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Racism and Social Capital: The Implications for Social and Physical Well-Being

Elizabeth Brondolo[*] **and Madeline Libretti**

St. John's University

Luis Rivera

Rutgers University

Katrina M. Walsemann

University of South Carolina

Racism can be manifest at the cultural, institutional and individual levels, and can exert effects at the intrapersonal level if targeted individuals internalize attitudes toward their own racial/ethnic groups. The general aim of this article is to examine the ways in which all levels of racism undermine the development of peer relations, one component of social capital; and consequently affect the health and well-being of targeted individuals. The evidence suggests that cultural racism inculcates attitudes that may foster race-related social distancing; institutional racism isolates individuals from the opportunities to develop the skills needed to develop cross race-relations and promotes engagement with peers who exhibit antisocial behavior; interpersonal racism may erode the quality of routine interpersonal exchanges and engender anxiety about interacting with cross-race peers; and internalized racism may undermine the benefits of cross-race peer interactions. To the degree that racism affects the ability to form, maintain and benefit from peer relationships, it can contribute to racial disparities in economic, social and health-related outcomes and undermine the types of social cohesion that promote national unity.

Racism has been defined broadly as "the processes, norms, ideologies, and behaviors that perpetuate racial inequality" (Gee, Ro, Shariff-Marco, & Chae, 2009, p. 130). The systems that perpetuate racial inequality can be viewed as

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[*]Correspondence concerning this article should be addressed to Elizabeth Brondolo, St. John's University, 8000 Utopia Parkway, Queens, NY 11439 [e-mail: brondole@stjohns.edu]

reinforcing race-based social ostracism, in which phenotypic or cultural characteristics are used to target individuals for social exclusion, unfair treatment, and harassment (Brondolo, Brady, Libby, & Pencille, 2011a). Racism can be manifest at the cultural, institutional and interpersonal levels, and can exert effects at the intrapersonal level as well, if targeted individuals internalize attitudes toward their own racial/ethnic group (Harrell, 2000; Krieger, 1999; Zárate, 2009). The aim of this article is to examine the ways in which all levels of racism affect access to economic opportunities, health and well-being by undermining the development of social capital.

Social capital is a broad construct. Definitions have encompassed both the skills and supports emerging from direct personal relations as well as the consequences of those relationships for access to economic, political and personal resources (Coleman, 1988; Moore, Shiell, Hawe, & Haines, 2005; Portes, 1998; Putnam, 1995). To provide a specific focus for this review, we examine one component of social capital—peer relationships; and identify the ways in which different levels of racism affect the development of both same-race and cross-race peer relationships.

We focus on peer relationships because they provide the context in which individuals develop the abilities and the motivation needed to function in a wide variety of personal and professional domains. Peers who are classmates or coworkers can support intellectual engagement, share knowledge and skills, and provide the social connections that create economic opportunity. Peers who are romantic partners, friends, and neighbors satisfy fundamental needs for belonging and can support the development of social norms and habits, including those necessary for physical and psychological health (Saegert, Warren, & Thompson, 2001; Smith & Christakis, 2008; Umberson, Crosnoe, & Reczek, 2010). Strong cross-race peer relationships create the type of social cohesion that promotes national unity (Braddock & Gonzalez, 2010).

We propose that peer relationships can be considered a potential mediator of the effects of racism on economic opportunity, health, and well-being. As we will review, the literature suggests that cultural, institutional, interpersonal and internalized racism affect peer relationships through a variety of pathways. In turn, racism-related effects on the development of peer relationships contribute to racial disparities in economic outcomes and health status.

Examining the effects of racism on peer relationships is consistent with the theme of this volume which focuses on the role of subtle racism in shaping racial disparities in key domains, including health care, employment, and criminal justice (Bendick & Nunes, 2012; Kang, 2012; Pager & Western, 2012; Penner et al., 2012). As Kang (2012) points out, we are more likely to take action in cases in which the perpetrators' expression of racial bias is explicit and intentional or when the consequences of prejudicial attitudes or discriminatory

behavior are direct, proximal and largely attributable to racial bias. But as the articles in this volume will demonstrate, racial bias can also exert harmful effects when it is subtle. Here we are defining subtle to include episodes in which the race-based maltreatment is not conscious or intentional or when the consequences occur at points much later in time than the initial episode of race-based maltreatment.

For this review, we include literature across the disciplines of sociology and psychology, investigating the effects of cultural, institutional, interpersonal, and internalized racism on peer relationships. Although the bulk of the published literature on the effects of racism has focused on the experiences of African Americans and on interactions between Black and White individuals, we include studies of other groups where possible. Also, we note there is little consensus on the best terms to use to distinguish among these groups based on phenotypic characteristics, since both both scientific and political factors influence the use of these labels. In this article, we use the term Black to refer to individuals of African descent. We also use race and ethnicity interchangeably.

Most, but not all of the research we examine addresses the effects of racism on peer relations within the United States. Because this is a relatively new area of research, this article presents a selective rather than a comprehensive review of the literature in any one area. In each section, we examine subtle manifestations of each level of racism, and examine the consequences of exposure for the development of same-race and cross-race peer relationships. In doing so, we include cases in which the effects are temporally far removed from the original acts of race-based maltreatment or operating through other variables and mechanisms (Gee, Walsemann, & Brondolo, 2012; Myers, 2009). Identifying and articulating the different pathways through which racism can influence fundamental peer relationships is valuable for the development of more comprehensive models of the determinants of racial disparities in health and economic outcomes.

Cultural Racism

Helms has defined cultural racism as "societal beliefs and customs that promote the assumption that the products of White culture (e.g., language, traditions, appearance) are superior to those of non-White cultures" (Helms, 1990, p. 49, Powell, 2000). More generally, cultural racism reflects the dissemination of attitudes about the relative rights, privileges, and status that should be afforded to different racial/ethnic groups. These attitudes are communicated in a variety of forums.

The status of or respect for members of a particular culture can be communicated through public recognition of highly valued representatives of the group (e.g., the official celebration of Martin Luther King Day) or when there is a formal acknowledgement of the traditions, icons, and holidays associated with the group.

The failure to publicly acknowledge or recognize the valued representatives, icons, or traditions of a particular cultural group can be considered a form of cultural discrimination or racism (Sue et al., 2007).

Cultural racism can also be expressed in the ways in which members of different race or ethnic groups are depicted in mass media formats, (i.e., widely used forms of communication, including film, television, advertisements, newspapers and magazines, and the internet). Mass media presentations serve as a primary method for communicating stereotypes about race/ethnic group members. These presentations establish norms about the behaviors associated with group membership, and strengthen existing attitudes toward race/ethnic group members (Dalisay & Tan, 2009; Gilens, 1996; Mastro & Kopacz, 2006). In turn, these presentations can influence viewers' beliefs about the degree to which group members merit full social inclusion (Dovidio, 2009).

Viewers tend to believe that movies and TV shows communicate a social reality (i.e., the emotional truths about human nature and social relationships), even when they recognize that the situational details are fictional. Therefore, individuals presented in the media are often regarded as social role models, illustrating the types of values and behaviors that are believed to be normative or acceptable for that group (Tan, Fujioka, & Tan, 2000). When members of a particular racial or ethnic group are portrayed as displaying values that are unfamiliar or perceived as deviating from the mainstream, viewers tend to develop negative attitudes toward group members (Mastro & Kopacz, 2006).

Investigators studying race and the media have examined the ways in which mainstream media constrains the roles to which members of different groups are assigned (Entman & Rojecki, 2001) or communicates conscious and nonconscious biases toward members of different groups. For example, a recent study reported that nonverbal expressions of positive regard (e.g., smiling, etc.) were made more often to White than Black individuals viewed on TV programs, even though overt verbal expressions of regard did not differ by race (Weisbuch, Pauker, & Ambady, 2009). The investigators demonstrated that these variations in nonverbal behavior affected attitudes toward Black and White individuals, even when the viewers were unaware of these influences.

There has been extensive research on racial bias in news reporting (Bjornstrom, Kaufman, Peterson, & Slater, 2010; Dixon, Azocar, & Casas, 2003; Maddox, 2004; Mastro, Lapinski, Kopacz, & Behm-Morawitz, 2009). Studies have indicated that in TV news, Blacks are less likely (and Whites are more likely) to be portrayed as victims of crimes in comparison to the actual rate at which they are victimized (Dixon et al., 2003). Some, although not all studies of TV coverage suggest that the proportion of news stories featuring Blacks (versus Whites or members of other races) as perpetrators is greater than the proportion of crimes committed by Black individuals (Bjornstrom et al., 2010; Dixon & Linz, 2000; Poindexter, Smith, & Heider, 2003).

There is growing evidence that media portrayals affect our beliefs and attitudes toward minority groups, potentially influencing the desire of Whites to increase social distance from Black individuals and members of other racial or ethnic groups (Clawson & Trice, 2000; Dixon et al., 2003; Gilens, 1996). For example, Dixon reports that the amount of time individuals spent watching network news was positively correlated with the endorsement of stereotypes about Black Americans, including beliefs that Blacks are intimidating, hostile, and violent or beliefs consistent with modern racism, such as the idea that "Blacks push themselves where they are not wanted" (Dixon, 2008, p. 328). However, experimental studies have not consistently found these effects (Dixon & Azocar, 2007). To our knowledge, there has been no research explicitly examining the effects of different types of media presentations on the formation of same-race and cross-race friendships.

Mechanisms

Recent research suggests that cultural racism, in particular biased media presentations, may affect attitudes toward different race/ethnic groups through social-cognitive processes, including priming, stereotype activation, and social tuning (Dixon & Maddox, 2005; Dixon & Azocar, 2007). Through priming, repeated exposure to TV may strengthen the link between phenotype and stereotype. When primes for race-related stereotypes are presented (and even simply seeing a person of that ethnic/racial group can serve as a prime), then the schema network linked to these stereotypes is activated (Dovidio, 2009) and can affect judgments about phenotypically similar individuals (Monahan, Shtrulis, & Givens, 2005). For example, Monahan et al. (2005) report that when brief film presentations activate stereotypes about different kinds of Black women (e.g., "mammies" or "welfare queens"), viewers are more likely to impose characteristics associated with that stereotype onto unrelated Black women. Specifically, when viewers observed a clip depicting a Black "welfare queen," they were more likely to view other unrelated Black women as lazy or complaining (Monahan et al., 2005).

The process of social tuning may lead viewers to modify their own attitudes to conform to those held by members of their race or ethnic group. For example, when White individuals display subtle signs of dislike for Blacks on TV, White viewers may either perceive an affirmation of their existing views or modify their views to match. Social contagion processes may further reinforce these stereotypes as attitudes are communicated to wide audiences (Dovidio, 2009).

In sum, there is evidence of race-related biases in the presentation of members of racial and ethnic groups on TV news and entertainment programs and in the communication of attitudes toward members of these groups. This form of cultural racism has the potential to reduce the social capital of the individuals belonging to race/ethnic groups whose members are routinely presented exhibiting negative

behavior consistent with stereotypes about the group (D. E. Mastro & Kopacz, 2006). For example, when minority group members are presented as violent, lazy or uneducated, majority group members may perceive all members of the group as potentially dangerous (Bonilla-Silva, 1997; Mastro & Kopacz, 2006). The failure to accurately depict Blacks as victims as well as perpetrators of crimes can create a subtle dehumanization of Black individuals, suggesting that they are capable of aggression, but do not feel the same type of pain as others (Dixon & Maddox, 2005; Mastro et al., 2009). Consequently, majority group viewers may perceive minority group members as fundamentally different or unfamiliar, increasing interracial anxiety and making contact more threatening, and ultimately strengthening the desire to increase social distance (Blascovich, Mendes, Hunter, Lickel, & Kowai-Bell, 2001; Pettigrew & Tropp, 2000). These episodes of bias have effects that are subtle as well, since some studies have suggested that viewers are unaware of the effects of watching these presentations on their attitudes toward members of different groups (Weisbuch et al., 2009).

In future research it will be important to more explicitly and thoroughly investigate the ways in which cultural racism drives the desire to achieve social distance from other race groups. To direct both policy and intervention efforts, it will be necessary to understand if and how cultural racism promotes race-based interpersonal maltreatment, residential segregation, and the internalization of negative stereotypes.

Institutional Racism

Institutional racism refers to the specific policies and/or procedures of institutions (i.e., government, business, schools, churches, etc.) which consistently result in unequal treatment for particular groups (Better, 2002; Gee et al., 2009; Griffith, Childs, Eng, & Jeffries, 2007; Lea, 2000). For the purposes of this article, we will focus on one highly salient example of institutional racism—residential racial segregation. Residential segregation refers to "the degree to which groups of people categorized on a variety of scales (race, ethnicity, income) occupy different space within urban areas" (Kramer & Hogue, 2009, p. 179). Across all income groups, Blacks tend to live in more racially segregated areas than do Whites. However, race-based residential segregation is most pronounced among individuals with low levels of income and education (LaVeist, 2003; Williams & Mohammed, 2009).

Residential segregation reflects both the extent to which Black individuals were and are ostracized by other groups on an individual level, as well as housing and land use policies that institutionalized these prejudicial attitudes and discriminatory behavior (Emerson, Yancey, & Chai, 2001; Fossett, 2006; Kramer & Hogue, 2009). In a population-based study assessing preferences for housing, Emerson et al. (2001) reports that Whites are very reluctant to live in areas with increasing numbers of Blacks, independent of the effects of crime, housing value,

and educational quality of the schools. Prejudices held at an individual level were codified at an institutional level through Federal housing policies enacted in the post-World War II period (Seitles, 1998; Stuart, 2000). Subsequent fair housing laws made this explicit racism illegal. However, a number of other factors, including school district fragmentation, contributed to persistent residential segregation, even when these factors were not initially or directly motivated by racial bias.

The fragmentation of educational districts has been defined as the number of distinct educational districts for a given population. As Bischoff reports New Jersey has 616 school districts for 8.5 million residents, whereas Florida has 67 for 16 million residents (Bischoff, 2008). This fragmentation is a function of numerous factors, including population distributions, preferences for local control of schools, local zoning regulations, and other forces driving the competition for tax revenues. Although the policies that promote fragmentation may have arisen independently of racial considerations, several (Bischoff, 2008; Clotfelder, 2004; Urquiola, 2005), although not all studies (Hoxby, 2000), suggest that one side effect of greater school district fragmentation is increasing residential racial segregation. Individuals choose residential neighborhoods that provide the best services which they can afford, increasing the competition for (and driving up the costs of) housing in areas with high performing schools.

The patterns of racial residential segregation associated with fragmentation are further enforced by the individual level choices made by families searching for a new home. A recent multilevel analysis of school choice and residential relocation suggests that, holding all other variables constant, individual families make choices about where to live based on the percentage of African American and Latino students attending the local schools (Lankford & Wyckoff, 2006). Parents appear to use these percentages as a proxy for school quality. Fewer White families who plan to use public schools will choose to reside in a district housing many Black or Latino students. Instead, they are more likely to choose private schools or to avoid relocating to that area. This further deprives the school district of a student body diverse in economic and social resources.

In turn, racial segregation at the school and neighborhood level has long-term effects on the development of interracial relationships. Braddock and Gonzales (2010) report that early neighborhood segregation is associated with a greater desire for social distance from individuals of a different race/ethnicity, and school segregation during the early grades is associated with a greater desire to have same race neighbors, although there was some variability among ethnic groups (Braddock & Gonzalez, 2010). In another analysis of a national sample of Black and White students, Stearns (2010) reports that racial isolation in high school predicts more racial isolation in the workforce 10 years later (Stearns, 2010).

Racial isolation in the workplace is particularly problematic, since a study of referrals for employment in blue-collar business suggests that about one quarter of all referrals in the businesses studied come from social networks consisting of

friends and relatives (Mouw, 2002). When social networks continue to be racially segregated, Black individuals have more limited access to employment opportunities in firms that employ large numbers of White individuals. This perpetuates a cycle in which Black individuals have limited ability to gain access to more integrated neighborhoods and business networks (Mouw, 2002; Wells, Holme, Revilla, & Atanda, 2005).

It is difficult to fully estimate the effects of residential racial segregation without considering the effects of reduced socioeconomic and social resources and increased psychosocial stressors that arise, at least partly, as a function of this segregation (Ceballo & McLoyd, 2002; Massey, 2008; Williams & Mohammed, 2009). Neighborhood disadvantage has been demonstrated to have negative effects on the development of peer relationships early in the lifespan. Specifically, most, although not all studies indicate that neighborhood disadvantage is associated with higher rates of association with peers engaged in antisocial behavior (Brody et al., 2001; Criss, Shaw, Moilanen, Hitchings, & Ingoldsby, 2009; Leventhal & Brooks-Gunn, 2000). These relationships are found in both White and Black children, and have been replicated in both urban and rural/suburban settings (Brody et al., 2001). Neighborhood violence also affects other aspects of children's relationships, with boys living in high violence neighborhoods tending to seek out friendships with others who are no longer attending school or attend different schools. These friendships may enable children to feel more protected in their environment, but may not support the development of a broader range of social skills or academic engagement (Harding, 2008).

Mechanisms

Research on the mechanisms through which institutional racism, particularly residential racial segregation affects the development of peer relations is still in its early stages (Criss et al., 2009), but some evidence suggests that the effects may be mediated by the lack of opportunities to develop certain social competencies and the existence of barriers to the emotional support necessary to exercise these competencies in a range of social situations. For example, perpetuation theory suggests that early racial isolation inhibits the development of the social skills and confidence required to negotiate relationships with individuals from other ethnicities (Braddock & Gonzalez, 2010). For minority students, racial isolation limits access to peer networks and adult mentors who can facilitate access to educational and work opportunities, consequently making it less likely that they will acquire the skills needed to succeed (Stearns, 2010).

The relationship of neighborhood disadvantage to child and adolescent peer relationships are mediated partly by neighborhood effects on the development of another dimension of social capital: parent–child relationships. In most cross-sectional and longitudinal studies, neighborhood economic disadvantage

has been associated with lower levels of warm or consistent parenting (Criss et al., 2009; Klebanov, Brooks-Gunn, & Duncan, 1994; Kohen, Leventhal, Dahinten, & McIntosh, 2008; Pinderhughes, Nix, Foster, Jones, & The Conduct Problems Prevention Research Group, 2001). Perceived neighborhood dangerousness was associated with lower levels of supportive parenting (Criss et al., 2009) and higher levels of harsh parenting (Pinderhughes et al., 2001).

It is important to note that low SES neighborhoods have negative effects on consistent and warm parenting across racial/ethnic groups. One study reported that race differences (e.g., differences between White and Black Americans) in parenting warmth were no longer significant when neighborhood characteristics were controlled (Pinderhughes et al., 2001). This suggests that impairments in parenting relationships are a function primarily of responses to environmental barriers and demands, rather than a function of parenting practices indigenous to a particular ethnic group.

In sum, institutional racism, manifested as racial and economic neighborhood segregation, seems to contribute to difficulties in the development of a wide range of peer relationships across the lifespan, including children's and adolescents' friendships within their neighborhoods (Brody et al., 2001; Harding, 2008) and interracial relationships, both in school and in the workplace (Braddock & Gonzalez, 2010; Stearns, 2010). Although it is now illegal to engage in explicit or overt institutional racial bias in access to schools, employment, housing or mortgages (and other areas of public life), subtle forms of institutional racism can continue to influence the development of interpersonal relationships. The examples of institutional racism we have discussed here can be considered examples of subtle racism, in part, because the effects of discrimination on peer relationships are subtle. The effects are often seen not only at the time of exposure, but also long after the initial discriminatory acts; the consequences change over the course of development; and they are modified by the presence of other psychosocial processes that may co-occur with racial bias. For example, the effects of these initially explicit discriminatory acts (e.g., redlining, discriminatory housing policy) may persist, even across generations, in the form of residential racial segregation. In turn, residential racial segregation may contribute to different friendship choices, limiting the development of social skills in childhood and adolescence and the development of a network of educational and occupational colleagues in adulthood. The effects of residential racial segregation on peer relationships may also be a function of other psychosocial stressors associated with neighborhood disadvantage (e.g., low income, crime, disorder, harsh parenting behaviors, etc.). However, the degree to which individuals are exposed to these stressors is, in part, a function of the effects of individual and institutional level racism on housing choice. Further research is needed to understand the forces driving residential segregation and to clarify the effects of segregation itself versus the effects of neighborhood disadvantage on the development of same-race and cross-race peer relationships.

Interpersonal Racism

Individual-level racism refers to episodes of race or ethnicity-related maltreatment that occur to the individual. Interpersonal racism is a component of individual-level racism and has been defined as "directly perceived discriminatory interactions between individuals whether in their institutional roles or as public and private individuals" (Krieger, 1999, p. 301). Perceived or self-reported racism is a subset of these experiences and includes those episodes of maltreatment that are directly perceived by the individual and attributed to racial bias (Paradies, 2006; Utsey & Ponterotto, 1996). However, race-based maltreatment can also have negative effects, even if the targeted individual does not directly or immediately attribute the maltreatment to racial bias.

Interpersonal racism can take place in a number of different contexts, including work, public places, the criminal justice system, or social and personal venues (e.g., church, restaurants, or home) (Ryan, Gee, & Griffith, 2008). During episodes of interpersonal racism in each of these contexts, stereotypes held by the perpetrator are activated by the targeted individual's phenotypic or cultural characteristics. These stereotypes, and not the targeted individual's unique characteristics, influence the perpetrator's perceptions of and responses to the target (Wout, Murphy, & Steele, 2010).

Specific types of interpersonal race-based maltreatment include social distancing or social exclusion, discrimination at work or school, stigmatization, and physical threat and harassment (Brondolo et al., 2005a; Contrada et al., 2001). Social distancing can include verbal and nonverbal behavior that communicates rejection or exclusion. Some of these events can be explicit when they directly include references to the individual's ethnicity as a cause for the rejection. Other acts can be more subtle, and include avoiding eye contact during a meeting, failing to invite individuals to join social or work events, and ignoring requests for help (Henkel, Dovidio, & Gaertner, 2006; Sue et al., 2008). Subtle social distancing can be perceived as discriminatory, if the targeted individuals see that they are treated as less valuable (i.e., treated less warmly) than majority group members (Brondolo et al., 2011; Leary, 2005; Walton & Cohen, 2007).

Discrimination at work can take the form of reduced opportunities for employment, promotion, collaboration, or professional development. In addition to explicit statements that make clear the racial bias of the perpetrator, interpersonal can be expressed in more subtle ways, communicated through lowered expectations, decreased opportunities for collaboration or mentorship, or feedback that is either over or under accommodating (Walton & Cohen, 2007).

In episodes of stigmatization, the target may receive explicit or implicit messages that communicate the notion that he or she conforms to a negative stereotype associated with the group (i.e., is lazy, pushy, or alien, etc.). Most importantly, outcast or stigmatized individuals do not receive the same protections against verbal

or physical attack (Williams, Forgas, Hippel, & Zadro, 2005). Given the history of violence against many minority groups, attacks against person or property are often considered episodes of racism, even in the absence of a clear mention of race (Carter, 2007).

Exposure to racism or ethnic discrimination is a part of everyday life for many Americans (Feagin & Sikes, 1994; Landrine & Klonoff, 1996). Several studies of Black Americans indicate that 80–100% of participants reported some experience of racism in their lifetimes (Klonoff & Landrine, 1999; Krieger & Sidney, 1996; Landrine & Klonoff, 1996; Peters, 2004). Our studies of different groups of Latino and Asian Americans find similar effects. We investigated episodes of racism experienced during the previous week among 449 Black and Latino adults (Brondolo, Brady, Libby, & Pencille, 2011a). In this convenience sample, 74% of the participants reported at least one racial incident in the past week, and 55% reported three or more incidents.

There are limited data on the effects of interpersonal racism on the development of peer relations, but there is consistent evidence that lifetime experiences of discrimination affect reactions to routine social exchanges (Brondolo et al., 2005b; Brondolo et al., 2008; Broudy et al., 2007; Ong, Fuller-Rowell, & Burrow, 2009; Taylor, Kamarck, & Shiffman, 2004). We have demonstrated that individuals exposed to higher levels of racism over the course of their lives were more likely to view new episodes of race-based maltreatment as threatening and harmful (Brondolo et al., 2005b). Past exposure to racism also influenced the individual's view of routine social interactions. In one study, we asked a multi-ethnic community sample of adults to complete diaries every 30 minutes to report on their moods and their day-to-day social interactions. Individuals who had higher levels of exposure to racism over the course of their lifetimes reported feeling more harassed, unfairly treated, or ignored during their routine social interactions (Broudy et al., 2007). These effects were significant and substantial even after controlling for a set of personality characteristics including defensiveness, hostility, cynicism, and anxiety, as well as comprehensive measures of socioeconomic status. We have recently replicated those findings in another larger sample of Black and Latino(a) adults (Brondolo et al., 2008). Similar associations of everyday maltreatment and daily diary ratings of social interactions have been reported by Taylor et al. (2004) and Ong et al. (2009) (Ong et al., 2009; Taylor et al., 2004).

Mechanisms

Interpersonal racism may have pervasive effects on peer relationships through the process of stress proliferation (Ong et al., 2009; Pearlin, Aneshensel, & LeBlanc, 1997) According to stress proliferation theories, exposure to one type of stressor directly and indirectly results in exposure to other stressors. Since social

distancing or rejection can encompass a range of experiences, from partial inclusion to outright rejection, a broad range of interpersonal interchanges may become potential racial stressors (Broudy et al., 2007; Richeson & Shelton, 2005).

Experiences of racism can also increase other race-related stress processes including identity-related concerns, stereotype threat, stereotype confirmation concern, and stigma sensitivity (Contrada et al., 2001; Cross, 1991; Helms, 1990; Sellers & Shelton, 2003). For example, prospective studies suggest that exposure to racism increases the salience or centrality of race in personal identity (Quintana, 2007; Sellers & Shelton, 2003). This heightened attention to race-related matters facilitates the priming of race-related stereotypes and heightens concerns about stereotype threat. Therefore, even small doses of race-related maltreatment can serve as stressors, capable of eliciting distress.

The relationship of perceived racism to indices of psychological distress, including depressive symptoms and negative mood, is well documented (Brondolo, Gallo, Myers, & Hector, 2009b). These effects have been seen in studies conducted in the United States and internationally, and the effects of racism on psychological distress have been demonstrated in Asian, Black, Latino, and many other racial/ethnic groups (Kwok et al., 2011). Race-related maltreatment is alienating (Mendoza-Denton, Downey, Davis, Purdie, & Pietrzak, 2002), and alienation is painful and dispiriting under any circumstances. When it is caused by responses to characteristics that are immutable and outside of one's control (i.e., one's phenotype), the unfairness can lead to persistent anger and other indices of negative mood (Brondolo et al., 2008, 2011). In turn, persistent symptoms of stress and depression may impair the quality of interactions with others (Brody et al., 2008; Cutrona, Russell, Hessling, Brown, & Murry, 2000; Cutrona et al., 2005).

Racism may also hinder the development of interracial peer relationships by fostering interracial anxiety. At least in the initial stages, interracial relationships are difficult for both interaction partners (Blascovich et al., 2001). Anxiety acts as a barrier to initiating interracial interactions for both Blacks and Whites (Richeson & Shelton, 2007). For example, individuals high in prejudice are less likely to have interracial friendships during the first year of college (Schofield, Hausmann, Ye, & Woods, 2010). Both Whites students who report higher levels of anxiety about interactions with Black students and Black students who report higher levels of concern about being targeted for race-based rejection are less likely to initiate inter-racial interactions (Mendoza-Denton et al., 2002). Minority students are more likely to develop friendships with White students who already have a diverse group of friends, since they may expect that these individuals will be less biased in their interactions (Wout et al., 2010).

Concerns about confirming stereotypes can undermine routine social exchanges, as illustrated by new research on impression management strategies (Bergsieker, Shelton, & Richeson, 2010). Bergseiker et al. report that in interracial exchanges participants may communicate at cross-purposes, with Latino

and Black individuals attempting to regulate perceptions of competence; whereas White individuals try to regulate perceptions of warmth.

Interracial anxiety may also play a role in the trajectory of relationships. Among freshman roommates, daily experiences of anxiety brought same-race roommates closer together. In contrast, in pairs composed of students of different races/ethnicities, experiences of anxiety were associated with an erosion of the relationship. Consequently, cross-race pairs were less likely to choose to live together again (Shelton, Trail, West, & Bergsieker, 2010).

In sum, interpersonal racism can be expressed in both overt and subtle ways, with subtle racism communicated through differences in nonverbal behavior and tone of voice. The effects of exposure to interpersonal discrimination can be subtle as well. Consistent with stress proliferation theories, previous exposure to racism is associated with both more frequent interpersonal conflict and more intensely negative interactions in a variety of settings (Brondolo et al., 2008; Broudy et al., 2007; Ong et al., 2009). A portion of these effects appears to be mediated by ongoing symptoms of depression and negative mood, potentially creating a feedback cycle in which exposure to race-based maltreatment degrades the experience of other social relationships, preventing recovery from the initial stress exposure. Interpersonal racism may also set in motion other psychological processes, including inter-racial anxiety that appears to decrease the willingness of individuals of all races to initiate and maintain interracial friendships (Mendoza-Denton et al., 2002; Richeson & Shelton, 2007; Schofield, Hausmann, Ye, & Woods, 2010). As the basic research on the mechanisms linking interpersonal racism to the development of peer relationships develops, new efforts to design interventions are needed.

Internalized Racism

Internalized racism is defined as "the acceptance, by marginalized racial populations, of the negative societal beliefs and stereotypes about themselves" (Williams & Williams-Morris, 2000, p. 255). Individuals may or may not be aware of their own acceptance of these negative beliefs. Internalized racism can also be expressed via a rejection of the cultural practices of one's own ethnic or racial group. Some conceptualizations of internalized racism have also encompassed the internalization of distress associated with exposure to racism. When race-related stereotypes are absorbed into the self-concept of a stigmatized individual, the individual is considered to be self-stereotyping (Hogg & Turner, 1987; Simon & Hamilton, 1994). Positive self-stereotyping may increase allegiance to one's in-group; whereas negative self-stereotyping may decrease self-esteem, among other negative effects.

Some measures of internalized racism (e.g., the Nadolinazation scale) or of Black identity ask about explicit or conscious acceptance of racial stereotypes

(Helms, 1996; Sellers, Copeland-Linder, Martin, & Lewis, 2006; Taylor & Grundy, 1996). Recent research has employed the use of the Implicit Association test (Greenwald, McGhee, & Schwartz, 1998; Greenwald et al., 2002) to test implicit or nonconscious incorporation of stereotypes about one's cultural group into one's self-concept (Lun, Sinclair, & Cogburn, 2009). Lun et al. (2009) demonstrate that, when primed to think about the self, individuals respond more quickly to both positive and negative stereotypical attributes about their group versus words unrelated to their group or to nonwords. They demonstrate that in tests with young White participants who were primed to think about the self, both words related to positive stereotypes about Whites (e.g., successful, rich) and words related to negative stereotypes (e.g., materialistic, racist) were processed more quickly than words related to stereotypes about Blacks or nonwords (Lun et al., 2009).

Obtaining an estimate of the prevalence of self-stereotyping is challenging, but there is now fairly convincing evidence that some low status groups show implicit out-group (i.e., high status) group preferences (Jost, Banaji, & Nosek, 2004). Specifically, in several studies using implicit attitudes measures, a proportion of African American students reveal warmer implicit attitudes and preferences for European Americans versus African Americans.

There is very limited data explicitly linking internalized racism or self-stereotyping to the quality or quantity of peer relationships. One study reports that internalized racism, measured with the Nadolization scale, was associated with reduced marital satisfaction in Black couples (Taylor, Wright, Moghaddam, & Lalonde, 1990).

There is also indirect evidence that suggests that racial self-stereotyping may harm the development of other close relationships, including cross race friendships (Sinclair, Hardin, & Lowery, 2006). These studies suggest that individuals are often well aware of the stereotypes others hold about their group, and consistent with the notion of social tuning, they modify their behavior to conform to other people's expectations. In one study, Sinclair et al. (2006) asked Black participants to interact with a White experimental confederate and led the Black participants to believe the White student held prejudicial beliefs about the academic competence of Black students. The Black students performed more poorly when they wanted to be affiliated with the White student than when they did not. Therefore, the desire to develop friendships with other race individuals may come at a cost to one's self esteem and regard for one's group (Sinclair et al., 2006).

Mechanisms

There has been very little research directly examining the mechanisms through which internalized racism and self-stereotyping affects the development of peer relationships. The bulk of the data has concerned determinants of self-stereotyping,

including theories about the role of cultural racism in developing these stereotyped notions and system justification motives, among other models (Jost et al., 2004).

One recent line of evidence suggests some potential explanations for maintenance of self-stereotyping. Seibt and Forster (2004) suggest that negative self-stereotypes can serve a protective function by inducing a prevention focus in certain situations likely to evoke stereotype threat (Seibt & Förster, 2004). Specifically, holding negative stereotypes can make individuals more cautious and analytic in order to avoid the potential consequences of exhibiting the characteristics associated with negative stereotypes.

Shared reality theory also explains some of the persistence of negative self-stereotypes (Sinclair et al., 2006). Sharing similar perceptions (i.e., a shared reality) confirms a sense of belonging. Since individuals are aware of the perceptions of others, the desire to belong and share common perceptions may override the aversion to endorsing negative self-stereotypes. In part this may explain concerns expressed among some minority individuals when other minority individuals initiate connections with others outside of their race group (Cohen & Garcia, 2005; Walton & Cohen, 2007).

In sum, internalized racism is subtle both in its manifestations (i.e., it is often measured by assessing implicit and not explicit attitudes) and its effects (e.g., including self-esteem or attitudes toward same- and different-race others). There is very limited research on internalized racism or self-stereotyping on the development or maintenance of social relationships. However, existing data suggest that exposure to racism may create concerns about presenting a genuine self in relationships both with same- and cross-race peers. When individuals wish to develop a relationship with an individual of a different race who they perceive as holding prejudicial beliefs, they may modify their own beliefs and actions to conform to the other's expectations.

Summary and Conclusions

Multidisciplinary research documents the presence of racial and ethnic biases at the cultural, institutional and individual/interpersonal levels. When beliefs about racial or ethnic groups are widely disseminated and automatically accepted (i.e., seen as the way things are), and when individuals experience discriminatory behavior on a routine basis or are racially segregated, then prejudicial beliefs can become incorporated into one's self-concept and lead to the development of internalized racism (Bonilla-Silva, 1997; Jost et al., 2004). The different levels of racism act both separately and jointly to create barriers to the development and maintenance of social capital and to social and physical well-being (Brondolo et al., 2011).

Interracial interactions are critical for access to economic and social resources and political power in the United States. Yet racism at multiple levels constrains

the development of cross-race peer relationships (Braddock II & Gonzalez, 2010). Cultural racism influences the depictions of social interactions presented in the media, affecting the degree to which individuals of different ethnic groups are seen as desirable choices for relationships as colleagues, friends, or neighbors (Entman & Rojecki, 2001). Institutional racism in the form of residential segregation limits opportunity for the types of contact that can disconfirm racial biases or build the social skills necessary to interact with peers of a different race or ethnicity (Stearns, 2010). On an interpersonal level, fears of rejection or judgment deter participants of all races from taking the risks involved in initiating new cross-race relationships. Concerns about confirming stereotypes create further obstacles to maintaining these relationships (Mendoza-Denton et al., 2002; Richeson & Shelton, 2007). Minor anxiety-producing conflicts erode cross-race relationships, even as they build closeness among same-race peers (Shelton et al., 2010).

Relationships with peers within the local environment serve as a context for the development of social competencies and health behaviors. These relationships are also affected by racism. Institutional racism in the form of neighborhood disadvantage increases the likelihood that children and teens will socialize with peers engaged in antisocial behaviors; highly violent neighborhoods may lead children to choose friends for protection rather than for common interests (Brody et al., 2008; Harding, 2008). Interpersonal and internalized racism may undermine the quality of interactions with close relations or other community members (Broudy et al 2007; Taylor, 1990).

These findings are not meant to imply that individuals experiencing racism cannot form meaningful and supportive peer relationships. Friendships can blossom in a wide variety of circumstances. Instead, this review is intended to underscore the pressures on peer relationships that are faced by individuals who are targeted for discrimination. These pressures are often outside the individual's awareness or control, and yet they can affect the development of relationships crucial for social, economic and physical well-being.

Mechanisms

Each level of racism may affect interpersonal processes through different mechanisms. Cultural racism appears to affect attitudes and behaviors toward others through a variety of social-cognitive processes, including priming, modeling, schema creation and social tuning. Racial group members portrayed in all forms of media serve as social role models, influencing the beliefs of media consumers about members of other racial and ethnic groups (Dovidio, 2009).

Institutional racism, in the form of residential racial segregation may act by creating barriers to the development of and support for pro-social competencies (Leventhal & Brooks-Gunn, 2000; Sampson et al., 2002).

Institutional, interpersonal and internalized racism may affect peer relation-
ships through processes related to stress proliferation (Brondolo et al., 2011; Ong
et al., 2009; Pearlin et al., 1997). Race-related maltreatment is itself a stressor,
and there is good evidence that race-related stress increases the risk for exposure
to other types of interpersonal stressors (Brondolo et al., 2011; Ong et al., 2009).
Disadvantaged neighborhoods present a wide range of both race and non race-
related stressors, including exposure to crowding, toxins, and noise and offering
very minimal facilities for rest and recovery (Brondolo, 2011b). There is some
evidence that internalized racism is associated with perceived stress, as well (Tull,
Sheu, Butler, & Cornelious, 2005).

Implications for Health and Well-Being

Exposure to the stress of racism is a likely contributor to the development
of symptoms of depression and other negative mood states. In turn, these moods
are likely to affect peer relationships. Data from studies of both institutional and
interpersonal racism suggest that symptoms of depression and negative mood
serve as a common pathway undermining parent–child and other interpersonal
relationships (Brody et al., 2008; Broudy et al., 2007; C. E. Cutrona et al., 2000;
C. E. Cutrona et al., 2005). Depressive symptoms may sap the energy needed
for constructive engagement, and in turn, impairments in social relationship can
further exacerbate the mental health effects of stress exposure.

The effects of racism on peer relationships may also have important im-
plications for physical health outcomes. The effect of racism on a range of
health outcomes has been well documented (Paradies, 2006; Pascoe & Richman,
2009; Williams & Mohammed, 2009; Brondolo, Love, Pencille, Schoenthaler, &
Ogedegbe, 2011). The effects of racism on peer relations may mediate or pos-
sibly compound the direct effects of racism on health. We can consider these
possibilities in more detail by examining obesity and smoking.

Institutional racism, in the form of residential segregation and neighborhood
disadvantage is associated with barriers to healthy eating and physical activity,
increasing risk for obesity among neighborhood residents (Dubowitz et al., 2008;
Kwate, 2008; Lee & Cubbin, 2002). Recent data suggests that having close friends
who are overweight increases the likelihood of being overweight oneself, although
there are some gender differences in these effects (Smith & Christakis, 2008).
Residential racial segregation may increase the likelihood that individuals have
close relationships with obese peers, increasing each individual's risk for obesity.
The concentration of obese individuals in racially segregated neighborhoods may
affect risk by potentially changing expectations about the inevitability of obesity
among other mechanisms (Hebl, King, & Perkins, 2009; Yancey et al., 2009).

Interpersonal or individual level racism has been consistently associated with
cigarette smoking (Borrell et al., 2007; Landrine, Klonoff, Corral, Fernandez, &

Roesch, 2006). Negative mood states increase risk for smoking, and racism increases the risk for experiencing negative mood states (Landrine, Klonoff, Corral, Fernandez, & Roesch, 2006). Having friends who smoke increases risk for smoking, especially among adolescents (Smith & Christakis, 2008). Given the high prevalence of exposure to racism among minority group members, they are likely to have peers who have been exposed to racism. Racism may act to influence the individual's risk for smoking, and the effects may be intensified through interactions with peers whose own exposure to racism may increase the likelihood that they smoke as well.

Implications for Interventions

The effects of racism on interpersonal relations are subtle and can operate outside of conscious awareness. For example, the effects of nonverbal expressions of lower regard influenced TV viewers' attitudes toward Blacks, even when they were not aware of these effects (Weisbuch, Pauker, & Ambady, 2009). Negative messages can be embedded within more overtly friendly behavior (Biernat, Sesko, & Amo, 2009). Black individual's perceptions of another person's capacity for bias are shaped quickly, often based on less than a minute's worth of observation (Richeson & Shelton, 2005).

Consequently, it will be important to educate both majority and minority group members about the nature of these subtle or nonconscious processes, helping them to understand the ways these nonconscious attitudes and subsequent behaviors are shaped by cultural experiences. It may be particularly helpful to provide education about the ways in which differences in sociocultural and personal history can translate into differences in the perception and meaning of nonverbal and verbal aspects of social exchange (Avery, Hebl, Richeson, & Ambady, 2009; Oyserman, Sorensen, Reber, & Chen, 2009).

Efforts to intervene are less likely to succeed if all levels of racism are not adequately addressed. For example, there is a wealth of research demonstrating that stereotype threat inhibits performance (Steele, 1999). There have been successful efforts to reduce stereotype threat and thereby improve performance in a particular domain (e.g., on academic tests), by making members of a stigmatized group aware of other group members who have performed well in that domain (Marx, Stapel, & Muller, 2005). However, there can be side effects to the promotion of achievement among members of minority groups. Members of stigmatized groups who violate stereotypes associated with their group, (i.e., do well on tasks that are not associated with their group) face interpersonal backlash, including criticism and sabotage (Phelan & Rudman, 2010). Without efforts that address institutional and cultural racism and change expectations, it will be difficult for targeted individuals to receive greater peer support.

But despite the complexity of the problem, recent evidence suggests several encouraging trends. First, political and social pressures have resulted in modifications of the presentations of minority group members in the media. More TV shows feature minority group members in a range of social positions and family relationships (Smith & Christakis, 2008). Business media have made substantial changes in the degree to which they portray Black Americans in positions of power and influence (Stevenson, 2007). As stereotyped portrayals of Black Americans are less widely disseminated, they appear to lose their power to activate prejudicial attitudes and discriminatory behavior (Monahan et al., 2005). New efforts to understand the role of stereotype threat and interracial anxiety provide guidance for specific interventions that can allow majority group individuals to move past race-related anxiety and initiate effective collaborative relationships (Avery et al., 2009; Oyserman et al., 2009). Changes to the physical environment, including the development of shared spaces such as community gardens, have been demonstrated to promote positive social interactions (Shinew, Glover, & Parry, 2004). New research, as illustrated by the articles in this volume, is beginning to explicate the specific pathways through which subtle racism can affect health care interactions (Penner, 2012) or employment opportunities (Bendick & Nunes, 2012; Pager & Western, 2012). This type of mechanistic research can provide specific targets for intervention.

It would be hard to overestimate the importance of peer relationships for health, well-being, and prosperity. Social forces, including racism, which have adverse effects on the development of peer relationships warrant attention. A failure to address the effects of racism on peer relationships can contribute to significant social problems across society. Barriers to the formation of cross-race relationships contribute to the persistence of prejudicial beliefs and discriminatory behavior, and undermine social cohesion. Race-related stress further undermines all types of peer relations, depriving all individuals of the support they may need to face other challenges.

Although the majority of the studies we reviewed were conducted on U.S. samples, the effects of racism on the development of peer relationships are likely to be seen in other countries as well. The manifestations of cultural, institutional, and interpersonal racism may differ across societies. However, the outcomes of racism (i.e., social exclusion or marginalization) are likely to be similar and to have similar effects on the development of cross-race relationships.

Mechanistic research can facilitate efforts to reduce the expression of racial bias and its effects. Investigators are increasingly able to identify the specific types of beliefs, nonverbal behaviors, social interactions, public policies and environments that undermine peer relations. This knowledge can motivate and direct interventions both to reduce exposure to discrimination and to support the development of the types of peer relationships that promote health and create economic and social opportunities for all.

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ELIZABETH BRONDOLO is a Professor in the Department of Psychology at St. John's University and Director of the Social Stress and Health Research Unit. She received her PhD in Clinical Psychology from Rutgers University in 1989. Her research focuses on the relationship of social stressors, including racism and work stress, on cardiovascular and mental health.

MADELINE LIBRETTI is a Graduate Student in Psychology at St. John's University and will receive her Master's degree in May 2012. She is a member of the Social Stress and Health Research Unit.

LUIS RIVERA is an Assistant Professor in the Department of Psychology and the Principal Investigator of the Rutgers Implicit Social Cognition (RISC) lab at Rutgers, The State University of New Jersey, Newark. He earned his PhD in Social Psychology at the University of Massachusetts, Amherst, in 2006. His research focuses on the social cognitive processes that underlie the expression of stereotyping and prejudice and how such processes affect stigmatized individuals' self-concept, health, and performance.

KATRINA M. WALSEMANN is an Assistant Professor in the Department of Health Promotion, Education, & Behavior at The University of South Carolina. Her research focuses on understanding how social inequalities and various contexts (e.g., schools and communities) can influence health and racial health disparities during key developmental transitions and across the life course.