

Health Equity Learning Series

Race in Today's Medicine: Science, History and Myth

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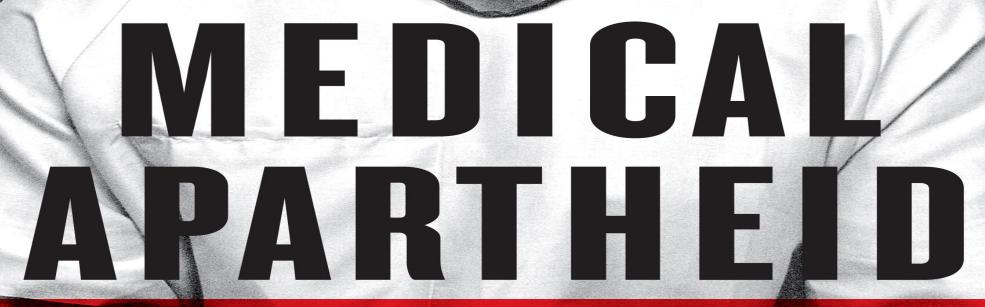
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HEALTH EQUITY LEARNING SERIES



Harriet A. Washington Science Writer, Editor and Ethicist

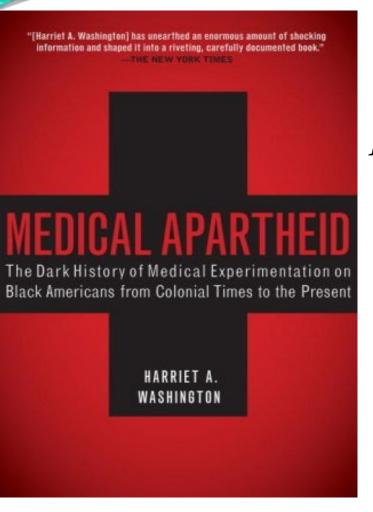


THE DARK HISTORY OF MEDICAL EXPERIMENTATION ON BLACK AMERICANS FROM COLONIAL TIMES TO THE PRESENT





HARRIEN WASHINGTON



Race in Today's Medicine: Science, History, and Myth

Harriet A. Washington
HEALTH EQUITY LEARNING SERIES
Colorado Trust
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May 22, 2018

*Harvard Medical School, Division of Medical Ethics; DePaul U. College of Law; Fondation Brocher, Geneve; ISCB, Wien, Austria; and the Alfred P. Sloan Foundation

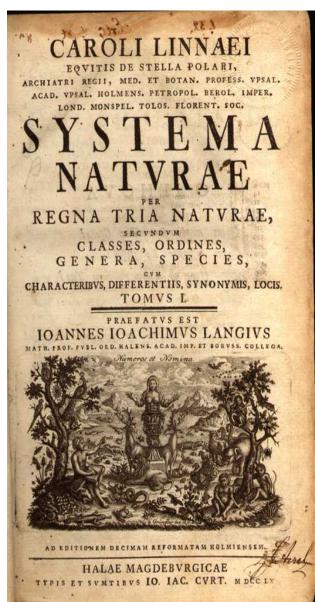
Structural Racism in US Medicine

Racism

- Reinforcement of mythology, i.e., "Noble savage,"
 "African subhuman," "inscrutable godless Oriental"
- Science embodiment of racial bias
- Africans = African Americans

Economics

- Health v. fitness for work
- Direct competition with healers of color



The wrongs which we seek to condemn and punish have been so calculated, so malignant and so devastating that civilization cannot tolerate their being ignored because it cannot survive their being repeated.

—Chief U.S. Prosecutor Robert Jackson, Opening Statement, Nuremberg Doctors' Trial, December 9, 1946

But we have forgotten our domestic wrongs, which underlie black *iatrophobia*



Sociopolitical	Medical
Enslavement 1619-~1865	Physician-owner dyad: Medical enslavement; clinic confinement; involuntary surgery and research; black bodies conscripted for anatomical dissection
De jure Segregation ~1865-1960s	Continued forced subjection to research; Black patients barred from white hospitals; "Negro ambulances" Black hospitals; Black medical schools (closed after Flexner Report), dispensary movement, Black MDs barred from AMA, hospitals, etc
Disparate access ~1960s-present	Continued forced subjection to research; Reduced access to care; higher morbidity and mortality rates; disparate access to standard of care; tissue appropriation
Racial disparity in scrutility A. Washington	Racially selective erosion of consent

Tuskegee, an overburdened icon

- Chapter 1 Southern Discomfort: Medical Exploitation on the Plantation
- Chapter 2 Profitable Wonders:

 Antebellum Medical Experimentation
- Chapter 3 Circus Africanus: *The Popular Display of Black Bodies*
- Chapter 4 the surgical theater: *Black Bodies in the Antebellum Clinic*
- Chapter 5 The Restless Dead: Anatomical Dissection and Display
- Chapter 6 Diagnosis: Freedom: Fin de Siècle Medical Research
- Chapter 7 'A notoriously syphilissoaked race': *What* Really Happened at Tuskegee?
- Chapter 8 The Black Stork: *The Eugenic Control of African American Reproduction*

- Chapter 9 Nuclear Winter: Radiation Experiments on African Americans
- Chapter 10 Caged Subjects: Research on Black Prisoners
- Chapter 11 The Children's Crusade: Research Targets Young African Americans
- Chapter 13 Genetic Perdition: *The Rise of Molecular Bias*
- Chapter 13 Infection and Inequity: *Illness as Crime*
- Chapter 14 The Machine Age: African American Martyrs to Surgical Technology
- Chapter 15 Aberrant Wars: *American Bioterrorism Targets Blacks*
- Epilogue: Medical Research with Blacks Today

Race and research

Nontherapeutic

Such [free] persons of color as may not be able to pay for Medical advice . . . [should call at the hospital]. . . The object of the Faculty is to collect as many interesting cases, as possible, **for the benefit and instruction of their pupils**.

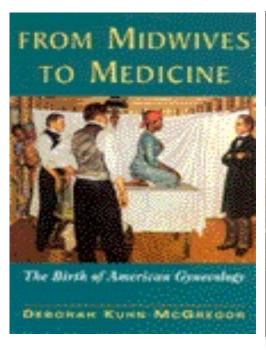
- —Medical College of South Carolina advertisement "Wanted: FIFTY NEGROES, Any person having sick
- "Wanted: FIFTY NEGROES. Any person having sick negroes, considered incurable by their respective physicians and *wishing to dispose of them* [emphasis added] . . . the highest cash prize will be paid upon application as above."
- —Dr. T. Stillman *The Charleston Mercury*

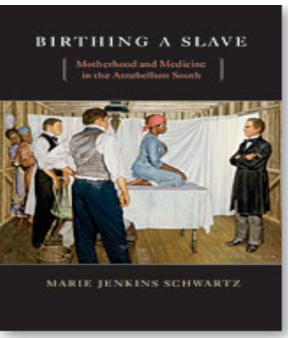
J. Marion Sims Statue Moved from Central Park



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Vesicovaginal fistula and James Marion Sims, M.D.



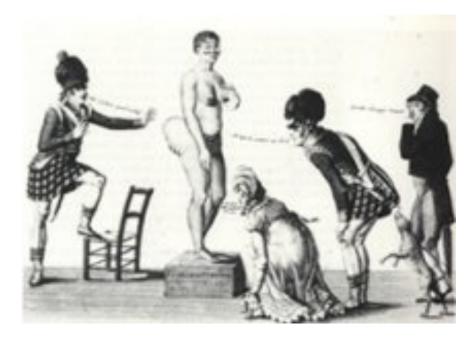


- Robert Thom's painting
- Sam; and the cobbler's awl p.62-3
- Vesicovaginal fistula, (1845-1849)p. 63
- Whose fault? True vs. imagined causes
- Imprisonment as gendered metaphor

White vs. black women

Chaste; find sex distasteful Selfless, fiercely protective mothers





Sexually profligate Jezebels Murderously indifferent mothers: "Overlaying"

"A careful inspection reveals the body of the negro a mass of imperfections from the crown of the head to the soles of the feet."

Dr. W. T. English, 1903

20th-century 'Jezebels'

"I have have very serious doubt as to whether the crime of rape can be committed upon a negro."

—Cole Blease, Governor of South Carolina,1910-14

No Southern states made it legally possible for slave women to file rape charges against a white man before 1861.

Historian Danielle McGuire writes "Between 1940 and 1965 only 10 white men were convicted of raping black women or girls in Mississippi despite the fact that it happened regularly."

Why? The medically supported image of the black Jezebel.

First Nations women paralleled by the transformation of *squaw* from a revered, politically powerful member of society to an easily accessible brown-skinned woman who is raped with impunity, even today.

Victims of Violence

- More likely to be raped with impunity
- 84 percent of Native American and Alaskan Native women surveyed have experienced violence, 56 percent have experienced sexual violence, and, of that second group, over **90 percent** experienced violence at the hands of a non-tribal member.
- Tribal courts do not have the jurisdiction to prosecute non-tribal members for sexual assault and rape.
- An analysis of 31 websites found that nearly half of victims depicted being raped or tortured were Asian.

Medical heroes? The American Janus



Taliaferro Clark, MD



Osler Abbott, MD



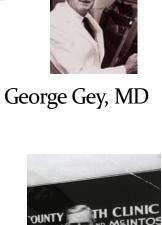
James Marion Sims, MD



John Heller, MD



Raymond Vondelehr, MD



Thomas Parran, MD



Eugene Saenger, MD



Larry Ford, MD



Oliver Wenger, MD

'Myth' and Medicine

"History is written by the victors." —Winston Churchill "Don't let the lion tell the giraffe's story." —Nigerian proverb

- Science: Ideal v. Practice
- After the Enlightenment, science grew to trump other ways of knowing Man
- The study of race paralleled the study of animal breeding, genetics and the slave trade
- In the US, the study of race was molded by social political and economic pressures
- Science is thought "pure," but its practice is not. Science cannot be assessed without regarding its practitioners
- Scientists, like others, cherish their mythologies, operate within them, and typically are blind to them

'Myth' and Medicine, II

- Expresses a culture's system of thought and values
- Expresses moral or spiritual truths
- Some myths are true. For scholars, 'myth' implies neither truth nor falsity; but to the culture that embraces them, myths are always 'true' on some level, if not literally
- In lay, secular discussions, 'myths' are utterly false and often telegraph supposed credulity, and herein lies the rub
- Organized conventional medicine cherishes its myths, too. *Mythology-based medicine* helps foment disparities.

Medical myth of health v "fitness"

- Organized conventional medicine cherishes its myths, too. *Mythology-based medicine* helps foment disparities.
- Fitness for work, not health, was the goal
- The physician-planter dyad: Who is the patient?
- Today the physician-state dyad: Black woman is still not the patient
- Blaming the victim: Medical dimorphism, not disparate treatment and environment spawned 'black diseases'

Economics and Medicine

Competition: "There are no practices wherein which] the female practitioners are less educated, being chiefly negresses or mulatresses, or foreigners without anatomical, physiological and obstetrical education. . . . That such uneducated persons should be generally successful is owing to the fact that [in] a great majority of cases no scientific skill is required, and thus *a lucky negress* become[s] the rival of the most learned obstetrician."

—Dr. R. H. Whitfield, 1855

Bitter competition between white and black physicians

Households reliant upon enslaved medical workers

Physicians' income depended upon treating the enslaved



Today: Black women healers

2016-7: Credentials questioned, ignored

"There are no practices wherein which] the female practitioners are less educated, being chiefly negresses or mulatresses, or foreigners without anatomical, physiological and obstetrical education. . . .

—Dr. R. H.Whitfield, 1855

Cf. also Joycelyn Elders, MD; Regina Benjamin, MD



Dr Tamika Cross



Dr Ashley Denmark

The American School of Ethnology

Mythology-based medicine

Predecessors of anthropologists, and experts in the negro

- [Carl von Linné (1735) Homo s. afer]
- Samuel Cartwright (c.1848-1851): Defined imaginary 'black diseases'—*drapetomania, Struma Africana, dsythesia Aethiopica*, etc.
- Josiah Nott, George Gliddon: Types of Mankind (1854): medical racial definitions
- Louis Agassiz (1846): A 'converted' polygenist
- George Morton(1839): "American Golgotha"

18th-Century scientific racism

Convenience and Illogic of using black subjects

- Justified profitable slavery; medical research
- A different species: *Homo s. afer*
- Flawed, inferior but 'hardy' black bodies
- Lower intelligence, childlike judgment
- Bestial sexuality: Frank Lydston on black men as toxic rapists
- Murderously indifferent mothering
- Imaginary diseases; Imaginary immunities
- Absent fathers?

Antebellum"Black" diseases

- Overlaying= indifferent mothers
- Infant mortality, Low birthweight
- Syphilis, STDs (import for black men)
- Pellagra
- Malingering
- Drapetomania, Hebetude, Dysthesia aethiopica
- "Freedom"

Antebellum black immunities

- Pain
- Anxiety, mental disorders, heart disease
- Fatigue
- Heat-related illness
- Malaria
- Yellow fever

Today's "Black" diseases, immunities

- Sickle-cell disease
- Diabetic Endstage renal disease
- Low birthweight babies
- 'Crack babies'
- Skin cancer
- Unqualified malarial immunity
- Napthalene exposure
- Innate subnormal IQ

The mythology of pain in 19thcentury scientific racism

"When we come to reflect that all the women operated upon in Kentucky,

except one, were Negresses and that these people will bear anything with nearly if not quite as much impunity as dogs and rabbits, our wonder is lessened." — Dr. James Johnson, editor of the *London Medical and Chirurgical Review*,

"[Blacks] bear surgical operations much better than white people and what would be the cause of insupportable pain for white men, a Negro would almost disregard. . . . [I have] amputated the legs of many

Negroes, who have held the upper part of the limb themselves."

—Dr. Charles White

Black men as rapists

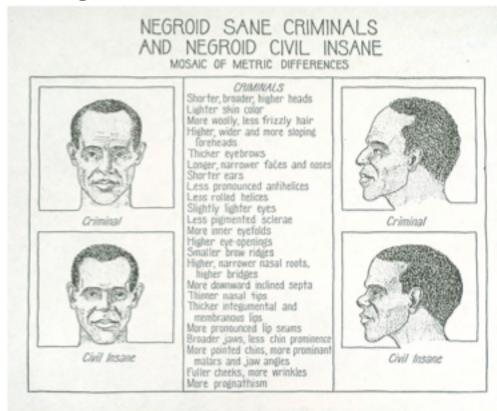
'A perversion from which most races are exempt prompts the negro's inclination towards white women, whereas other races incline toward females of their

Own."— W. T. English, in "The Negro Problem from the

Physician's Point of View"

21st century:

Rushawn Williams & HIV



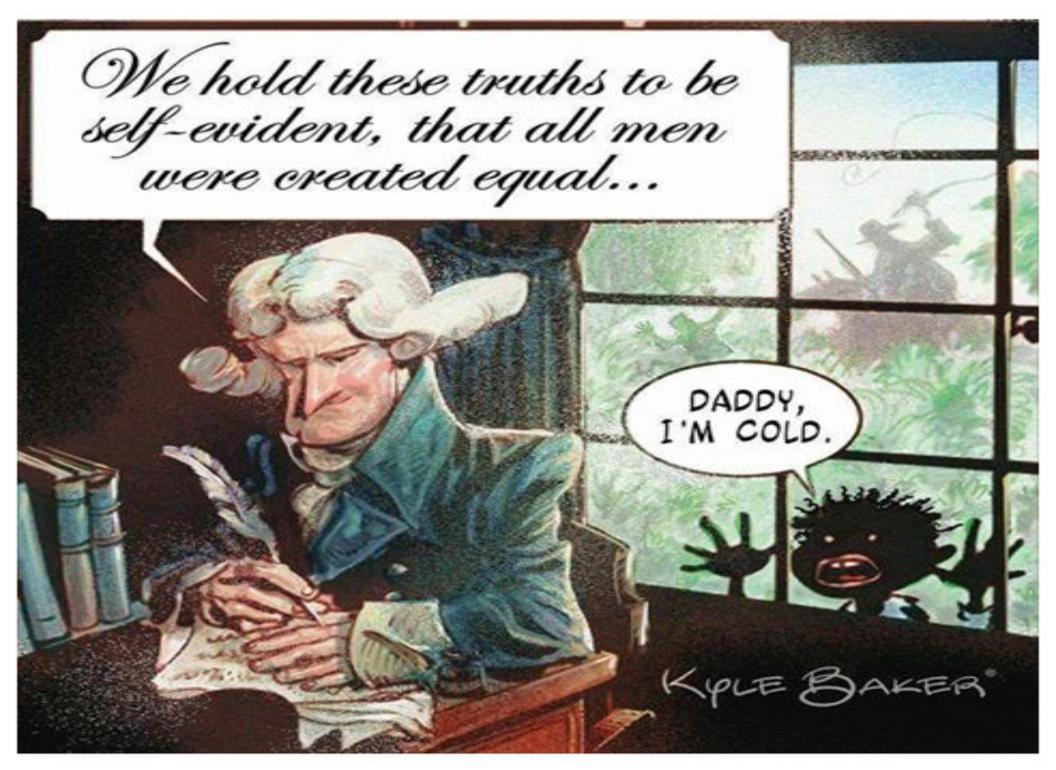
Hispanic 'aggression'

- Hispanic Latino men also tainted by this medical slander, hence the facility with which invocation of undocumented immigrants as 'rapists' has been accepted.
- Negative invocations of *machismo* for behaviors of exaggerated masculinity that are equally common n white US men



Absent, indifferent, fathers?

- Scientific racism held that black men sperm donors unconcerned about either their mates of children
- Today, modern media perpetuate this image spotlighting hyperfertility, low marriage rates and absentee fathers
- Although about one in three American fathers lived apart from their children in 2009, some, including men of color, are the primary or sole caregivers for their children.
- Yet, As reported by *Division of Vital Statistics National Health Statistics Report*, African American fathers tend to be more involved in their children's lives than fathers of other ethnicities.



Bad mothering

- "What are black women doing wrong?"
- 1987-1992 'Something inherent in black women causes infant mortality.'
- Personal responsibility: Focuses on (largely nonexistent) internal causes, not environmental harms, stress and provider bias



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there are sell stops to their epition often die al bett. The surviving infants and a stand of a chance of the expectably when they become arrived based burners - words gatting adopted.

This can present this type of 'bapa' child abuse when you notice from politing program white using drugs, whether that he tong term or permanent.

THE CHOICE TO USE BIRTH CONTROL IS YOURS.

Tour self to us in confidential, and my press your afform in during the right. Here, Our segmettre shall self-polit you brough the origin process.

Don't eat, note the call now.

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Ethnic Mothers 'prefer drugs to children'

- In 1989, the Los Angeles Times wrote of how "Parents Who Can't Say 'No' Are Creating a Generation of Misery"
- The Washington Post told us "For Pregnant Addict, Crack Comes First"

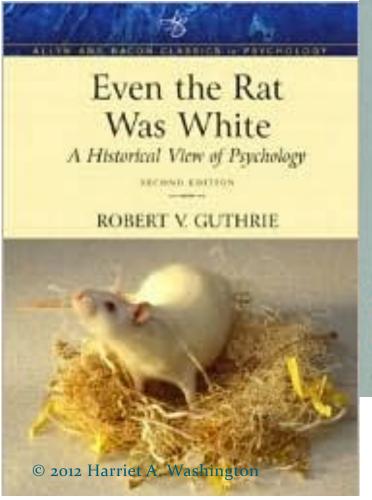
Contemporary Incarceration for Poor Birth Outcomes

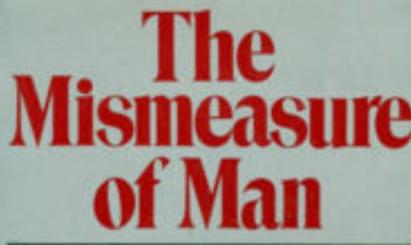
- Crack babies: The Lancet showed papers reporting that cocaine harmed babies' behavior were more likely to be accepted for publication than those showing no harm, even when the latter described better-designed studies.
- 21-year old Regina McKnight suffered a miscarriage in 2003, South Carolina charged her with "homicide by child abuse," charging that drug use caused her baby's stillbirth, a claim that they were unable to prove. She was convicted anyway, and served 8 years of her 12year sentence before the South Carolina Supreme Court overturned her conviction
- In 2016, Purvi Patel of Indiana was convicted of feticide and child neglect following her miscarriage and sentenced to 20 years. Last July, the Indiana Court of Appeals overturned her conviction for feticide but left standing her child-neglect conviction.

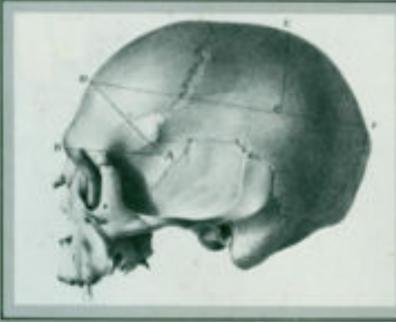
"I am somehow less interested in the weight and convolutions of Einstein's brain than in the near certainty that people of equal talent have lived and died in cotton fields and sweatshops."

— Stephen Jay Gould

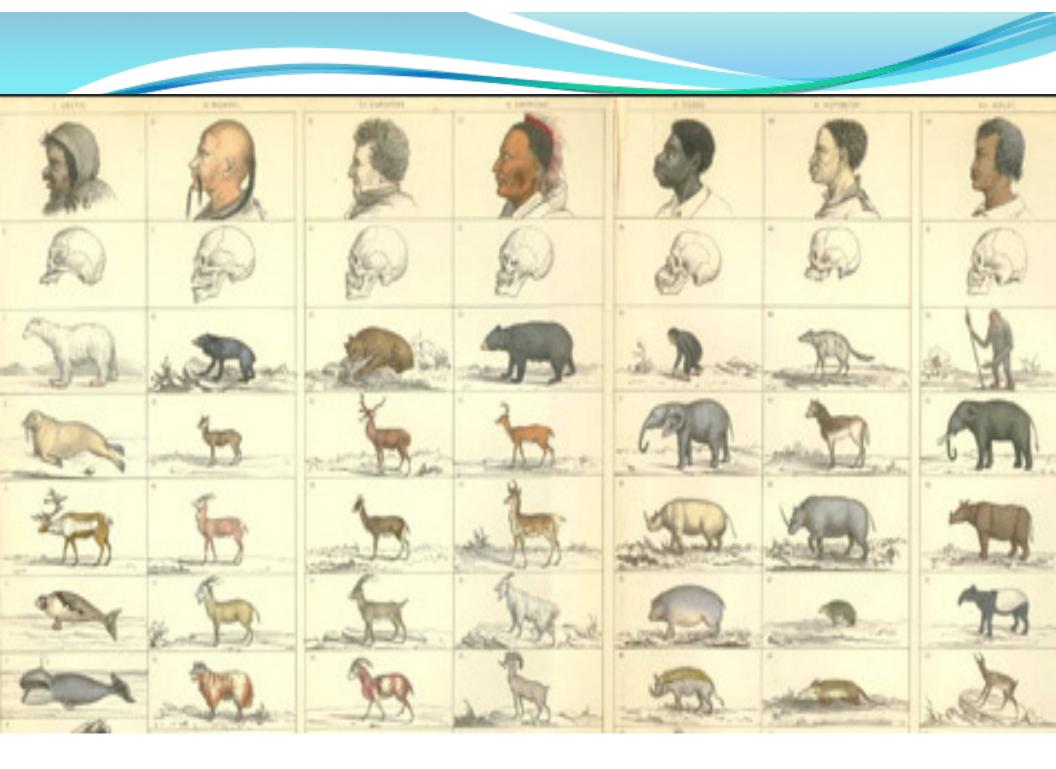
Lower
Intelligence,
'verified' via
painstaking
but rigged tests
that manifested
'physics envy'











Asians: The 'Model Minority'

- sometimes

Morton: Crania

High-IQ: East Asian cluster (Chinese, Japanese, and Koreans) 105;

Inuit-Eskimos (91), South East Asians (87), Native American Indians (87),

Pacific Islanders (85), South Asians & North Africans (84), sub-Saharan

Africans (67), Australian Aborigines (62), and Kalahari Bushmen & Congo

Pygmies (54).

Gifted in math and science=mechanical and not creative, lacking interpersonal skills

Polite= inscrutable and submissive.

Hard-working = unfair competitor not a well-rounded, likable individual.

Family oriented= clannish and too ethnic

Law-abiding= self-righteous and rigidly rule bound

Successfully entrepreneurial= deviously aggressive

Revere elders= ancestor-worshipping pagan'

Honoring tradition = reactionary ignorance

Too intelligent

- Inspires unreachable goals that cause stress and even suicide
- Inspires jealous resentment, causing other groups to target Asians (2015 Princeton lawsuit)
- Furthermore, high IQs are frequently yoked to declarations that Asians lack creativity, are UC Hastings law professor
- Crafty, clannish, and constitute an "inscrutable" group that is unwilling to fully integrate into US society the same accusation that Jason Richwine levels at Hispanic Americans to argue against their inclusion as citizens.
- Asians, like Hispanics and African Americans owe such stereotypes to scientists like Samuel George Morton, 1977-1851 (*Crania Americana*) antebellum "American School" ethnology (or ethnography) that claimed different "races" of humans belonged to different species: the embodiment of scientific racism.

Cognition-eroding exposures

- Heavy metals: Pb, Hg As,Mn, etc
- Pathogens
- Air pollution, e.g. magnetite; hypoxia
- PCBs, PBDEs
- Phthalates
- (Halogenated) Hydrocarb ons, e.g.,
 Benzene, toluene

- Pesticides, e.g.,dioxin, DDT
- Endocrine disruptors
- Fluorine
- Gaseous emissions, e.g.,Methyl isocyanate
- Various minerals, e.g. silica
- Chlorpyrifos

Contemporary Research Issues

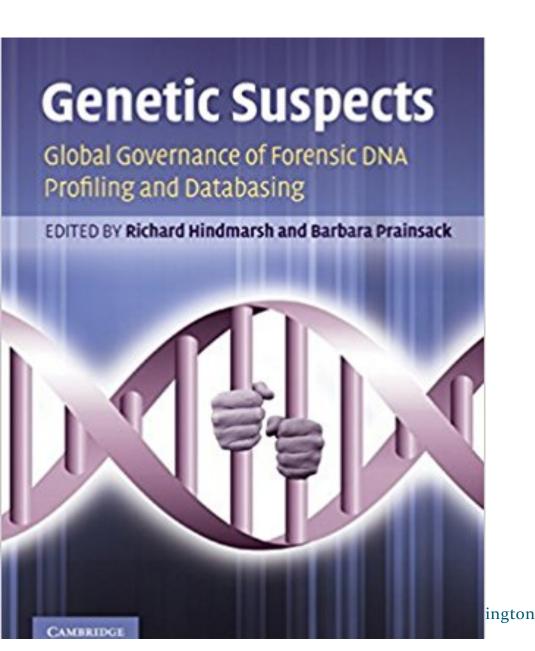
- Ahistorical culture
- Dearth of consent
- Therapy/law enforcement line blurred
- Researcher mythology
- Patents, not patients
- Elision of researchers' benefits
- Questionable subject benefit
- Disproportionate enrollment/ Stigmatizing initiatives
- Failure to acknowledge

The Janus of reproductive technology

- Genetic screening that can detect illness risks is not an unalloyed blessing, because it now considered an essential part of preventive medicine.
- Reprogenetic technologies that involve genetic selection shift responsibility for promoting wellbeing from the government to individual women by making them responsible for ensuring the genetic fitness of their children.
- But cash-poor women, especially Black women, currently face financial and other barriers to receiving reproduction assisting services, such as in vitro fertilization (IVF)

Exoneration and Demonization:

23andMe or 23–to-life?



- XXY 1969
- Fenfluramine 1995
- ~2000 SNPs on chips
- 'Exoneration' technology
- Databases filled with black Hispanic men
- Dubious 'racial' technologies :
- Howard Safir promotes linking racialized DNA databases w/mobile police technology
- Familial matches

Disability, technology and ethics

- Down syndrome
- Peter Singer has offered a baby with Down syndrome as an example of a 'killable' infant; developmentally and cognitively disabled human beings have less value than other humans
- Tiergartenstrasse 4 Berlin; physicians killed the disabled as "useless eaters"
- Harry Haiselden, MD the Kevorkian of sick or 'defective' newborns
- XYY & abortion in Scandinavia
- Reproductive technology mandated/criminalization

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