The House that Racism Built

David R. Williams, PhD, MPH

Florence & Laura Norman Professor of Public Health

Professor of African & African American Studies and of Sociology

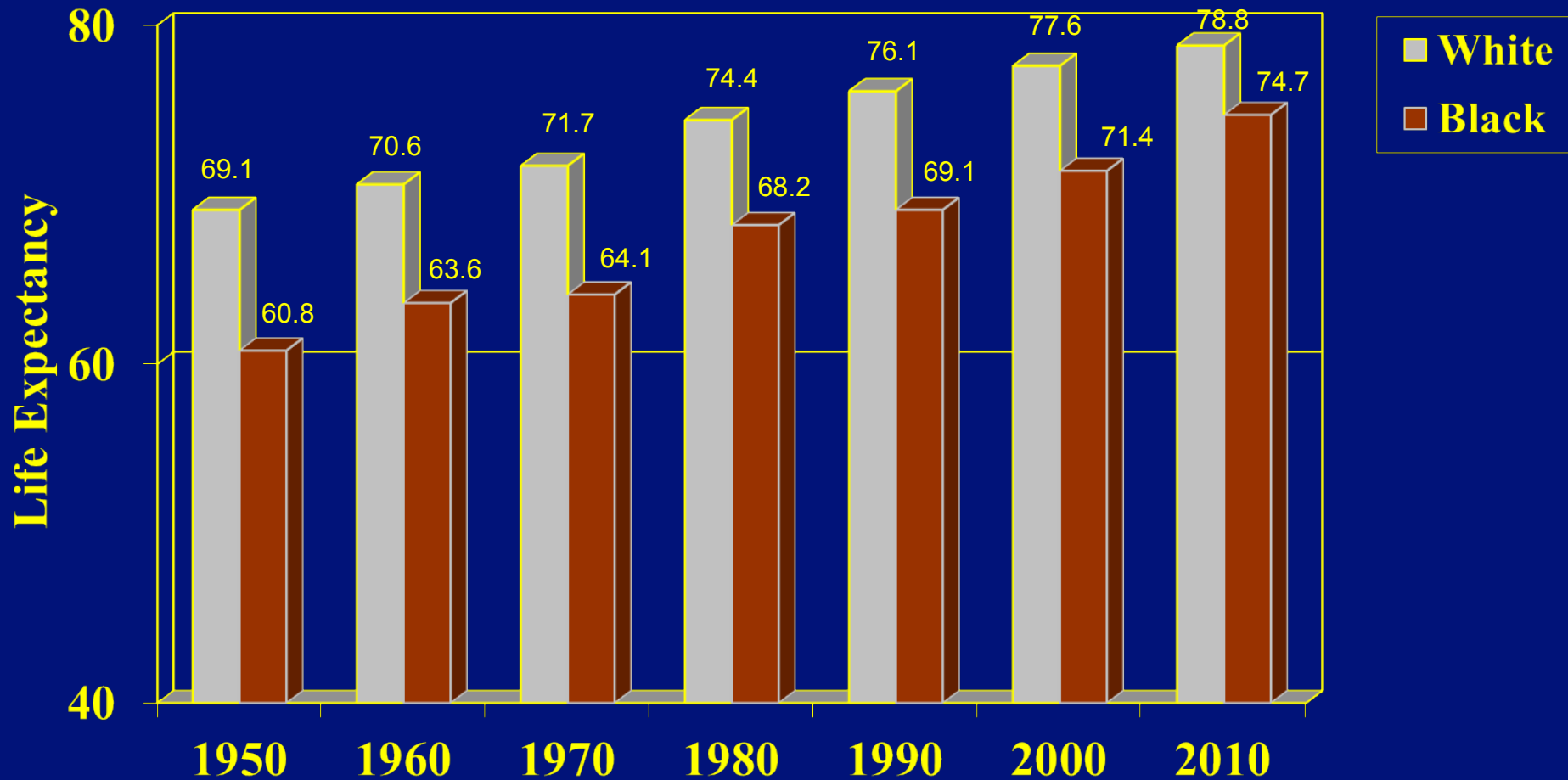Harvard University

A Global Phenomenon

In race-conscious societies, such as,

- Australia
- Brazil
- New Zealand
- South Africa
- the U.K.
- United States,

non-dominant racial groups have worse health than the dominant racial group

Life Expectancy Lags, 1950-2010

Source: NCHS, Health United States, 2013

Making Sense of Racial Inequities

The House that Racism Built

Racism
- **Ideology of inferiority**
- **Institutional**
- **Cultural**

Social Forces
- **Political**
- **Legal**
- **Economic**
- **Religious**
- **Cultural**
- **Historical Events**

Racism Defined

- Racism: an organized system, premised on the categorization and ranking of social groups into races and devalues, disempowers and differentially allocates desirable societal opportunities and resources to racial groups regarded as inferior

- The development of racism is typically undergirded by an ideology of inferiority in which some population groups are regarded as being inferior to others.

- This often leads to the development of negative attitudes and beliefs toward racial outgroups (prejudice), and differential treatment of members of these groups by both individuals and social institutions (discrimination)
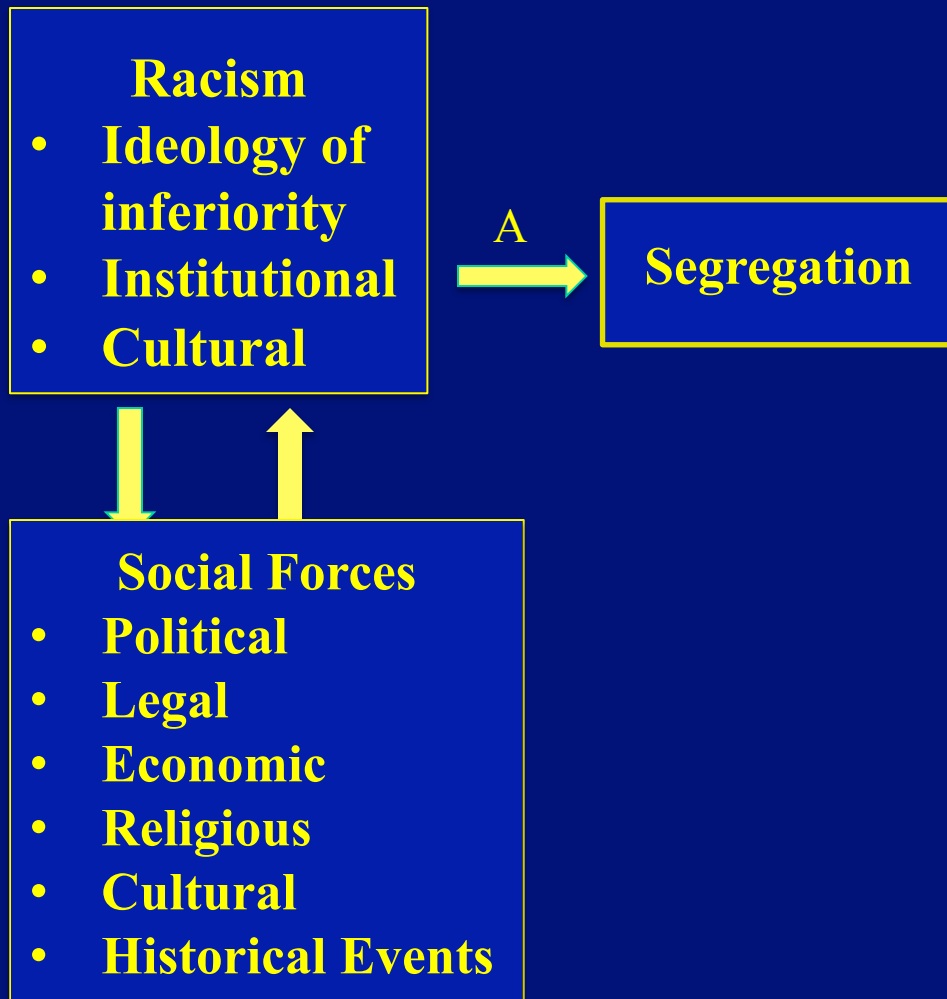
Bonilla-Silva, 1996; Williams 2004

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.

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A →

Segregation

Social Forces
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Place Matters

Residential Segregation is
a striking legacy of racism

- As is the forced removal and relocation of indigenous peoples

- The institutionalized isolation and marginalization of racial populations has adversely affected life chances in multiple ways

Racial Segregation Is …

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

2. …key to understanding racial inequality (Kenneth Clark, 1965) .

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

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

5. …"the key structural factor for the perpetuation of Black poverty in the U.S." and the "missing link" in efforts to understand urban poverty (Massey and Denton, 1993).

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, Pub Health Reports, 2001

Our Neighborhood Affects Our Health

Unhealthy Community	vs	Healthy Community
Unsafe even in daylight		Safe neighborhoods, safe schools, safe walking routes
Exposure to toxic air, hazardous waste		Clean air and environment
No parks/areas for physical activity		Well-equipped parks and open/spaces/organized community recreation
Limited affordable housing is run-down; linked to crime ridden neighborhoods		High-quality mixed income housing, both owned and rental
Convenience/liquor stores, cigarettes and liquor billboards, no grocery store		Well-stocked grocery stores offering nutritious foods

Our Neighborhood Affects Our Health

Unhealthy Community	vs	**Healthy Community**

Streets and sidewalks in disrepair

Clean streets that are easy to navigate

Burned-out homes, littered streets

Well-kept homes and tree-lined streets

No culturally sensitive community centers, social services or opportunities to engage with neighbors in community life

Organized multicultural community programs, social services, neighborhood councils or other opportunities for participation in community life

No local health care services

Primary care through physicians' offices or health center; school-based health

Lack of public transportation, walking or biking paths

Accessible, safe public transportation, walking and bike paths

Racial Differences in Residential Environment

In the 171 largest cities in the U.S., there is not even one city where whites live in equal conditions to those of blacks

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

Sampson & Wilson 1995

Segregation Contributes to Large Racial/ Ethnic Differences in SES

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

Median Household Income and Race, 2013

Racial Differences in Income are Substantial:

1 dollar	1.15 dollar	70 cents	62 cents	59 cents
White	Asian	Hispanic	AI/AN	Black

Median Wealth and Race, 2011

For every dollar of wealth that Whites have,

Asians have 81 cents

Blacks have only 6 cents

Latinos have only 7 cents

-- Large Racial/Ethnic Differences in SES that are consequential for life are not acts of God
-- They are not random events – they reflect the successful implementation of social policies, many of which are rooted in racism

Socioeconomic Status (SES) is a central determinant of the distribution of valuable resources in society
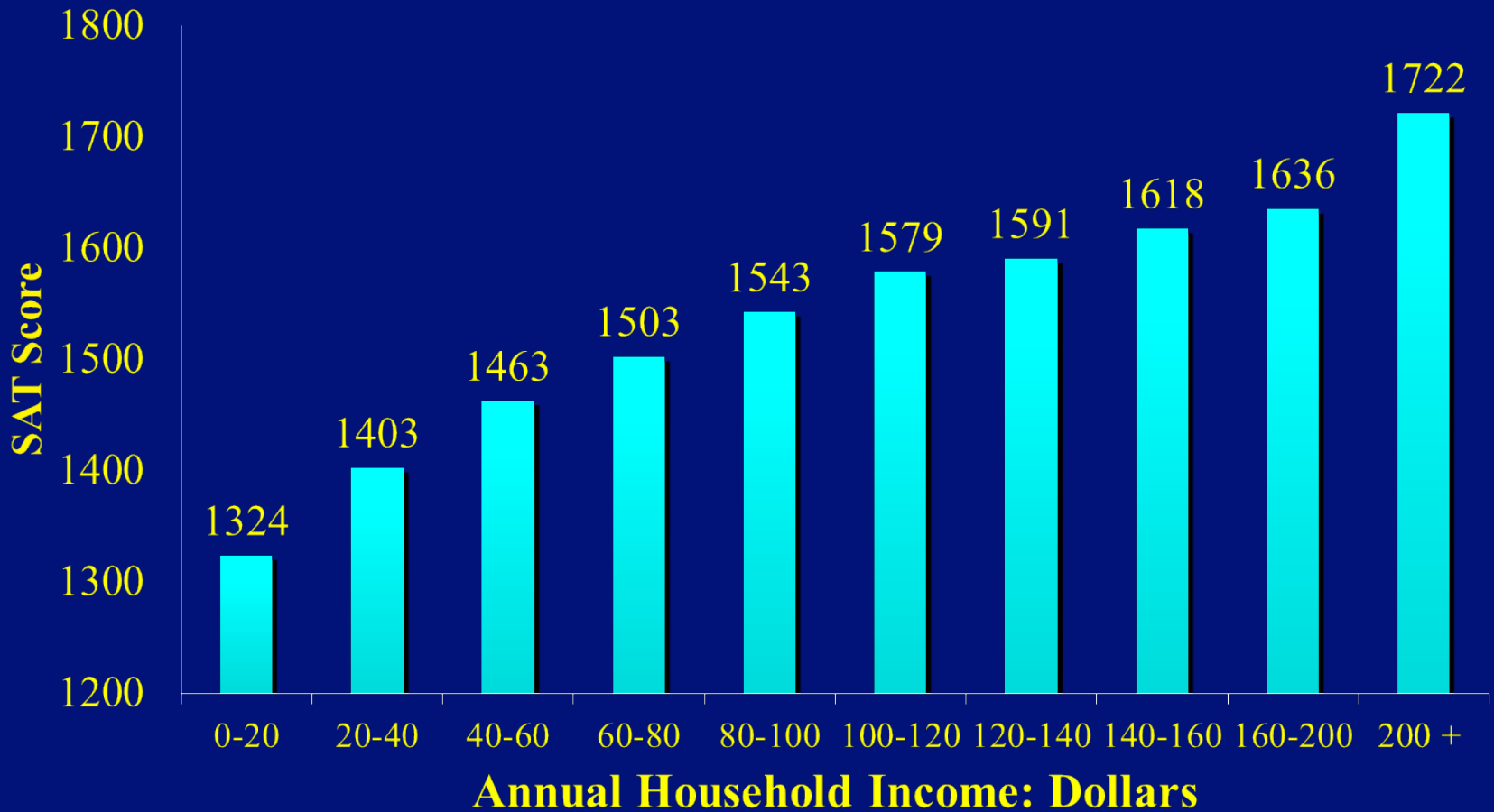
SAT = **Scholastic Aptitude Test**

OR
Student Affluence Test?
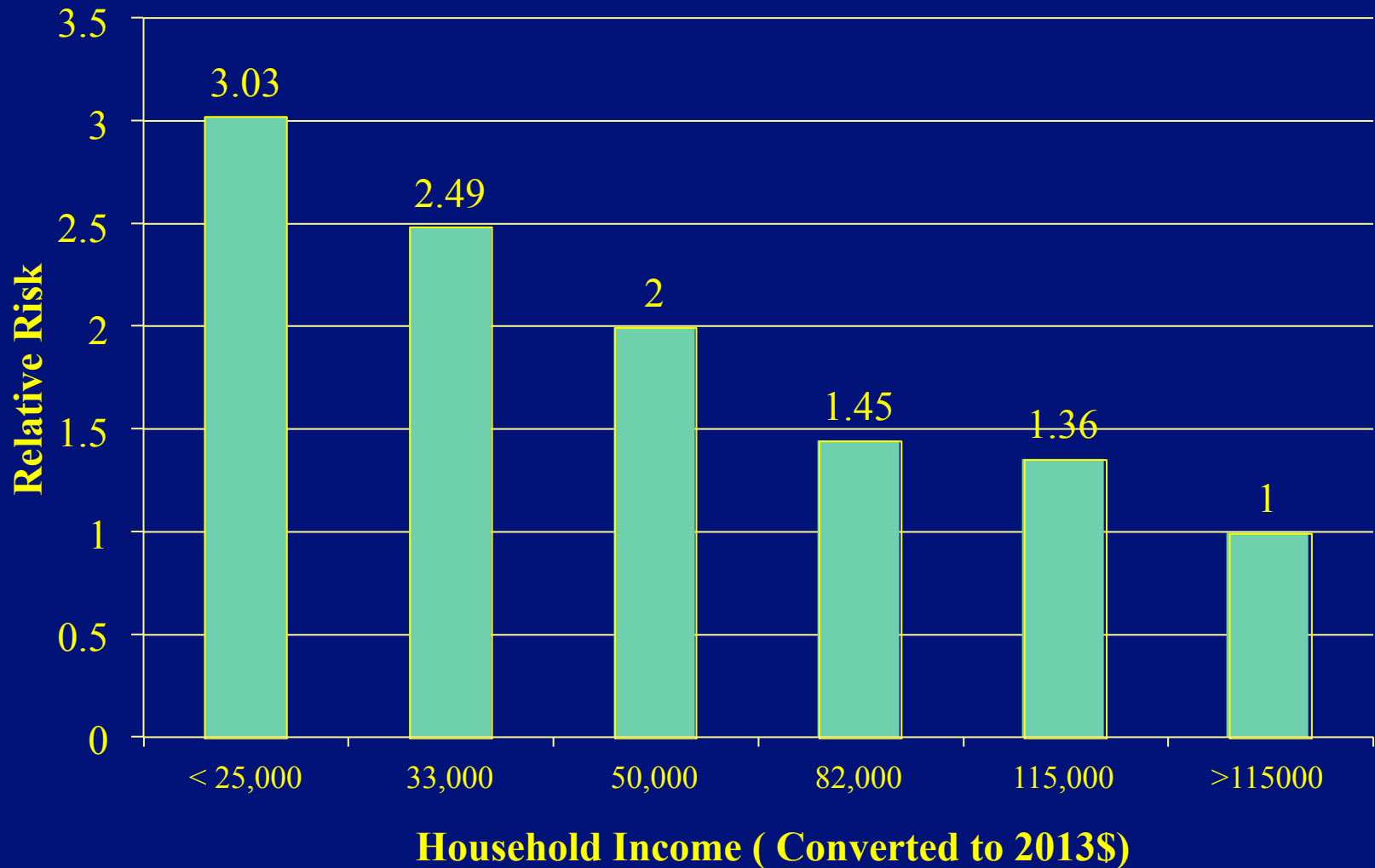
SAT SCORE by Family Income

SAT Score (Math,Reading&Writing)

Relative Risks of All-Cause Mortality by Household Income Level: U.S. Panel Study of Income Dynamics

P. McDonough, Duncan, Williams, & House, AJPH, 1997

Added Burden of Race

Life Expectancy At Age 25

Group	White	Black	Difference
All	53.4	48.4	5.0

Murphy, NVSS 2000; Braveman et al. AJPH, 2010; NLMS 1988-1998

Life Expectancy At Age 25

Group	White	Black	Difference
All	53.4	48.4	5.0
Education			
a. 0-12 Years	50.1		
b. 12 Years	54.1		
c. Some College	55.2		
d. College Grad	56.5		
Difference	6.4		

Murphy, NVSS 2000; Braveman et al. AJPH, 2010; NLMS 1988-1998

Life Expectancy At Age 25

Group	White	Black	Difference
All	53.4	48.4	5.0
Education			
a. 0-12 Years	50.1	47.0	
b. 12 Years	54.1	49.9	
c. Some College	55.2	50.9	
d. College Grad	56.5	52.3	
Difference	6.4	5.3	

Murphy, NVSS 2000; Braveman et al. AJPH, 2010; NLMS 1988-1998

Life Expectancy At Age 25

Group	White	Black	Difference
All	53.4	48.4	5.0
Education			
a. 0-12 Years	50.1	47.0	3.1
b. 12 Years	54.1	49.9	4.2
c. Some College	55.2	50.9	4.3
d. College Grad	56.5	52.3	4.2
Difference	6.4	5.3	

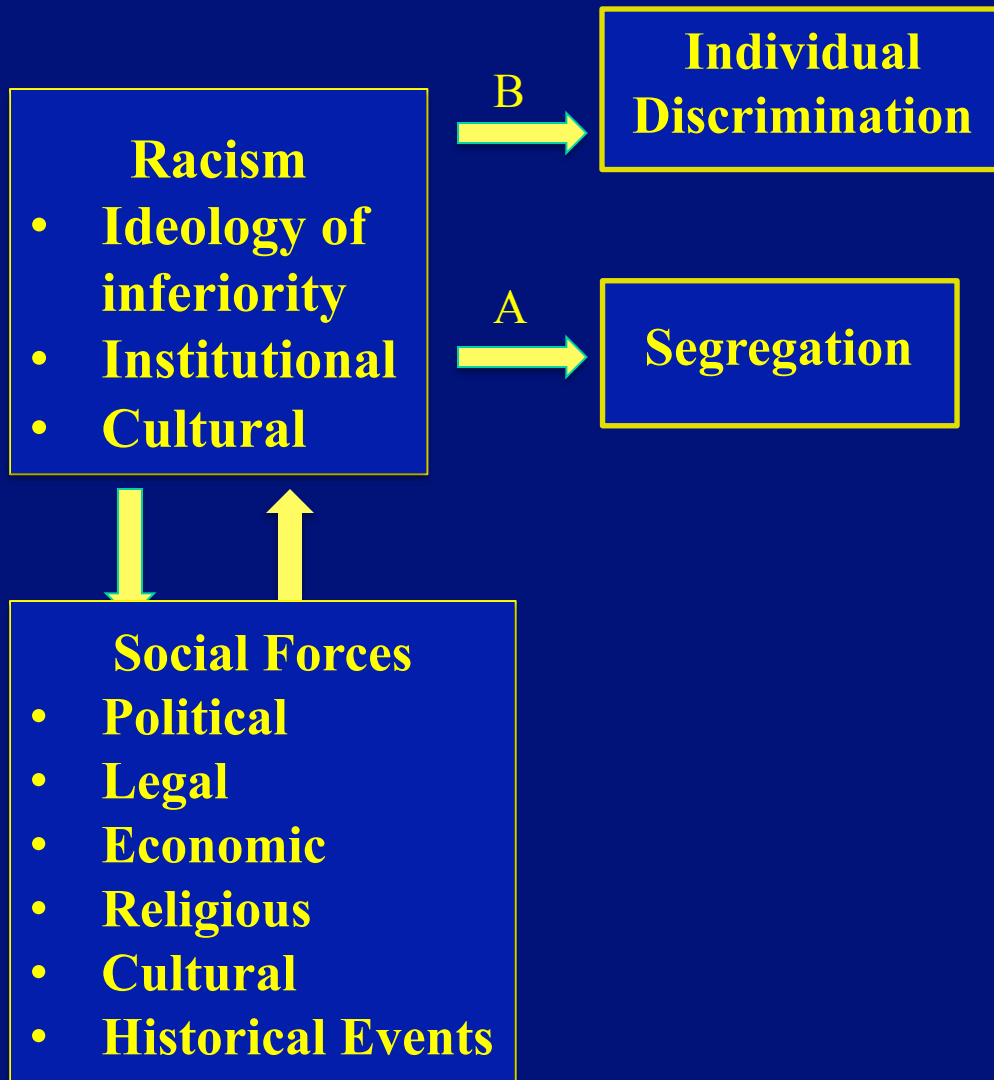Murphy, NVSS 2000; Braveman et al. AJPH, 2010; NLMS 1988-1998

Why Race Still Matters

- Distinctive Social Exposures

-- Other Aspects of Raism

-- High levels of Stressors

-- Greater Clustering of Multiple Stressors

The House that Racism Built

Individual Discrimination

B →

Racism
- **Ideology of inferiority**
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Segregation

Social Forces
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Experiences of discrimination are a source of Toxic Stress

Every Day Discrimination

In your day-to-day life how often do these 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.

What do you think was the <u>main</u> reason for these experiences?

Discrimination & Health: Tene Lewis

- Everyday Discrimination: positively associated with:

    -- coronary artery calcification (Lewis et al., Psy Med, 2006)

    -- C-reactive protein (Lewis et al., Brain Beh Immunity, 2010)

    -- blood pressure (Lewis et al., J Gerontology: Bio Sci & Med Sci 2009)

    -- lower birth weight (Earnshaw et al., Ann Beh Med, 2013)

    -- cognitive impairment (Barnes et al., 2012)

    -- poor sleep [object. & subject.] (Lewis et al, Hlth Psy, 2012)

    -- mortality (Barnes et al., J Gerontology: Bio Sci & Med Sci, 2008).

    -- visceral fat (Lewis et al., Am J Epidemiology, 2011)

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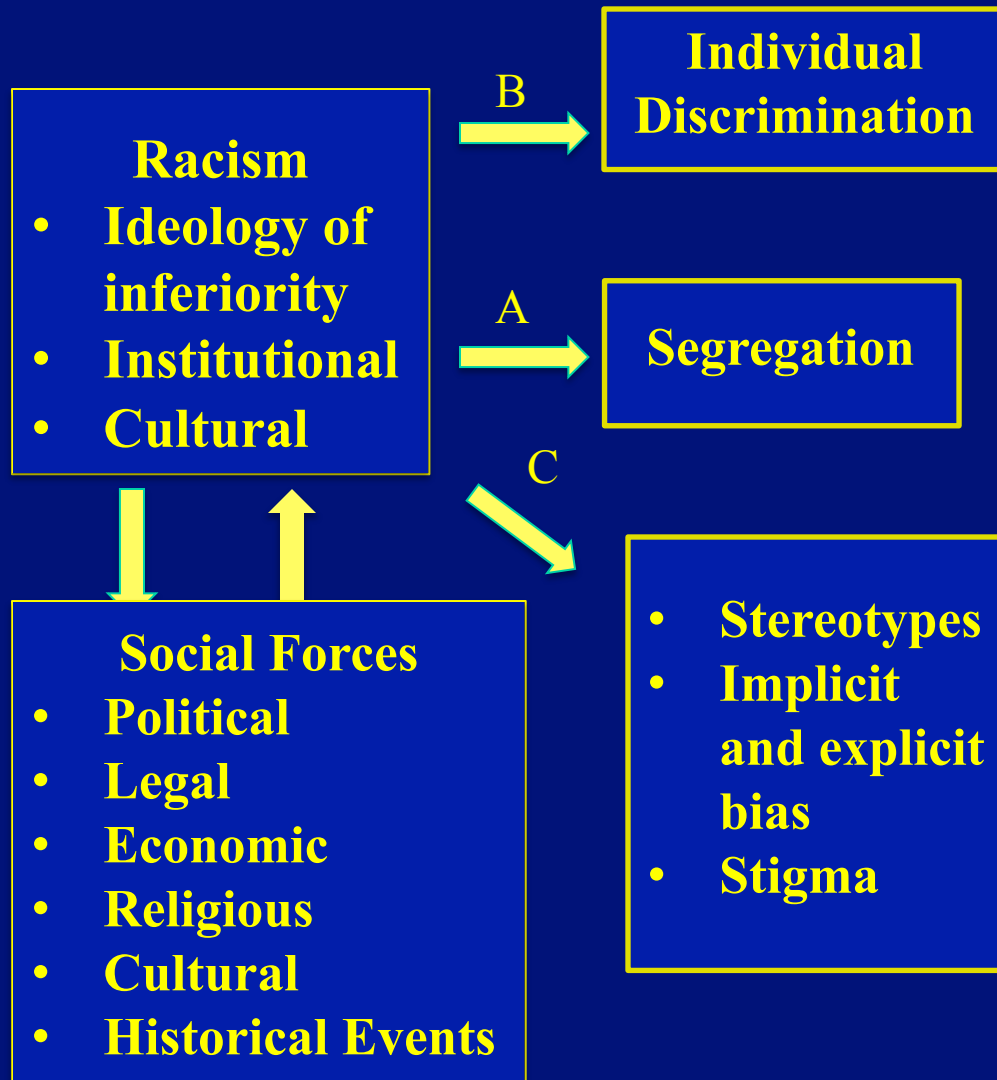
Where do Negative Racial Stereotypes come from?

Racial Stereotypes in Our Culture

- BEAGLE Project

- 10 million words

- Sample of books, newspapers, magazine articles, etc. that average college-level student would read in lifetime

- Allows us to assess how often Americans have seen or heard words paired together over their lifetime

Verhaeghen et al. British J Psychology, 2011

Stereotypes in Our Culture

BLACK	poor	.64	WHITE	wealthy	.48
BLACK	violent	.43	WHITE	progressive	.41
BLACK	religious	.42	WHITE	conventional	.37
BLACK	lazy	.40	WHITE	stubborn	.32
BLACK	cheerful	.40	WHITE	successful	.30
BLACK	dangerous	.33	WHITE	educated	.30
FEMALE	distant	.37	MALE	dominant	.46
FEMALE	warm	.35	MALE	leader	.31
FEMALE	gentle	.34	MALE	logical	.31
FEMALE	passive	.34	MALE	strong	.31

Stereotypes in Our Culture
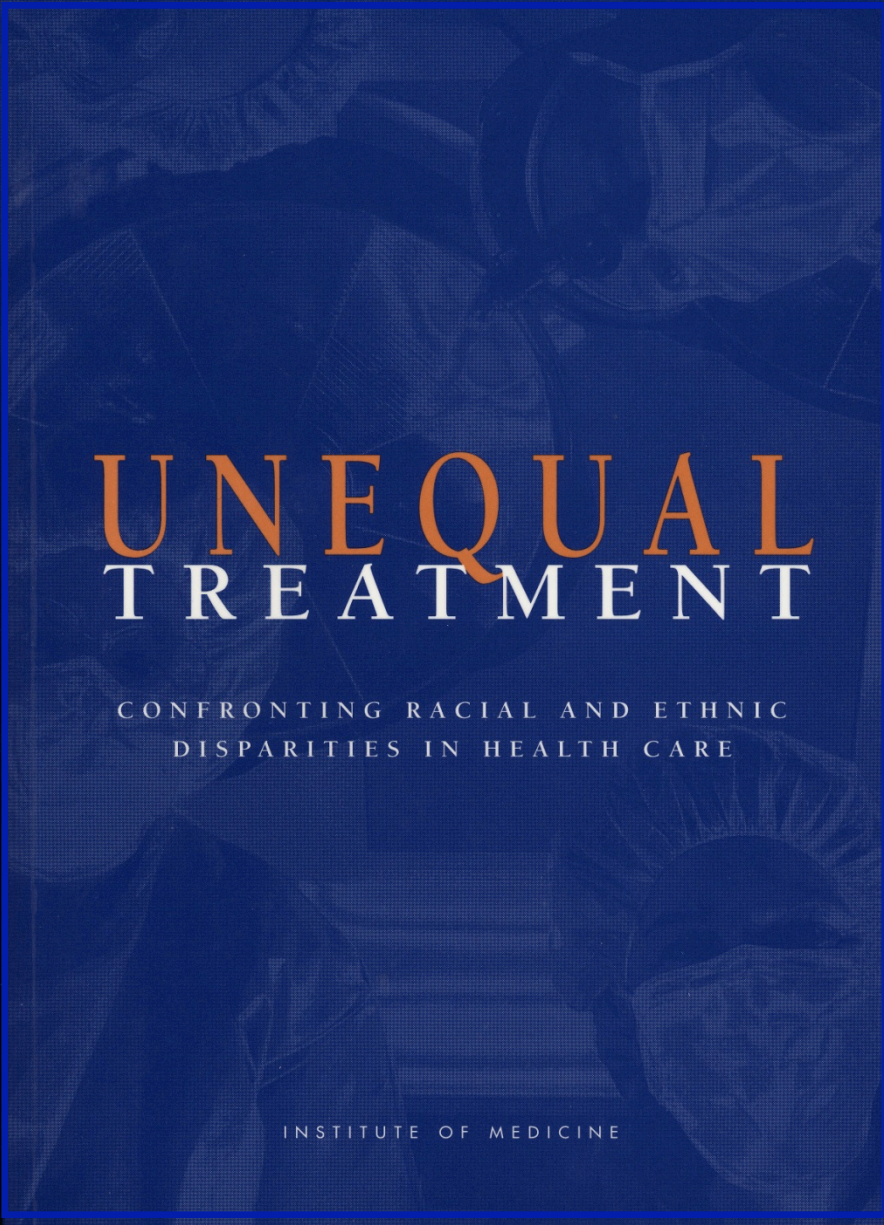
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BLACK	cheerful	.40	WHITE	successful	.30
BLACK	dangerous	.33	WHITE	educated	.30
BLACK	charming	.28	WHITE	ethical	.28
BLACK	merry	.28	WHITE	greedy	.22
BLACK	ignorant	.27	WHITE	sheltered	.21
BLACK	musical	.26	WHITE	selfish	.20

Verhaeghen et al. British J Psychology, 2011

Negative stereotypes about race remain deeply embedded in our culture

Negative Stereotypes Trigger Racial Discrimination

Racial Bias in Medical Care

Race and Medical Care

- Across virtually every therapeutic intervention, ranging from to the most simple diagnostic and treatment interventions to the most high tech ones, minorities receive fewer procedures and poorer quality medical care than whites.

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

Ethnicity and Pain Medicine

Percent of Patients with broken bone receiving no analgesia

Todd et al., JAMA, 1993
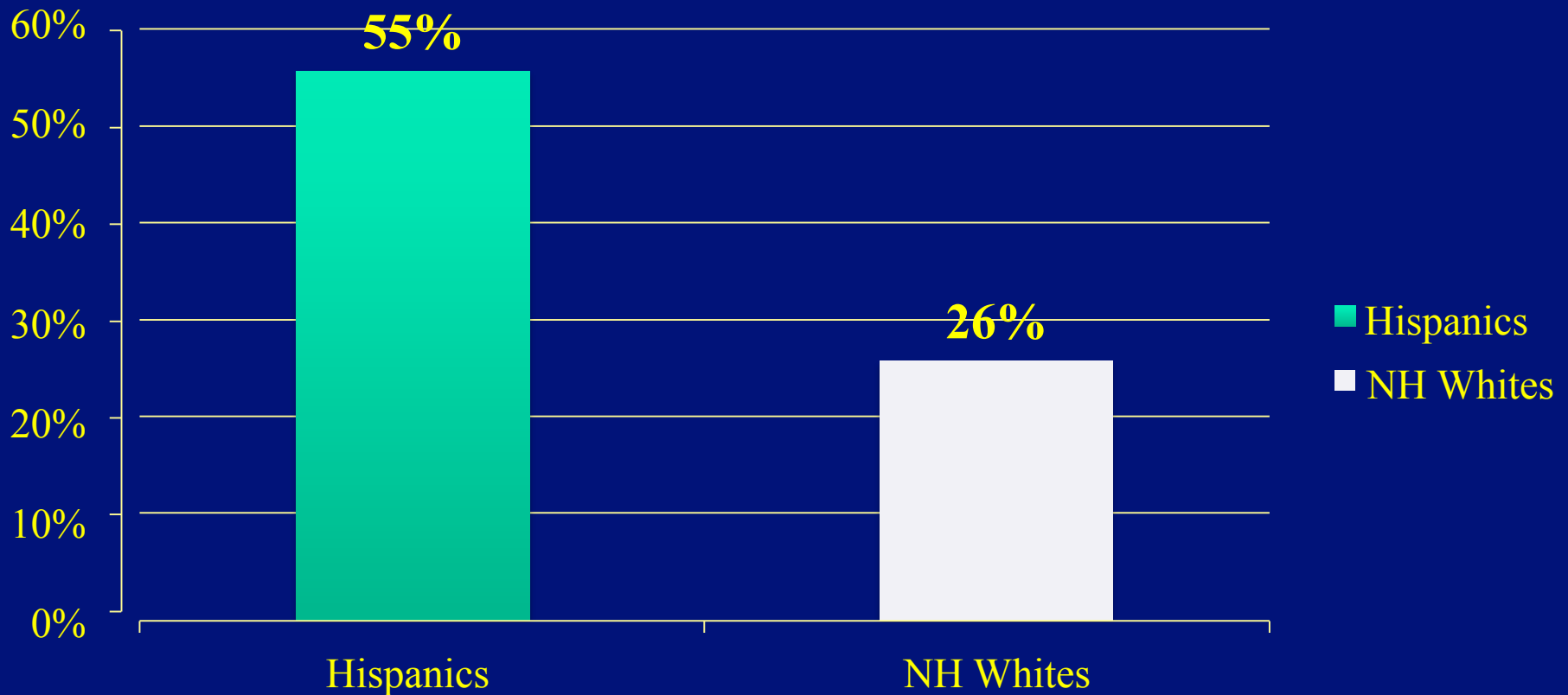
Implicit Bias & Care for Blacks

- More Implicit bias associated with:

    -- more clinician verbal dominance*

    -- less patient centered dialogue

    -- lower patient positive affect*

    -- lower perception of respect from clinician*

    -- less patient liking of clinician*

    -- lower trust and confidence in clinician

    -- less likely to recommend clinician to others*

    -- less perception of clinician as participatory*

    -- longer visits and slower speech (compensation for mistrust?)

Cooper et al., AJPH, 2012; * = significant interaction with race

Disparities in the Clinical Encounter:
The Core Paradox

How could well-meaning and highly educated health professionals, working in their usual circumstances with diverse populations of patients, create a pattern of care that appears to be discriminatory?

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**

Faster than the Twinkling of an Eye!

- Studies find that most Americans have rapid and unconscious emotional and neural reactions to blacks

- A millisecond is 1/1000 of a second

- 100 milliseconds - how quickly an individual's race is noticed and whether or not that person is trustworthy

- 300 - 400 milliseconds: time for human eye to blink

- 800 milliseconds: human resting heart cycle time

Fiske et al, Du Bois Review, 2009

Reducing Racial Bias Among Health Care Providers: Lessons from Social-Cognitive Psychology

Diana Burgess, PhD[1,2], Michelle van Ryn, PhD, MPH[1,3], John Dovidio, PhD[4], and Somnath Saha, MD, MPH[5]

The Devine Solution

- Non-black adults can be motivated to increase their awareness of bias against blacks, their concerns about the effects of bias and to implement strategies which were effective in producing substantial reductions in bias that remained evident three months later

- Implicit biases viewed as deeply engrained habits that can be replaced by learning new prejudice-reducing strategies including stereotype replacement, counter-stereotype imaging, individuation, perspective taking and increasing opportunities for interracial contact.

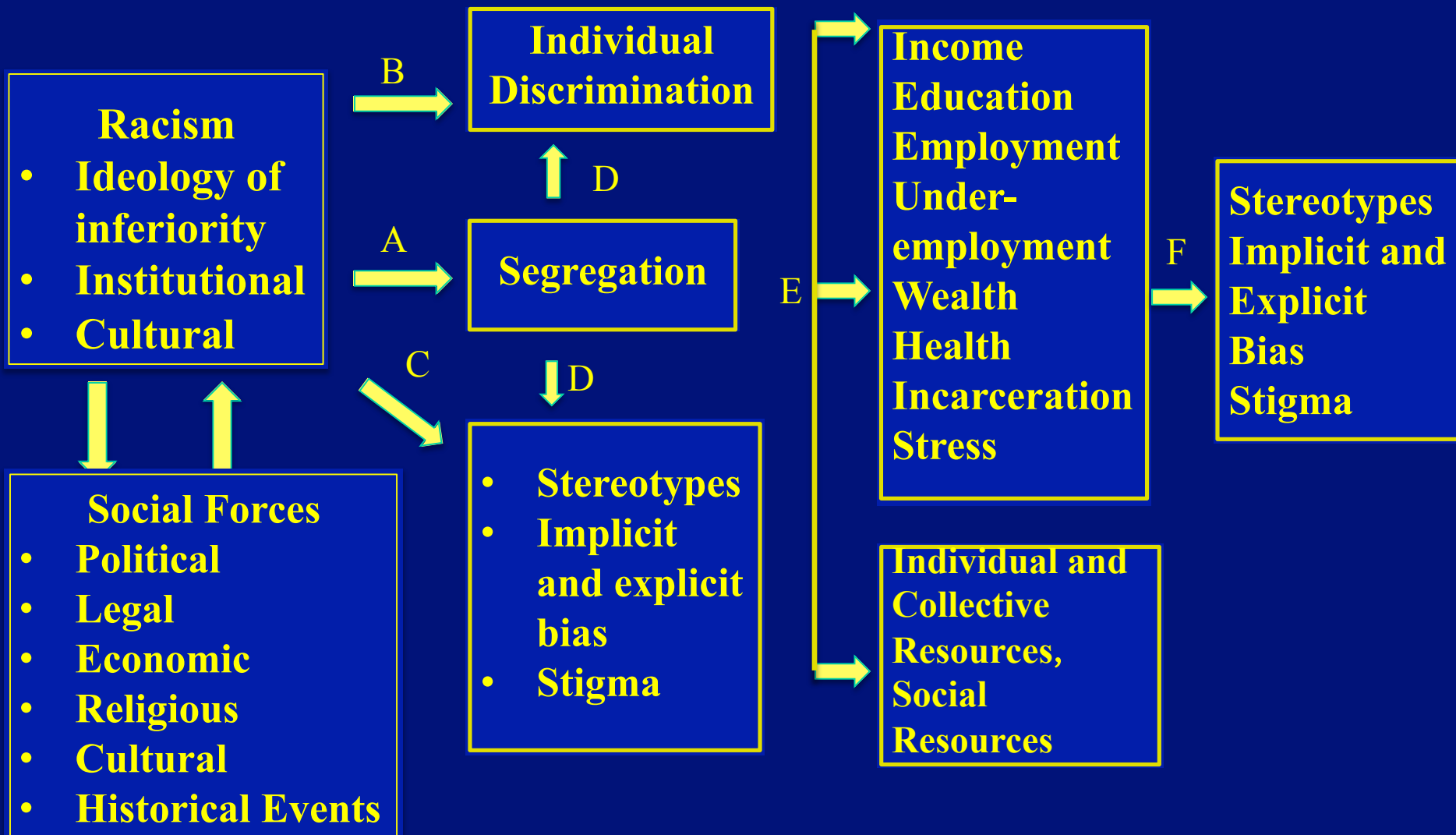Devine, P. G., Forscher, P. S., Austin, A. J., & Cox, W. T. L. 2012 *J Exp Soc Psych*

Internalized Racism:

Acceptance of society's negative characterization can adversely affect health
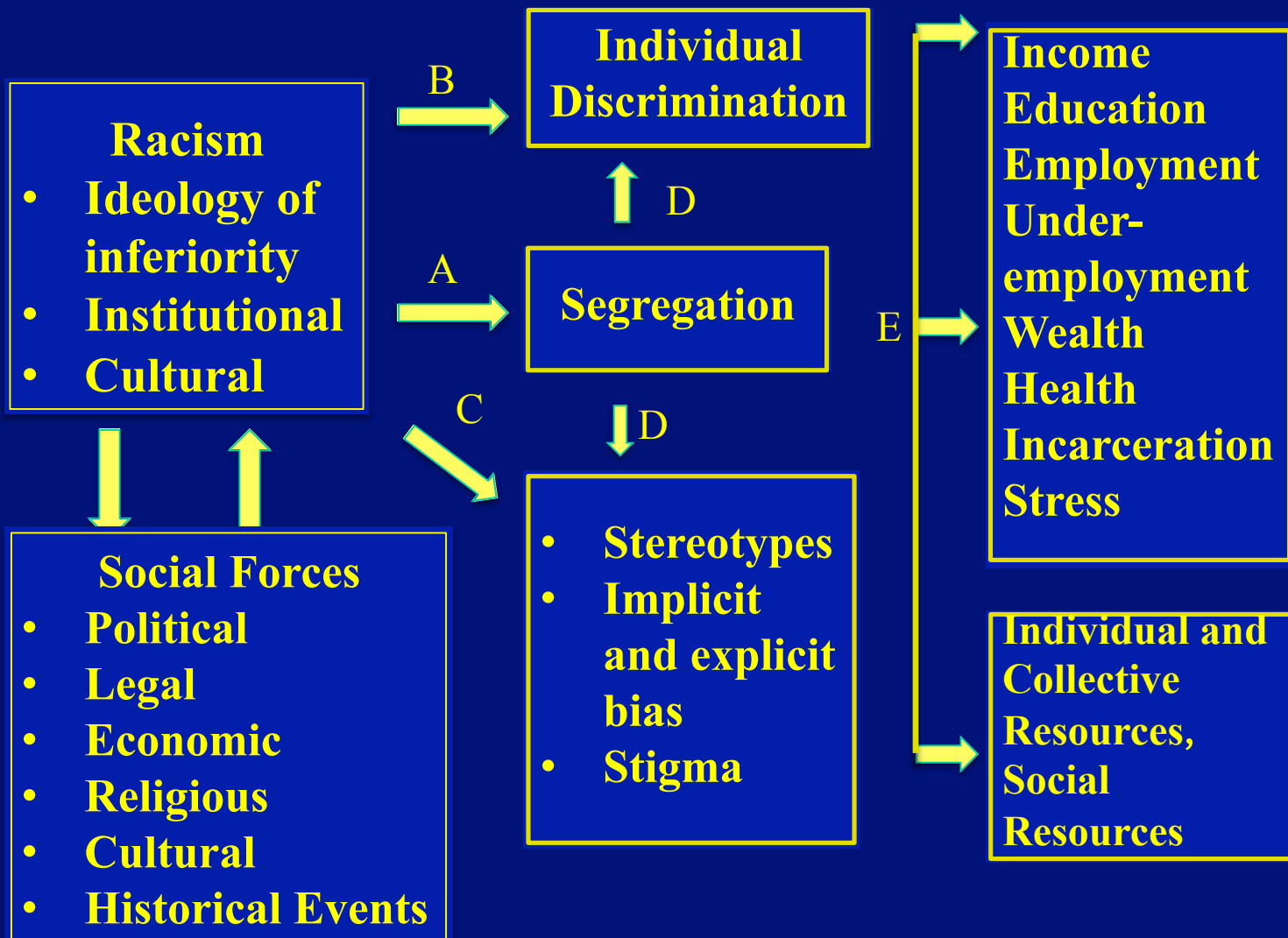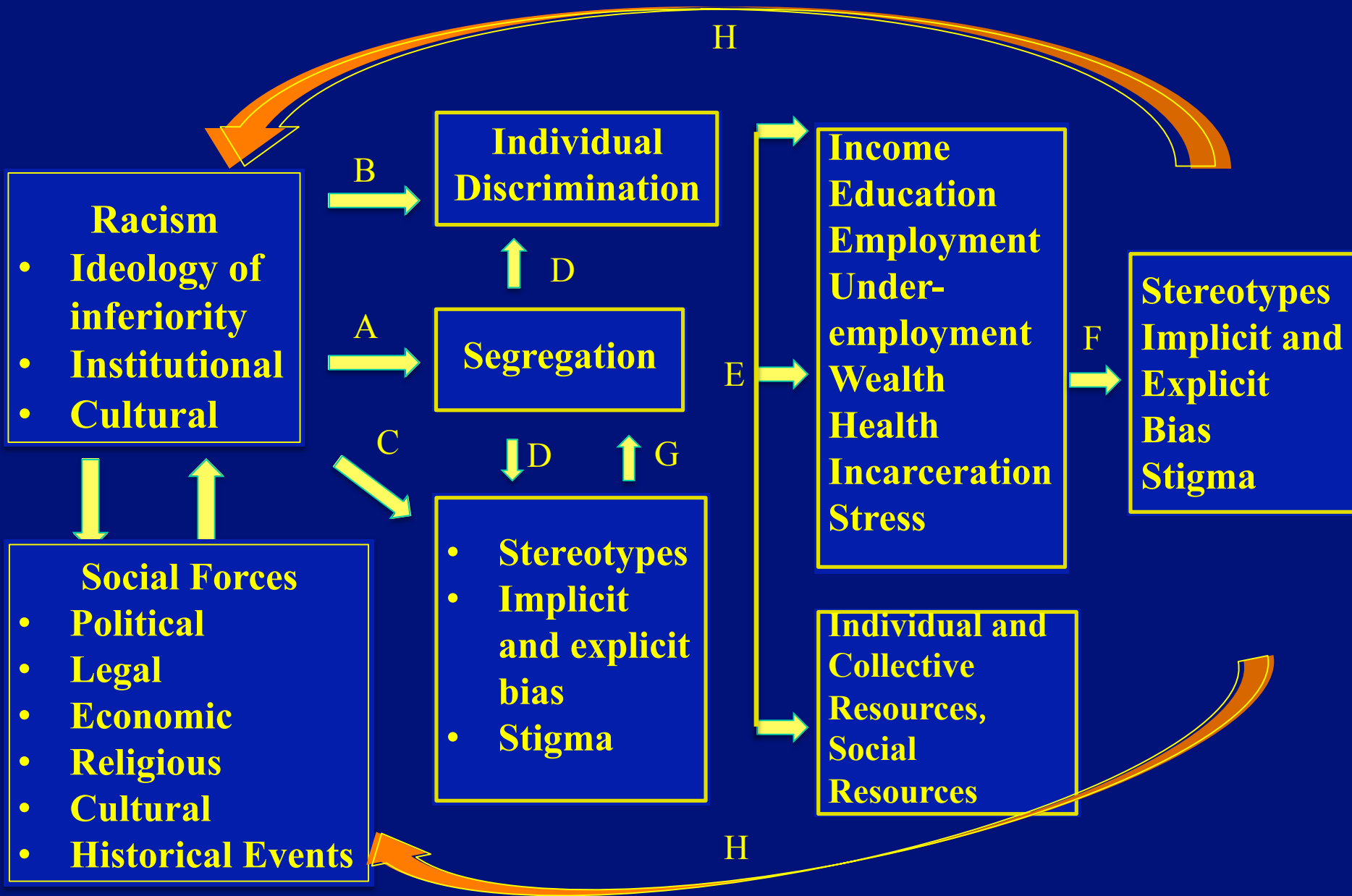
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Undoing Racism

Dismantling Institutional Racism
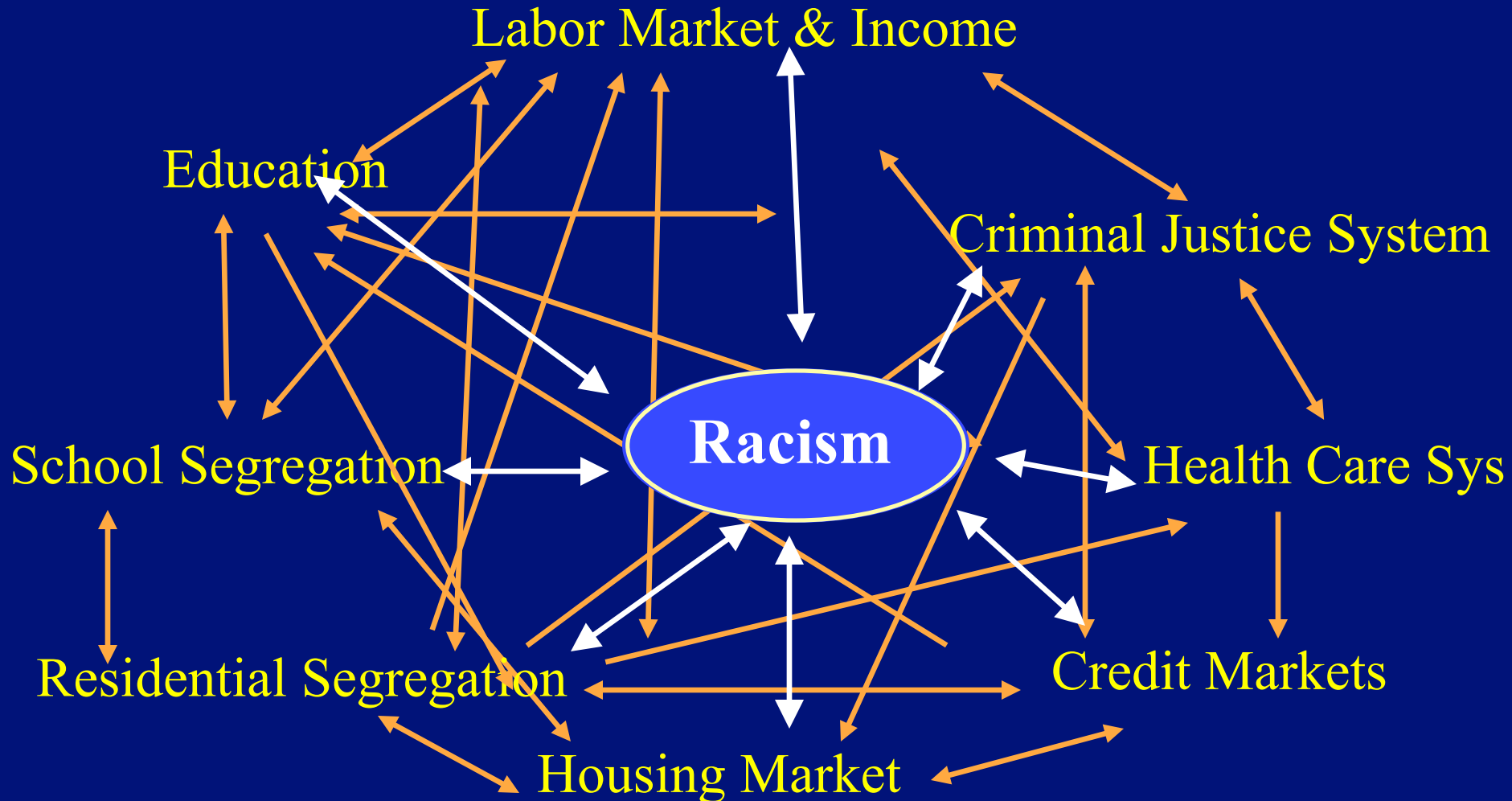
Racism as a System: Implications

- Disparities in one societal domain are not independent of those in other domains
- Racism is a set of dynamically related components of subsystems.
- There is reciprocal causality of disparities across domains
- Disparities in one domain are a product of causal processes across multiple subsystems
- "It is impossible" to come up with remedies for disparities if we fail to acknowledge and address the interdependence across domains

Reskin, Ann Review of Sociology, 2012

Racism as a System

Arrows reflect emergence of racism and the effects of subsystems (white arrows)

Labor Market & Income

Education

Criminal Justice System

School Segregation

Racism

Health Care Sys

Residential Segregation

Credit Markets

Housing Market

Options for Reducing Racial Inequalities

1 An exogenous force that acts on every subsystem: authoritative entity with mandate to act

2 Act on leverage points

   -- Residential segregation is one

3 Removing institutions from the discrimination system

   -- Success of the Army

4 Increasing accountability, reducing discretion

Effective solutions to reducing racism must be comprehensive

Reskin, Ann Review of Sociology, 2012

Purpose Built Communities: Comprehensive

- Based on efforts in Atlanta's East Lake district

- Purpose Built Communities uses integrative strategies including cradle-to-college educational opportunities, mixed-income housing, early child development programs, employment support and recreational opportunities

- Community engagement and philanthropy

- Key: addressing all of the challenges faced by disadvantaged communities simultaneously

- Purpose Built Communities in Atlanta, New Orleans, Indianapolis, Charlotte, among others

Implementing the Purpose Built Model

A Defined Neighborhood

Mixed Income Housing

Cradle-to-College Education Pipeline

Community Wellness

A Strong Lead Organization

Strong local leadership. A proven national model. Best in class partners.

East Lake Meadows - 1995

Safety

- 18x national crime rate

- 90% of families victims of a felony each year

- $35 million a year drug trade

Housing

- 100% public housing

- 1400 residents in 650 apartments

- 40% of units unlivable

Employment

- 13% employment

- 59% of adults on welfare

- Median income of ~$4,500

Education

- One of lowest performing schools in Georgia

- 5% of 5th graders meet state math standards

- 30% graduation rate

Villages of East Lake - Present

Safety

- 73% reduction in crime

- 90% lower violent crime

Housing

- High-quality, privately managed housing

- Mixed-income (50% public housing, 50% market rate)

- 1400 residents in 542 apartments

Employment

- 75% employment in public housing, remainder in job training, elderly or disabled

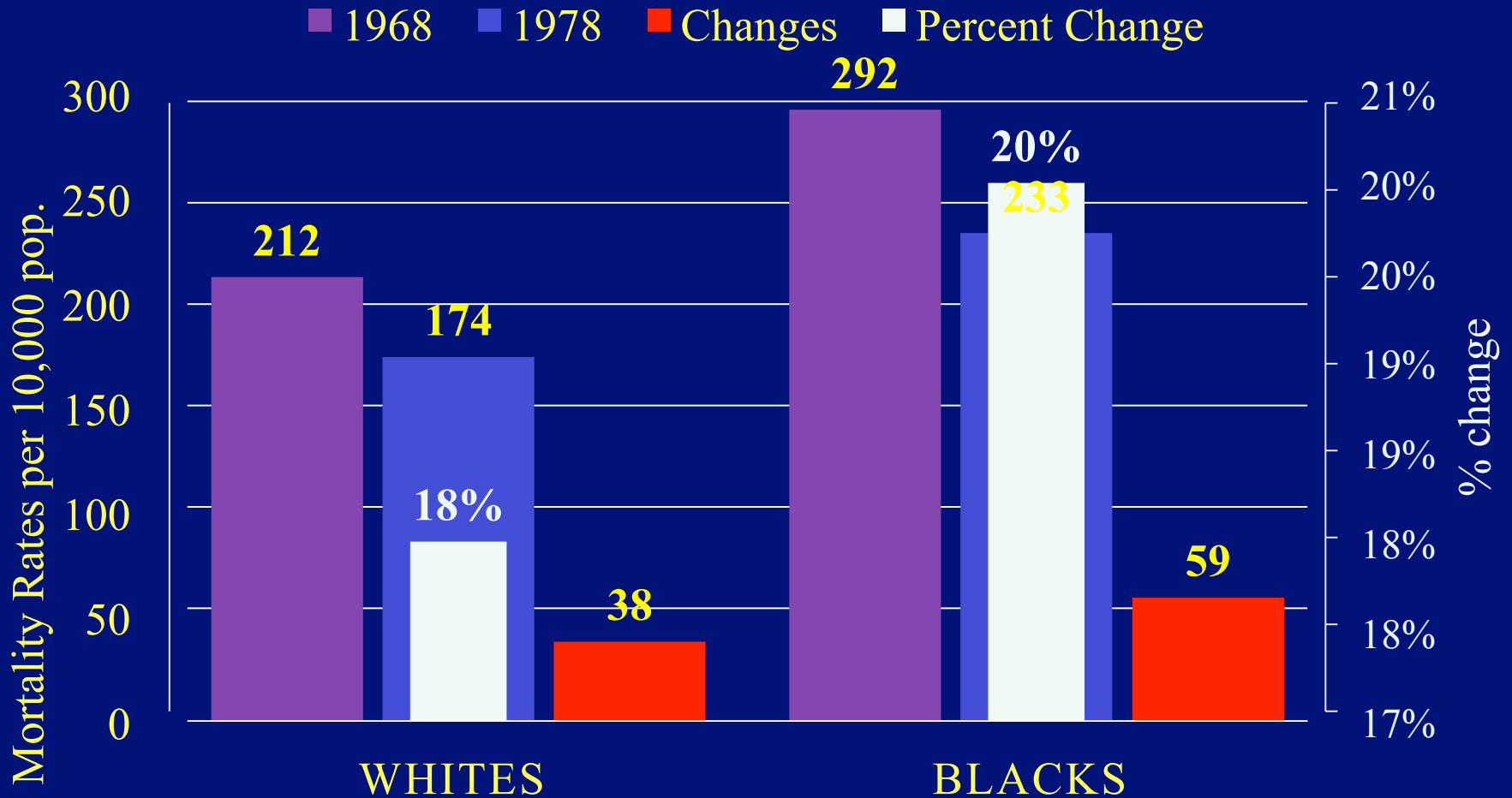- Median income of ~ $15k in public housing households

Education

- ~1500 in Pre-K through 10th

- 98% meet or exceed state standards

- A top performing school in Atlanta and the state

Economic Policy is Health Policy

In the last 60 years, black-white differences in health have narrowed and widened with black-white differences in income
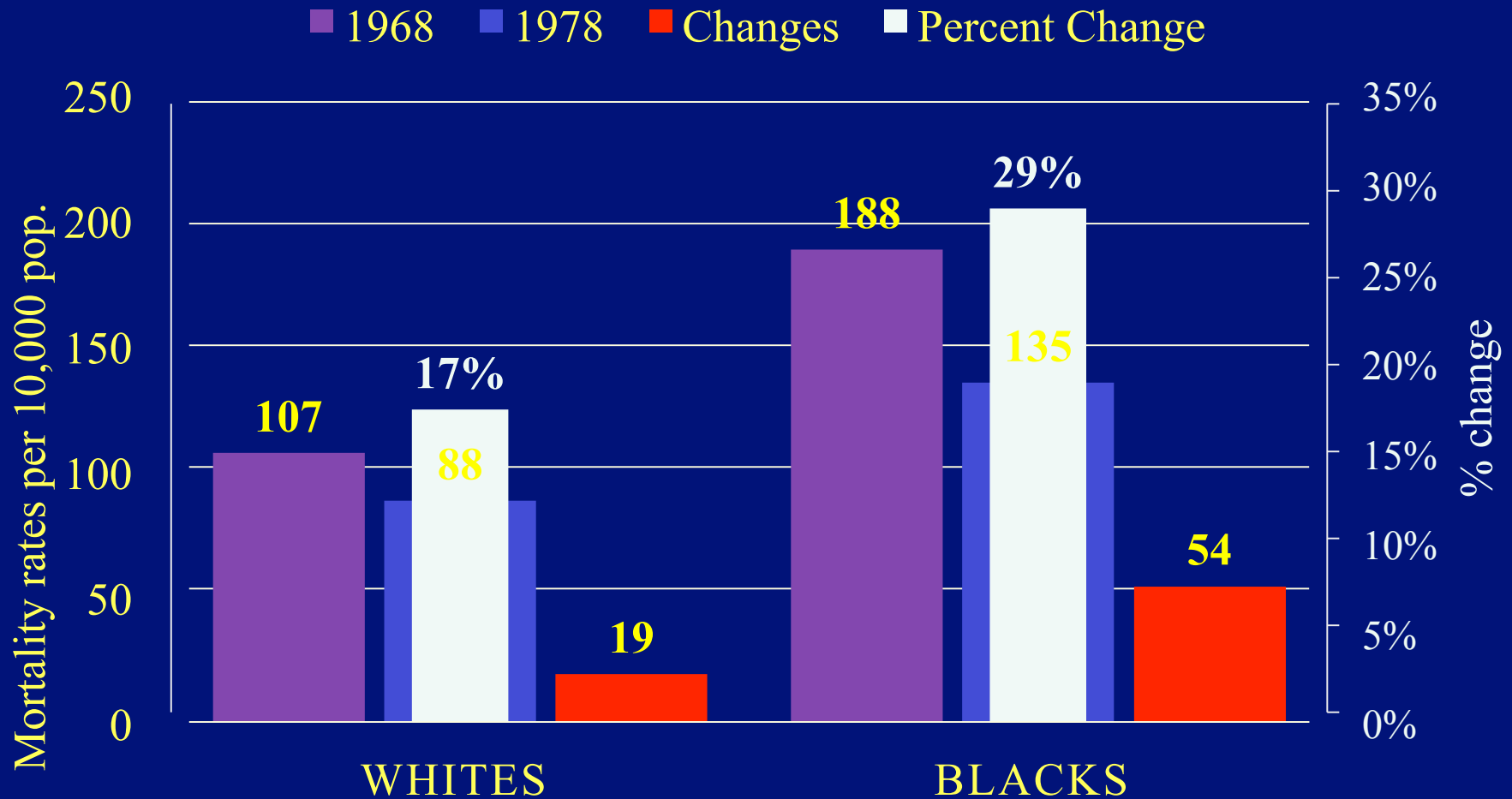
Median Family Income of Blacks per $1 of Whites

Cents

Year
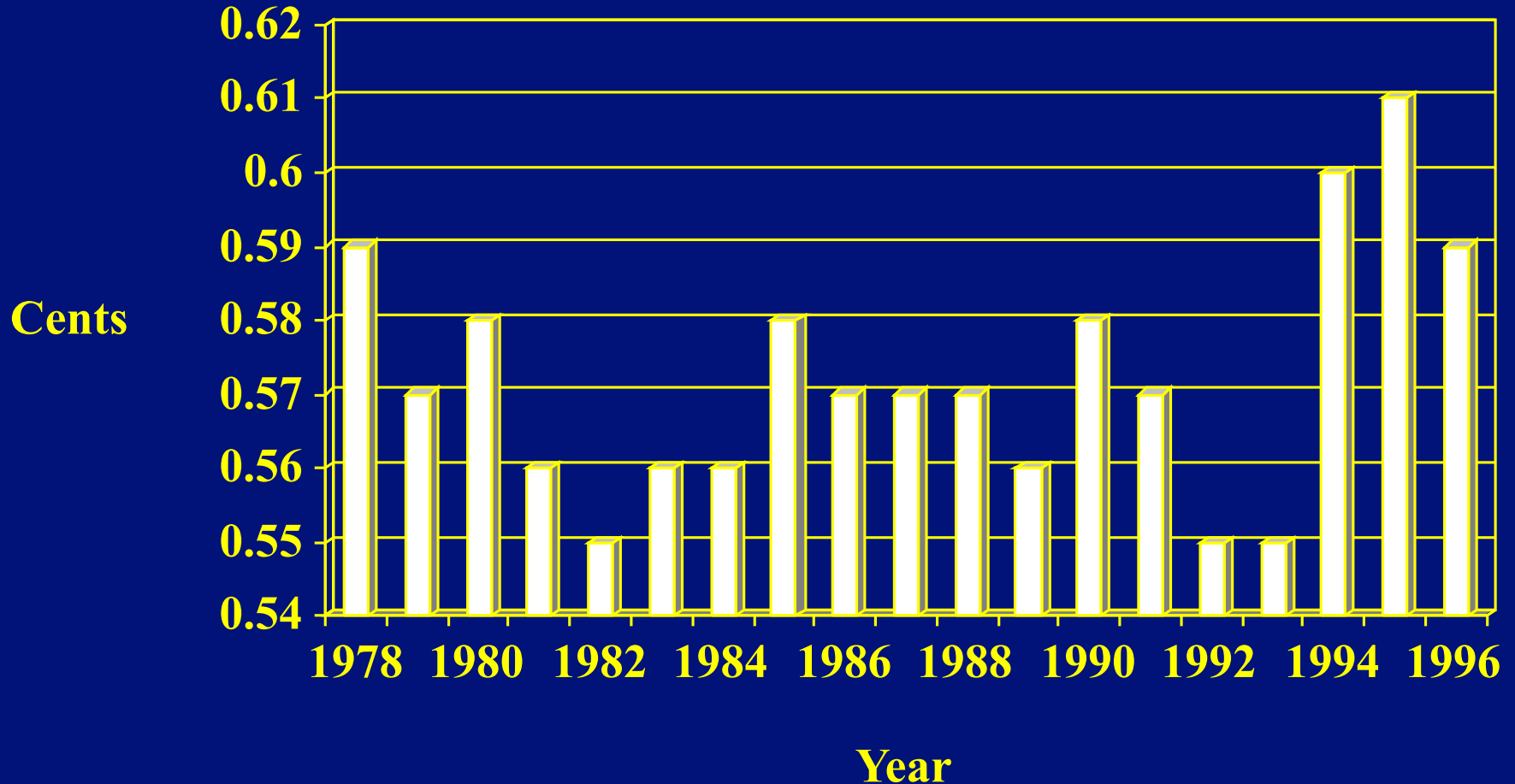
U.S. Life Expectancy at Birth, 1984-1992

NCHS, 1995
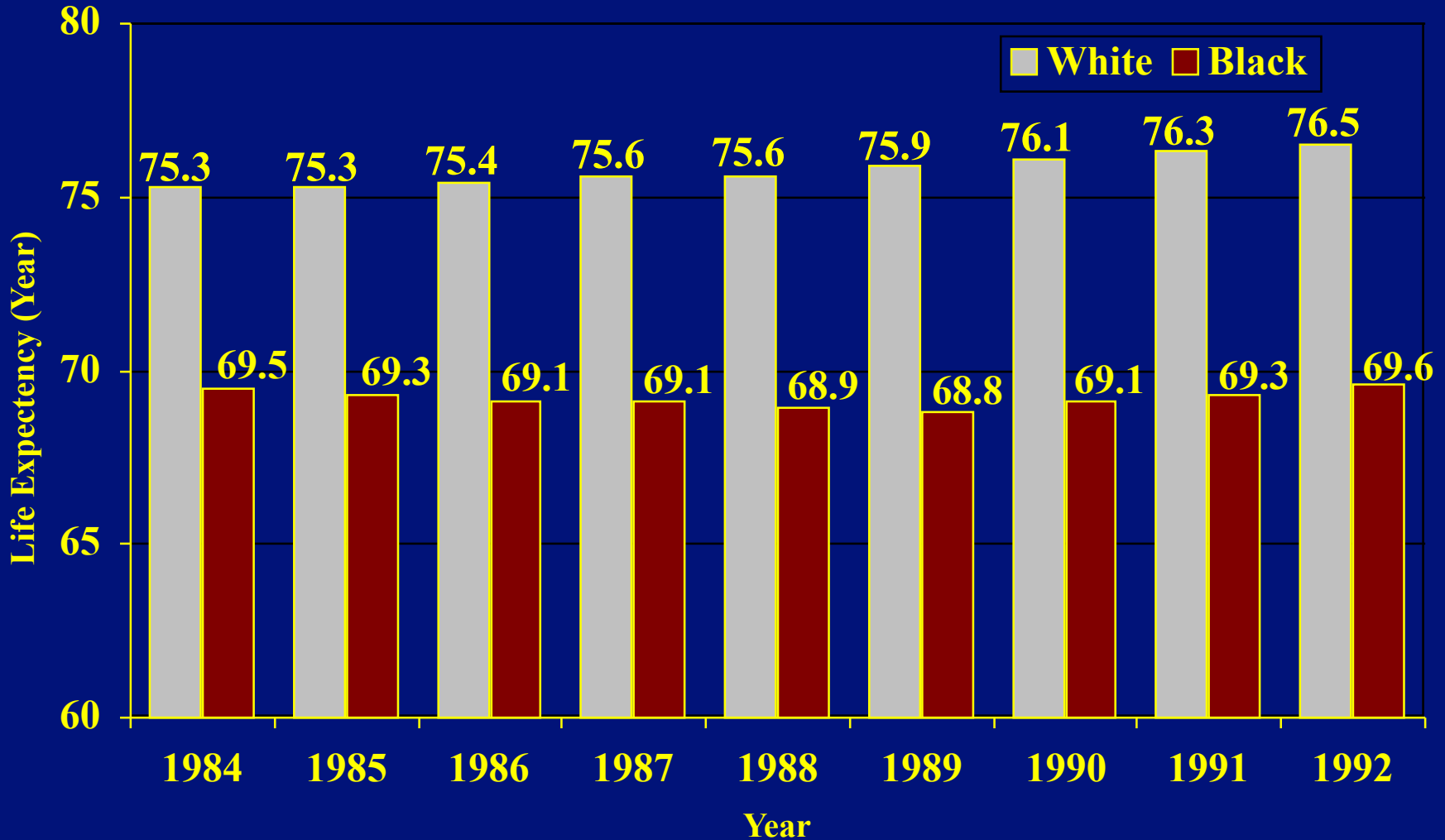
Undoing Racism

It is not enough just to open the gates of opportunity. Everyone, irrespective of social group and background, must have the ability to walk through those gates.

Progress (or lack thereof) in Medicine

- In 2014, there were 27 fewer African American males in the first year of Medical School than there had been 36 years earlier, in 1978

- In the mid- 1960s, 2.9% of all practicing physicians in the US were black, and in 2012, 3.8% of all practicing physicians were black (5.2% were Hispanic)

AAMC, Altering the Course, 2015; Deville et al. JAMA Internal Med, 2015

"There is nothing so unfair as the equal treatment of unequal people."

- Thomas Jefferson

Conclusions

- Racism, in its multiple forms, is alive and well today

- Its most powerful effects are through policies and procedures that are embedded in social institutions

- We need to acknowledge and understand the current manifestations of racism

- We need re-doubled efforts to mitigate its pathogenic effects

- We need to create the political will and support to dismantle societal structures that support racism, ethno-centrism, anti-immigrant sentiments and incivility

"True compassion is more than flinging a coin to a beggar; it understands that an edifice which produces beggars needs restructuring."

- - Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr.

A Call to Action

"Each time a man stands up for an ideal, or acts to improve the lot of others, or strikes out against injustice, he sends forth a tiny ripple of hope, and those ripples build a current which can sweep down the mightiest walls of oppression and resistance."

- Robert F. Kennedy