2020), 256.

[37] Solorzano et. al. "Critical Race Theory, Racial Microaggressions, and Campus Racial Climate", 60-73.

[38] Solorzano et. al. "Critical Race Theory, Racial Microaggressions, and Campus Racial Climate", 61.

[39] Monnica T. Williams, "Microaggressions: Clarification, Evidence, and Impact", *Perspectives on Psychological Science* 15/1 (2020), 3.

[40] Sue, *Overcoming Our Racism*, 124-127.

[41] Sue, *Overcoming Our Racism,* 139.

[42] Kevin L. Nadal et.al. "The Adverse Impact of Racial Microaggressions on College Students' Self-Esteem", *Journal of College Student Development* 55/5 (2014), 468.

[43] Solorzano et. al. "Critical Race Theory, Racial Microaggressions, and Campus Racial Climate", 60-73; Chester Pierce, "Stress Analogs of Racism and Sexism: Terrorism, Torture, and Disaster", *Mental Health, Racism, and Sexism*, eds. Charles V. Willie et. al. (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1995).

[44] Kaskan et. al. "Microaggression and Female Athletes", 280.

[45] Swim et. al. "Everyday Sexism", 31.

[46] Harrel et. al. "Physiological Responses to Racism and Discrimination", 244-245.

coping mechanisms when they expect discrimination, however, they get caught off guard when it happens unexpected.[47] Gee and others analyse 62 empirical articles on health and discrimination relation among Asian Americans, and they conclude according to all these studies discriminative behaviours are linked with stress related illnesses such as depression, heart diseases and obesity, as well as lower life quality such as less educational achievement, not being able to accumulate wealth and having to live in less desirable environments.[48] Microaggressions can have a cumulative effect on individuals, contributing to feelings of invalidation, stress, and exclusion. They can also reinforce harmful stereotypes and perpetuate systemic inequalities. They may not be seen or experienced as traumatic life events due to their subtle occurrences, however because of their cumulative continuance, they end up having a significant impact on those who experience them daily.[49] Denial or underestimation of microaggressions causes lack of response from outsiders, thus leaving those who experience it left alone.[50]

1. Purpose

The concept of microaggression not being taken seriously due to the lack of evidence on its harms is an indication of how crucial it is to work on this issue. With the determination of its seriousness, an awareness can be created and those who exhibit microaggressive behaviors without even being aware of them can be informed. Thus, microaggressive behaviours against minorities, and those who are different, vulnerable or seemingly marginal can be prevented. It is important to recognise and address microaggressions in order to create a more inclusive and equitable society. This can involve calling out the negative behaviour, educating others on the impact of microaggressions, and actively working to promote diversity, equity, and inclusion in all aspects of life.

As a social scientist, I personally have witnessed how my Japanese Muslim friends experienced microaggression, and how it influenced their daily lives and identities. Therefore, I found it necessary to focus on the issue further. Microaggression is first noticed as racial aggressions, and in time the research extended to other areas.[51] Microaggression types includes but not limited to racial, gender, age, and religious ones. This study focuses on religious microaggressions Japanese Muslims women encounter in Japan. The main problem of the study is the determination of the microaggression types that Japanese Muslim women encounter in their daily lives, their responses, and what kind of an impact that microaggressions have on them.

2. Participants and Methodology

This is an ethnographic field study on the microagression experiences of Japanese Muslim women. In between 2016-2017 and 2019-2020 I met and interviewed Japanese Muslim converts to hear their conversion stories, and to discover their conversion patterns and how they manage to combine two identities as a native Japanese and a Muslim. In Japanese society, Muslim identity is mostly accepted a cultural identity belonging foreigner living faraway lands. Obuse

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[47] Christopher Scheitle et. al. "The Association between Religious Discrimination and Health: Disaggregating by Types of Discrimination Experiences, Religious Tradition, and Forms of Health", *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion* 0 (2023), 21.
[48] Gilbert C. Gee et. al. "Racial Discrimination and Health Among Asian Americans: Evidence, Assessment, and Directions for Future Research", *Epidemiologic Reviews* 31 (2009), 144.
[49] Pierce, "Stress Analogs of Racism and Sexism"; Jules P. Harrel et. al. "Physiological Responses to Racism and Discrimination: An Assesment of the Evidence", *American Journal of Public Health* 93/2 (2003), 247; Swim et. al. "Everyday Sexism", 31; Kristen P. Jones et. al. "Not So Subtle: A Meta-Analytic Investigation of the Correlates of Subtle and Overt Discrimination", *Journal of Management* XX/X (2013), 1-26.
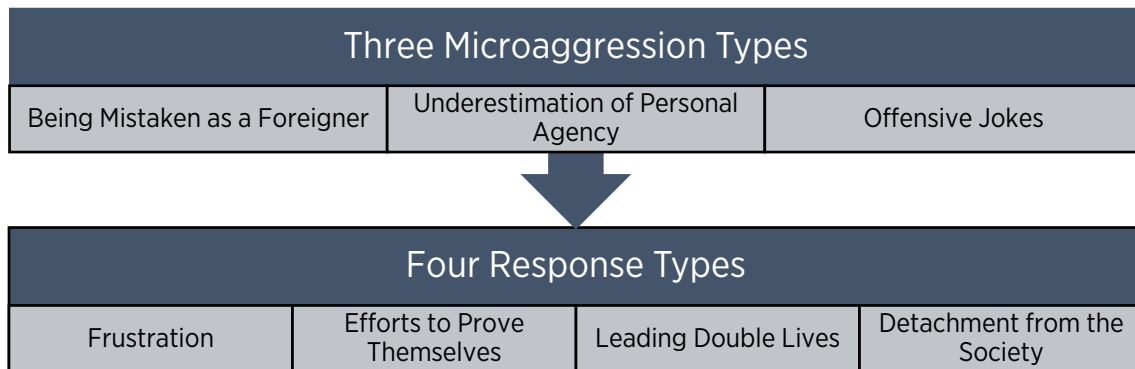[50] Basford, "Do You See What I See?", 341.
[51] Williams, "Microaggressions: Clarification, Evidence, and Impact", 5.

defines Muslims as "cultural others".[52] Therefore, when a Japanese becomes a Muslim, they chose a strange religious identity, unknown in their society, perhaps sometimes disconcerting. The Muslim population in Japan is already very low, they are a minority group. According to recent research Muslims in Japan is approximately 150.000,[53] and only 10 percent of this number is guessed to be native Japanese, the rest are immigrant Muslims.[54] Consequently, when a Japanese converts to Islam, they become minority among minority. How they manage to construct and maintain Japanese Muslim identity is a curious case to delve into.

During the conversion study for approximately two and half years, I conducted semi-structured interviews with thirty two Japanese Muslim women. The communication with Japanese Muslims were not confined to the interview process, it continued during our daily lives. Friendships were formed, we frequently met in our leisure times, visited cafes, museums and temples, took hiking and cultural trips. In this way, I could also carry out a throughout participant observation and witness/see the ways they carry Muslim identity in their daily lives and their interactions with the rest of the society. Although they do not experience blatant discrimination and mostly feel contended with their lives among Japanese society,[55] during this period, I witnessed some microaggressions towards my companions and observed their reactions. Microaggressions were mostly unintentional, and not ill-minded perhaps, however having to deal with them time after time can have an impact on people.

This research is based on participant observations, semi-structured interviews and field notes. The study examines how Japanese Muslim women experience and respond to microaggressions. The study also focuses on the extent of influence of migroagressions Japanese Muslim women encounter casually on their identities and belonging to Japanese society. The observation and semi-structured interview data is thematically analysed.

Table 1: Microagressions and Japanese Muslim Women's Responses

Three Microaggression Types		
Being Mistaken as a Foreigner	Underestimation of Personal Agency	Offensive Jokes

Four Response Types			
Frustration	Efforts to Prove Themselves	Leading Double Lives	Detachment from the Society

As a result, Japanese Muslim women have found to deal with three types of microaggressions and have four types of responses towards them. Three types migroagressions are being mistaken as a foreigner, underestimation of personal agency and offensive jokes. Four types of responses are frustration, errots to prove themselves, leading double lives and detachment from the society. I will discuss these themes in the following sections.

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[52] Kieko Obuse, "Living Compound Marginality: Experiences of a Japanese Muslim Woman", *Religions* 10 (2019), 434.
[53] See Hirofumi Tanada "世界と日本のムスリム人口-2018 年" (World and Japan Muslim Population-2018), 早稲田大学人間科学研究 (Waseda University Faculty of Human Sciences Research) 32/2 (2019), 253-262
[54] Elif Büşra Kocalan, "Four Motivations of Conversion to Islam: Japanese Muslims", *Bilimname* 47 (2022), 713-754.
[55] Elif Büşra Kocalan, *Müslümanlaşma Sürecine Sosyolojik Bir Yaklaşım: Japon Müslümanlar* (Çorum: Hitit Üniversitesi, Lisansüstü Eğitim Enstitüsü, Doktora Tezi, 2021), 151-161.

3. Three Microaggression Types

Japanese Muslim women experience marginality in three ways: "marginality deriving from being a Muslim, from being a Japanese Muslim and from being a woman."[56] They are marginal because they converted to Islam, a minor and a foreign religion in Japan. They are marginal because they are not immigrant born-Muslims, they are native Japanese who chose Islam. This is important due to Japanese society's acceptance and tolerance of immigrant Muslims living among them, but having difficulty to accept Japanese Muslim converts.[57] And lastly, they are marginal because they chose a religion that has a fame for its oppression of women.

Of the 32 Japanese Muslim women I interviewed, 14 of them talked about the difficulties, misunderstandings and subtle discriminations they had as a Muslim woman living among Japanese society.[58] Living though this compound marginality, Japanese Muslim women encounter three types of microaggressions in their daily lives: being mistaken as a foreigner, underestimation of personal agency and offensive jokes.

3.1. Being Mistaken as a Foreigner

One of the most frequently occurring theme in the microaggression studies is the assumption of being a foreigner. Belonging to a minority group and not conforming the expected and normal accepted appearance of the majority brings this assumption.

As I relayed in the beginning of this article, Japanese women who converted to Islam and chose to wear a hijab frequently get mistaken as a foreigner. Japanese society is used to seeing immigrant hijabi Muslim women, but not native Japanese hijabis. Therefore, when they encounter one, they assume she is a foreigner and approach speaking English. Most of the time this approach does not have any ill intentions behind it, however, for a Japanese woman it may appear that their Japaneseness is being questioned. For a society that gives importance to unity in their culture,[59] being assumed as a foreigner due to differences can be a big deal.

39 years old 36K became a Muslim 5 years ago. She says that when she started to wear a hijab, her friends and family got surprised, and she got questioned why she was wearing a hijab while she was a Japanese. "Islam was a foreigner culture once" she says "When I wear an abaya, people definitely wonder where I am from. Probably assuming I alienate from my own culture." She did not face any blatant discrimination but she recalls a moment on the train when an old man talking bitterly behind her.

56K is Muslim for more than 30 years. She explains Japanese society accepts an immigrant Muslim women wearing a hijab quite easily, considering it is their culture, thus donning one for an immigrant Muslim woman is an acceptable behaviour. However, when it comes to Japanese women, the society do not comprehend their reasons easily.

> The workplaces who insist us taking off our hijab do not think it is a discriminative action. They think "You are a Japanese. You were born and raised as a Japanese. Why acting like a foreigner now?"" […] For them a Japanese and a foreigner are different. For a foreigner it is acceptable, but you are Japanese, being different is unacceptable.
>
> — 56K

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[56] Obuse, "Living Compound Marginality", 1.
[57] See Kocalan, *Müslümanlaşma Sürecine Sosyolojik Bir Yaklaşım: Japon Müslümanlar*, 157-158.
[58] See Appendix I.
[59] Kocalan, *Müslümanlaşma Sürecine Sosyolojik Bir Yaklaşım: Japon Müslümanlar*, 140-141.

For 56K, Japanese society expects a Japanese woman behave like one, and when they encounter a marginal sight – a hijabi Japanese woman-, they get confused.

43K is Muslim for 16 years, and she occasionally wears hijab. She tells whenever she wears one, she gets treated as a foreigner, and people get surprised when they notice she is a Japanese. "It is not such a big deal, but it made me feel different. I felt like I could not be a part of Japanese society %100 anymore" she says. 34K lives in a small town, and she says in her hometown there is not a Muslim community and the only hijabi is her. Whenever she is outside she feels the eyes staring at her and when she gets approached it is in English. "I feel like a foreigner who tries to adapt to the society." Even though she is Muslim for several years she still feels adaptation problems. 27K has an immigrant Muslim husband, lives close to the community and wears a hijab. She frequently gets assumed as a foreigner. 26K says on the streets people frequently assume that she is Indonesian. "I used to be very uncomfortable. Because I feel like a Japanese, I am a Japanese." Nowadays she feels indifferent towards these remarks. 18K says "When I wear a hijab people do not think I am a Japanese. Just because of my appearance they assume I am foreigner and talk to me in English." When people talk to her in English, rather than having to explain it every time, she just goes along with it. "Because I get so many questions. I have to explain everything." Constantly having to prove that she is a Japanese gets tiresome for her. 6K tells she is asked of her passport when she is in the city hall and they get surprised to find out she is a Japanese woman.

This theme can be seen in many racial microaggression studies of Sue. He calls it alien in one's own land.[60] Sue himself is an American born social scientist. His own experience of getting complimented of his fluent English or being repeatedly asked of his 'country of birth' reminds him that he is seen as an alien and not a legitimate citizen in his own hometown because of his race.[61] Nadal and others observe this theme in the case of American Muslims as well.[62]

> For example, one participant shared: "I walked up and he goes, 'What are you, Indonesian?' You know he made it seem like I must be from another country or something." Individuals, such as this participant, may experience situations in which others make them feel as if they do not belong in the US even though they were born in the US or consider the US to be their home. Such experiences communicate that these individuals do not belong in the US, subtly communicating that there is a certain way of being or looking American.[63]

While these experiences are not ill intended and perhaps small encounters, when they get accumulated, for Japanese Muslim women, they can have consequences, which we will be discussing the next section.

3.2. Underestimation of Personal Agency
Sometimes Japanese Muslim women encounter the inquiries if their husband or in-laws asked or forced them to wear hijab. Still, these inquiries may not be ill intended, however they imply lack of personal agency for Japanese women.

18K says she gets asked "Why? How? Did your husband asked you to wear it?" even when she was a single woman. Moreover, even her mother told her she can accept her hijab if she gets

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[60] Sue et. al. "Racial Microaggressions in Everyday Life: Implications for Clinical Practice", 275; Sue et al. "Racial Microaggressions and the Asian American Experience", 75-76;
[61] Sue, *Overcoming Our Racism*, 125.
[62] Nadal et. al. "Subtle and Overt Forms of Islamophobia", 15-37.
[63] Nadal et. al. "Subtle and Overt Forms of Islamophobia", 28.

married and it is her husband's request. 8K is not married as well, however she says people assume she is married to a Muslim man because of her hijab. 6K also says she become Muslim and don hijab at her own will while she was single, but she gets asked if she wears it for her husband. 13K's friends know she had an immigrant Muslim boyfriend, and assume she dons a hijab at his request. In the beginning, 28K's parents were afraid of their daughter was being deceived by a man. They are still not comfortable of her decision and ask her not to wear a hijab around home, not to be seen with one. When 4K converted and don a hijab, her parents assumed she is applying her husband's requests and explained to their neighbours thusly. "As if I did not chose convert to Islam, but I am just adopting to my husband's culture." These type of remarks have negative effects on Japanese Muslim women because they ignore their personal choice on their decisions and imply lack of personal agency.

3.3. Offensive Jokes

Offensive joke is the type of microaggressions when Japanese Muslim women are called in offensive terminology in a non-confrontational and a very teasing way. It can occur as using religious stereotypes or prejudices nonchalantly during innocent daily conversations.

38K was Muslim for three years when we met and she had left her work. When we were talking about the reasons of her leaving, she relayed her boss joked around her saying "Now you become a Muslim, you can act like a terrorist too." She could not wear hijab at work due to these remarks, she could not pray openly, eventually it was too difficult for her to continue and she left. Once 8K heard a random man on a train told her "Did you marry a terrorist?" Getting terrorist jokes frustrates them. 8K calls him as "heartless". Terrorist jokes are one of the most frequent offensive jokes that Japanese Muslim women experience.

Nadal and others' microaggression study has two frequently occurring themes, one is endorsing religious stereotypes, such as assuming that every Muslim is affiliated with terrorism. In their study this theme occurs in a quite hostile way, implying Muslims are non-trustable and evil. The other theme in their study is related with the first one, it is Islamophobic and mocking language. This one occurs when Muslims are made fun of or get teased with Islamphobic nuances: getting called as Taliban or Osama bin Laden is some of them. This type of microaggression still implies that all Muslims are terrorist and dangerous by associating them with negative examples, but in a lighter tone than the first theme.[64] Offensive jokes can be seen in racial microaggression studies as well; this time they occur as racial ones. In Yosso and other's study, Mexican students complain that they get exposed to Mexican stereotype jokes often, and they feel frustrated. [65]

Another theme of Nadal and other is the pathologisation of the Islam, behaviourally or verbally implying that something is wrong or abnormal. Staring at the hijabi women and implying their actions or appearances as weird and unusual are some examples of this theme.[66] Japanese Muslim women receive these remarks, again, disguised in a joke form. 18K says her friends laughed at her when she shared her decision to convert to Islam with them. Another Japanese woman, 20K recalls a memory of her best friend teasing her decision of becoming Muslim: "Your head is weird, your heart is weak, that is why you think such things." She says "It was a joke but it broke my heart." From her narration it is obvious this conversation occurred in a joke form, but still, she was called as weak and weird due to her decision, and it broke her heart.

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64 Nadal et. al. "Subtle and Overt Forms of Islamophobia", 26.
65 Yosso et. al. "Critical Race Theory", 667.
66 Nadal et. al. "Subtle and Overt Forms of Islamophobia", 24.

4. Four Response Types

Research shows continuous microaggressions result in a range of negative emotions; anger, frustration, contempt, sadness, shame, confusion, anxiety and disappointment, and it can be related to mental illnesses.[67] When students receive discriminatory remarks, it is found that their exam results get lower than their usual scores. [68] The literature also discuss on physical responses to microagressions such as hypertension and heart diseases due to continuous stress.[69] Microagressions may seem small and innocuous but they have impacts on those who experience them.

For the case of Japanese Muslim Women, four type of responses to microagressive experiences are observed: frustration, efforts to prove themselves, leading double lives and detachment from the society.

4.1. Frustration

Frustration is one of the most common responses to the daily microagressions.[70] 8K who gets terrorist husband remarks and get approached in English frequently is very frustrated of this situation. She says "narrow minded people" with a tired voice "just because I wear different clothes stranger people thinks it is ok to talk to me like that..." 18K pretends to be a foreigner and responds in English because of this frustration. Again, 18K, as well as 4K, find people's ignorance of their personal agency as frustrating. During the interview they repeatedly emphasised that they neither converted to Islam nor don hijab for a man.

Having to experience offensive jokes and remarks, being alienated in one's own land or getting assumed as less intelligent or more dangerous due to your race, gender or religion daily and continuously tire people. Moreover, experiencing all these and not being able to oppose or response openly due to ambiguous nature of these remarks cause more anxiety. For example, the narration below belongs to a Latino student:

> What makes it even worse is along with the joking . . . they might not be totally aware of what they're saying. It's kind of hard to stop them with everything that they say, and explain to them that that this is offensive to me. It's not right . . . you don't want to come at them hostile because of course they'll come back at you and say 'wait a minute.'[71]

Having to deal with microagressions daily and not even being able to deal with them without getting the accusations of "'whiners,' 'too sensitive' and not being able to 'take a joke'"[72] or "'oversensitive' or 'paranoid'"[73] causes extra frustration.

4.2. Efforts to Prove Themselves

Hijabi Japanese Muslim women often find themselves as representatives of Islam in Japan. Even in cases of negative experiences, they make an effort to respond and act in a positive manner hoping to represent Muslims in a good way and to eliminate possible stereotypes or negative

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[67] Jennifer Wang et al. "When the Seemingly Innocuous "Stings": Racial Microaggressions and Their Emotional Consequences", *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin* 37(12), 1673; Solorzano et. al. "Critical Race Theory, Racial Microaggressions, and Campus Racial Climate", 69.

[68] Claude M. Steele – Joshua M. Aronson, "Stereotype Threat and the Intellectual Test Performance of African Americans", *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology* 69/5 (1995), 797-811.

[69] Kaskan et. al. "Microaggression and Female Athletes", 280.

[70] Yosso et. al. "Critical Race Theory, Racial Microaggressions, and Campus Racial Climate", 670; Sue, *Overcoming Our Racism,* 139.

[71] Yosso et. al. "Critical Race Theory, Racial Microaggressions, and Campus Racial Climate", 670.

[72] Yosso et. al. "Critical Race Theory, Racial Microaggressions, and Campus Racial Climate", 671.

[73] Sue, *Overcoming our Racism*, 126.

ideas that Japanese society might have about them. Some Japanese women respond to microaggressions as in this manner.

Even though she gets frustrated by the microaggressions she experiences, 8K says she responds the questions that she receives patiently hoping that "Maybe the image of Islam can change in this way, and it gets better. If the negative image can change a little bit, I can respond every question", and makes a conscious effort to improve the image of Islam. 27K tries to act as a positive role model: "Because I still feel as a Japanese, not to give any wrong idea to the society, you know there are many bad news on the TV, my husband and I always communicate smiling with our neighbours." 26K says, due to her hijab, she feels like she is representing Islam in Japanese society and is careful of how she publicly behaves. "I explain as much as I can. I try to be moral and a good example. I am trying to do good deeds. I want them to say how good Islam is. I can create a good image like this." 6K complains about the misinformation on Islam, she feels it is her duty to explain the beauty of Islam to everyone, but she adds "I always have to make explanations. It tires me a lot."

Members of minorities or marginal communities get frequently chosen as a spokesperson, and sometime they turn into the role models, actively trying to represent their society better and to eliminate stereotypes against them, which is a tiring role due to its continuous nature.[74] Hijabi Japanese Muslim women experience this situation as well.

4.3. Leading Double Lives: Hiding the Religious Identity
Many new Muslims prefer to hide their religious identity rather than experiencing microaggressions. For Japanese women, it means wearing hijab only in mosques and around Islamic communities, and taking it of whenever they are with non-Muslim Japanese.

13K who gets remarks that underestimate her personal agency on wearing a hijab due to her having an immigrant Muslim boyfriend says she does not wear scarf daily. "I do not wear it at school or at work. Sometimes I get scared. If I wear it at work my boss could question it." 28K also hides her religious identity at work by not wearing a hijab or not praying. 43K also only wears it among Muslims. 20K, who got teased as being weak by her close friend, expresses she is afraid to tell the others. "My relationships can worsen, that's why I don't plan to share with others. […] I don't know what will happen when I tell people, it troubles me. My life can be difficult."

Hiding their religious identity and leading double lives is a very common attitude among Japanese Muslims, men as well as women. Although its commonality decreases over time. It is seen that the more Japanese Muslims get familiar to their new identity and the more they feel comfortable of it, the more they express and live it openly in the public. The rate of avoidance conflicts and misunderstandings decreases over time.[75] In Nadal and others' study, American Muslims are also seen to be in an effort to disguise their Muslim identities, such as changing their names to not to be recognised as Muslim in order to prevent daily subtle microaggressions.[76]

4.4. Detachment from Society
Some Japanese Muslims women distance themselves from the society due to the microaggressions they experience. Rather than having to constantly deal with microaggressive

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[74] Yosso et. al. "Critical Race Theory, Racial Microaggressions, and Campus Racial Climate", 677.
[75] Elif Büşra Kocalan, "Yeni Dini Kimlik Oluşum, Şekillenme ve İfade Etme Aşamalarında Sosyal Medyanın Rolü: Japon Müslümanlar Örneği", *Bülent Ecevit Üniversitesi İlahiyat Fakültesi Dergisi* 9/2 (2022), 245-248.
[76] Nadal et. al. "Subtle and Overt Forms of Islamophobia", 24.

behaviours or comments, they prefer to cut the ties out or to not have any communication with non-Muslim Japanese at all.

38K, who received terrorist joke from her boss left her work eventually, feeling that she was not regarded as a normal member of Japanese society anymore: "I guess I am not a normal Japanese anymore. [...] I feel like less Japanese, maybe even a little bit." She is not the only one who left her job, 8K also changed her job for similar reasons.

Apart from leaving their job, an identity crisis is also observed among Japanese Muslim women. 43K expresses her concern of not being able to fit to Japanese society %100 anymore. 34K, who receives English comments says that she feels like a foreigner who tries to adapt to the Japanese society. 18K too, tells she has difficulties on belonging to Japanese society. 36K says that her social environment has changed. She has been meeting with Muslims more and more in her daily life and her friends are mostly Muslims now.

In their research, Sue et al. found that getting assumed as a foreigner results in doubts of being accused of not being a real American or of not belonging to America. Therefore feeling alienated in one's own land and distancing oneself from the society.[77] Students found to drop class, changing their major or even universities to distance themselves. [78] This situation is found to apply for Japanese Muslim women as well.

Conclusion

Microaggressions are the innocuous and subtle verbal or behavioural discriminations that vulnerable, different, marginal and minority communities experience in their daily lives. They are difficult to detect and name due to their ambiguity. However, their cumulative impact on individuals is quite significant. This research aimed to determine and categorise the possible microaggressions that Japanese Muslim women experience, and their response to them.

It is found that Japanese Muslim women experience three types of microaggressions. They are being mistaken as a foreigner and get approached in English when they wear a hijab. Their decision to convert to Islam or follow the rules of the religion is assumed to be their husbands' or boyfriends' requests -even if they are single- thus their personal agency is underestimated. They also receive offensive remarks in the form of joke; being associated to terrorism and getting called as weird or weak due to their decision.

These microaggressions have a number of effect on them, starting from the most basic reaction, frustration. When the microaggressions continue, their responses change as well. Some try to prove themselves: their personal agency, the correctness of their decision and the beauty of Islam etc. Some prefer not to deal with or cannot deal with microaggressions and hide their religious identity. They do not wear a scarf in front of their non-Muslim family, friend and acquaintances. They do not pray openly in front of them. They prefer to live Islam silently. And lastly, some of the Japanese Muslim women detach from the Japanese society. They have identity issues, feel as if they cannot be a part of Japanese society anymore, leave their jobs and distance themselves from their friends. This is the perhaps most serious outcome of their experiences. The fact that almost half of the Japanese Muslim women in the research experience,

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[77] Sue et al. "Racial Microaggressions and the Asian American Experience", 75-76.
[78] Solorzano et. al. "Critical Race Theory, Racial Microaggressions, and Campus Racial Climate", 69; Yosso et. al. "Critical Race Theory, Racial Microaggressions, and Campus Racial Climate for Latina/o Undergraduates", 670.

notice and express their feelings on the issue show the frequency of its happening among Japanese society.

It is important to notice and to name microaggressions and to raise awareness and to educate the masses in order to prevent their occurrences and to create more equal and inclusive societies.

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Appendix I

Code	Age	... Years Muslim	Microagression	Response
4K	50	16 Years	Underestimation of Personal Agency	Frustration
6K	31	8 Years	Being Mistaken as a Foreigner Underestimation of Personal Agency	Efforts to Prove Themselves
8K	26	<1 Year	Being Mistaken as a Foreigner Underestimation of Personal Agency Offensive Jokes	Frustration Efforts to Prove Themselves Detachment from the Society
13K	21	<1 Year	Underestimation of Personal Agency	Leading Double Lives
18K	33	6 Years	Being Mistaken as a Foreigner Underestimation of Personal Agency Offensive Jokes	Frustration Detachment from the Society
20K	33	<1 Year	Offensive Jokes	Leading Double Lives
26K	44	11 Years	Being Mistaken as a Foreigner	Efforts to Prove Themselves
27K	37	12 Years	Being Mistaken as a Foreigner	Efforts to Prove Themselves
28K	24	<1 Year	Underestimation of Personal Agency	Leading Double Lives
34K	48	13 Years	Being Mistaken as a Foreigner	Detachment from the Society
36K	39	5 Years	Being Mistaken as a Foreigner	Detachment from the Society
38K	24	3 Years	Offensive Jokes	Detachment from the Society
43K	41	16 Years	Being Mistaken as a Foreigner	Leading Double Lives
56K	~60	~30 Years	Being Mistaken as a Foreigner	-