Effectively Addressing Diversity and Inclusion
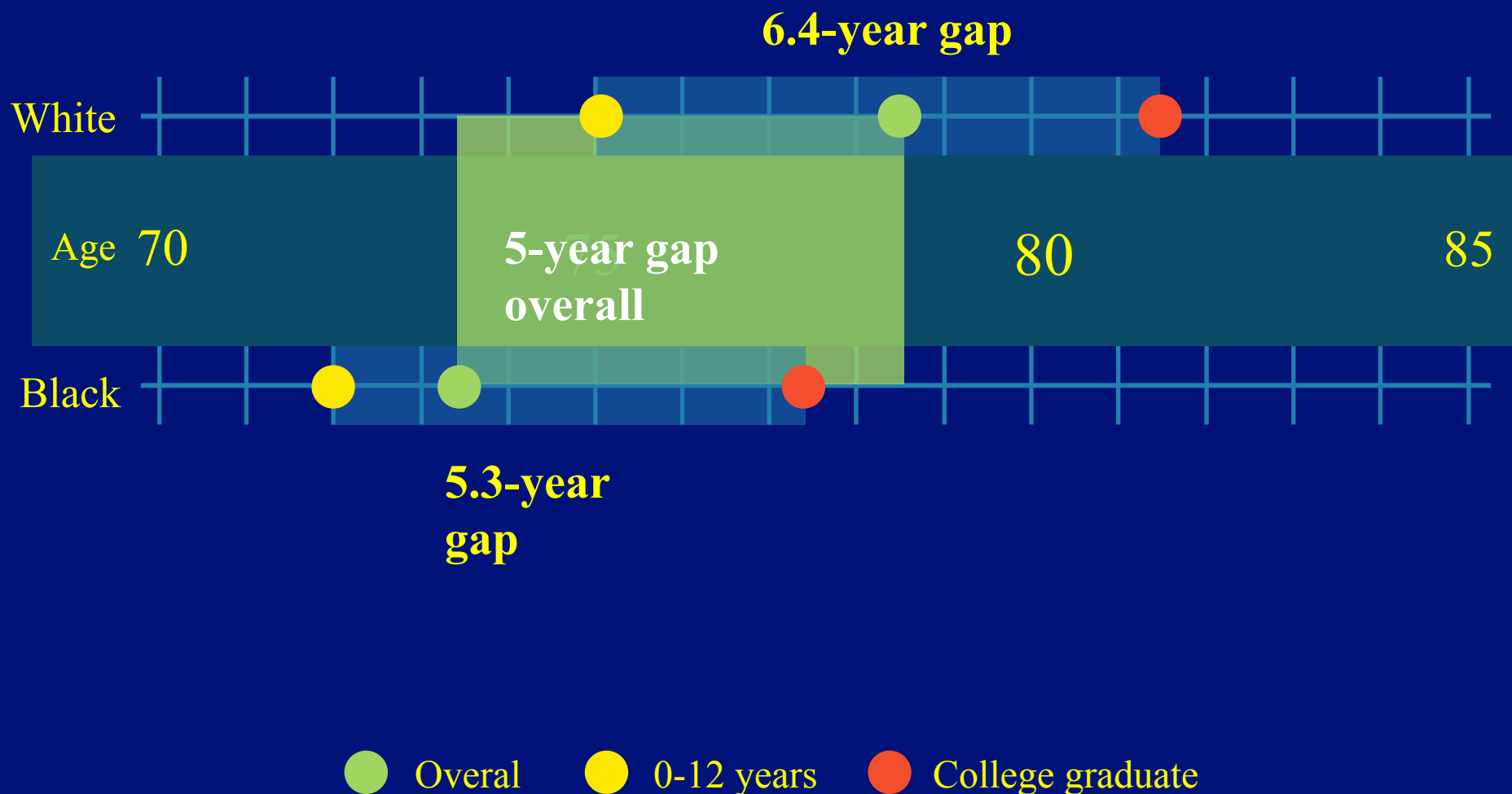## The House That Racism Built

David R. Williams, PhD, MPH

Florence & Laura Norman Professor of Public Health

Professor of African & African American Studies and of Sociology

Harvard University

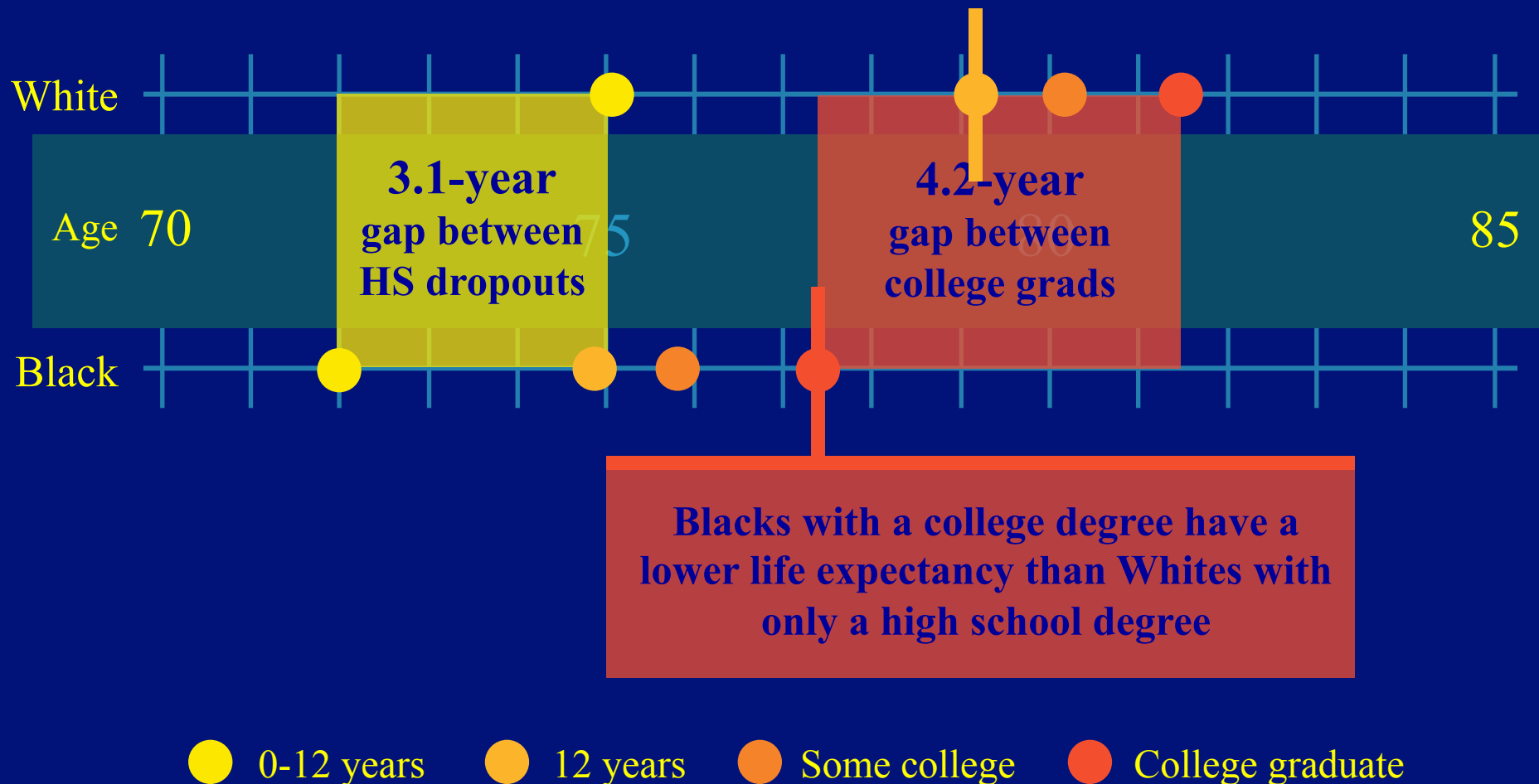# There are Large Racial Inequities in Health in the U.S.

Life Expectancy at Age 25 Based on Level of Education

6.4-year gap

White

5-year gap overall

Age 70   75   80   85

Black

5.3-year gap

⬤ Overal   ⬤ 0-12 years   ⬤ College graduate

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

Added Burden of Race

Life Expectancy at Age 25
Race Still Matters

White

3.1-year gap between HS dropouts

Age 70

75

4.2-year gap between college grads

80

85

Black

Blacks with a college degree have a lower life expectancy than Whites with only a high school degree

- 0-12 years
- 12 years
- Some college
- College graduate

Murphy, NVSS 2000; Braveman et al. 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, 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 leads to the development of negative attitudes and beliefs toward racial out-groups (prejudice and stereotypes), and differential treatment of these groups by individuals and social institutions (discrimination)

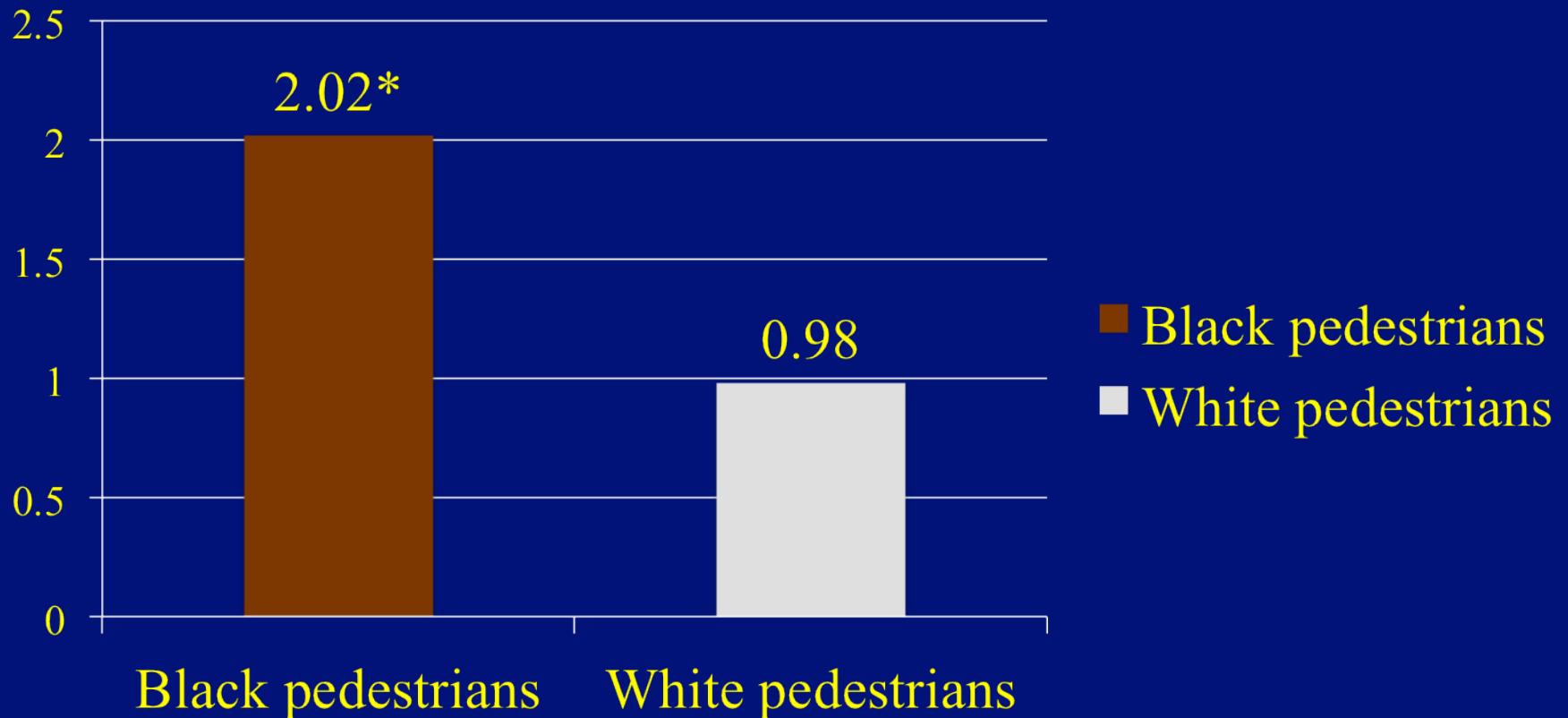Bonilla-Silva, 1996; Williams 2004

Individual vs Institutional Racism

Individual Bias: Waiting at Crosswalks

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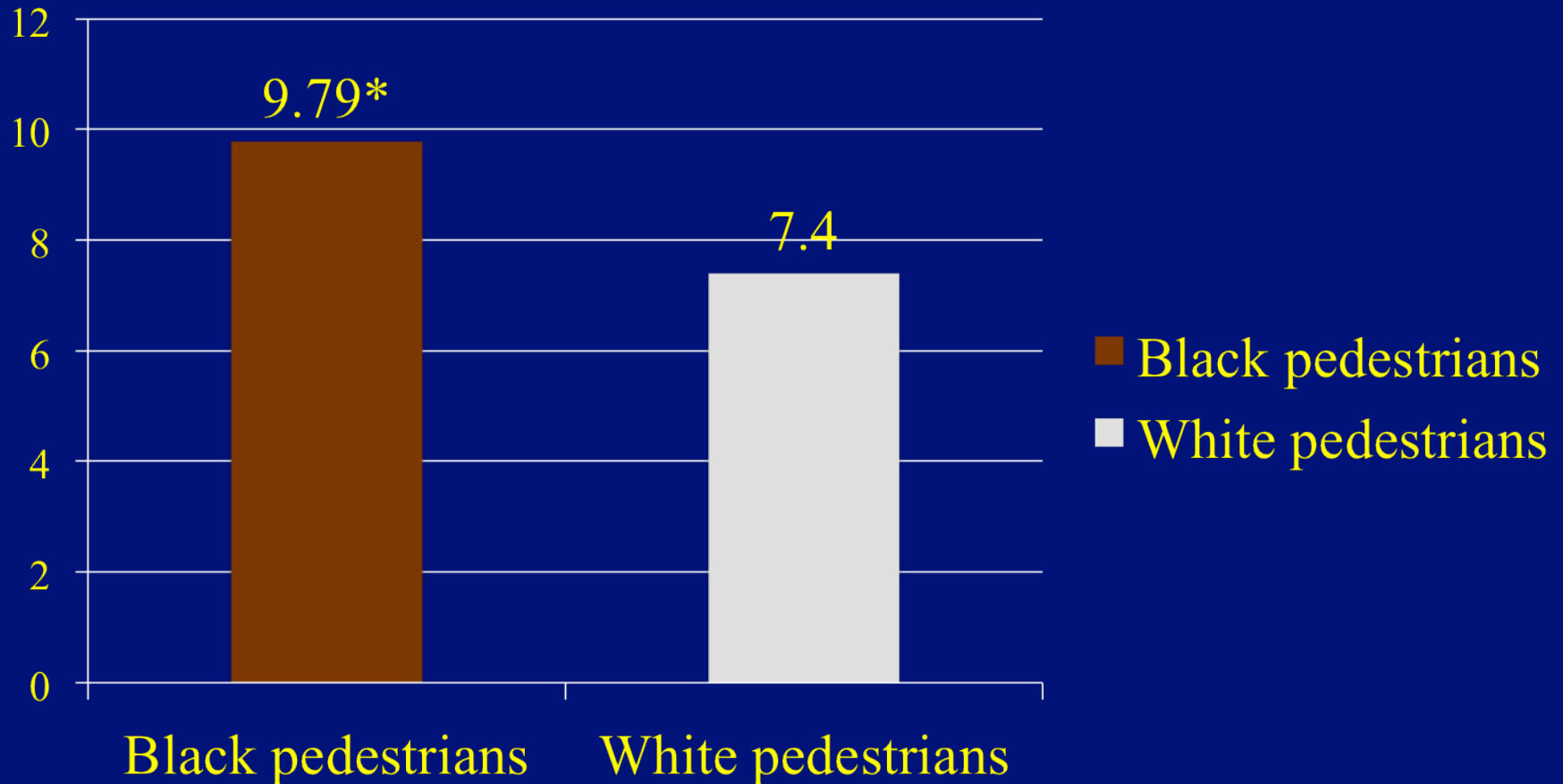- Male indicates intention to cross

Multiple Cars Twice as likely to Pass Blacks

Average Number of Cars that Passed Without Stopping

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

Blacks Wait 32% Longer to Cross the Street

Second elapsed until driver yield

Black pedestrians: 9.79*
White pedestrians: 7.4

Legend:
- Black pedestrians
- White pedestrians

Institutional Discrimination: Waiting to Vote
Average number of minutes, 2012 Presidential Election

African Americans — 23 min

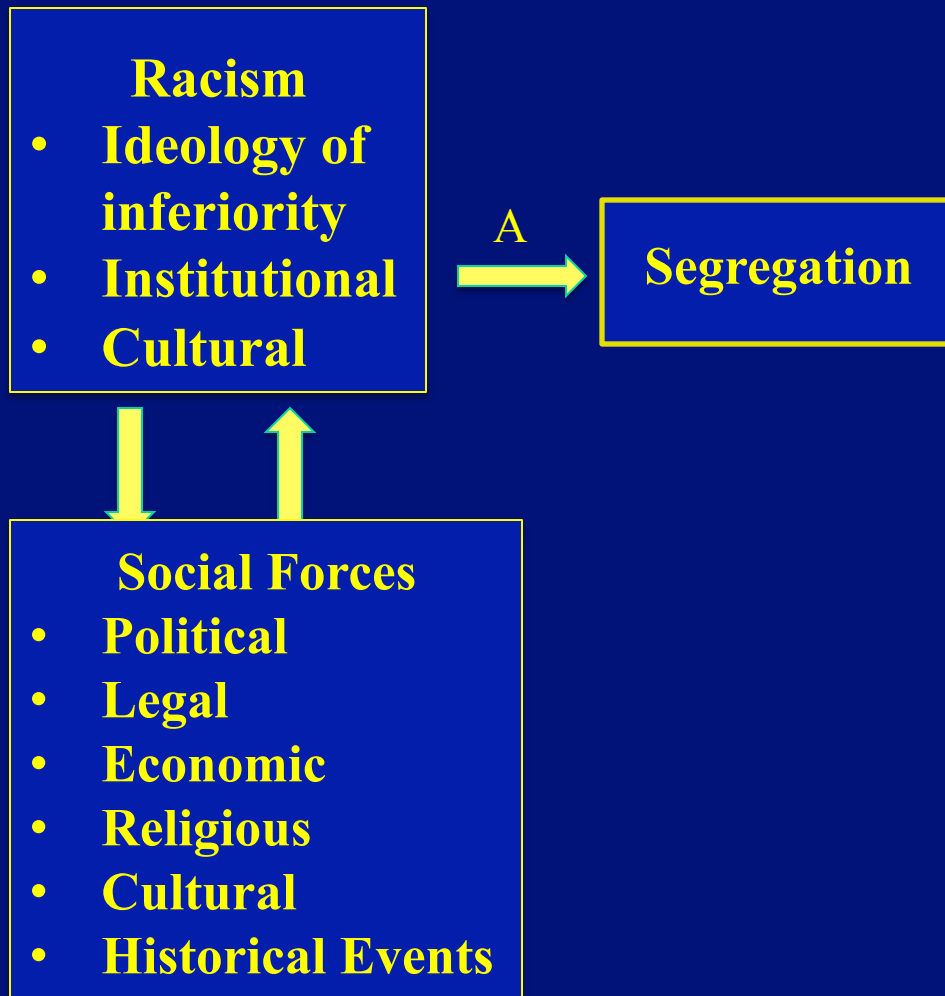Latinos — 19 min

Asian Americans — 15 min

Native Americans — 13 min

Whites — 12 min

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

The House that Racism Built

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

A →

Segregation

Social Forces
- **Political**
- **Legal**
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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

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

Racial Inequalities in SES are Large

Median Household Income and Race, 2015

Racial Differences in Income are Substantial:

1 dollar   **1.23 dollar**   **72 cents**   **62 cents***   **59 cents**

White   **Asian**   **Hispanic**   **AI/AN**   **Black**

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
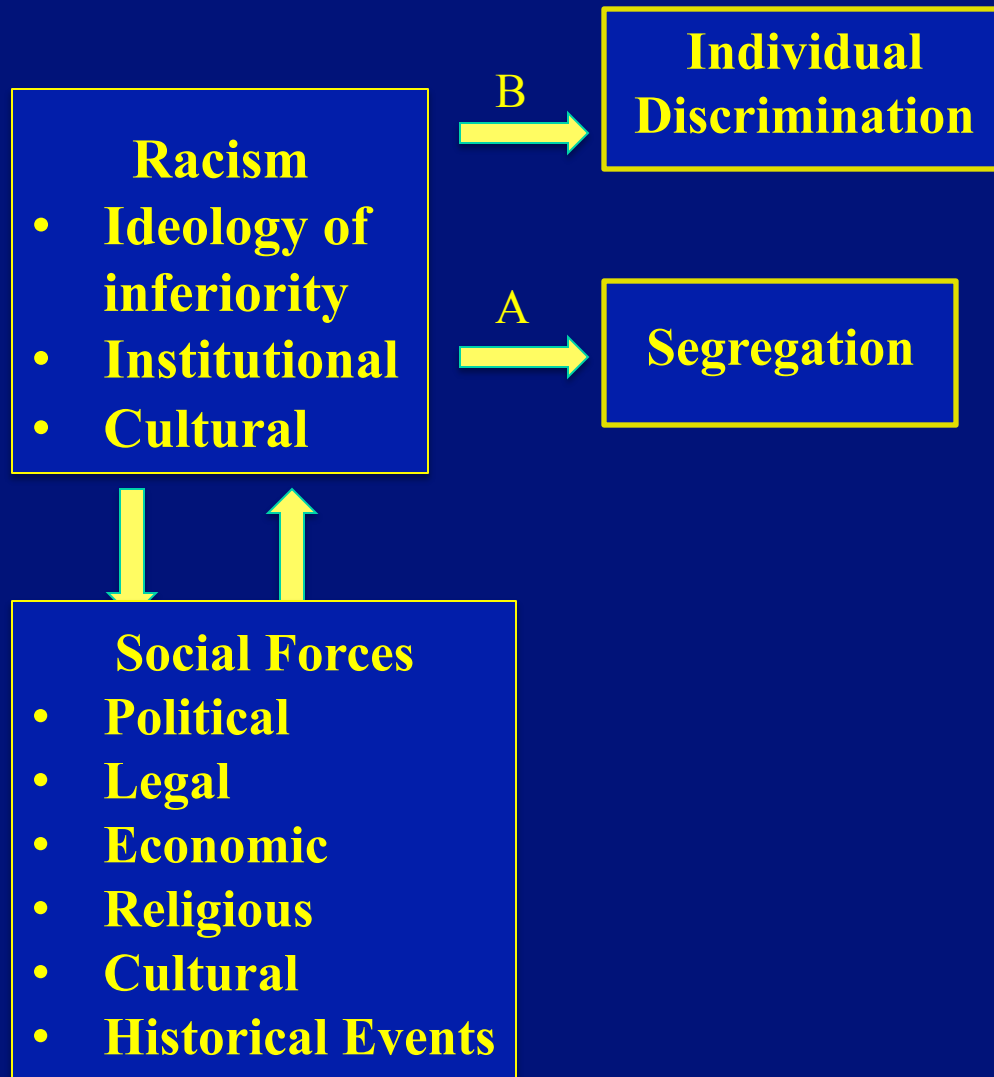
Blacks have only 6 cents

Latinos have only 7 cents

Where Racial Inequities in SES are Born

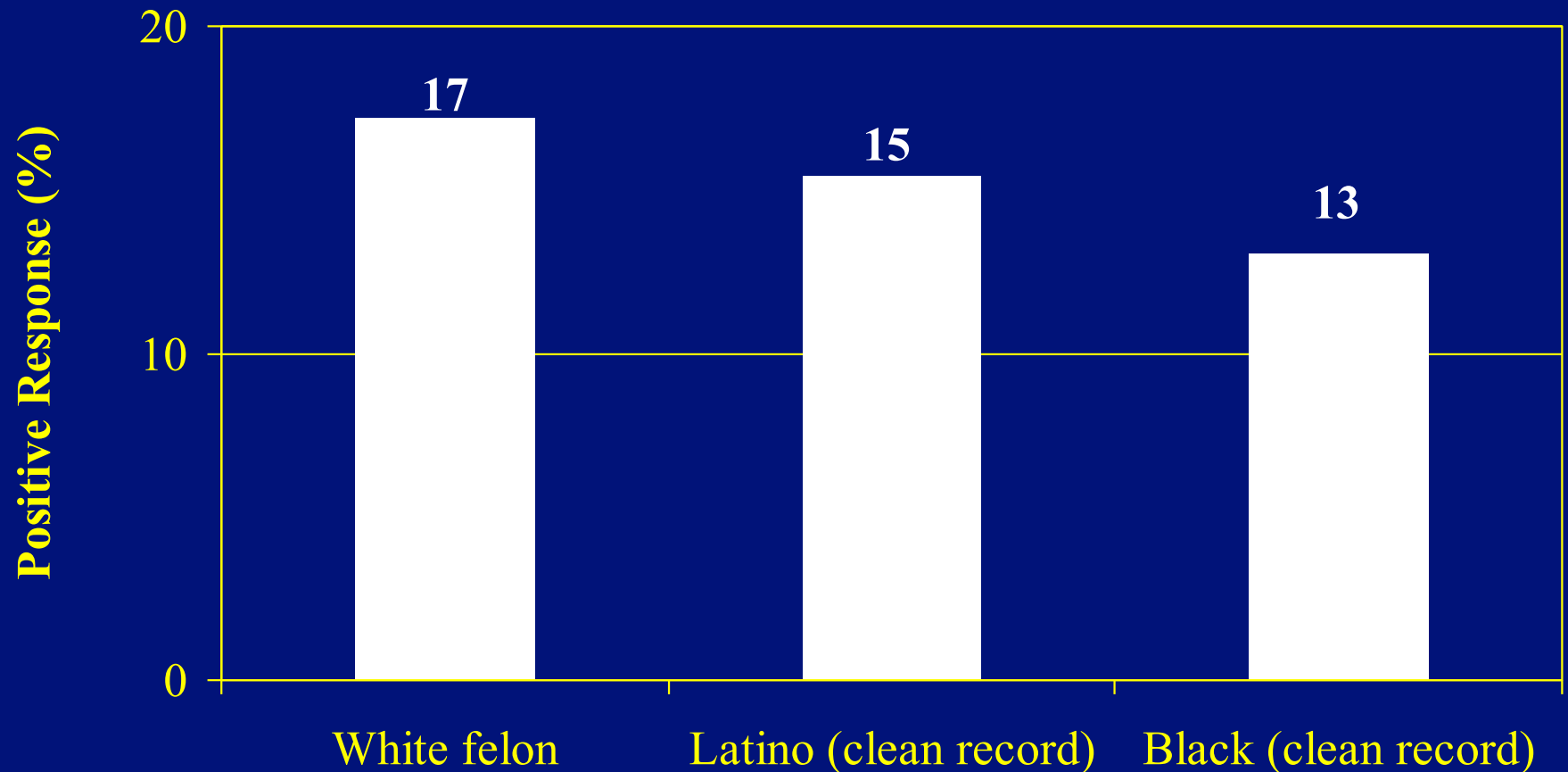*Large Racial/Ethnic Differences in SES are consequential for life:*

-- They are not acts of God

-- They are not random events

-- They reflect successful implementation of social policies

Racism has produced a truly "rigged system"

The House that Racism Built

Racism
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- **Cultural**

B → **Individual Discrimination**

A → **Segregation**

Social Forces
- **Political**
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Job Channeling - Blacks

Original Job Title	Suggested Job
Blacks Channeled Down	
Server	Busser
Counter Person	Dishwasher/Porter
Server	Busboy
Assistant Manager	Entry fast-food position
Server	Busboy/Runner
Retail Sales	Maintenance
Counter Person	Delivery
Sales	Stockboy
Sales	Not specified

Devah Pager et al Am Soc Review, 2009

Job Channeling - Latinos

Original Job Title	**Suggested Job**
Latinos Channeled Up	
Carwash attendant	Manager
Warehouse Worker	Computer/Office
Latinos Channeled Down	
Server	Runner
Sales	Stock
Steam cleaning	Exterminator
Counter person	Delivery
Sales	Stock Person

Job Channeling - Whites

Original Job Title	Suggested Job
Whites Channeled Up	
Line Cook	Waitstaff
Mover	Office/telesales
Dishwasher	Waitstaff
Driver	Auto detailing
Kitchen Job	"Front of the house" job
Receptionist	Company Supervisor
Whites Channeled Down	
Server	Busboy

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.
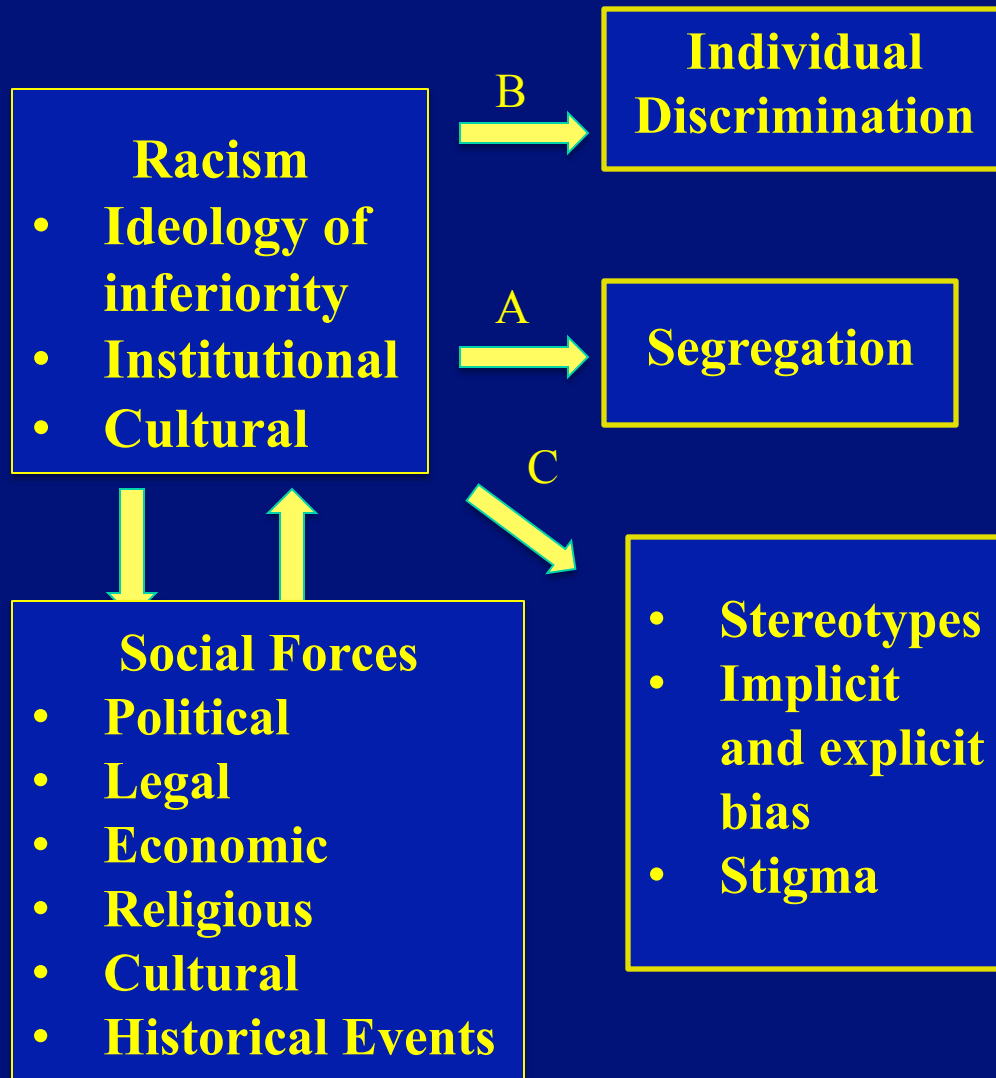- You are called names or insulted.
- You are threatened or harassed.

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)

The House that Racism Built

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C →

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- **Stereotypes**
- **Implicit and explicit bias**
- **Stigma**

Negative stereotypes about race remain deeply embedded in our culture
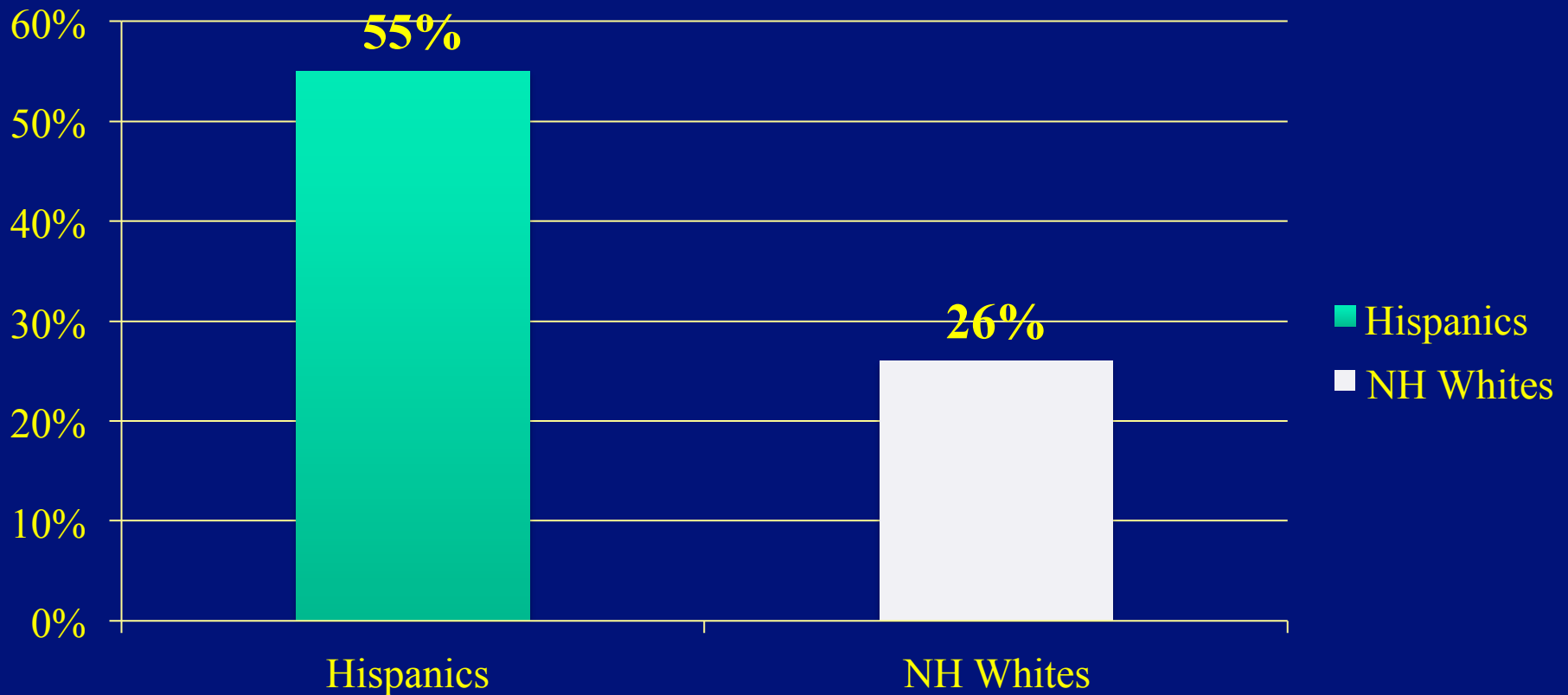
Negative Stereotypes Trigger Racial Discrimination

Racial Bias in Medical Care

Ethnicity and Pain Medicine

Percent of Patients with broken bone receiving no analgesia

Todd et al., JAMA, 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**

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

BLACK	poor	.64	WHITE	wealthy	.48
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BLACK	lazy	.40	WHITE	stubborn	.32
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

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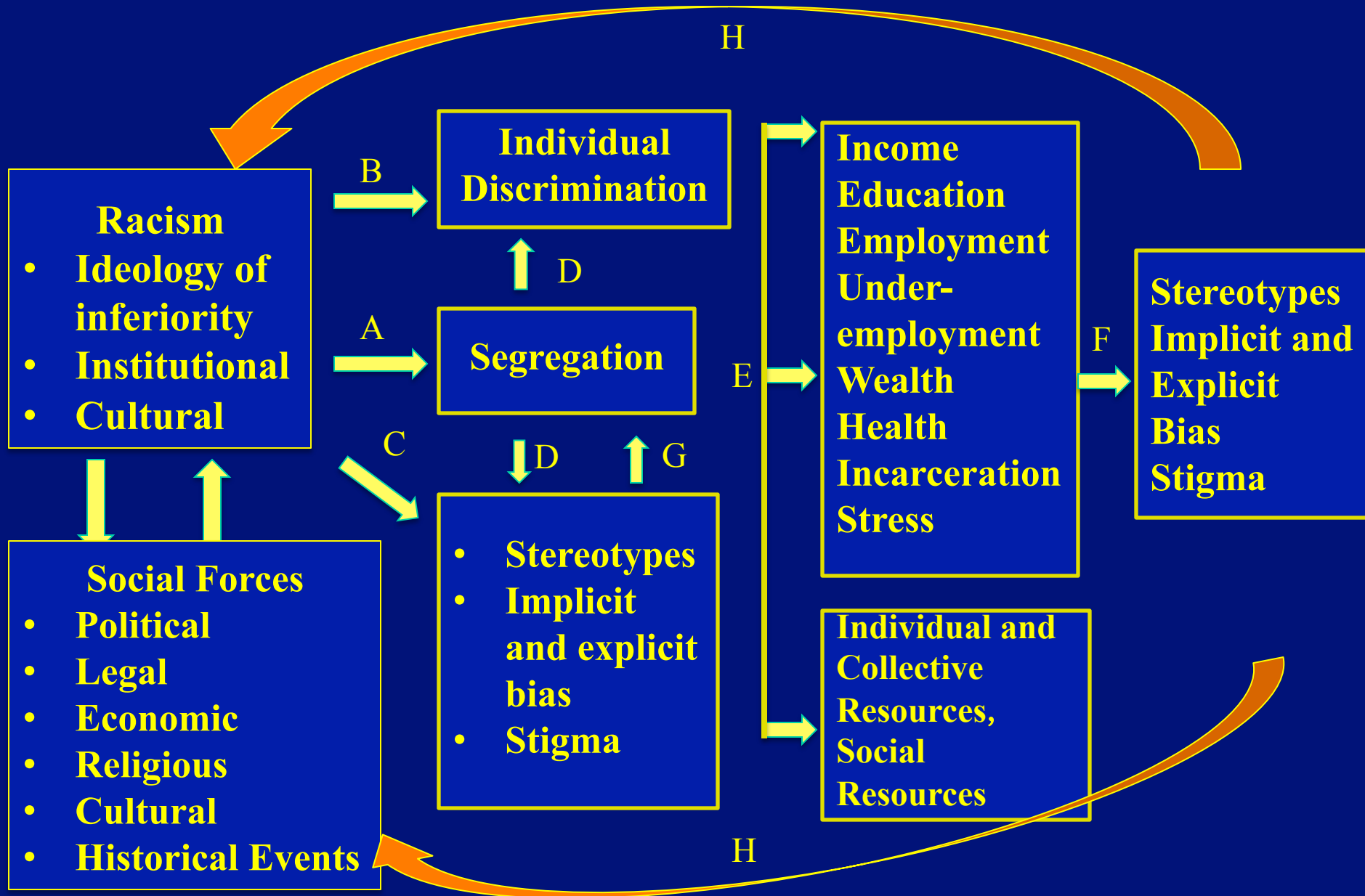
Devine, P. G., Forscher, P. S., Austin, A. J., & Cox, W. T. L. 2012 *J Exp Soc Psych*

The House that Racism Built
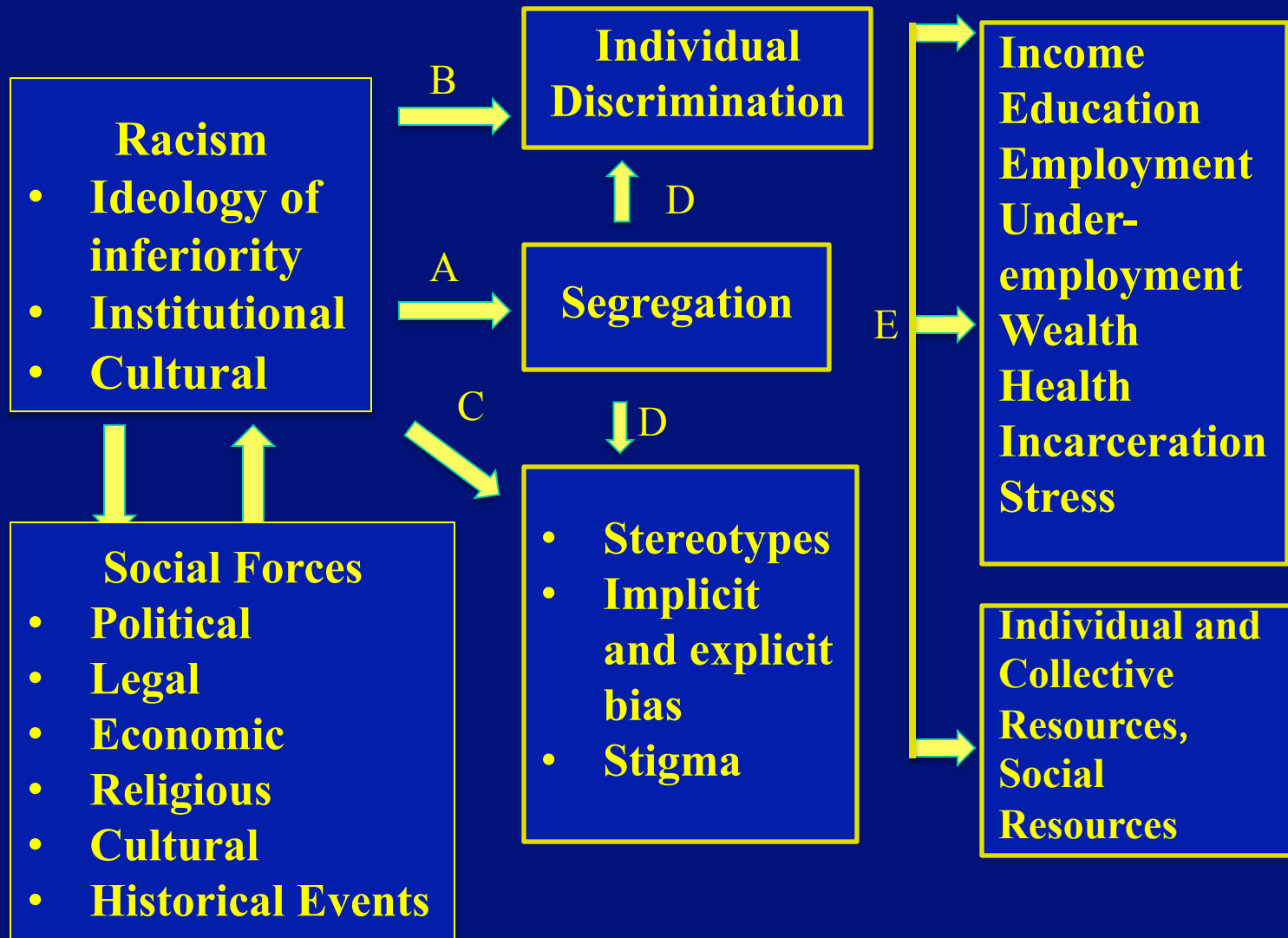
The House that Racism Built
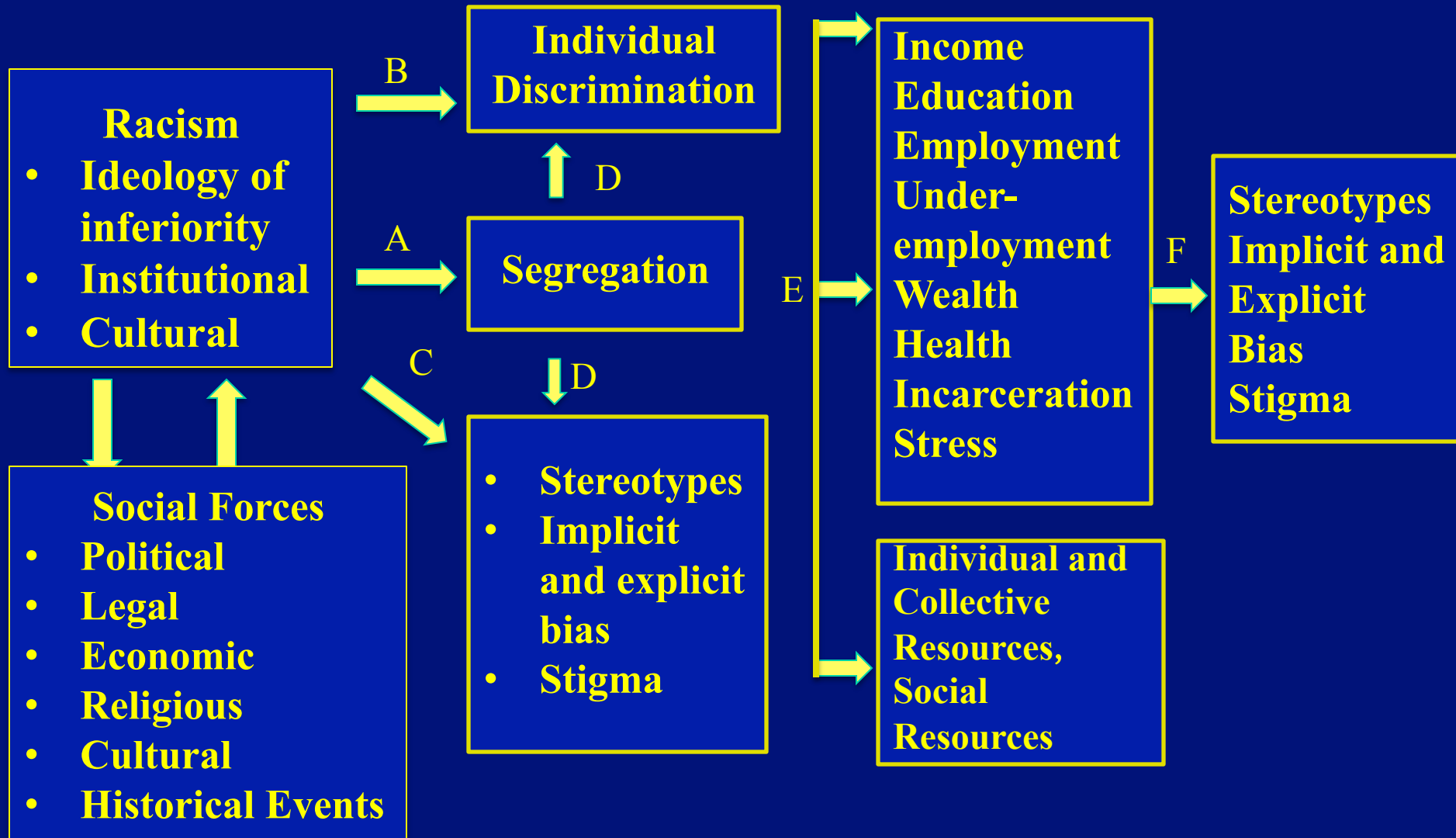
The House that Racism Built

What does it take to be Successful in Diversity and Inclusion

Diversity Defined

- Generally used to describe policies and practices that attempt to include previously excluded groups

- The key aim is to create an inclusive organizational culture that values and uses the talent of all members

Cedric Herring, American Sociological Review, 2009

Diversity: A Ploy to Forestall Social Progress?

- There is a decline in affirmative action and a rise in diversity rhetoric and programs, while racial occupational inequalities remain larger and persistent

- Diversity is used by some as a set of activities meant to symbolize corporate 'good will' without meaningful change

- Diversity can obstruct substantive changes and obscure institutional policies that maintain status quo

- In practice, diversity is too often decoupled from concrete and purposeful initiatives and incentives to effectively address racial inequality

Sharon Collins, Critical Sociology, 2011

Snowflake Diversity
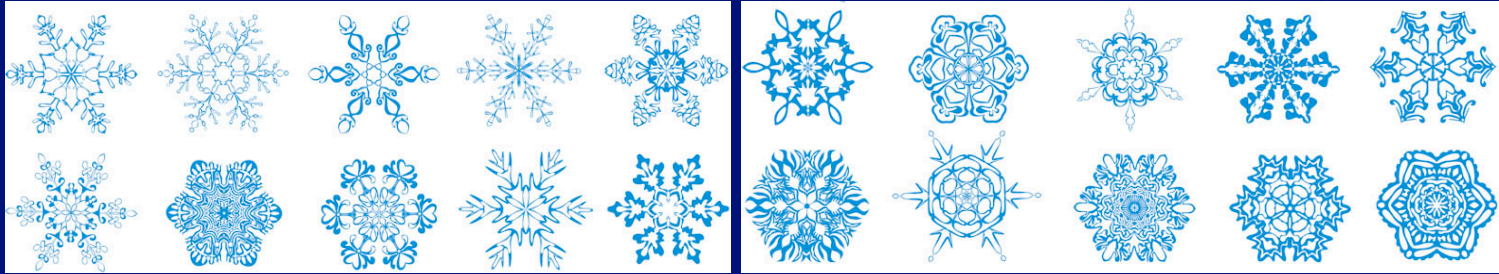
- We are all individuals – just like snowflakes

- Because each person is unique, we should not attend to group differences in any substantive way

- Emphasis on individualism : worth of each person, exercise of each desires and goals

- Emphasis on self reliance versus institutional on social interventions

Herring and Henderson, 2011, Critical Sociology

Segregated Diversity

- The large entity becomes more diverse and differentiated but dominant groups remain isolated from non-dominant groups

- The need of inclusion and representation is acknowledged but there is no attention to equal representation or parity

Herring and Henderson, 2011, Critical Sociology

Colorblind Diversity

- Key: embrace cultural differences among groups

- There is no need to acknowledge group differences in power, states, wealth and access

- Focus on multicultural events, ethnic festivals (showcase food, music, clothing, etc of various heritages)

Critical Diversity

- The equal inclusion of people from all backgrounds
- Special attention to those viewed differently from the majority group because of exclusionary practices
- Attention to parity through all ranks of the organization
- Examines and confronts issues of equity, equality, education and discrimination

Herring and Henderson, 2011, Critical Sociology

Moving Forward with Diversity
Diversity is good for the bottom-line

Benefits of Diversity: Creativity and Innovation

Diversity and Innovation

- Diversity can enhance creativity & facilitate access to novel information. Thus, it enables innovation

- Persons from multiple disciplinary backgrounds and multiple social backgrounds bring different information, opinions and perspectives to a task

- Experimental evidence reveals that groups with racial diversity significantly out-performed groups with no racial diversity

Economic Benefits of Diversity

- 1996 – 1997 National Organizations Survey

- Probability sample, representative of 15 million workplaces in Dun and Bradstreet's data file.

- Analyses focus on 506 for-profit business organizations

- Assess the impact of racial and gender diversity on sales revenue, number of customers, market share and profit

Economic Consequences of Diversity

Gender and Racial/Ethnic diversity predicts:

- Higher Sales Revenue

- A larger Number of Customers

- A higher than average Market Share

- Greater Profitability

Associations remain significant in multivariate models adjusting for age, type, and size of organization, type of industry and region of the U.S.
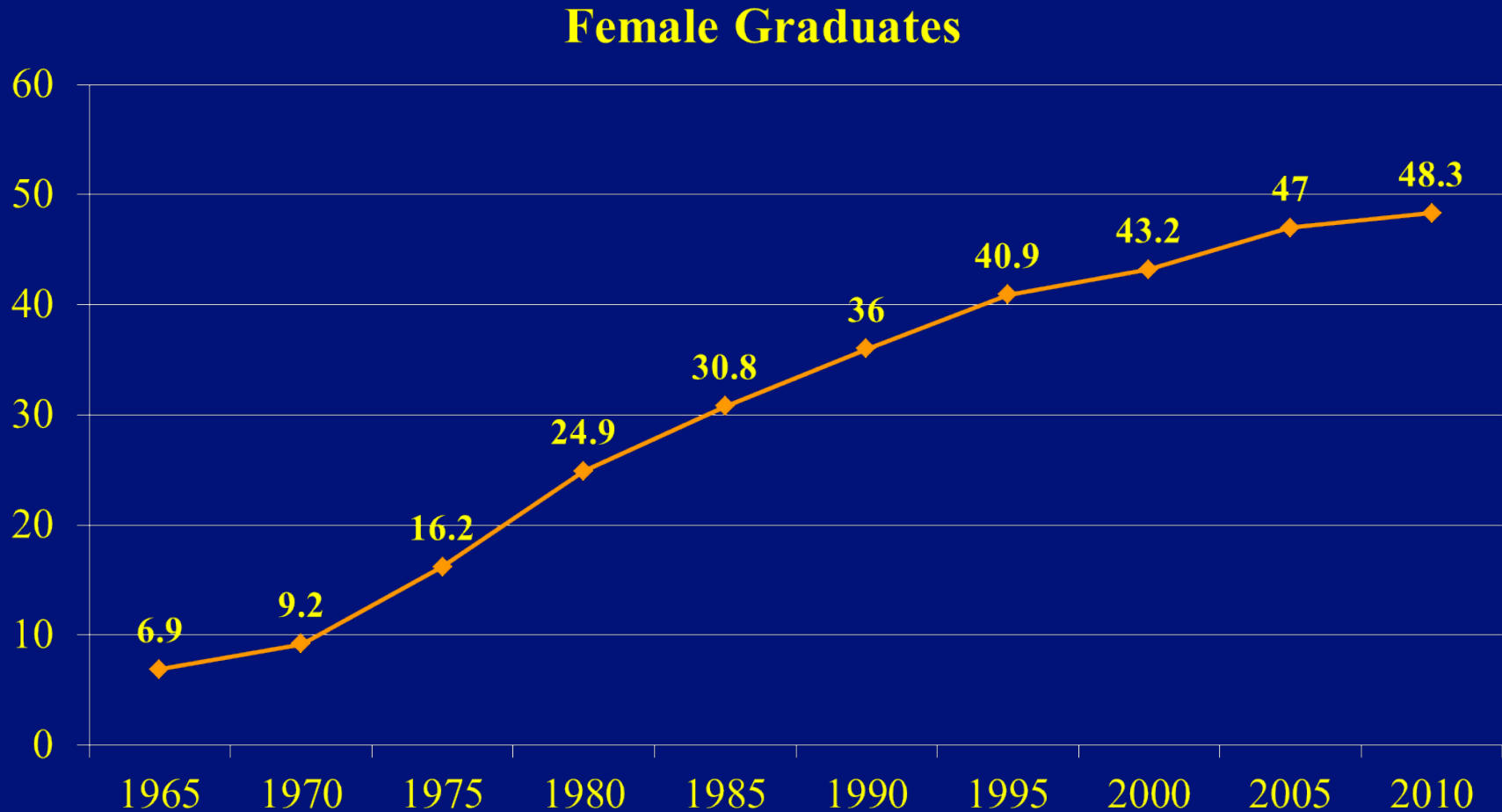
Undoing Racism

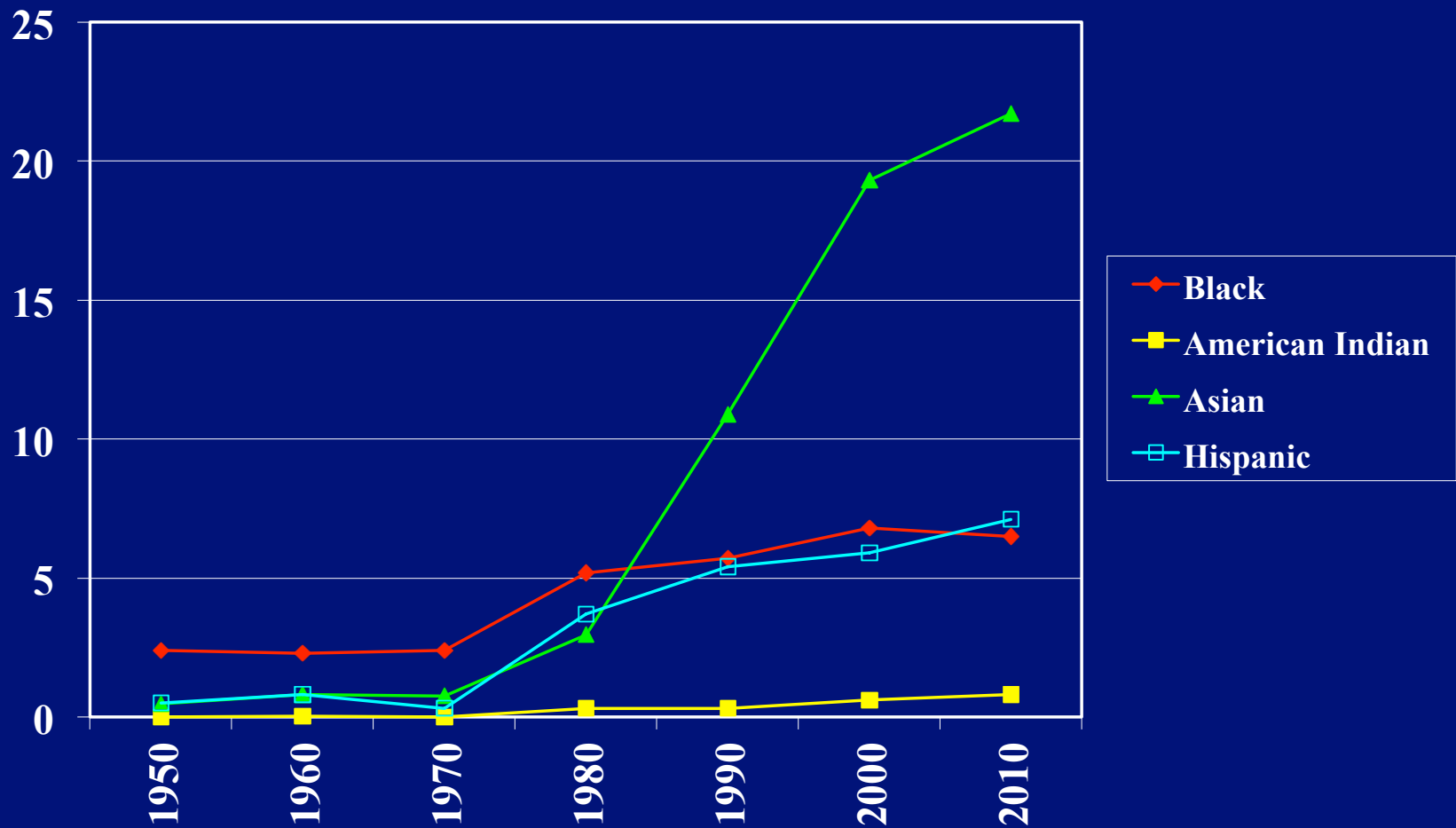Not enough to open the doors of Opportunity…..

Case of Medicine in the U.S.

How well did Affirmative Action work for women and minorities?

Female Graduation Trends in US Medical Schools, 1965-2010

Female Graduates

Minority Graduation Trends in US Medical Schools, 1950-2010

The Differing Diversity Success and Outcomes for Women Versus Minorities Highlights the Critical Need of Making Investments to Ensure that all Are Enabled to Take Advantage of New Opportunities

Need to Remove the Shackles

It is not enough to get to the starting line. Everyone, irrespective of social group and background, must receive the preparation (training, nutrition, etc) to be able to run the race.
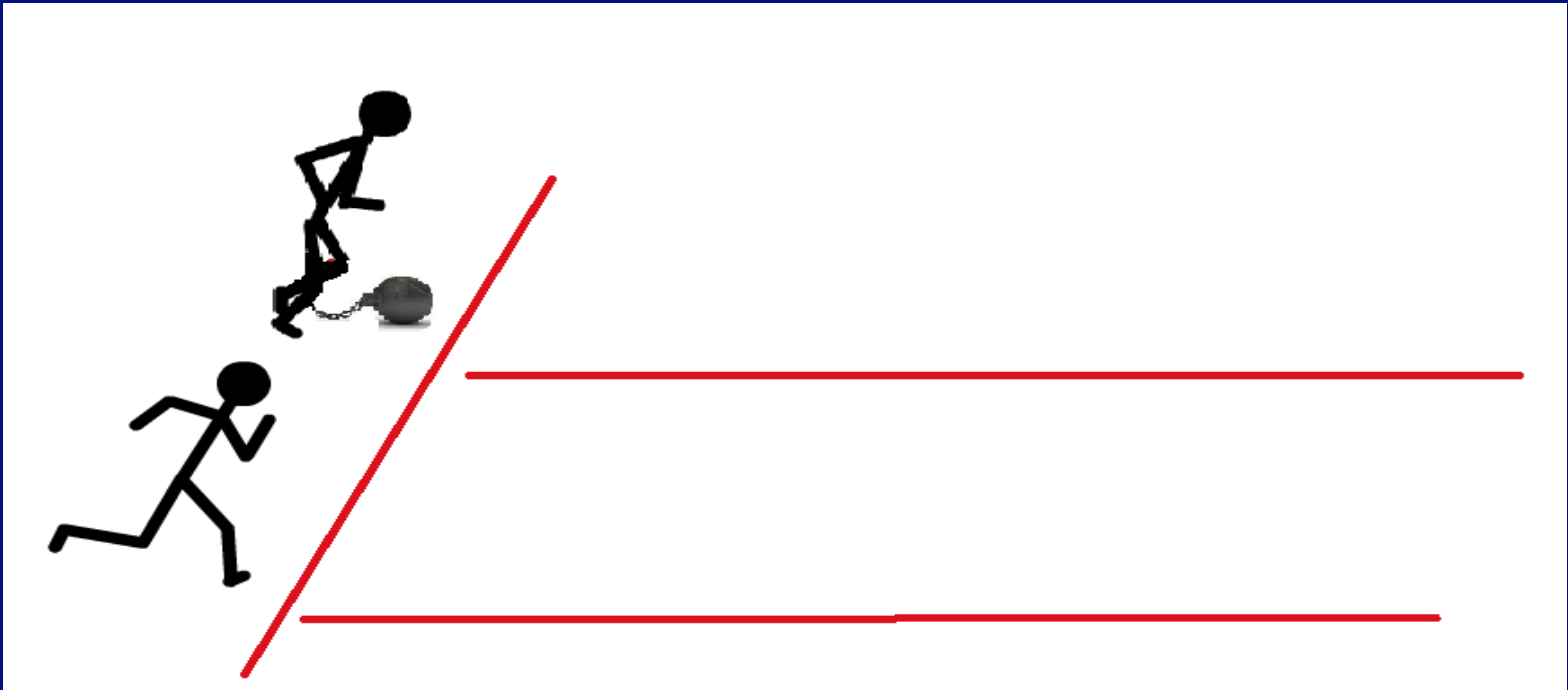
Progress (or lack thereof) in Medicine

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

- 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."

- Plato (paraphrased)

Doing Diversity Right

We have a science base that tells us what works and what doesn't in diversity

Making Work More Diverse
What Strategies work best?

1. Reducing managerial bias through education (diversity training) and feedback (diversity evaluations)

2. Addressing social isolation through mentoring and networking

3. Initiatives that embed accountability, mandates, and authority (affirmative action plans, diversity committees and taskforces, diversity managers)

Kalev, Dobbin & Kelly, Am. Sociological Review, 2006

Which Diversity Strategy Works Best?

- Study of alternate diversity strategies in private companies in US, 1971-2002
- Strategy 1 (diversity training & evaluations) does not increase diversity (race nor gender)
- Strategy 2 (mentoring and networking) has very modest effects
- Strategy 3 (Mandatory programs, or programs with explicit authority, accountability, support from the leadership and monitoring) is most effective in increasing proportions of women and minorities

Case Study:
The University of Michigan
Michigan Mandate:
One of most comprehensive and successful diversity initiatives ever by a predominantly white research university

Michigan Mandate: Keys to Success

1. Strong Leadership from the top

2. Established a committee (consisting of 2nd highest ranking official in each academic unit) to review progress, set objectives and formulate diversity policy

3. He placed 1 percent of University's budget, annually, into escrow to be used only for diversity purposes

Roach, Diverse Education, 2005
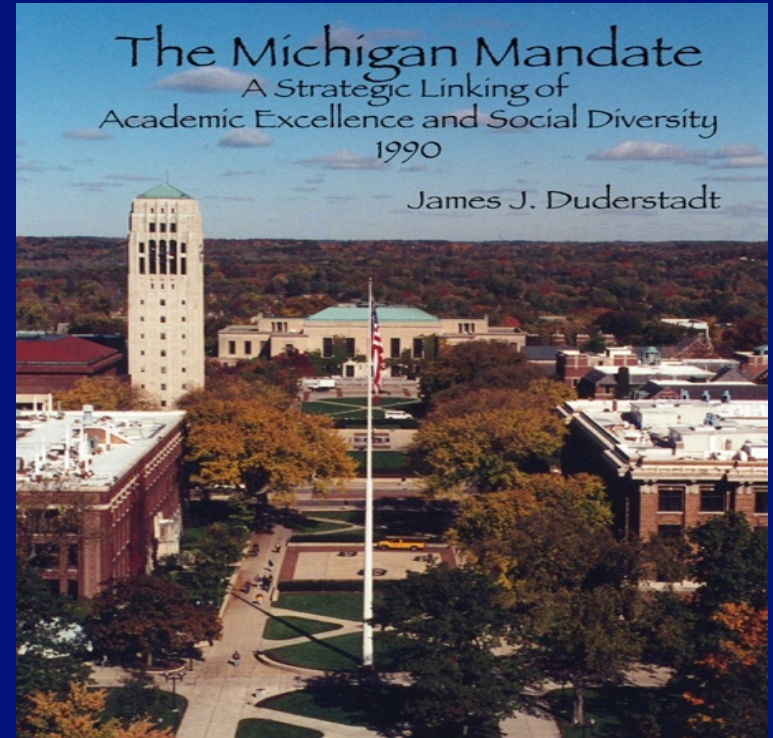
Michigan Mandate: Excellence

1st and most important step was to link diversity and excellence as the two most compelling goals for the institution. Viewed the two goals as complementary

"At Michigan, we remain absolutely convinced that there is a very strong linkage between academic excellence and campus diversity." James J. Dunderstadt, President, University of Michigan, 1988-1996

Michigan Mandate: Results

By late 1990's:

- Minority student enrollment more than doubled and marked increase in minority faculty

- Success of minorities improved with graduation rates rising to highest among public universities

- Promotion and tenure success of minority faculty members becoming comparable to majority colleagues

- Increased appointments of minorities to leadership positions in the University

J. J. Dunderstadt, Michigan Mandate

Diversifying the NFL

Case Study: 'the Rooney Rule'
The National Football League (NFL)

Brian Collins, New York University Law Review, 2007

Rooney Rule

- Developed by NFL committee led by Dan Rooney (Pittsburgh Steelers)

- NFL teams must interview at least one minority candidate for head coach and general manager jobs

- Teams forced (decision-makers who may have implicit biases) to actively consider a candidate that they would have otherwise overlooked

- Watchdog: an affinity group (Fritz Pollard Alliance) of former black athletes intent on promoting diversity in the NFL was established to hold the NFL to its word

Brian Collins, New York University Law Review, 2007

Success of the Rooney Rule

- Implemented by the NFL in 2003
- By 2006, there were 7 (22%) black head coaches in the NFL
- At end of 2005 season, three of six Division titles went to teams with a black head coach
- All three coaches were finalists for NFL's "coach of the Year" award, (Lovie Smith won)
- In 2007, two black head coaches in Super Bowl (Lovie Smith's Chicago Bears vs Tom Dungy's Indianapolis Colts)

Reframing the Process: a New Mindset

- In U.S. military, blacks qualified for advancement were promoted in the officer ranks at lower rates than whites

- The Army altered promotion procedures

- Promotion boards told to be race- and gender-conscious, reminded that all groups central to the mission of Army, and asked to assume that black and female promotion candidates were as qualified as whites and males

- If candidate not promoted, boards required to provide written explanation and justification

- This eliminated racial and gender disparities in promotion as long as guidelines were in place

John Dovidio, et al., Gender and Work, Harvard Business School, 2013

Decision Architecture and Hiring

- When people make decisions on a case-by-case basis, with each decision seen as isolated, they focus on individual attributes and not group characteristics

- Diversity is a property of a group

- Case-by-case hiring versus cluster hiring results in the selection of fewer minorities

- People select fewer minorities when asked to select separate professionals as compared to a group of four

A Comprehensive Diversity Program has to Transform the Organizational Environment

--Address Organizational Climate
-- Address Support and Retention Issues

What Is Holding Us Back?
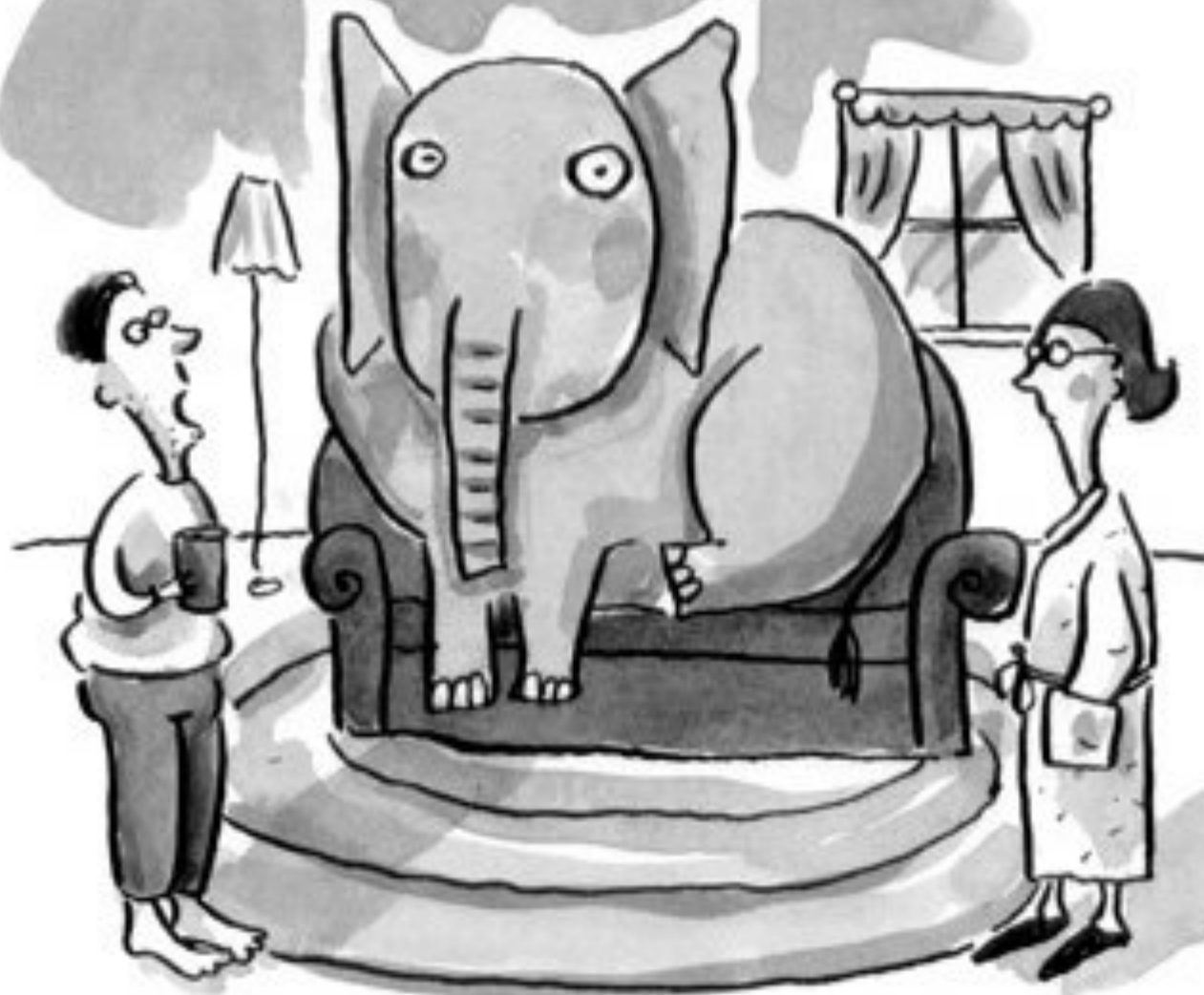
What elephant?

Tomassi

Needed Action

We need to invest in communication strategies to raise awareness levels and build the political will to address racial inequities in America

These initiatives need to explicitly focus on developing the knowledge base to reduce and eliminate the 'empathy gap'

Creating the Conditions for Change

The Empathy Gap?

"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 [1967], p.163).

Lack of Empathy, Evident Early in Life

- Mainly white 5-, 7- and 10-year olds rate pain of black and white children

- No racial bias at age 5

http://www.huffingtonpost.com/2013/10/17/racial-empathy-gap_n_4118252.html

- Children show weak bias (blacks feel less pain) at age 7

- At age 10 children rate pain of black child less than white one (strong, reliable racial bias)

- Unrelated to social preference (would like to be friends with)

- We may need to start empathy training very young

R. Dore et al, Br J Dev Psych, 2014

We need to identify how to tell the story of the challenges of the disadvantaged in ways that resonates with the public

Determinants of Long-term Success

- Leadership matters: institutional priority, rhetoric

- Align diversity at all organization levels (e.g, training to increase knowledge and sensitivity)

- Identify & nurture multi-sectoral core of champions

- Explicit communication strategies: maintain a steady drumbeat of information for policy-makers and engaged public (framing, build empathy)

- Synergy that supports recruitment and retention

- Financial support for diversity initiatives

- Highlight interventions that are working

"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

Weakening the Social Safety net can have disproportionate negative impact on marginalized racial/ethnic groups

A walk down memory lane

1981 Cuts in Health & Social Services

Source: Wikipedia

- 500,000 persons lost eligibility for Aid to Families with Dependent Children (AFDC)
- 1 million persons dropped from Food-stamps
- 600,000 net loss of Medicaid beneficiaries between 1981 and 1983
- 1982 funding cuts closed over 250 centers, and over a million people lost their one source of care
- 1 million children lost reduced price school meals
- The WIC program had enough funding to serve a third of those eligible

Source: Mary Mundinger, NEJM, 1985

Health Impacts

- Elderly experienced reduced access to care
- Av. Medicare deductible for a hospital stay doubled from 1981 to 1985
- Nationwide increase in women who did not receive prenatal care

Source: Late Adulthood

- A 143% increase in anemia in pregnant women
- Increase in the incidence of Low birth weight
- Increase in infant mortality, poor areas, 20 states, 1981-82
- Preventable childhood diseases rise in poor populations
- Increase in children with elevated blood lead levels, and lead poisoning
- Increase in chronic disease in adults

Source: Mary Mundinger, NEJM, 1985

We need advocacy to keep and strengthen a very fragile safety set that is likely to become even more strained