The House that Racism Built and its Consequences for Health

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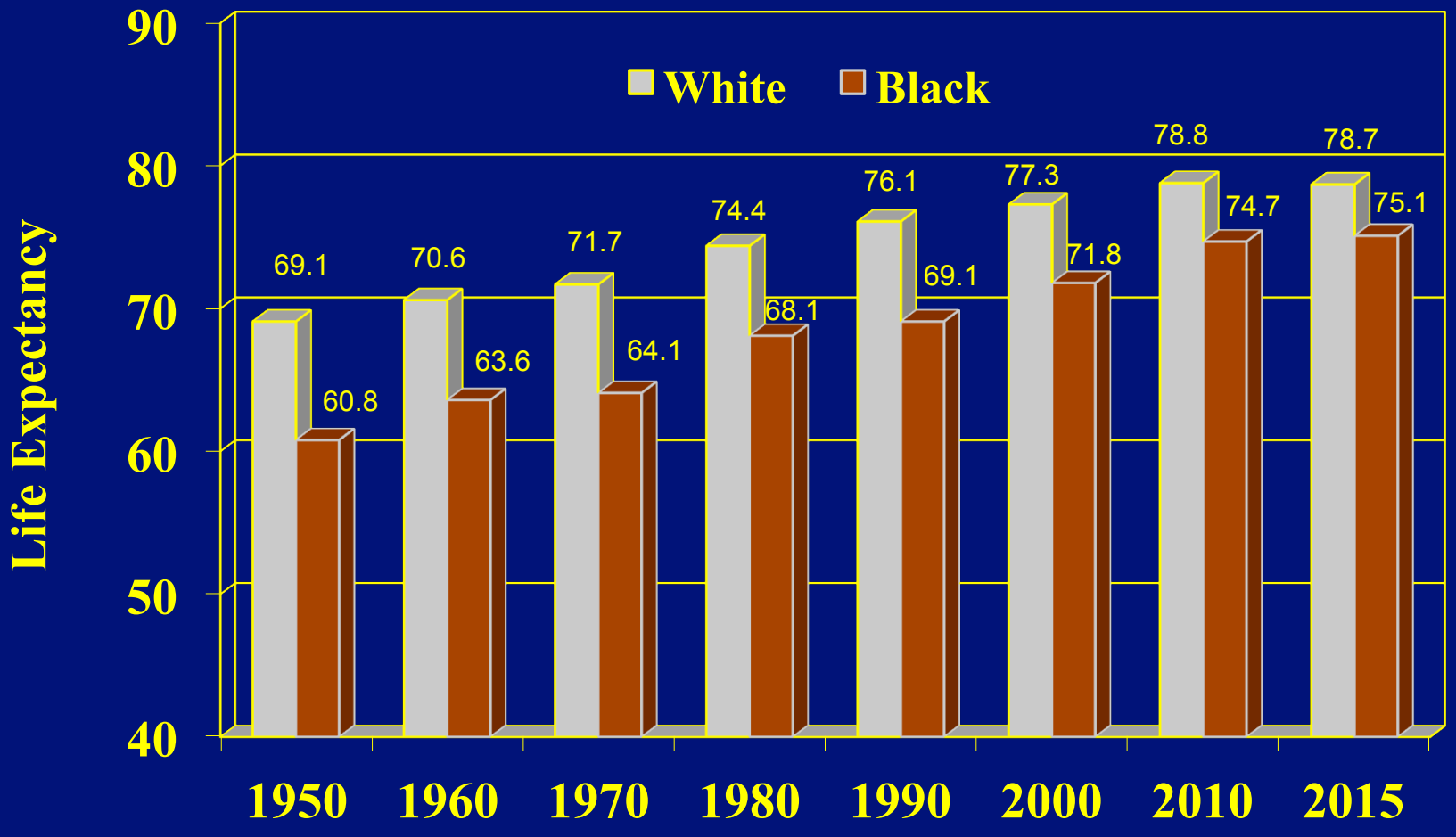
Tragedy #1: Large Loss of Lives

MH 370 Disappears, May 2014

Most Costly Search in Aviation History

- Massive international search last 3 years
- In 1st month, 19 ships deployed, and 345 sorties by military aircraft
- Later, sonar searches under water
- Underwater searches alone cost US$155 Million

Tragedy #2: Life Expectancy, 1950-2015



NCHS, Health United States, 2016

Massive Loss of Lives

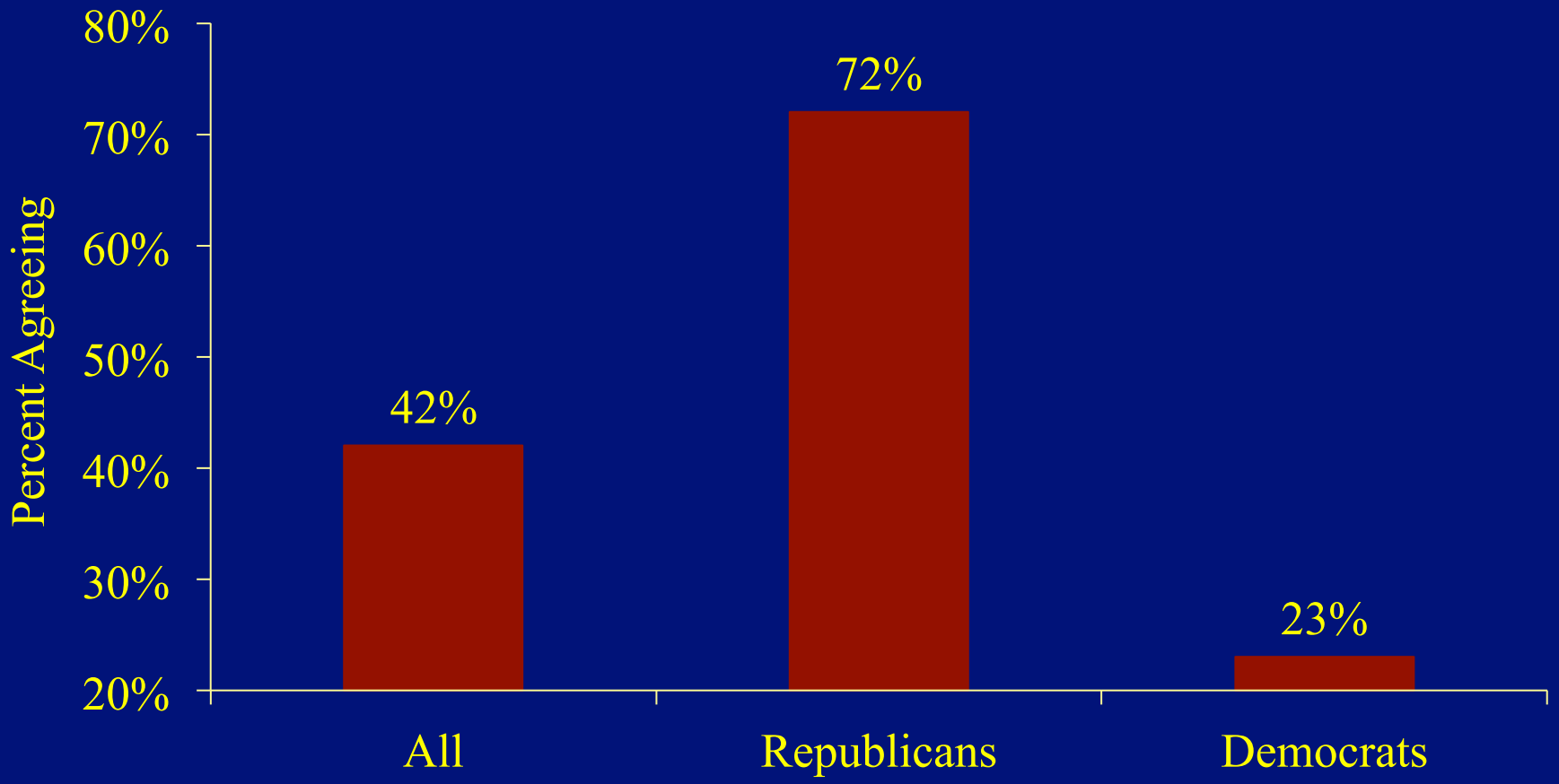
Levine et al., Health Affairs, 2001

Why do these large Racial Differences in Health exist?

What do Americans View as the Cause of Racial Inequities

Solution to Inequality: More Effort

Blacks would do as well as whites if they only tried harder



Vandermaas-Peeler et al, 2018, Pub Relig Res Institute, American Values Survey

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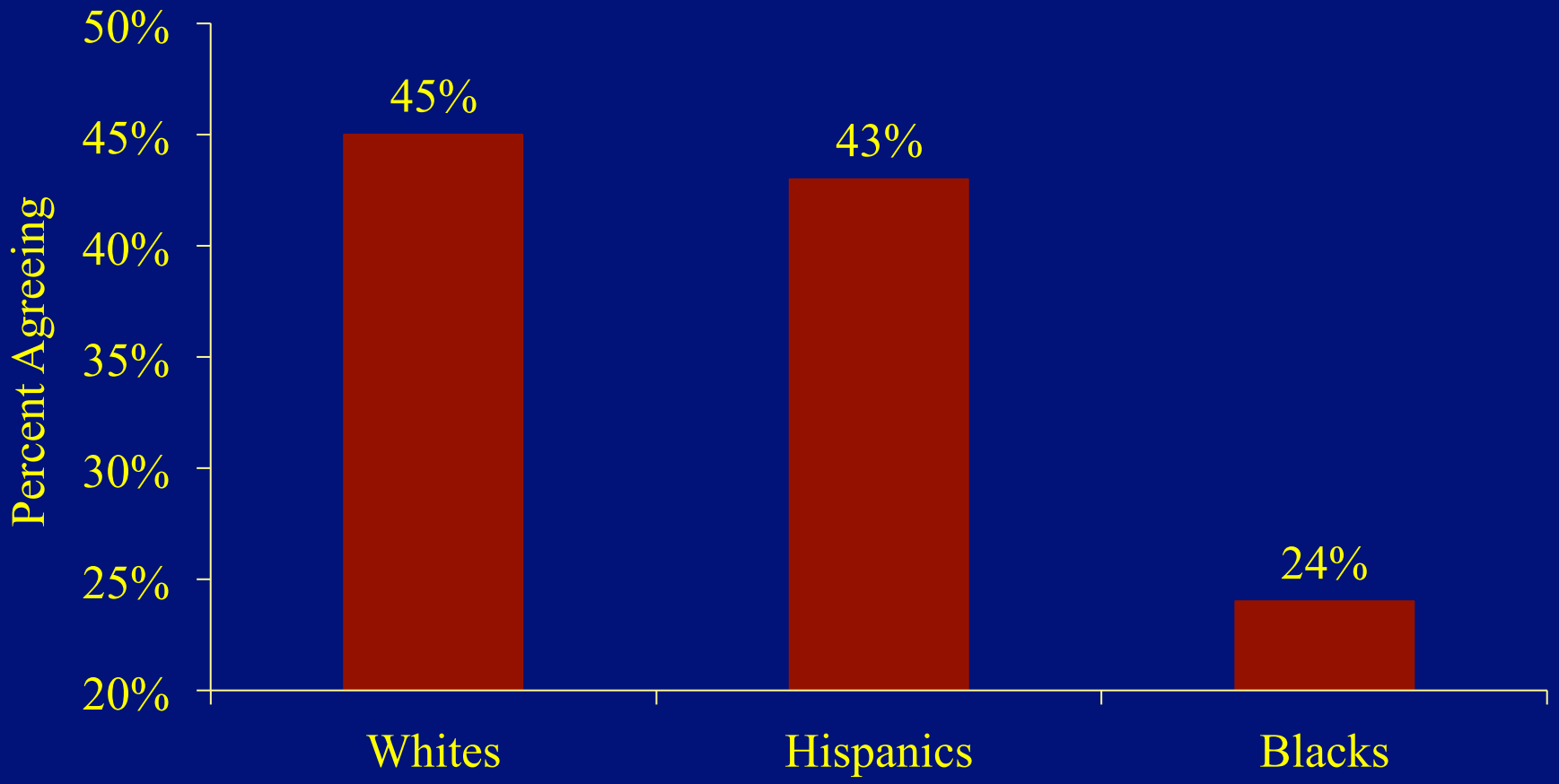

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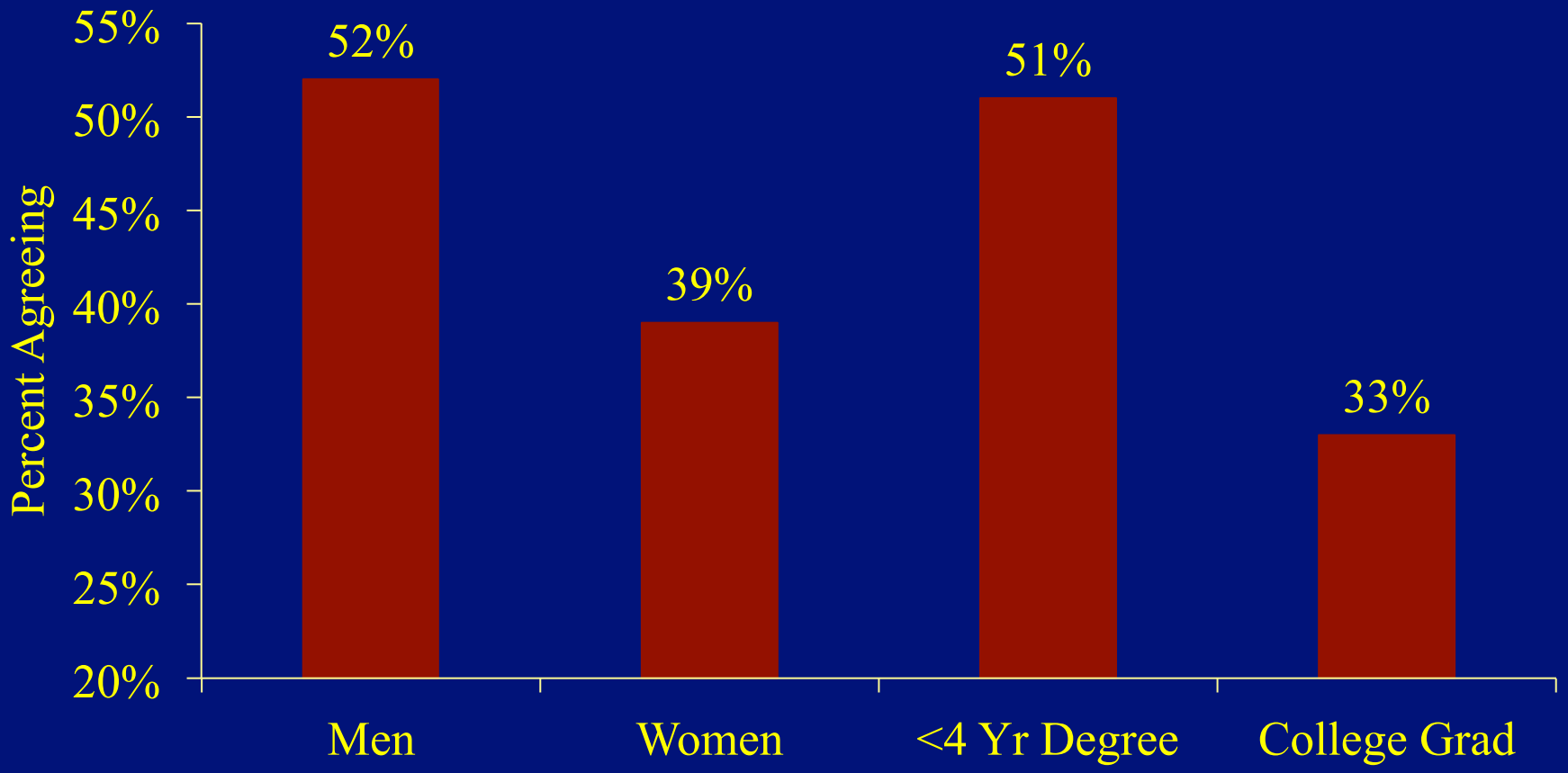
Solution to Inequality: More Effort, Whites

Blacks would do as well as whites if they only tried harder



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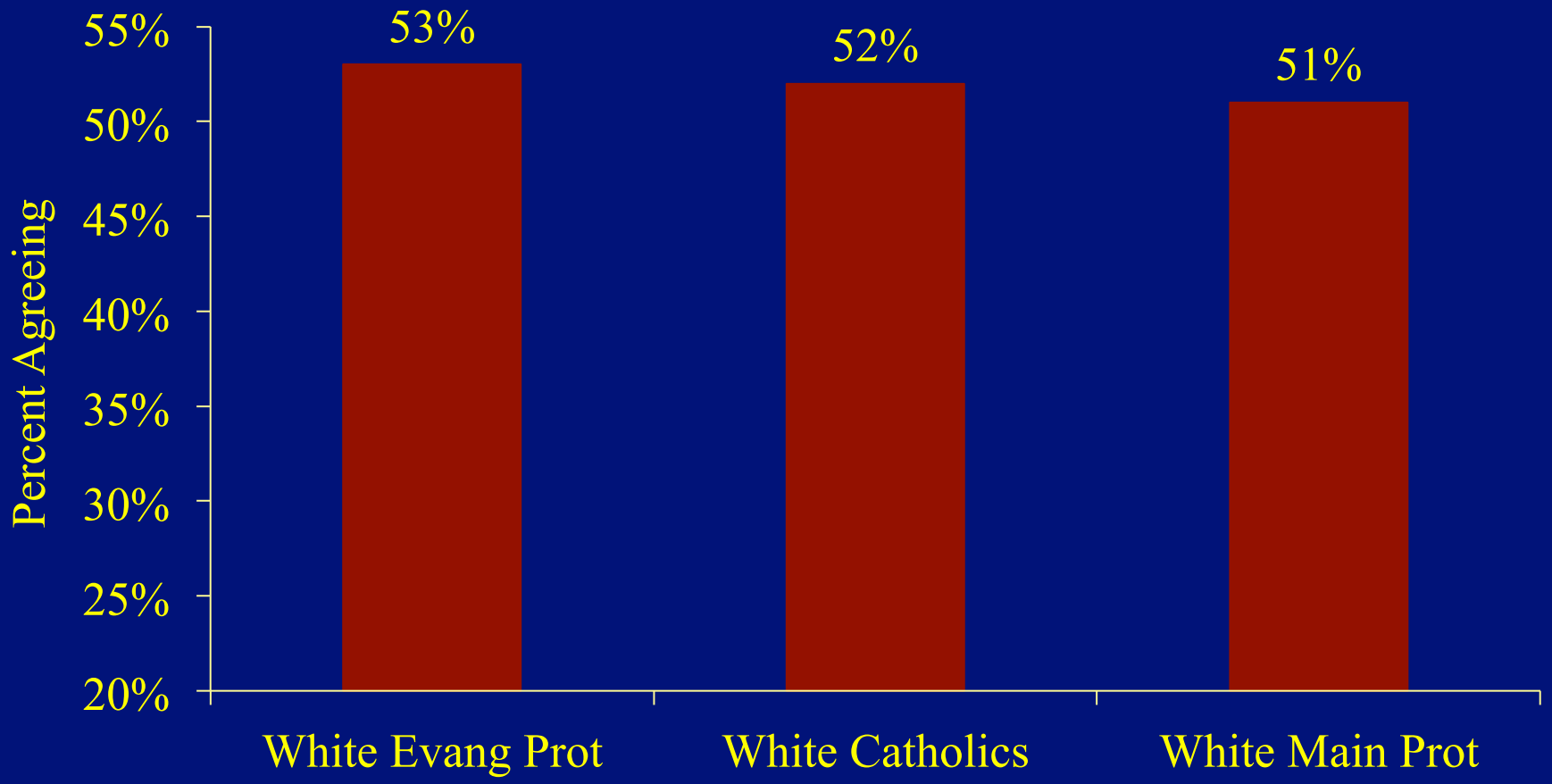

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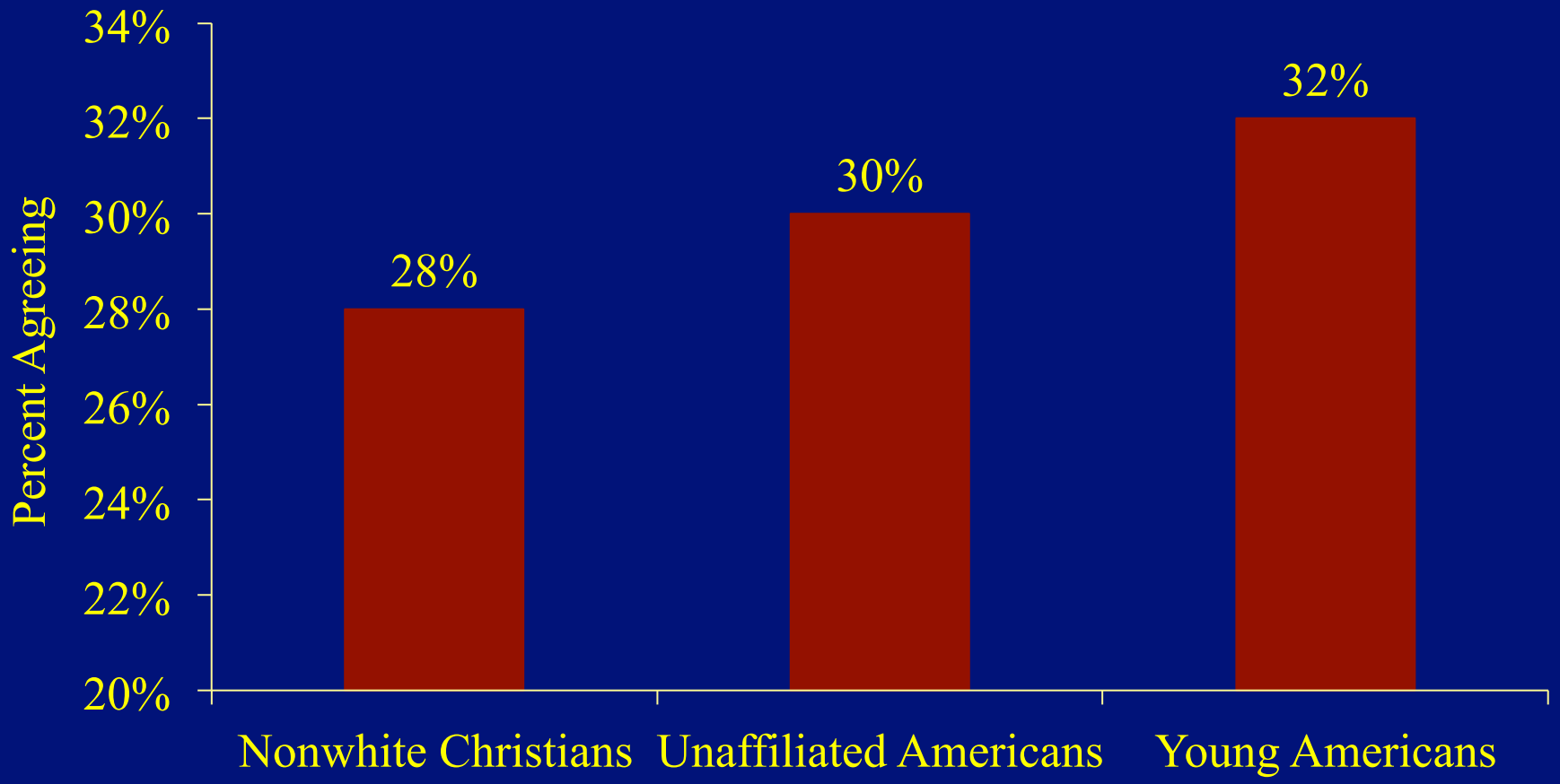


Vandermaas-Peeler et al, 2018, Pub Relig Res Institute, American Values Survey

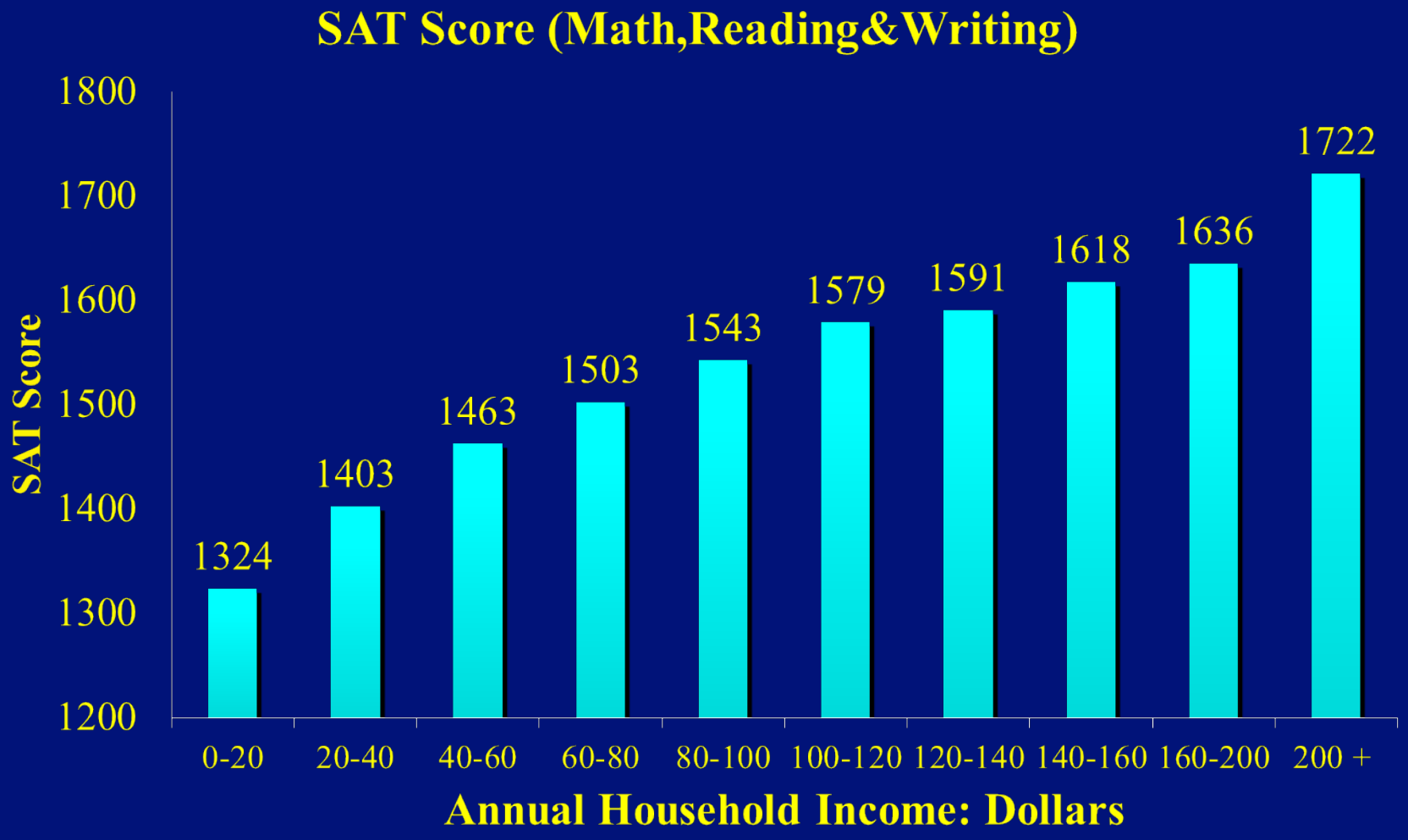
Socioeconomic Status (SES) is a central determinant of the distribution of valuable resources in society

SAT = Scholastic Aptitude Test

OR

Student Affluence Test?

SAT SCORE by Family Income

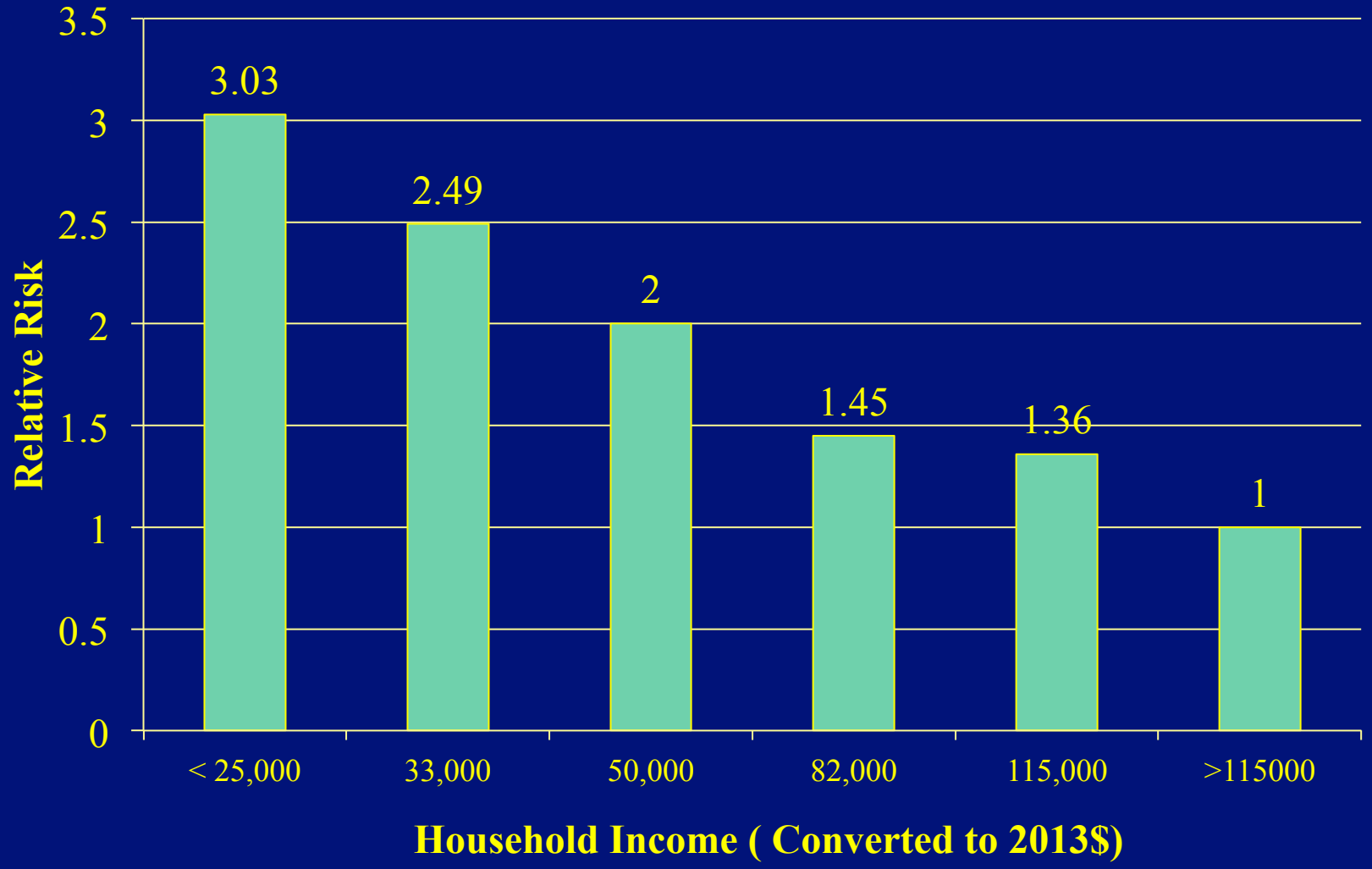


Fair Test, College Board, Wall Street Journal, Oct 7th, 2014

Patterns of America's Health

There are Large Socioeconomic Inequities in Health

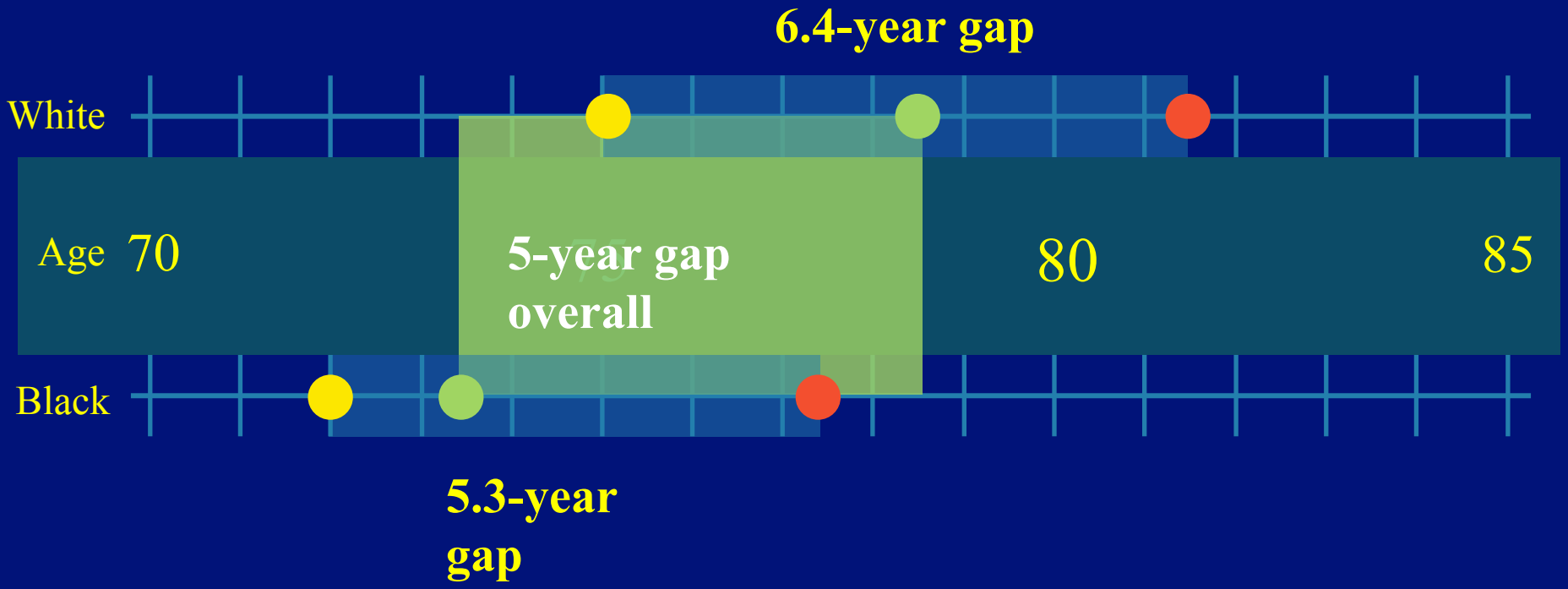
Relative Risks of All-Cause Mortality by Household Income Level: U.S. Panel Study of Income Dynamics



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

Added Burden of Race

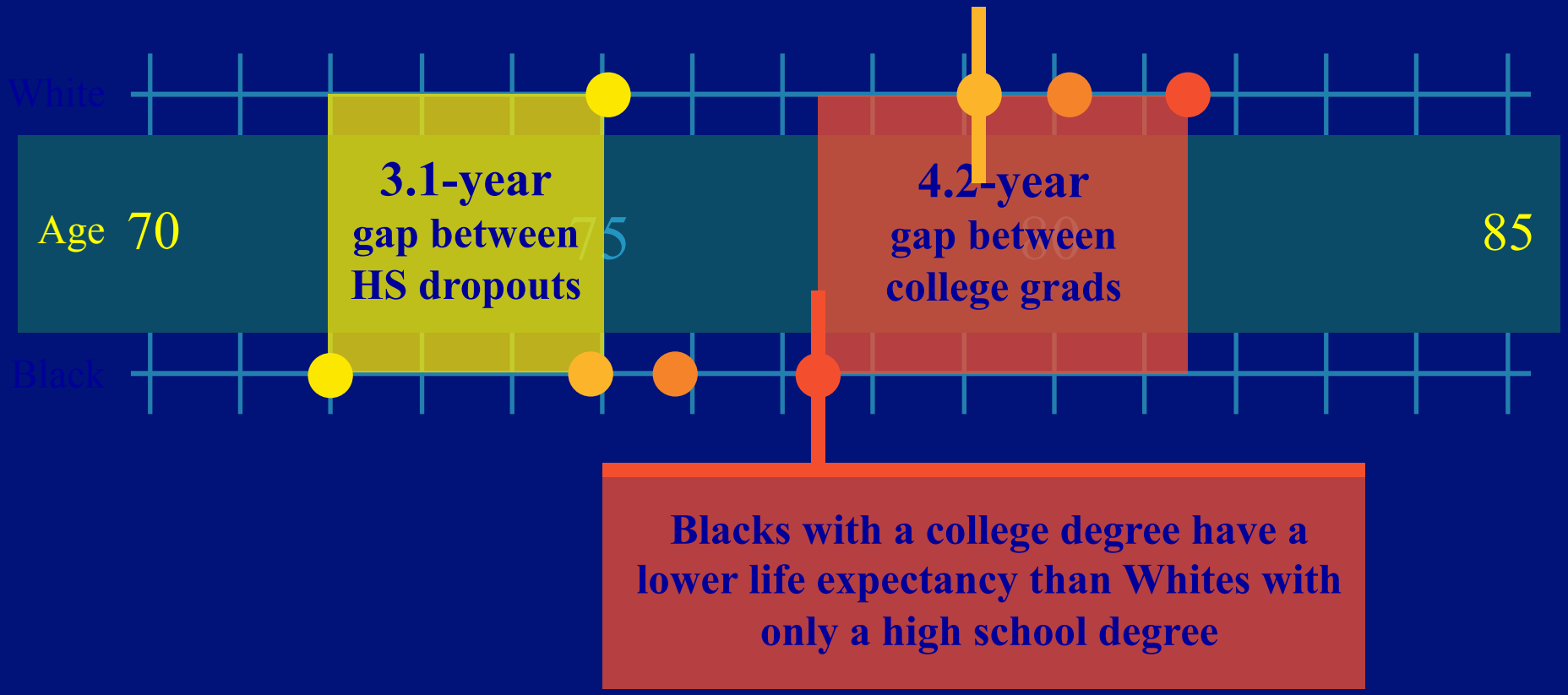
Life Expectancy at Age 25 Based on Level of Education



Overal 0-12 years College graduate

Murphy, NVSS 2000; Braveman, Cubbin, Egerter, Williams, Pamuk, *AJPH,* 2010; NLMS 1988-1998

Life Expectancy at Age 25
Race Still Matters



Murphy, NVSS 2000; Braveman, Cubbin, Egerter, Williams, Pamuk, *AJPH,* 2010; NLMS 1988-1998

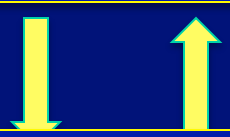
Why Does Race Still Matter?

Could racism be a critical missing piece of the puzzle to understand the patterning of racial disparities in health?

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 that,

  -- categorizes and ranks

  -- devalues, disempowers, and

  -- differentially allocates opportunities/resources

- 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 leads to the development of

  -- negative attitudes/beliefs (prejudice and stereotypes) to out-groups, and

  -- differential treatment (discrimination) by individuals and social institutions

Bonilla-Silva, 1996; Williams 2004

Individual vs Institutional Discrimination

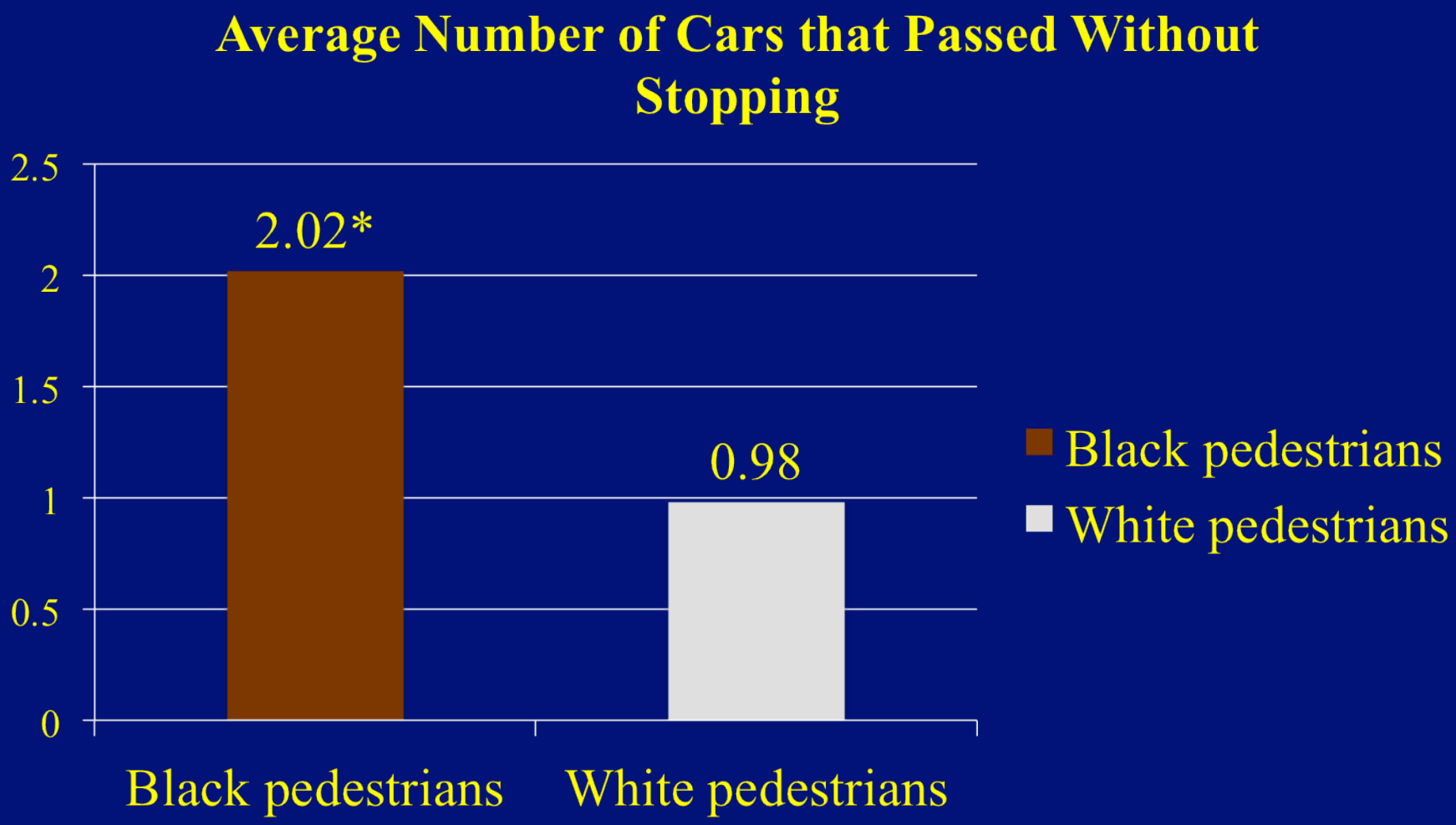
Individual Bias: Waiting at Crosswalks

- 3 Black and 3 White males, in Portland, OR
- Males in their 20s, wearing identical clothing
- Male indicates intention to cross

dhttps://www.google.com/search?hl=en&biw=1242&bih=711&tbm=isch&sa=1&ei=G1uRWqT6BorsjwOjpq6wDA&q=men+at+crosswalk&oq=men+at+crosswalk&gs_l=psy-ab.3...2233594.2244297.0.2246358.30.25.0.0.0.0.167.2273.10j11.21.0....0...1c.1.64.psy-ab..13.13.1345...0j0i67k1j0i30k1j0i8i30k1j0i24k1j0i5i30k1.0.GnPxcQj7MR4#imgrc=arzq1gjH2EhR5M:

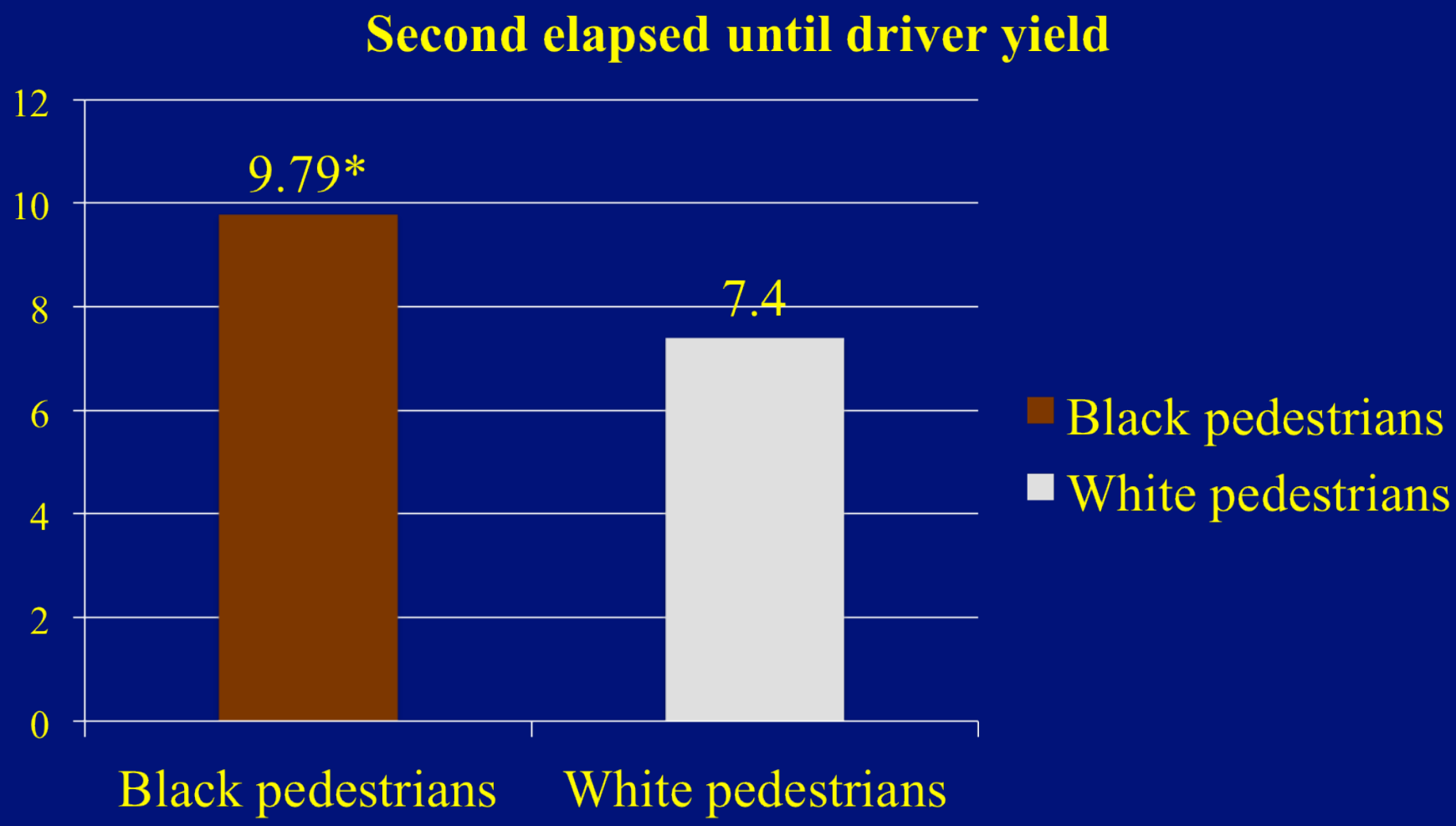
Tara Goddard, et al., Psychology Faculty Publications, Portland State University, 2014

Multiple Cars Twice as likely to Pass Blacks



Tara Goddard, et al., Psychology Faculty Publications, Portland State University, 2014 , (* : $p \leq .05$)

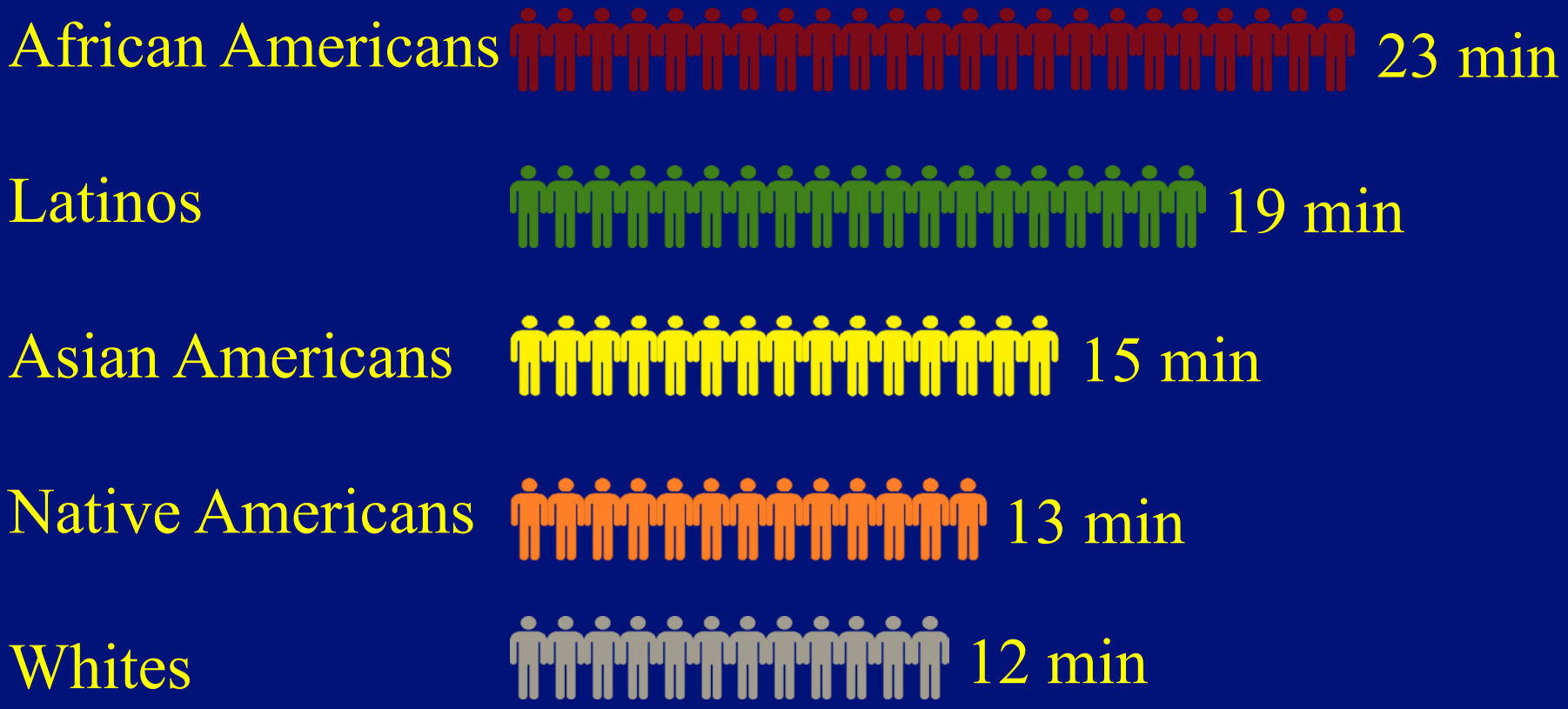
Blacks Wait 32% Longer to Cross the Street



Tara Goddard, et al., Psychology Faculty Publications, Portland State University, 2014 , (* : $p \leq .05$)

Institutional Discrimination: Waiting to Vote

Average number of minutes, 2012 Presidential Election



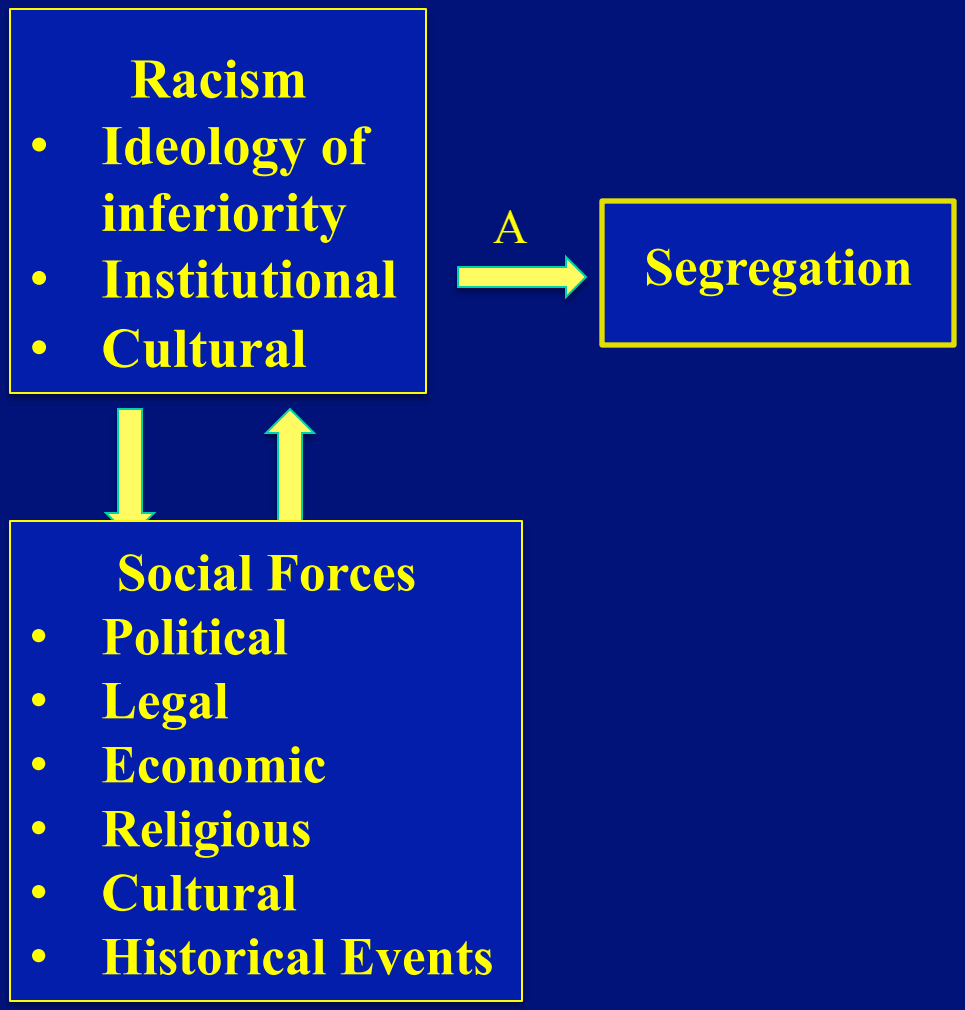
Cooperative Congressional Election Study, 2012

Institutional Processes

- Length of time waiting to vote linked to the residence of the voter and the policies and procedures (budgeting and space constraints and local administrative procedures) linked to place:
- How many voters being served by a polling site?
- How many precincts in a given area?
- Staffing of a precinct affects how long it takes to vote

How Institutional Discrimination Contributes to Racial Inequities

The House that Racism Built



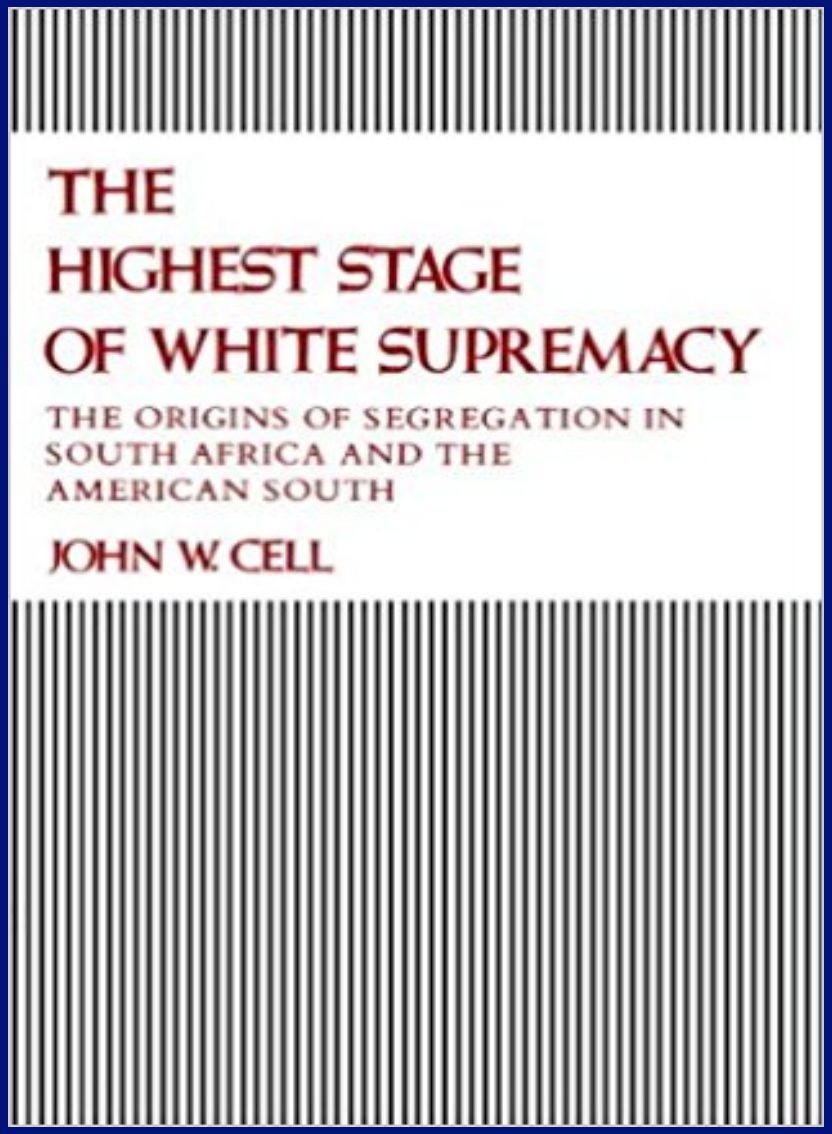
Institutional Racism: Segregation

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 …

- One of the most successful domestic policies of the 20th century
- "the dominant system of racial regulation and control" in the U.S



John Cell, 1982

Why Place Matters

Where you live determines access to:

- High-quality schools
- Job opportunities
- Safe, affordable & healthy housing
- Fresh produce & nutritious food
- Safe to exercise, walk or play outside
- Nearby Nature
- Toxins (from highways, factories & other)
- Quality primary care and good hospitals
- Affordable, reliable, public transit
- Social cohesion and social capital

http://pittsburghpa.gov/finance/

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

How Large are the Racial Differences in Socioeconomic Status (SES)?

Median Household Income and Race, 2015

Racial Differences in Income are Substantial:

U.S. Census Bureau: Proctor, Semega, Kollar, 2016; *2013, Native Her. Month, 2014

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

U.S. Census Bureau, 2014

Where Racial Inequities in SES are Born

Large Racial/Ethnic Differences in SES that are consequential for life:

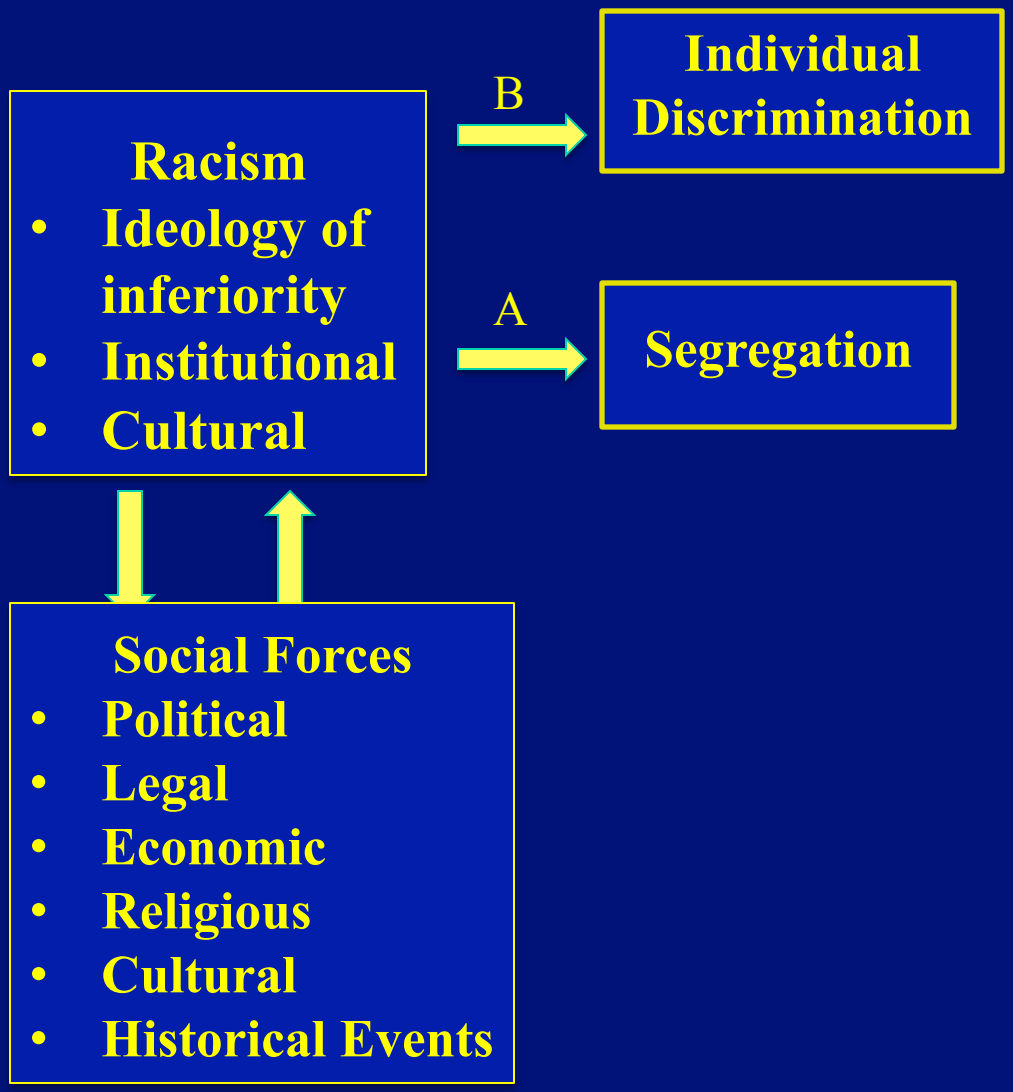
-- They are not acts of God

-- They are not random events

-- They reflect the successful implementation of social policies

Racism has produced a truly "rigged system"

The House that Racism Built



Discrimination Persists

- Two black and two white, young, well-groomed, well-spoken college-educated men with identical resumes apply for 350 advertised entry-level jobs in Milwaukee, Wisconsin.

- In each team, one said that he was on parole: he had served an 18-month prison sentence for cocaine possession.

Devah Pager; Am J Sociology, 2004

Percent of Job Applicants Receiving a Callback

Criminal Record	White	Black
No	34%	14%
Yes	17%	5%

Devah Pager; Am J Sociology, 2004

Incredulously….

- 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!

shutterstock_311917349

Devah Pager; Am J Sociology, 2004

The Pervasiveness of Discrimination

Discrimination

Obtaining bank loans

Getting insurance

Buying a home

Getting a job

Renting an apartment

Hailing a taxi

Receiving a promotion

Suspended from preschool

Purchasing a car

Quality of medical care

Pulled over by police

Cost of bail

Arrested for drug–related crimes

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 main reason for these experiences?

Discrimination & Health: Tene Lewis

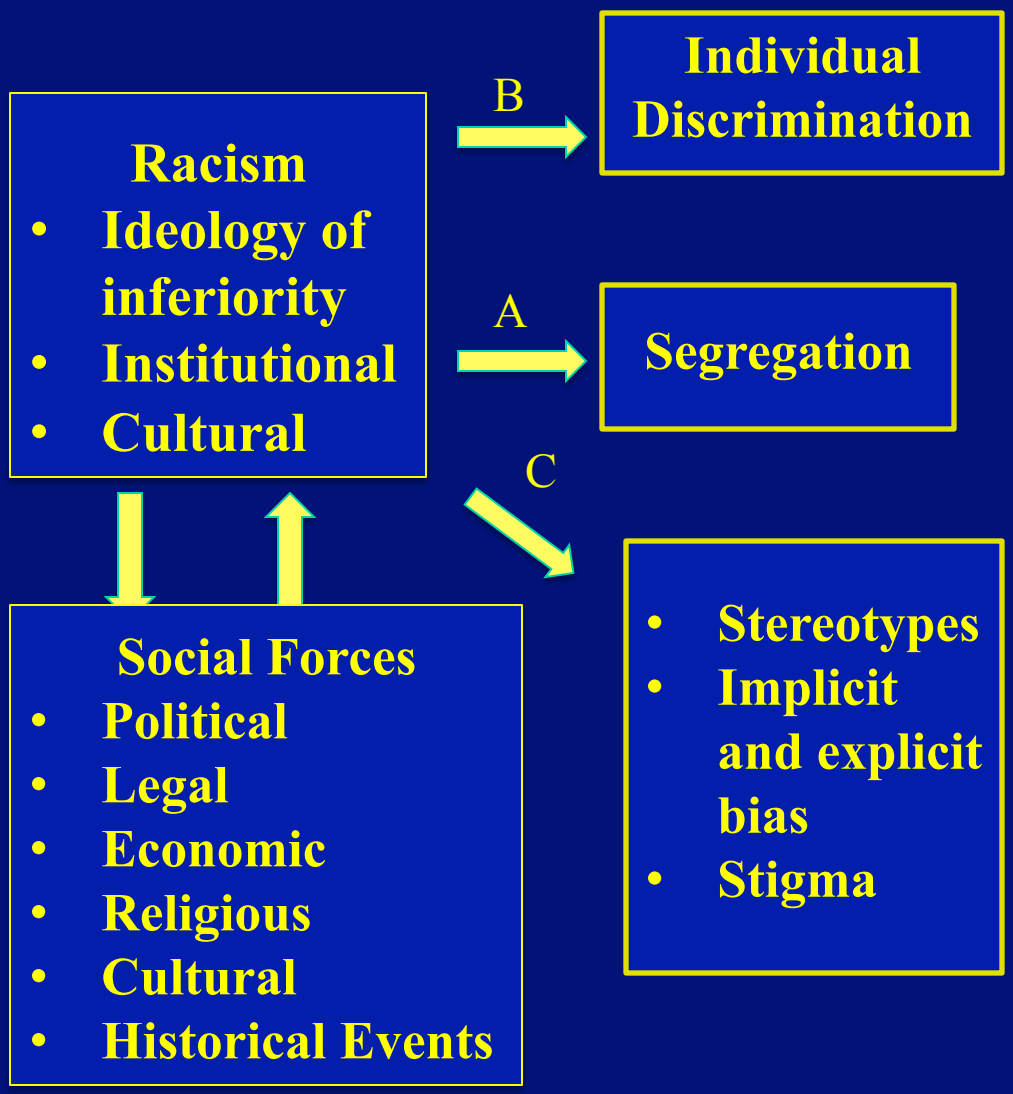
- Everyday Discrimination: positively associated with:
  - -- coronary artery calcification (Lewis et al., Psy Med, 2006)
  - -- C-reactive protein (Lewis et al., Brain Beh Immunity, 2010)
  - -- blood pressure (Lewis et al., J Gerontology: Bio Sci & Med Sci 2009)
  - -- lower birth weight (Earnshaw 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)

Discrimination and Allostatic Load

- 331 Blacks (20 year olds), 9 rural counties in Georgia
- Discrimination assessed at age 16, 17, and 18
- Allostatic load assessed at age 20; overnight cortisol, epinephrine, norepinephrine, SBP, DBP, CRP, BMI
- 79% of sample had low and increasing levels of discrimination; 22% had stably high levels
- Stably high levels of discrimination as a teen linked to higher allostatic load at age 20
- Association increased when adjusted for CES-D, life stress, socioeconomic risk and unhealthy behavior.

Gene Brody et al., 2014., Child Development

The House that Racism Built



Negative Racial Stereotypes are Prevalent in our society

Where do these stereotypes come from?

Negative Racial Stereotypes are deeply embedded in our Culture

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

Verhaeghen et al. British J Psychology, 2011

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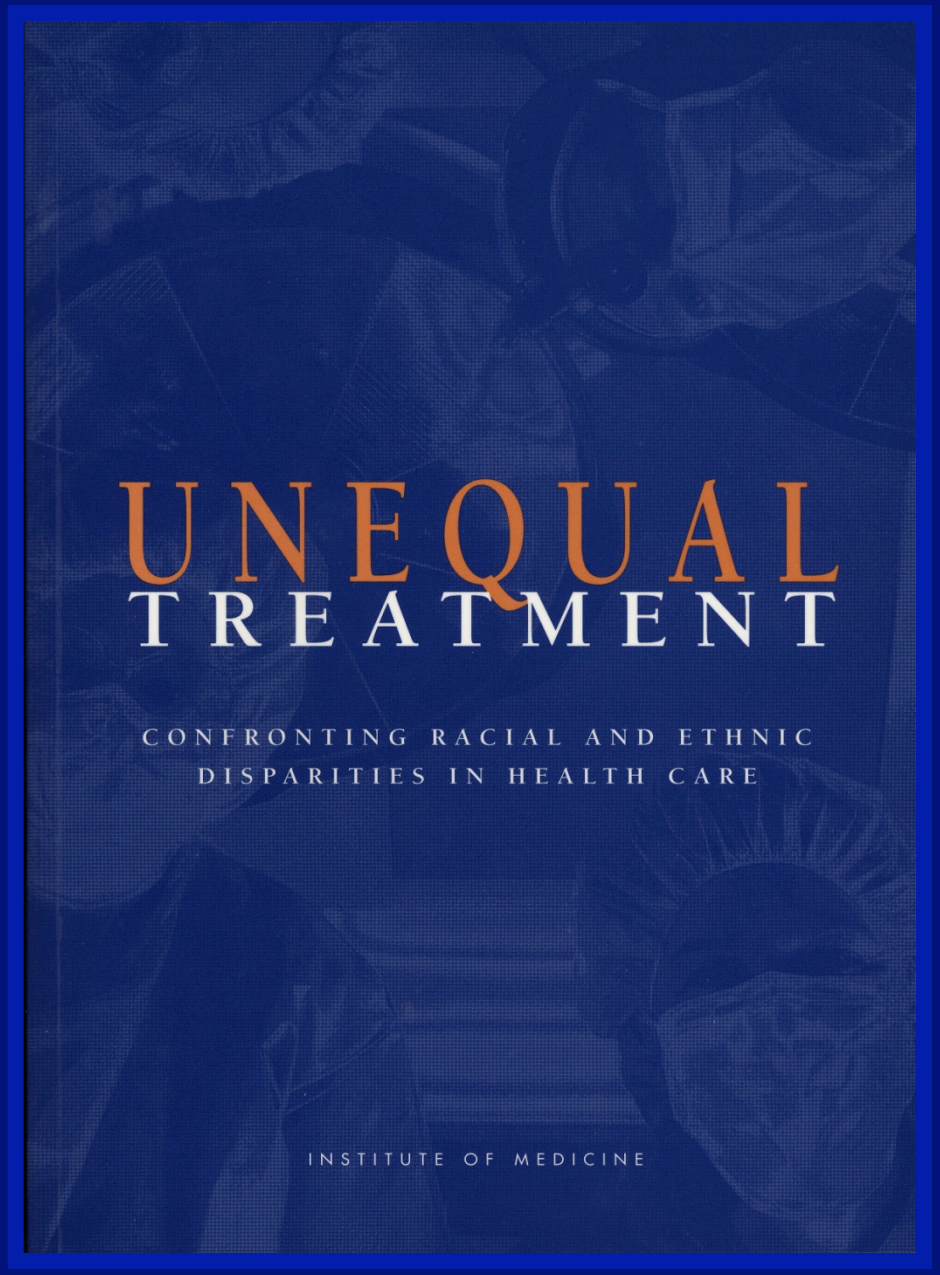
BLACK	charming	.28	WHITE	ethical	.28
BLACK	merry	.28	WHITE	greedy	.22
BLACK	ignorant	.27	WHITE	sheltered	.21
BLACK	musical	.26	WHITE	selfish	.20

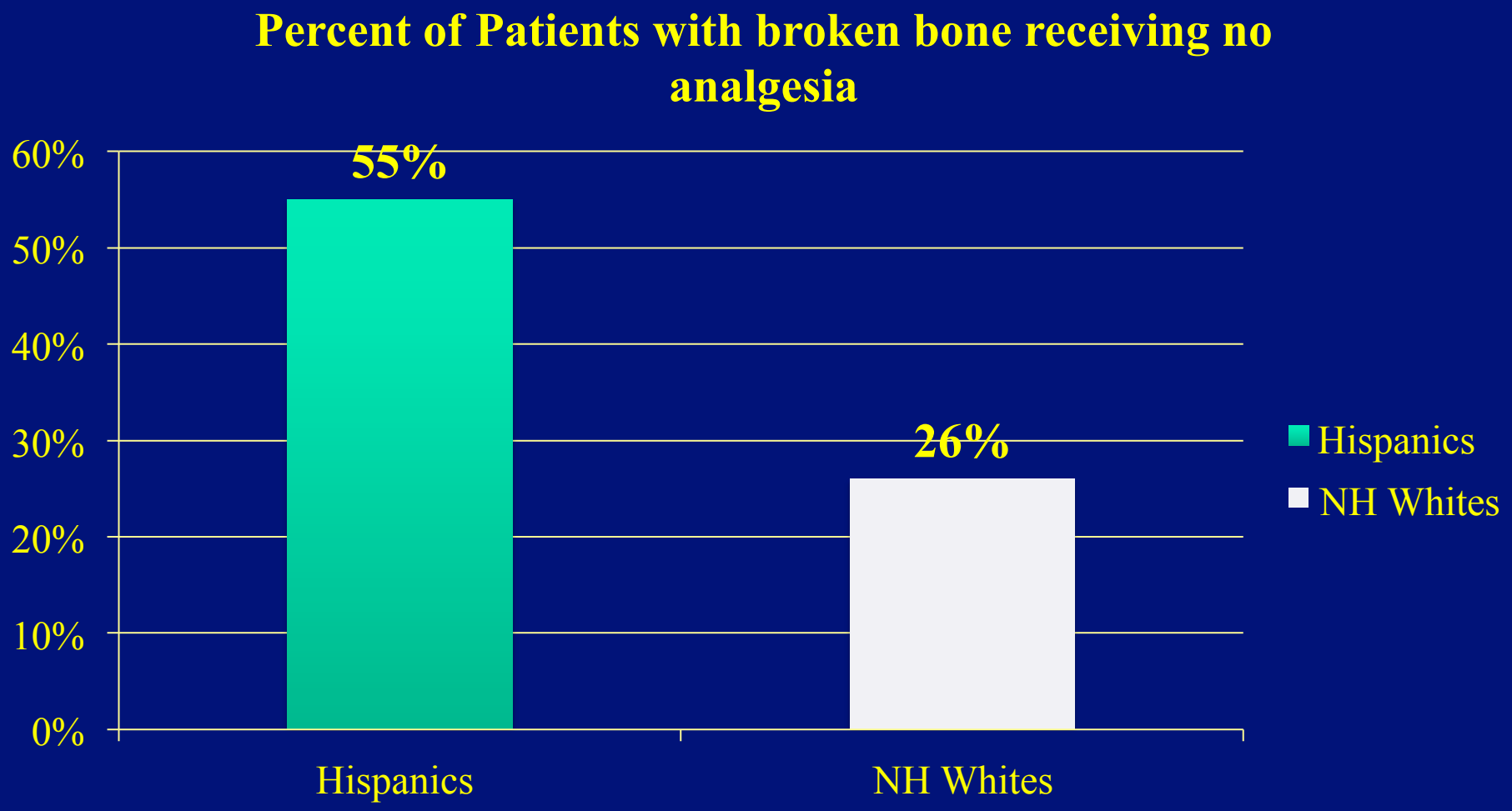
Verhaeghen et al. British J Psychology, 2011

Negative Stereotypes Trigger Racial Discrimination



Racial Bias in Medical Care

Ethnicity and Pain Medicine



Todd et al., JAMA, 1993

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

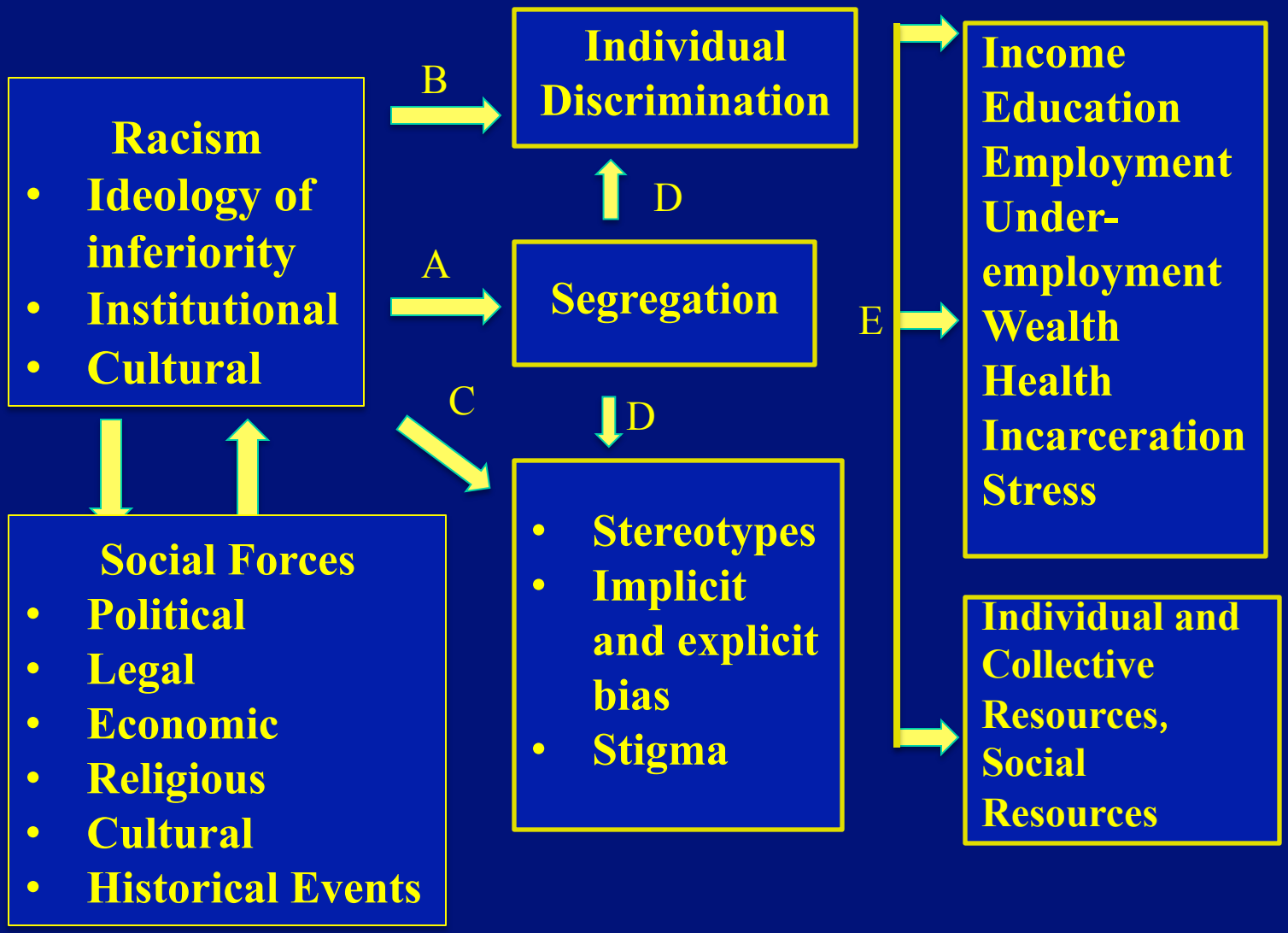
- When one holds a negative stereotype about a group and meets someone who fits the stereotype s/he will discriminate against that individual
- Stereotype-linked bias is an
  - Automatic process
  - Unconscious process
- It occurs even among persons who are not prejudiced

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

The House that Racism Built



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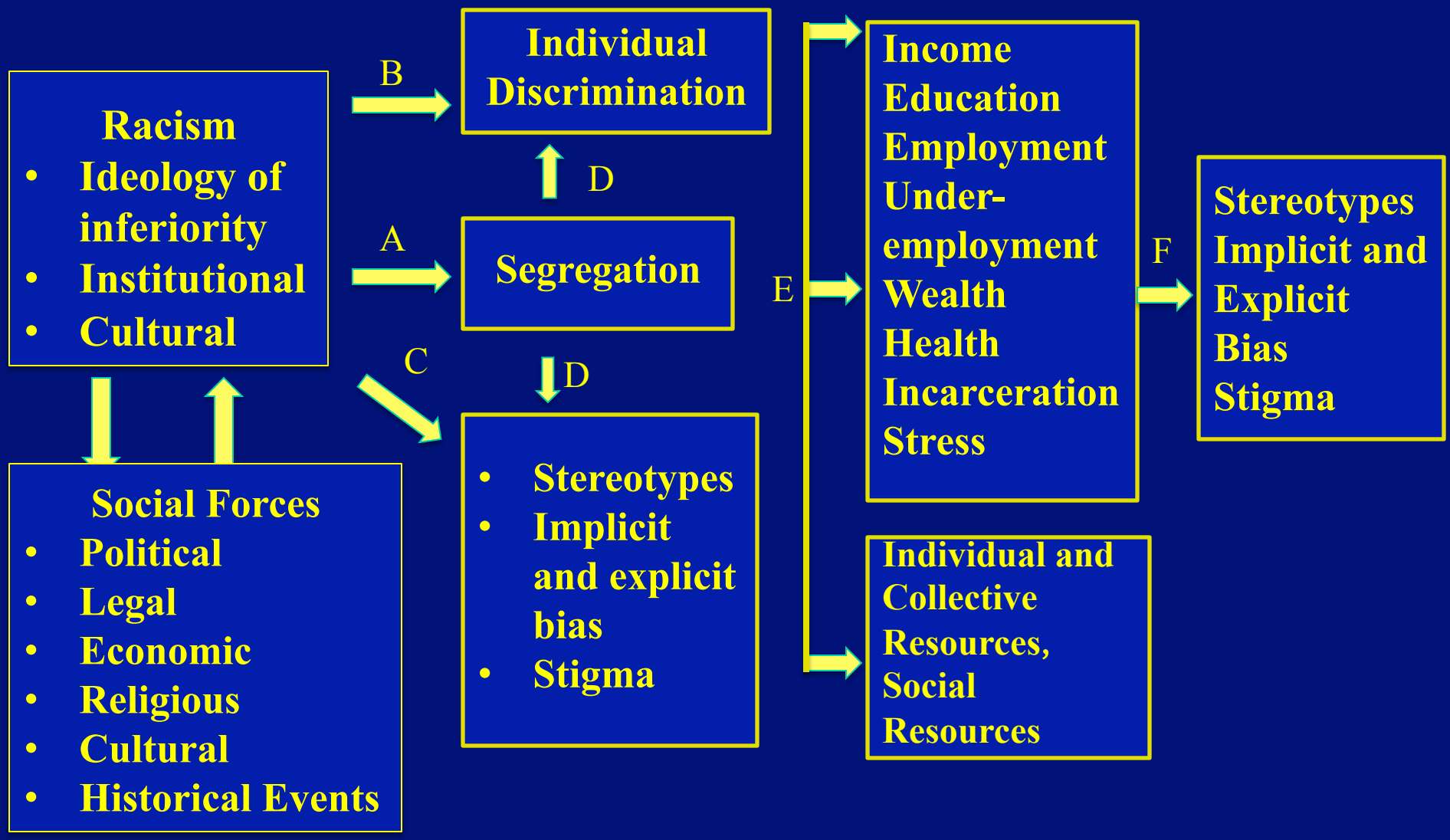

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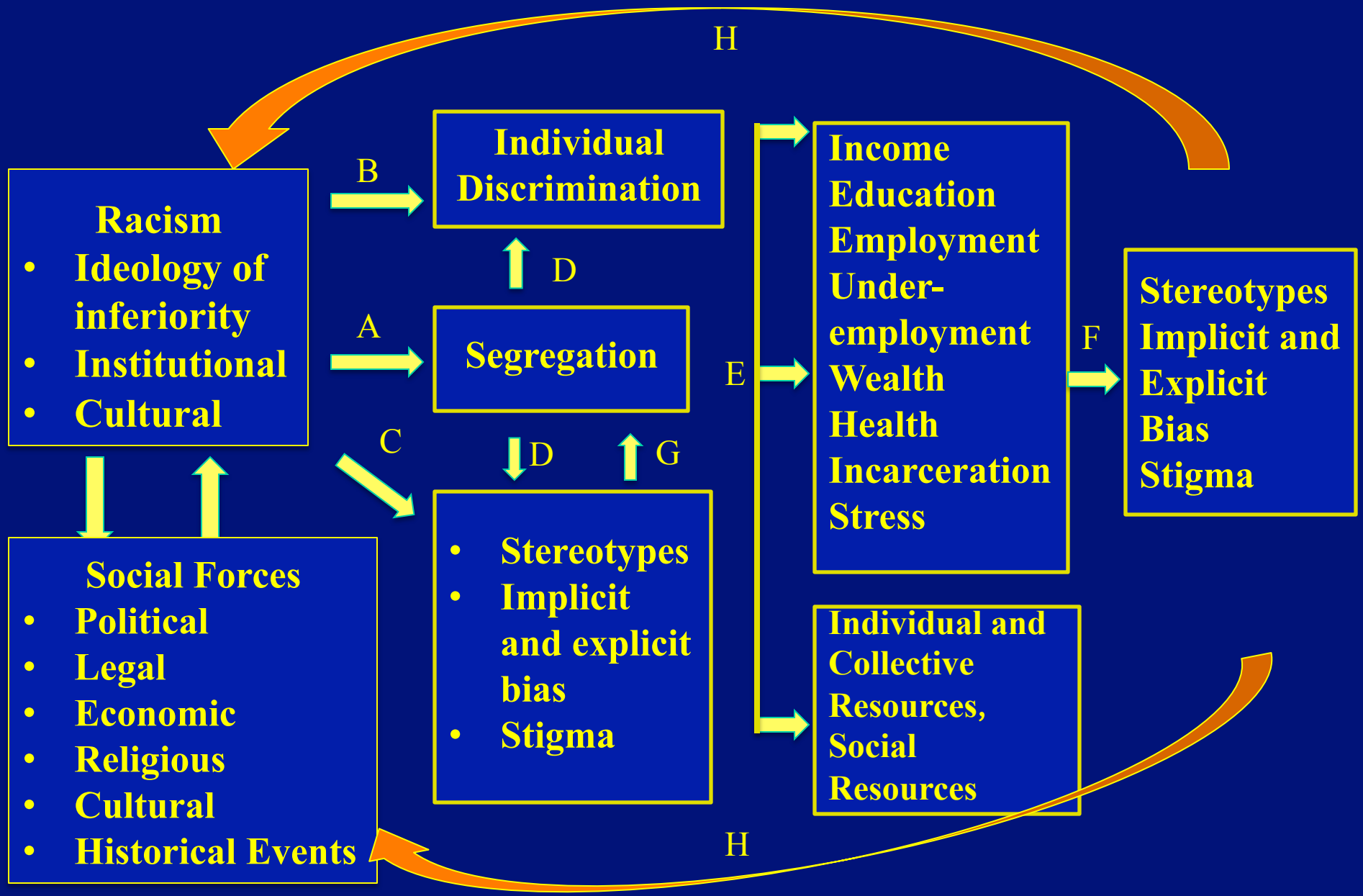


Improving America's Health

What Can We Do?

Improving America's Health

We need to Reduce Implicit Bias

Which is very, very hard to do

Implicit (unconscious) Bias

Can be reduced under certain conditions

Propranolol Intervention?

- Propranolol is a beta blocker that reduces emotional conditioning and amygdala responses to visual emotional stimuli (e.g. facial expressions)
- Randomized double blind, parallel group, placebo controlled design of a single oral dose of Propranolol (40mg) of 36 whites in the U.K.
- Compared to placebo, propranolol eliminated implicit bias and reduced heart rate, but had no effect on explicit bias (measured by feeling thermometer: warmth to blacks, whites, homosexuals, Muslims, Christians, drug addicts)

Terbeck et al, Psychopharmacology, 2012

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]

Multiple Prejudice-reducing Strategies:

- Stereotype replacement
- Counter-stereotype imaging
- Individuation
- Perspective taking
- Increasing interracial contact

The Devine Solution

- Implicit biases viewed as deeply engrained habits that can be replaced by learning multiple new prejudice-reducing strategies
- Non-black adults were motivated to:

✓ Increase their awareness of bias against blacks

✓ Increase their concerns about the effects of bias

✓ Implement multiple strategies

✓ These were effective in producing substantial reductions in bias that remained evident three months later

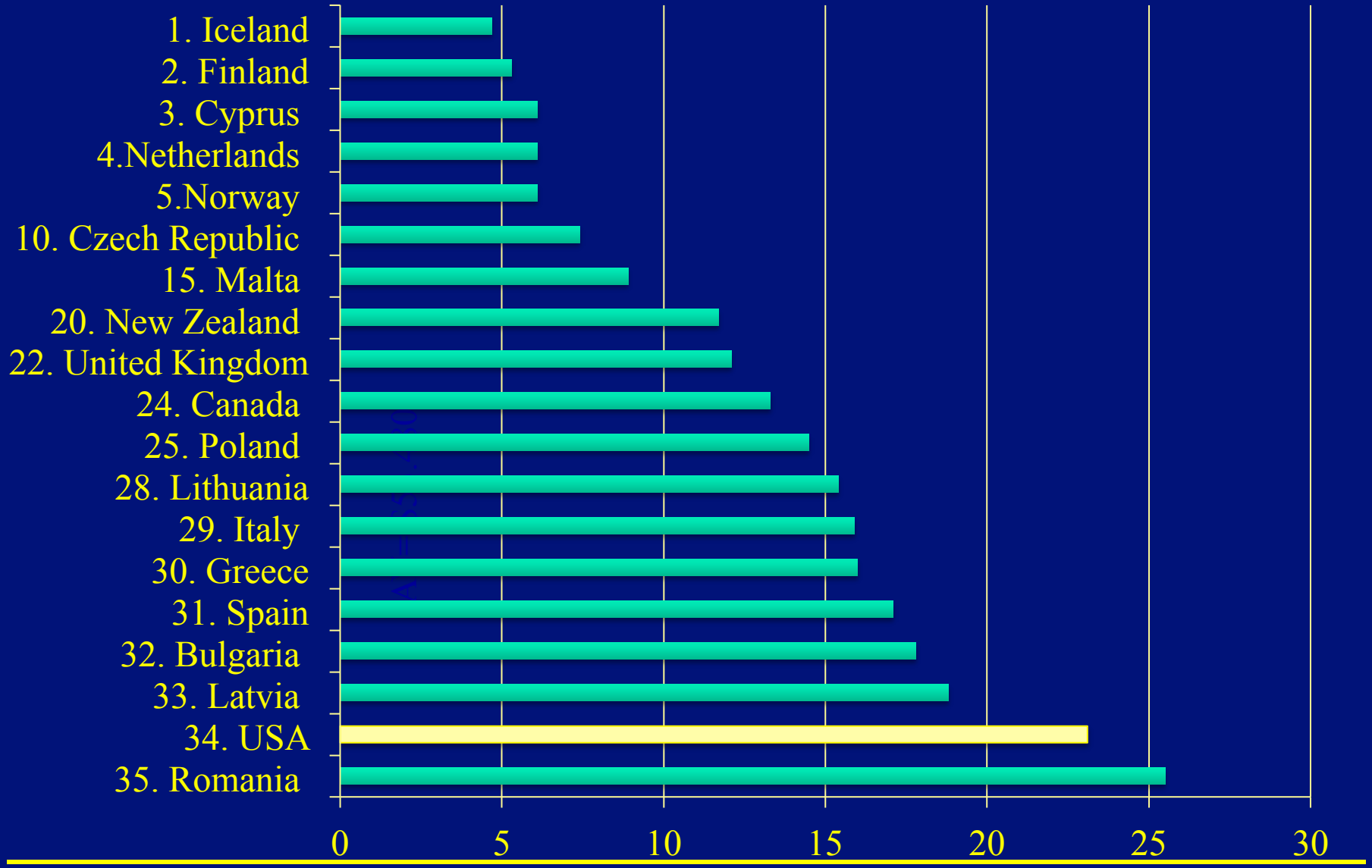
Devine, P. G., Forscher, P. S., Austin, A. J., & Cox, W. T. L. 2012 *J Exp Soc Psych*

Improving America's Health

Building Resilience through Social Policy

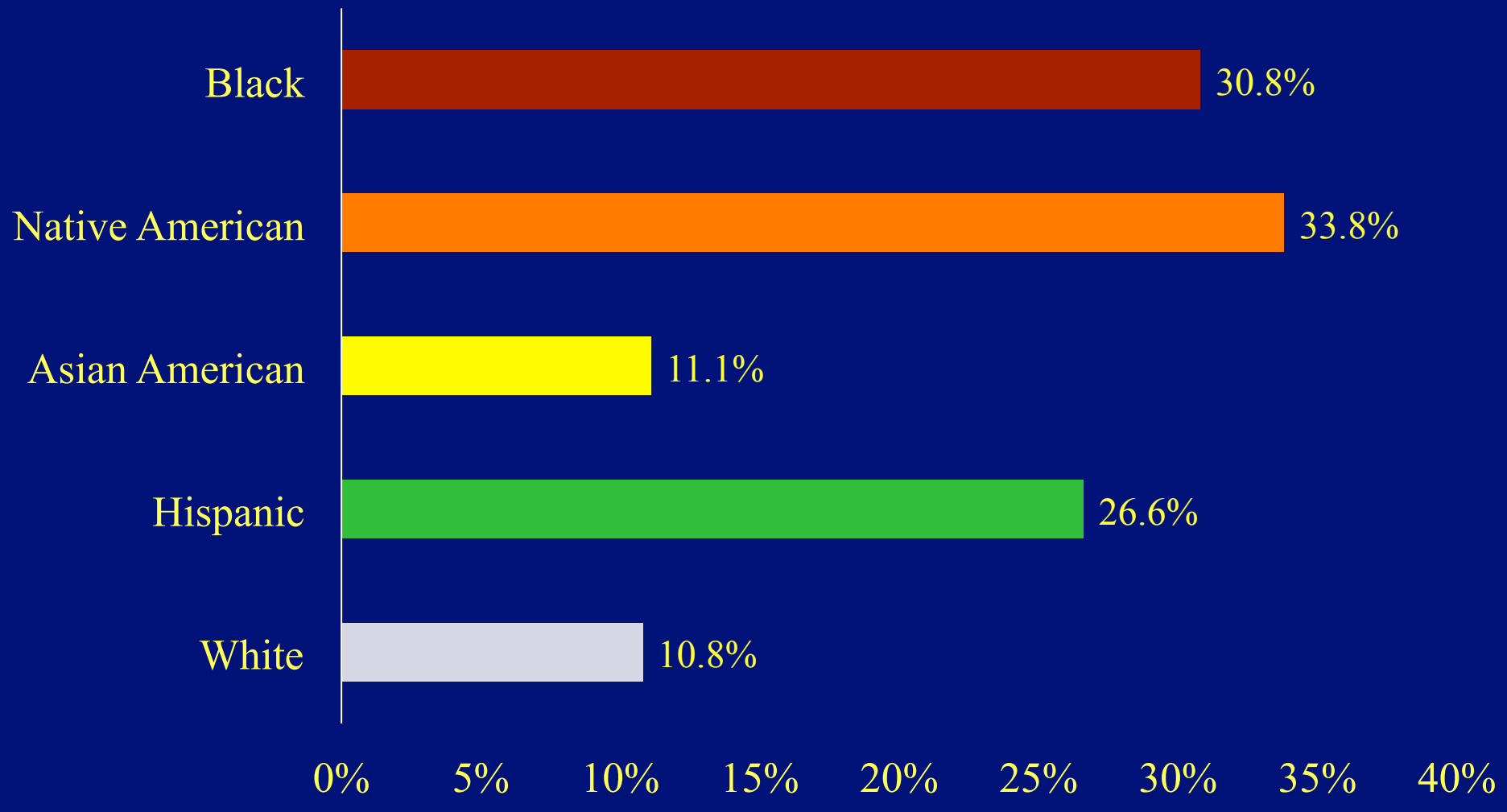
Policy interventions can buffer the negative effects of childhood poverty

Child Poverty Rate



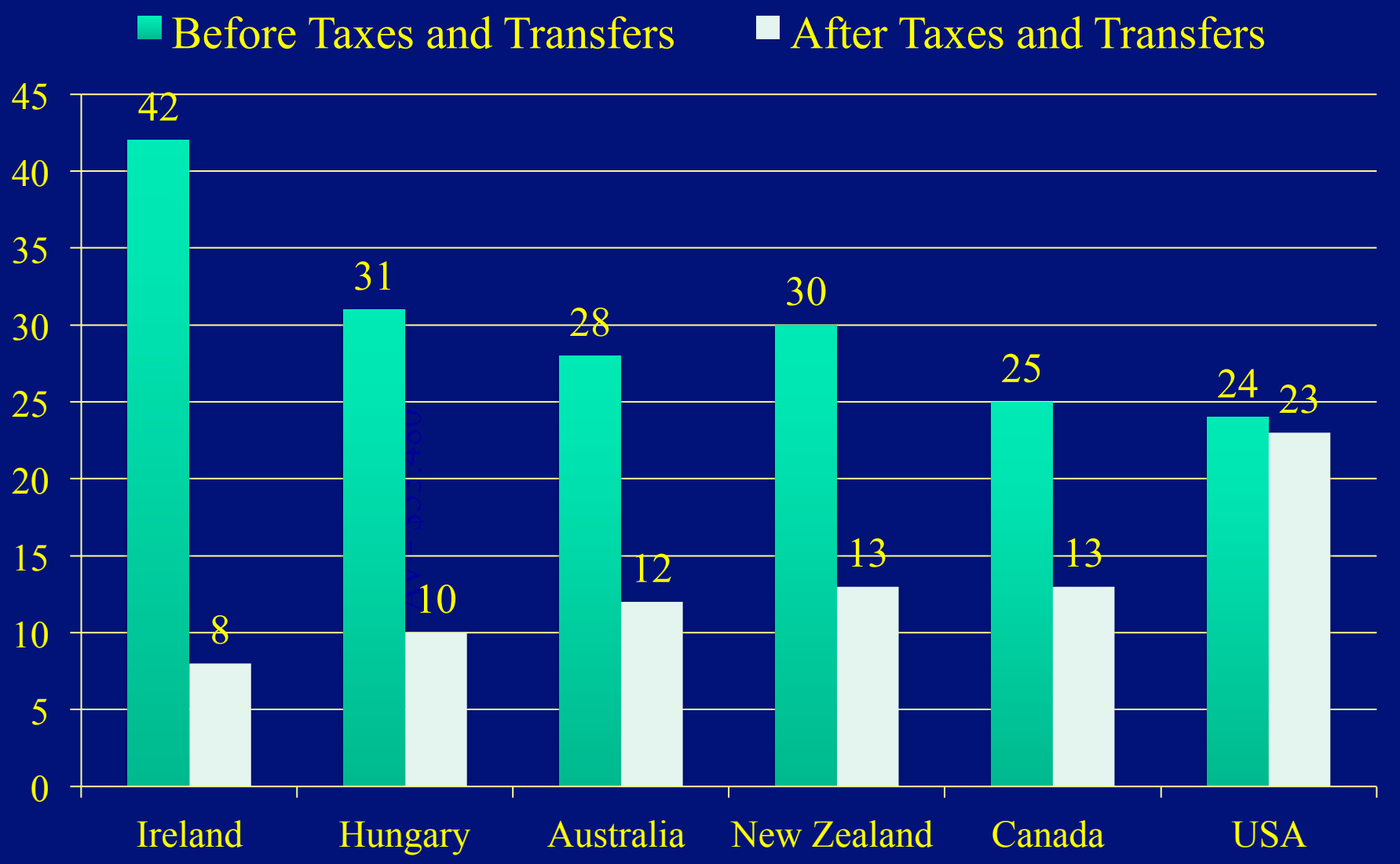
UNICEF, Measuring Child Poverty, 2012

Childhood Poverty and Race, 2016



Am Comm Survey, 2015-2016; Economic Policy Institute, 2017

Child Poverty Rate



UNICEF, Measuring Child Poverty, 2012

Improving America's Health

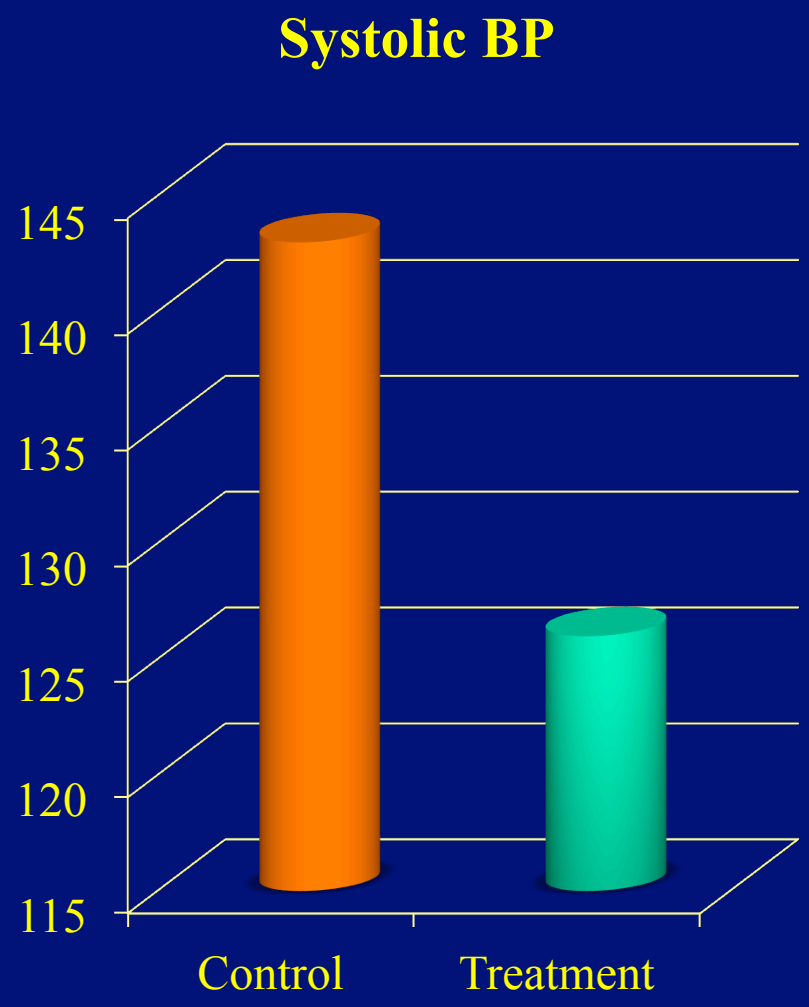
Start Early

Carolina Abecedarian Project (ABC)

- 1972-77, economically disadvantaged children, birth to age 5, randomized to early childhood program
- Program offered a safe and nurturing environment, good nutrition and pediatric care
- At age 21, fewer symptoms of depression, lower marijuana use, more active lifestyle, & educational & vocational assetts benefits
- In mid-30's, lower levels of multiple risk factors for CVD and metabolic disease. Effects stronger for males
- **Campbell et al. AJPH, 2008; Campbell et al, Science, 2014**

Carolina Abecedarian Project (ABC)

- Example: systolic BP 143 mm Hg in male controls vs. 126mm Hg in the treatment group
- One in 4 males in control group met criteria for metabolic syndrome compared to none in the treatment group
- Lower BMI at zero to 5 yrs equals a lower BMI in their 30s



Campbell et al. AJPH, 2008; Campbell et al, Science, 2014

Improving America's Health

Improve Economic Well-being

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

Improving America's Health

Improve Neighborhood and Housing Conditions

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

Religion and Health Inequalities

What role can religious individuals and organizations play?

Religion and Health Inequalities

Religious institutions can uplift solutions and be agents of social change

Religion and Health Inequalities

Religious institutions can deliberately and intentionally spur compassion, engender empathy, and facilitate the political will for sustained action to initiate and maintain social justice

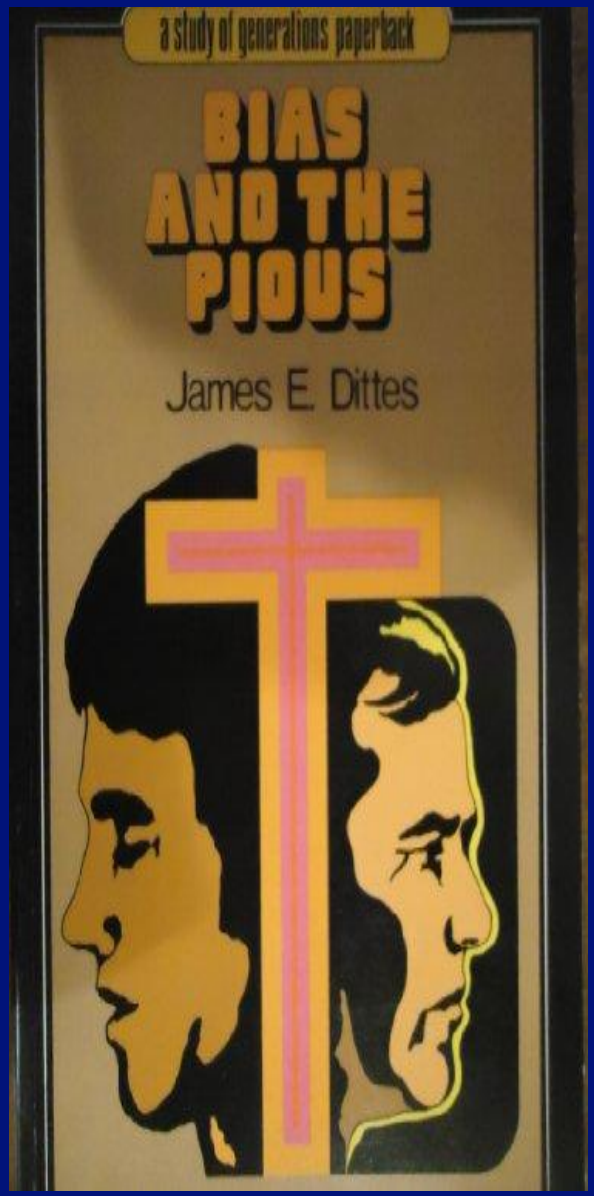
Religion and Racial Prejudice

How are the Two Phenomena Related?

Religion and Prejudice

Early research found that religious people were more likely to be prejudiced

- Greater orthodoxy, more prejudice
- Belief in inspiration of Bible, more prejudice
- Belief in Virgin birth, more prejudice



Extrinsic Versus Intrinsic Religion

- The type of religious orientation matters
- Extrinsic religious orientation associated with more racial prejudice, while an intrinsic religious orientation predicts less prejudice

•Extrinsic: utilitarian, rules-oriented, legalistic. *Often driven by a desire to get external benefits (security, status, self-justification)*

•Intrinsic: religion is personally meaningful, integrated into one's worldview and is a central motivating force, affecting all aspects of life

Hall et al. Per & Soc Psy Rev, 2010; Hunsberger & Jackson, J Soc Iss, 2005; Shreve-Neiger & Edelstein, 2004; Smith, et al Psych Bull, 2003

Religion and Intolerance

- Some types of religious beliefs and orientations can lead to rigidity in thinking, prejudice, & intolerance
- Recent research documents that a fundamentalist orientation, defined as a rigid, close-minded worldview in which the individual believes that his or her religious beliefs are absolutely correct is predictive of higher levels of prejudice
- What seems to be important is not the content of the religious beliefs but the inflexibility with which one's beliefs are held.

Hall et al. Pers & Soc Psych Rev, 2010; Hunsberger & Jackson, J Soc Iss, 2005

What does God *really* want?

God's Call

34 "Then the King will say to those on His
right, 'Come, you who are blessed of My
Father, inherit the kingdom prepared for you
from the foundation of the world. 35 For I was
hungry, and you gave Me *something* to eat; I
was thirsty, and you gave Me *something* to
drink; I was a stranger, and you invited Me
in; 36 naked, and you clothed Me; I was sick,
and you visited Me; I was in prison, and you
came to Me.'"

Matthew 25:34 – 36 NASB

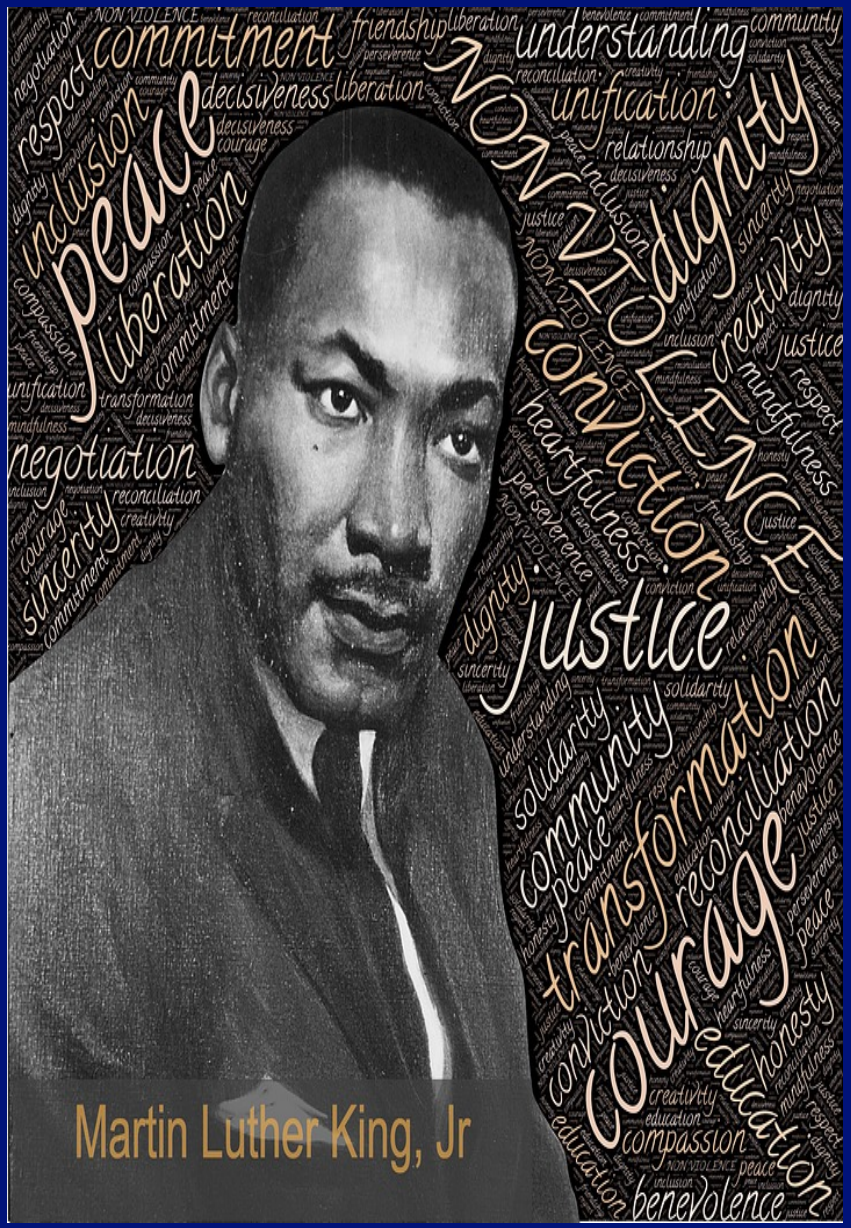
Our Eternal Destiny Hinges on…

"Thus Christ … pictured to His disciples the scene of the great judgment day. And He represented its decision as turning upon one point…there will be but two classes, and their eternal destiny will be determined by what they have done or have neglected to do for Him in the person of the poor and the suffering." *Desire of Ages*, 637.

The Work of the Lord!

"God spoke concerning the captivity of the colored people as verily as He did concerning the Hebrew captives, and said: 'I have surely seen the affliction of my people . . . and have heard their cry … I know their sorrows; and I am come down to deliver them.' The Lord wrought in freeing the Southern slaves; but He designed to work still further for them as He did for the children of Israel, whom He took forth to educate, to refine, and ennoble." SW 42

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



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