Racial Disparities in Health: The Multidimensional Contributions of Racism

David R. Williams, PhD, MPH
Florence & Laura Norman Professor of Public Health
Professor of African & African American Studies and
of Sociology
Harvard University
Racial Disparities in Health

- African Americans have higher death rates than Whites for 12 of the 15 leading causes of death.
- Blacks and American Indians have higher age-specific death rates than Whites from birth through the retirement years.
- Minorities get sick sooner, have more severe illness and die sooner than Whites
- Hispanics have higher death rates than whites for diabetes, hypertension, liver cirrhosis & homicide

Williams, J Gerontology, 2005; Williams et al. Ann NY Acad Sci, 2010
Life Expectancy Lags, 1950-2006

Murphy, NVSS 2000; Braveman et al. in Press, NLMS 1988-1998
Source: Indian Health Service; Trends in Indian Health 1998-99
# SAT Scores by Income

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Family Income</th>
<th>Median Score</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>More than $100,000</td>
<td>1129</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$80,000 to $100,000</td>
<td>1085</td>
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<tr>
<td>$70,000 to $80,000</td>
<td>1064</td>
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<tr>
<td>$60,000 to $70,000</td>
<td>1049</td>
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<tr>
<td>$50,000 to $60,000</td>
<td>1034</td>
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<tr>
<td>$40,000 to $50,000</td>
<td>1016</td>
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<tr>
<td>$30,000 to $40,000</td>
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<tr>
<td>$20,000 to $30,000</td>
<td>964</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$10,000 to $20,000</td>
<td>920</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Less than $10,000</td>
<td>873</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: (ETS) Mantsios; N=898,596
Percentage of College Grad+ by Race

- **White**: 27%
- **Black**: 14.3%
- **AmI/AN**: 11.5%
- **NH/PI**: 13.8%
- **Asian**: 44.1%
- **Hispanic Any**: 10.4%

U.S. Census 2000
Percentage Poor by Race/Ethnicity

U.S. Census 2006

Race

Poverty Rate

White: 9.3
Black: 25.3
AmI/AN: 26.6
NH/PI: 16.1
Asian: 10.7
Hispanic Any: 21.5
2+ races: 16.8
Racial/Ethnic Composition of People in Poverty in the U.S.

- White, 46.1%
- Black, 23.1%
- Hispanic Any, 23.9%
- Asian, 3.6%
- NH/PI, 0.17%
- AmI/AN, 1.6%
- 2+ races, 2.6%

U.S. Census 2006
Relative Risk of Premature Death by Family Income (U.S.)

Family Income in 1980 (adjusted to 1999 dollars)

9-year mortality data from the National Longitudinal Mortality Survey
# Life Expectancy At Age 25, U.S.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Group</th>
<th>White</th>
<th>Black</th>
<th>Difference</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>All</td>
<td>53.4</td>
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**Life Expectancy At Age 25, U.S.**

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<tr>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Education</strong></td>
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<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>a. 0-12 Years</td>
<td>50.1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>b. 12 Years</td>
<td>54.1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c. Some College</td>
<td>55.2</td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
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<td>6.4</td>
<td>5.3</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Infant Death Rates by Mother’s Education

Pamuk et al; Health United States, SES Chartbook, 1998
Infant Mortality by Mother’s Education

Pamuk et al; Health United States, SES Chartbook, 1998
Why Does Race Still Matter?

Could racism play a role?
But haven’t we made enormous progress in reducing racism?
Does it really make sense to talk about racism today?
Do you think Negroes should have as good a chance as White people to get any kind of job, or should White people have the first chance at any job?

Schuman et al. 1997
Whites should have first chance at any job vs. Implementation: If blacks are not getting fair treatment in jobs, should the government see to it that they do?

Schuman et al. 1997; Krysan et al Update
Discrimination Persists

• Pairs of young, well-groomed, well-spoken college men with identical resumes apply for 350 advertised entry-level jobs in Milwaukee, Wisconsin. Two teams were black and two were white. In each team, one said that he had served an 18-month prison sentence for cocaine possession.

• The study found that it was easier for a white male with a felony conviction to get a job than a black male whose record was clean.

Devah Pager; Am J Sociology, 2004
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>White</th>
<th>Black</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Criminal Record</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No</td>
<td>34%</td>
<td>14%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>17%</td>
<td>5%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Devah Pager; Am J Sociology, 2004
Race, Criminal Record, and Entry-level Jobs in NY, 2004

Devah Pager et al Am Soc Review, 2009; 169 employers
Subtle Racial Clues and Employment

- 5,000 fictitious applications sent to 1,300 ads for white-collar job openings in Boston and Chicago
- No explicit identification of race
- Scientific matching of applicants on first name based on
  - Distinctively White names: Allison, Emily, Brad and Greg
  - Distinctively Black names: Latisha, Aisha, Jamal and Darnell
- White first names produced more favorable results than identical resumes with Black first names
- White applicants send out 10 applications to get a call for a job interview. Black applicants had to send 15.

Bertrand and Mullainathan, 2004, American Economic Review
Racism and Health: Mechanisms

- Institutional discrimination can restrict socioeconomic attainment and group differences in SES and health.
- Segregation can create pathogenic residential conditions.
- Discrimination can lead to reduced access to desirable goods and services.
- Internalized racism (acceptance of society’s negative characterization) can adversely affect health.
- Racism can create conditions that increase exposure to traditional stressors (e.g. unemployment).
- Experiences of discrimination may be a neglected psychosocial stressor.
Racial Segregation Is …

1. Myrdal (1944): …"basic" to understanding racial inequality in America.


3. Kerner Commission (1968): …the "linchpin" of U.S. race relations and the source of the large and growing racial inequality in SES.

4. John Cell (1982): …"one of the most successful political ideologies" of the last century and "the dominant system of racial regulation and control" in the U.S.

5. Massey and Denton (1993): …"the key structural factor for the perpetuation of Black poverty in the U.S." and the "missing link" in efforts to understand urban poverty.
African American Segregation: History-I

- Segregation = the physical separation of the races by enforced residence in different areas.
- It emerged most aggressively in the developing industrial urban centers of the South and, as Blacks migrated to the North, it ensured that whites were protected from residential proximity to blacks.
- In both northern and southern cities, levels of black-white segregation increased dramatically between 1860 and 1940 and have remained strikingly stable since then.

Sources: Cell, 1982; Lieberson, 1980; Massey & Denton, 1993.
Segregation was

- imposed by legislation,
- supported by major economic institutions
- enshrined in the housing policies of the federal government,
- enforced by the judicial system and vigilant neighborhood organizations,
- and legitimized by the ideology of white supremacy that was advocated by the church and other cultural institutions

Sources: Cell, 1982; Lieberson, 1980; Massey & Denton, 1993.
Segregation in the 2000 Census

• Dissimilarity index declined from .70 in 1990 to .66 in 2000
• Decline due to blacks moving to white census tracts
• Segregation declined most in small growing cities where the percentage of blacks is small
• Between 1990 and 2000, number of census tracts where over 80% of the population was black remained constant
• The decline in segregation has had no impact on a) very high percentage black census tracts, b) the residential isolation of most African Americans, and c) the concentration of urban poverty.

Source: Glaeser & Vigdor, 2001
How Segregation Can Affect Health

1. Segregation determines SES by affecting quality of education and employment opportunities.

2. Segregation can create pathogenic neighborhood and housing conditions.

3. Conditions linked to segregation can constrain the practice of health behaviors and encourage unhealthy ones.

4. Segregation can adversely affect access to medical care and to high-quality care.

Williams & Collins, Public Health Reports, 2001
### Race and Job Loss
#### Economic Downturn of 1990-1991

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Racial Group</th>
<th>Net Gain or Loss</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>BLACKS</td>
<td>59,479 LOSS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WHITES</td>
<td>71,144 GAIN</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ASIANS</td>
<td>55,104 GAIN</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HISPANICS</td>
<td>60,040 GAIN</td>
</tr>
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</table>

Source: *Wall Street Journal* analysis of EEOC reports of 35,242 companies
## Race and Job Loss

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Company</th>
<th>Work Force</th>
<th>Losses</th>
<th>Reason</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sears</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>54</td>
<td>Closed distribution centers in inner-cities; relocated to suburbs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pet</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>Two Philadelphia plants shutdown</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coca-Cola</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>Reduced blue-collar workforce</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>American Cyanamid</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>Sold two facilities in the South</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Safeway</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>Reduced part-time work; more suburban stores</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Source: Sharpe, 1993: Wall Street Journal*
Residential Segregation and SES

A study of the effects of segregation on young African American adults found that the elimination of segregation would erase black-white differences in

- Earnings
- High School Graduation Rate
- Unemployment

And reduce racial differences in single motherhood by two-thirds

Cutler, Glaeser & Vigdor, 1997
Racial Differences in Residential Environment

• In the 171 largest cities in the U.S., there is not even one city where whites live in ecological equality to blacks in terms of poverty rates or rates of single-parent households.

• “The worst urban context in which whites reside is considerably better than the average context of black communities.”

Source: Sampson & Wilson 1995
Segregation: Distinctive for Blacks

- Blacks are more segregated than any other group.
- Segregation varies by income for Latinos & Asians, but high at all levels of income for blacks.
- Wealthiest blacks (> $50K) are more segregated than the poorest Latinos & Asians (< $15,000).
- Middle class blacks live in poorer areas than whites of similar SES and poor whites live in better areas than poor blacks.
- Blacks show a higher preference for residing in integrated areas than any other group.

Source: Massey 2004
American Apartheid:

Segregation Index

South Africa 90
Detroit 85
Milwaukee 82
New York 81
Chicago 80
Newark 80
Cleveland 77
U.S. 66

Source: Massey 2004; Iceland et al. 2002; Glaeser & Vigitor 2001
Persistence of Negative Racial Stereotypes:

Undergirding the persistence of multiple forms of racism
Percent of Whites Agreeing that Blacks are

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Percent Support</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Lazy</td>
<td>44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prefer Welfare</td>
<td>56</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prone to Violence</td>
<td>51</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unintelligent</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

General Social Survey (Davis and Smith), 1990
Percent of Whites Agreeing that Blacks and Whites are

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Trait</th>
<th>Black</th>
<th>White</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Lazy</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prefer Welfare</td>
<td>56</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
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<td>Prone to Violence</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unintelligent</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
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</table>

General Social Survey (Davis and Smith), 1990
Percent of Whites Agreeing that Blacks and Whites are...

General Social Survey (Davis and Smith), 1990
Percent of Whites Agreeing that Group Prefers to Live Off Welfare (1990)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Race</th>
<th>Percent Support</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Blacks</td>
<td>56</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Whites</td>
<td>4</td>
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<tr>
<td>Hispanics</td>
<td>42</td>
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<tr>
<td>Asians</td>
<td>16</td>
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<tr>
<td>Southern Whites</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jews</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
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</table>

General Social Survey (Davis and Smith), 1990
Percent of Whites Agreeing that Blacks are Lazy (1990-2006)

General Social Survey, 1990-2006
Percent of Whites Agreeing that Blacks are Hardworking (1990-2006)

General Social Survey, 1990-2006

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>% of Whites agreeing that Blacks are hardworking</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1990</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1994</td>
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<td>1996</td>
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<td>2000</td>
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<td>2002</td>
<td>21</td>
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<td>2004</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2006</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
White Stereotypes of Blacks, 2004

Probability sample of Detroit area and Chicago area Whites:

- 42% of Whites rate Whites as more intelligent than Blacks
- 44% of Whites rank Blacks as more likely than Whites to prefer to live off welfare
- 70% of Whites rate Blacks as being more involved in crimes and gangs than Whites
- 54% of Whites believe that Whites do a better job of raising their children than Blacks

Krysan et al. 2008 Du Bois Review
Stereotypes and Segregation

- Probability sample of Detroit area and Chicago area White residents in 2004
- As part of survey, view a 35 second video of 5 different neighborhood social class levels
- Lower working class, upper working class, blemished middle class, unblemished middle class, upper middle class
- Neighborhoods have residents (actors) dressed similarly, doing exactly the same thing
- 3 variants: (1) all White residents, (2) all Black residents, (3) a mix of White and Black residents

Krysan et al. 2008 Du Bois Review
Stereotypes and Segregation - II

- Whites rate neighborhoods where Blacks were seen as less expensive, less safe, less likely to appreciate in value, and having lower quality schools than identical neighborhoods that were all White.
- Whites who more frequently endorse negative racial stereotypes about Blacks rated neighborhoods with Blacks more poorly.
- Whites perceptions of the desirability of neighborhood areas are not based on observable features in the neighborhood.
- Whites perceptions of neighborhood quality are importantly shaped by negative racial stereotypes.

Krysan et al. 2008 Du Bois Review
Internalized Racism:

Acceptance of society’s negative characterization can adversely affect health
Internalized Racialism and Health
(Jerome Taylor and Colleagues)

A high score on internalized racialism was related to:
1. Higher consumption of alcohol
2. Higher levels of psychological distress
3. Higher levels of depressive symptoms
Unequal Access:

Discrimination can lead to reduced access to desirable goods and services.
Unequal Treatment

• Across virtually every therapeutic intervention, ranging from high technology procedures to the most elementary forms of diagnostic and treatment interventions, minorities receive fewer procedures and poorer quality medical care than whites.

• These differences persist even after differences in health insurance, SES, stage and severity of disease, co-morbidity, and the type of medical facility are taken into account.

• Moreover, they persist in contexts such as Medicare and the VA Health System, where differences in economic status and insurance coverage are minimized.

Institute of Medicine, 2003
Ethnicity and Analgesia

A chart review of 139 patients with isolated long-bone fracture at UCLA Emergency Department (ED):

- All patients aged 15 to 55 years, had the injury within 6 hours of ER visit, had no alcohol intoxication.
- 55% of Hispanics received no analgesic compared to 26% of non-Hispanic whites.
- With simultaneous adjustment for sex, primary language, insurance status, occupational injury, time of presentation, total time in ED, fracture reduction and hospital admission, Hispanic ethnicity was the strongest predictor of no analgesia.
- After adjustment for all factors, Hispanics were 7.5 times more likely than non-Hispanic whites to receive no analgesia.

Todd, et al. 1993
Unconscious Discrimination

• When one holds a negative stereotype about a group and meets someone who fits the stereotype s/he will discriminate against that individual

• Stereotype-linked bias is an
  – Automatic process
  – Unconscious process

• It occurs even among persons who are not prejudiced
Generalizability of Unconscious Bias

- An important characteristic of social interaction across a broad range of cultures and societies where individuals are characterized into social groups
- In the U.S., race, sex and age are the three primary characteristics of individuals that are attended to across a broad range of social contexts
Perceived Discrimination:

Experiences of discrimination are a neglected psychosocial stressor.
Perceived Discrimination & Health

- Discrimination linked to worse health (fibroids, breast cancer incidence, Hb A1c, CAC, stage 4 sleep, birth weight, sexual problems, mental health)
- Discrimination linked to less health care seeking and adherence behaviors
- Discrimination linked to greater severity and poorer course of disease
- Many international studies:
  -- national: New Zealand, Sweden, & South Africa
  -- Australia, Canada, Denmark, the Netherlands, Norway, Spain, Bosnia, Croatia, Austria, Hong Kong, and the U.K.
- Discrimination accounts, in part, for racial/ethnic disparities in health

Williams & Mohammed, J Behav Med, 2009
Every Day Discrimination

In your day-to-day life how often do the following things happen to you?

• You are treated with less courtesy than other people.
• You are treated with less respect than other people.
• You receive poorer service than other people at restaurants or stores.
• People act as if they think you are not smart.
• People act as if they are afraid of you.
• People act as if they think you are dishonest.
• People act as if they’re better than you are.
• You are called names or insulted.
• You are threatened or harassed.
Everyday Discrimination and Subclinical Disease

In the study of Women’s Health Across the Nation (SWAN):

-- Everyday Discrimination was positively related to subclinical carotid artery disease (IMT; intima-media thickness) for black but not white women

-- chronic exposure to discrimination over 5 years was positively related to coronary artery calcification (CAC)

Troxel et al. 2003; Lewis et al. 2006
Arab American Birth Outcomes

- Well-documented increase in discrimination and harassment of Arab Americans after 9/11/2001
- Arab American women in California had an increased risk of low birthweight and preterm birth in the 6 months after Sept. 11 compared to pre-Sept. 11
- Other women in California had no change in birth outcome risk pre-and post-September 11

Lauderdale, 2006
Costs of Inaction

Racial Disparities in health are really costly to our society
Costs of Racial Disparities, 2003-2006

- Medical Care Costs = $229.4 Billion
- Lower worker productivity & premature death costs = $1,008 Trillion
- **Total Costs** = $1.24 Trillion
- $309.3 Billion annual loss to the economy
- More than GDP of India (12th largest economy)
- Social Justice can be cost effective
- Doing nothing has a cost that we should not continue to bear

LaVeist et al. 2009, Joint Center for Political & Economic Studies
Conclusions

1. Racial disparities in health are large, pervasive and persistent over time.
2. Inequalities in health are created by larger inequalities in society, of which racism is one determinant.
3. Racial differences in health reflect the successful implementation of social policies. Eliminating them requires political will and commitment to implement new strategies to improve living and working conditions.
4. Eliminating disparities in health requires (1) acknowledging and documenting the health consequences of racism, and (2) efforts to ameliorate their negative effects, dismantle the structures of racism and/or establish countervailing influences to the pervasive processes of racism.
To Think About

“The most difficult social problem in the matter of Negro health is the peculiar attitude of the nation toward the well-being of the race. There have...been few other cases in the history of civilized peoples where human suffering has been viewed with such peculiar indifference”

– W.E.B. Du Bois 1899, Philadelphia Negro
A Call to Action

“The only thing necessary for the triumph [of evil] is for good men to do nothing.”

Edmund Burke, Irish Philosopher
Blacks Perceptions of Blacks Compared to Whites Perceptions of Blacks (1990)

General Social Survey, 1990
Blacks’ Perceptions of Whites Compared to Whites’ Perceptions of Whites (1990)

General Social Survey, 1990
Principle vs. Implementation in Housing

Principle: Whites have right to keep Blacks out of neighborhood

Schuman et al. 1997
Principle: Whites have right to keep Blacks out of neighborhood

Implementation: Would support law to let homeowners discriminate

Schuman et al. 1997
## Job Channeling - Blacks

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Original Job Title</th>
<th>Suggested Job</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Blacks Channeled Down</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Server</td>
<td>Busser</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Counter Person</td>
<td>Dishwasher/Porter</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Server</td>
<td>Busboy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Assistant Manager</td>
<td>Entry fast-food position</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Server</td>
<td>Busboy/Runner</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Retail Sales</td>
<td>Maintenance</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Counter Person</td>
<td>Delivery</td>
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<td>Sales</td>
<td>Stockboy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sales</td>
<td>Not specified</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

American Sociological Review, 2009
### Job Channeling - Latinos

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Original Job Title</th>
<th>Suggested Job</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>Latinos Channeled Up</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Carwash attendant</td>
<td>Manager</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Warehouse Worker</td>
<td>Computer/Office</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Latinos Channeled Down</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Server</td>
<td>Runner</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sales</td>
<td>Stock</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Steam cleaning</td>
<td>Exterminator</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Counter person</td>
<td>Delivery</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sales</td>
<td>Stock Person</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

American Sociological Review, 2009
## Job Channeling - Whites

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Original Job Title</th>
<th>Suggested Job</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>Whites Channeled Up</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Line Cook</td>
<td>Waitstaff</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mover</td>
<td>Office/telesales</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dishwasher</td>
<td>Waitstaff</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Driver</td>
<td>Auto detailing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kitchen Job</td>
<td>“Front of the house” job</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Receptionist</td>
<td>Company Supervisor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Whites Channeled Down</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Server</td>
<td>Busboy</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*American Sociological Review, 2009*
“It’s unfortunate, but...[black men] tend to be known to be dishonest. I think that’s too bad but that’s the image they have...an image problem of being dishonest men and lazy. They’re known to be lazy. They are [laughs]. I hate to tell you, but. It’s all an image though. Whether they are or not, I don’t know.” Suburban Employer

Source: Kirschenman and Neckerman 1991
White Stereotypes of Blacks, 2004

- 11% of Whites rejected all racial stereotypes and rated Blacks and White the same on all stereotypes
- 20% of Whites ranked Blacks below Whites on all 4 items
- 42% of Whites ranked Blacks lower than Whites on at least 3 items
- 66% of Whites rated Blacks lower on at least 2 of the 4 items

Krysan et al. 2008 Du Bois Review
Percent of Whites Agreeing that Blacks are

Lazy 35
Prone to Violence 45
Unintelligent 22

General Social Survey (Davis and Smith), 2000

- 176,633 deaths averted due to declines in mortality
- Assume all the decline is due to medical advances

- If the death rates of blacks and whites were identical, 886,202 deaths would have been averted
- 5 deaths could be averted by reducing disparities for every life saved by medical advances
- Eliminating disparities in health would save more lives than current advances in medical technology

Woolf, S. et al 2004, AJPH