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by

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ABSTRACT

A COMPARATIVE APPROACH TO RACIAL STEREOTYPING IN SOUTH AFRICA AND
THE UNITED STATES AND HOW IT HAS OBLITERATED THE BLACK IMAGE

Maylat Tedla Eyob
Old Dominion University, 2020
Director: Professor Peter Schulman

There has been a long fight to dehumanize the black body and hinder the black mind through the power to enact individual, institutional, and cultural racism. Medical experiments of the past have occurred as a result of the belief that blacks are intellectually inferior, and, in a sense, a different species. There also has been an implementation of birth control strategies in the United States of America in order to exterminate this supposed "diseugenic", or un-divine, race. Similarly, South Africa has had abortion laws with the goal being to increase white birth rates, and it not only did that, but black women also bore the consequences of illegal and unsafe abortions due to the high cost. Furthermore, individual racism, or scientific racism, has a long history, and has seeped into the modern day bias of health assessment, and gave birth to iatrophobia- an abnormal or irrational fear of going to the doctors- amongst blacks all around the world. From the exclusion of the black women's voice due to "white" feminism in both America and South Africa, to the detrimental effects of gentrification on blacks, these two share many of the same issues in regards to filtering out the black image. Finally, cultural racism in both America and South Africa has, with stereotypes in art and media, successfully filtered the black image, and has done so with the help of the black community. However, if we acknowledge this goal of filtering the black image, then the United States of America and South Africa will be able to wholly progress as a society.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

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INTRODUCTION

Race has been the foundational force of oppression in the United States of America for decades now. As James Baldwin stated in his book "The Negro in American Culture", "to be a negro in this country and to be relatively conscious is to be in rage almost all the time," (BALDWIN, J.,1961). There is a perpetual cycle of a black individual becoming aware of their oppression and because of this, they attempt to break free by shedding light on it through various forms to escape. However, by doing this, he or she is labeled as foolish and thus, eventually disregarded as a whole. This is similar to during the slavery period in the US, when the slaves that attempted to run away were diagnosed with drapetomania- a conjectural mental illness that has since been debunked as pseudoscience and a component of scientific racism, or apartheid in South Africa where blacks were misdiagnosed many times as having a mental illness. When there is progress in America or in South Africa regarding racial tensions, such as the election of the first black president of the United States of America, or the eradication of apartheid in South Africa, it appears that the sling arrow is reversed in order to move back in time, as if the United States is in an incessant warzone; seeking to create an unethical equilibrium. This form of oppression permeates all types of institutions and disciplines, running the gamut from politics to the molding and remodeling of a child's mind through the educational system.

Racism is a very complex term. Racism is an umbrella term used to describe various biased behaviors and systems, and it is crucial that the definitions of the different types of racism are understood. Individual racism, institutional racism, interpersonal racism, cultural racism, and structural racism are a few of the different forms of racism, but this paper will highlight individual, institutional, and cultural racism. Individual racism occurs when one's beliefs and actions are grounded upon prejudices against another race, such as the belief that whites are

biologically superior to people of color (Doane, A., 2006). Institutional racism is a type of racism incorporated in institutions, seeking a particular group of people, and because institutions have more social standing through history, money, and power, this type of racism is far more difficult to eradicate (Doane, A., 2006). Finally, cultural racism is a type of racism that molds and shapes a culture within a given society, and it is often reflective of those who decide the standards of that society (Doane, A., 2006). Running the standards of a society can run the gamut from holidays practiced, to the perceptions of the standards of beauty defined by that particular society. If we take the European standards of beauty as an example and contrast it to the Mursi tribe who reside in south Ethiopia, the polarity of these standards based upon the cultural definitions of what beauty signifies to them is evident. Size is perceived differently amongst these two societies, as Europeans define beauty as thin, whereas the Mursi tribe install plates and other types of ornaments in all parts of their bodies to stretch those parts of their skin out because they find beauty in largeness. The definition of beauty is a general example, but the significance of it is that culture is a reflection of power, which, in both America and South Africa, is linked to race, and those who hold this power shape the culture of that society in order to fit their needs (C. A. Pinderhughes, 1971).

Institutional racism in America is displayed through the attempted solution of underachievement, the lack of confronting racism, and the natural talent myth which has led to a form of sharecropping and the lack of black doctors in present day America. Institutional racism in South Africa, similarly, is illustrated through the Bantu Education Act, which denied access to education and resources, which geared the students towards certain occupations, similar to the natural talent myth in the United States. In addition, the educational system during apartheid promoted myths and stereotypes in the curriculum. The lack of black doctors plays a part in

iatrophobia, which will be discussed. Furthermore, under institutional racism, white feminism, womb envy, and gentrification will be discussed and how these two countries were affected by it.

Furthermore, cultural racism was practiced in America and South Africa through various stereotypes and myths displayed through caricatures. However, artists or, "artivists", use the media to their advantage, similar to how these caricatures were promoted in the first place, to shed light on this issue. Finally, this paper goes in depth with individual racism by illustrating the tie between reproductive freedom and civil freedom in America and South Africa. Various acts, and scientific movements were used to justify white supremization and control of land and reproductive health. Paul-Michel Foucalt explains this strive of power as a relationship between power and knowledge and its use for societal control through institutions. Power has been a means to create disparities in the healthcare system, such as mental health and HIV/AIDs, and violations have caused iatrophobia. Overall, this paper illustrates that power has been used as a source of discipline to subjugate the physical bodies and minds of black people in the United States and in South Africa.

CHAPTER 1

INSTITUTIONAL RACISM

The educational system in a society is used as a source of imposing certain beliefs and

behaviors on students because it is an easy and accessible way to do so due to the youths' young

and impressionable minds. Education which is the process of facilitating learning or the

acquisition of knowledge, beliefs and habits, occurs through various methods, and many

mechanisms have been put in place by which institutions systematically racialize and thwart the

opportunities of those of color. "Schooling in the United States has a history driven by

racialization and racism [...] from Americanization schools and Native American boarding

schools that spanned the 19th and much of the 20th century (Spring, 1994), to a socialization of

inferiority in segregated schools serving African Americans (Du Bois, 1935; Irons, 2002;

Woodson, 1933) and Mexican Americans (Drake, 1927; Gould, 1932), students of color have

been subjected to institutionalized conditions that contradict their interests and their humanity,"

(Kohli, R., 2017). In the past, intellectual inferiority, as will be discussed, and cultural

deprivation were prominent theories used to uphold racial inequality in the school system.

However, in present-day America, underachievement is used to maintain underachievement

instead of using it to be a motivating source to improve. "Prominent race scholar, Richard

Valencia (2012) argues that while in the past intellectual inferiority and cultural deprivation were

prominent theories used to uphold racial inequality in schooling, today, individualized analysis

of underachievement are tools that maintain the status quo," (Kohli, R., 2017). Also, "K. D.

Brown & Brown (2012) contend that dominant rhetoric blames students of color and their

families for a lack of academic success, promoting a shift in their behavior as the solution (e.g.,

reminding parents to read more to their children; advocating for a growth mindset), rather than

suggesting shifts to structures or policies that systematically fail students of color (e.g., limited resources, racial profiling; Malagon & Alvarez, 2010)," (Kohli, R., 2017). This blaming of the black community shifts the focus, thus invisibilizing the responsibility of institutions, and thus evading an in depth analysis of racism. Furthermore, a policy analysis of "recent federal education reforms such as No Child Left Behind and Race to the Top, Au (2016) argues that high-stakes, standardized testing policies increase racism by centering individual achievement without any structural analysis—what he calls "Meritocracy 2.0," (Kohli, R., 2017).

There are a plethora of of mechanisms that are used to incorporate racism within the American school system, such as "anti racist" racism, which is a type of racism where there is a "body of literature that illuminates the white supremacy of language policies and practices that devalue [dual-language learners] and their families, and neoliberal racism and policies, however, everyday racism holds much weight regarding the hierarchy of racist practices," (Kohli, R., 2017). There are many overlooked acts, such as that of name calling and petty exclusions, but these are essentially links in a "larger historical chain of events, structures, and transformations anchored in slavery and the slave trade" which, together, "nourish the racial knowledge that produces and sustains the mentalities of subjectivities capable of engaging in the brutal, wholesale destruction of other human beings," (Kohli, R., 2017). Furthermore, racial literacy for students and teachers alike is a crucial component to dismantling the disease of racism and "a teacher's literacy as infused in his or her pedagogy, made a considerable difference in students' ability to process and confront racism," (Kohli, R., 2017).

Another mechanism of embedding racism in the educational system is through gearing black students in the K-12 educational system toward sports instead of intellectual development from early on, which is reflected in the number of black college athletes. This concept can be

argued to be the result of the "natural talent" myth, which is one that black athletes are naturally better at sports than non-blacks, and, as a result, these non-blacks are compelled to work harder than blacks to excel athletically. Jimmy "The Greek" Snyder, who was a long-time CBS lead sports prognosticator, once stated that black athletes are superior "because of his high thighs that go up into his back" because "during the slave trading, the slave owner would breed his big black to his big woman so that he would have a big black kid," (Lawrence, Andrew, 2018). This statement sheds light not only on how reproductive rights of black women was an overlooked concept during slave breeding, as will be discussed further on, but on how the "natural talent" myth has been practiced in the American culture. The natural talent myth compels black youth to focus on their "natural talent", sports, to excel, but it also downplays the success of black athletes, emphasizing that they did not require much work to be successful in the athletic sector, presenting the stereotype of blacks being lazy.

Fastforwarding to after a black youth was geared toward athletics and has entered into college athletics, the athletic field resembles the attributes of shared farming. Sharecropping occured after the Civil War, as former slaves sought jobs and planters sought labor, and because of the absence of cash or credit, sharecropping was birthed (Slavery by another name, n.d.). This system, which included high interest rates, unpredictable harvests, and corrupt landlords and merchants, allowed tenants to use land in exchange for a share of the crop, which compelled the tenants to work to produce the largest harvest and thus keep them chained to the area so they would not go in search for better opportunities (Lawrence, Andrew, 2018). After landowners began reducing their profits by charging them with "food, housing, the use of equipment, interest on loans" and anything else they could, the workers eventually became indentured servants; investing in something that did not have a profit in the long run (Harriot, 2017). College

athletics, although athletes receive free housing, food, education, and gear, is like sharecropping

because it promises a future (e.g. athletic glory, money, free education, etc.) to the athletes,

which are permeated by colored students, with the exchange of their labor, or their "natural

talent". This new form of sharecropping and how black college athletes do not, in fact, receive

the investment in their future as they had expected can be illustrated through the statistics of the

graduation rates of black athletes, shown below:
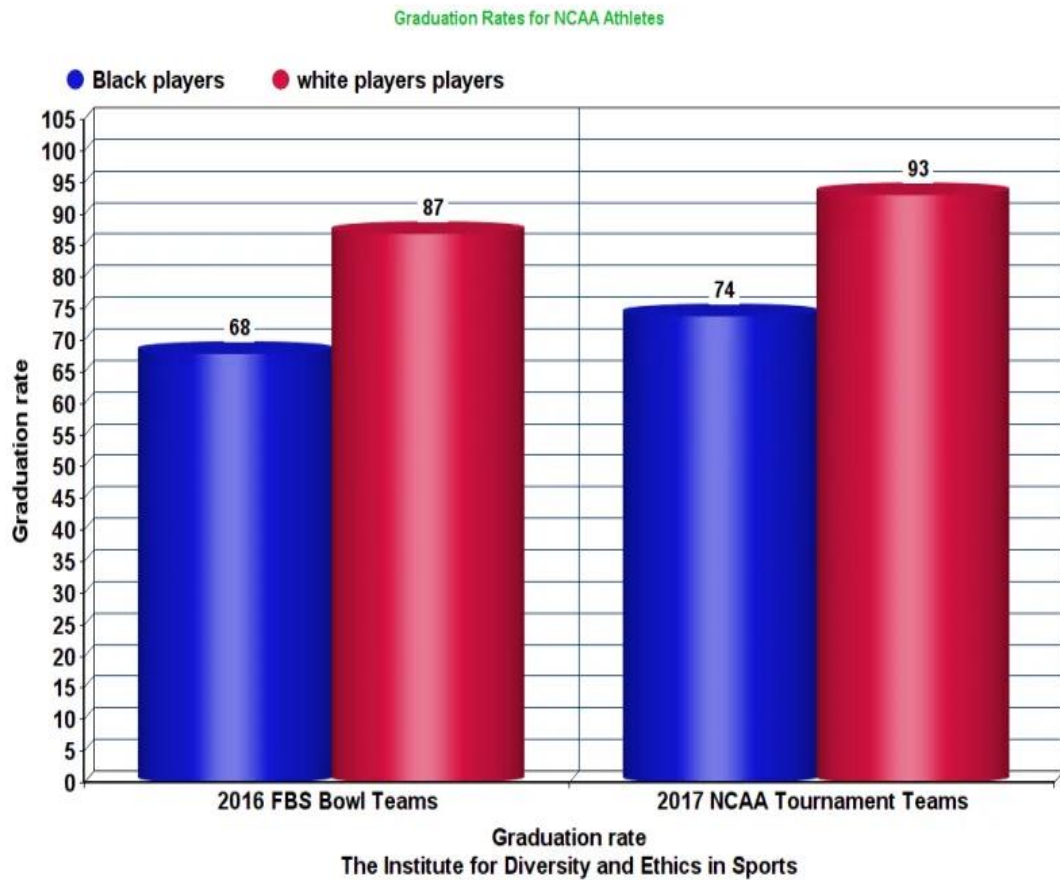
[Figure 1. Graduation Rate of Black versus White Athletes by Category: Value 2016-2017. The
Diversity and Ethics in Sports 2017. Reprinted from *Editors' Choice, News, and Current Affairs,*
by IBW21. 2017, Retrieved from https://ibw21.org/news/just-reminder-ncaa-plantation-players-
sharecroppers/]

"During the 2014-2015 academic school year, black men were 2.5 percent of undergraduate students but 56.3 percent of football teams and 60.8 percent of men's basketball teams," (Harriot, 2017). College athletics is a place where the black body and mind has been sacrificed, and even though these black college athletes receive a free education, statistics show that white players are the ones who actually end up with a college degree, in addition to attaining the athletic glory, or entrance into higher level athletics, which they initially sought.

Black athletes, who have been raised to learn about their "natural ability", are kept uneducated, which is something that President Trump may have been commenting on when he tweeted on August 3rd, 2018 that "Lebron James was just interviewed by the dumbest man on television, Don Lemon. He made Lebron look smart, which isn't easy to do," (Soisson, 2018). Therefore, black athletes are kept away from upper level career fields in which they are needed, such as in medicine. In the presence of sports participation, it is inevitable that there will be injuries, and thus they will require medical attention. However, because the healthcare system is built against the black body in the first place, from the lack of black doctors to the policies that deprive them from living a quality life, this perpetual cycle of racism is ingrained within the American culture.

Institutional racism, regarding the educational system in America, is comparable to that in South Africa during and post-apartheid. The meaning of apartheid, in the Afrikaans language, meant apartness, and it was an ideology that the National Party government supported and established in South Africa in 1948 (A History of Apartheid in South Africa, 2019). The implementation of apartheid laws forced different races to live and develope separately, and "grossly unequally too", and disadvantageged the majority, which were non-whites, because of the colour of their rulers (A History of Apartheid in South Africa, 2019). This seeped into the educational system during apartheid from the training of teachers, to the buildings of schools. During apartheid in South Africa, the Bantu Education Act was enacted in 1953, which

"governed the education of black South African children" and "sanctioned racial segregation and discriminated against nonwhites in the country," (The Editors of Encyclopaedia Britannica, 2019). The Bantu Act defined the educational system as a ethnic binary, i.e. white and black, and under this act, the state-controlled system denied blacks access to the same educational opportunities and resources given to their white counterparts (The Editors of Encyclopaedia Britannica, 2019). The educational system during South Africa apartheid disparaged black culture and history by creating and promoting myths and stereotypes in the curriculum and textbooks- such as portraying them as "traditional and unlearning," (The Editors of Encyclopaedia Britannica, 2019). Furthermore, unequal funding, and the student to teacher ratio diminished the quality of education given to coloured students in South Africa (The Editors of Encyclopaedia Britannica, 2019). Overcrowded classrooms, insufficient instruction, low-quality school buildings, poor teacher training, and a deficiency in school supplies defined the education system of coloreds during South Africa apartheid. Thus, it is evident that the idea of killing the black image and the black mind was a practice duing South Africa's educational system during apartheid.

Furthermore, just as in the United States how students were geared toward their supposed natural talent, and how college athletics is like sharecropping for black athletes through the exchange of their labor, or "natural talent", in the South Africa educational system during apartheid period, the South African minister for native affairs, Dr. Hendrik Verwoerd, speaking about his government's education policies in the 1950's, stated that "there is no place for [the Bantu] in the European community above the level of certain forms of labour ... What is the use of teaching the Bantu child mathematics when it cannot use it in practice? That is quite absurd. Education must train people in accordance with their opportunities in life, according to the

sphere in which they live," (Boddy-Evans, Alistair, 2019). This racial undertone of the Education Act of 1953 illustrated that the educational system in South Africa during apartheid was restricted, and what they learned and were geared toward, such as certain labors, were all defined by their non-white rulers of the time just as in present day America. "The Bantu education policy was designed to limit the development and mobility potential of the non-white population and keep them in the labouring class and lower strata of society" because this policy determined the content and level of education with the goal of institutionalising racial inequalities by preventing access to higher education and entry into occupations requiring more than basic skills (Albertus, 2019).] Like in the US where there is a lower ratio of black to white doctors, with "the training of black medical students at Wits University and Baragwanath Hospital Even at Wits, considered to be the most liberal of the 'white' universities, there was resistance to black students" during apartheid, and a rule was even introduced preventing black students from entering Medical School until they completed a first degree at the South African Native College, Fort Hare (Horwitz, 2009). Until the 1980s, medical specialisation was almost entirely limited to white doctors, and black doctors could only treat black patients in wards with black nurses at black hospitals and thus "saw limited pathologies and did not have access to the leading specialists who worked and taught mainly at white hospitals" (Horwitz, 2009). Black students who wanted to be doctors were faced with many barriers during apartheid, from not being able to examine white bodies post mortem, to the very facilities they were allowed to practice in and this created much of the disparites that are still seen today, such as lack of proper representation. However, when individuals such as the case of Steve Biko, a medical student who later became the president of the South African Students' Organisation (SASO), attempted to make a change, their goals got shot down. Steve Biko established the Zanempilo Community Health Clinic in Zinyoka

near King William's Town to show the community that they themselves could provide health services for their people, and this spurred other help, that caused the state to fear this leader and in August of 1977, Biko was arrested and detained (Horwitz, 2009). He eventually past away in prison from injuries sustained during his detention and torture, but the doctors ruled the cause of death on other causes, which eventually got brought to light (Horwitz, 2009). This was a human rights violation by medical professionals, which makes it understandable why there is still a presence of iatrophobia, or the fear of medical professionals by black people, because the instance of unnatural deaths among the black population after the Biko case rapidly increased.

The educational system during South Africa apartheid was a means of exluding resources and power from any non-white persons and determining their future because less education, as higher insitutions were reserved for whites, meant less financial mobility, but, of course, the severity of this was based upon the different classes, or colors, of race, which will be discussed further into the paper within cultural racism. Just how the remnants of deeply rooted racism is evident in the present day educational system of America, the same is noticeable in the educational system of present day South Africa.

Decades after the "Democratization of South Africa", after the 1994 election which brought about a single education system, although non-whites were/are now allowed entry in previously all-white universities, the education system has remained the same due to the effects of the Bantu Act of 1953. "The social structures of colonialism and white privilege still manifest in the everyday experience of non-white university community members", such as through the curricula, the amount of black academic staff and the lack of an "all-inclusive political, philosophical and historical intellectual tradition to help build post-colonial university," (Albertus, 2019). Currently, "only 7% of formerly black schools graduate 80-100% of the

students while 98% of formerly white schools graduate 80-100% of the students," (Albertus, 2019).

As can be seen, schooling has a history driven by racializing and racism both in the United States of America and South Africa. The seed of this racial disease is planted through the K-12 educational system. The US and South Africa compare in that in both the education system, non-whites are geared toward a specific type of education, trade or, in the case of the US, sports. Also, these educational systems both implement stereotypes, such as the "natural talent" myth in America and the "traditional, unchangeable/unlearnable non-whites" in South Africa. Furthermore, the two educational systems compare when looking at the curriculum taught in both countries, with the exclusion of information (usually black history) and thus, depriving non-whites from knowing their true identity This deprivation leads to the identification of non-whites being defined by those in power which, in both cases, are whites, which usually constricts blacks from being all that they were called to be. Finally, the present-day graduation rates in both the United States and America objectively verify the remnants of institutional racism in the education system within both countries. Although racism in America and apartheid in South Africa was discussed, the response to it and the similiarites and differences in response in both countries is of importance.

In South Africa, during apartheid, the streets and schools were full of protests from the anti-apartheid resisters however, there was division among the resistors themsevles, causing division among their group. The division came about when discussing how blacks should approach the problem, and the groups were between those in favor of a limited protest and those who wanted to do a permanent boycott, but the ANC, the opposition to the National Party, decided on an indefinite boycott (Kurtz, 2010). However, a lack of funding and resources compelled the boycott to cease to exist, in addition to the leading party at the time, the National

Party, issuing a declaration that prohibited boycotting students to ever be readmitted into South African schools. State-control of the education system became a dominating feauture of apartheid for years after (Kurtz, 2010). Then, in 1976, students in Soweto protested for better education, and police responded by tear gas, bullets and other destructive mechanisms to halt the protest. This day is still commemorated by the national holiday, "Youth Day", which honors all those who lost their lives by struggling for better education in South Africa. Post-partheid protests of South American students fight for the same objective, however, the method is different. The "call for decolonisation of education and institutional structures by South African university students is rooted in the struggle for social justice, equity and equality", and because of the slow, or lack thereof, response, students from the University of Cape Town began protesting for the removal of the statue of Cecil Rhodes, who was an idol of South African colonization. However, the different in response between during and post apartheid in South Africa is the advent of social media, thus, in March 2015 black students launched the #RhodesMustFall. This hashtag protest galvanized other ones, such as the #FeesMustFall campaign in October of 2015 which focused on the "decolonisation of higher education for formally disadvantaged populations, and decolonisation of university curricula", and the use of social media mobilized activists across South Africa, and eventually brought attention to the demand for free higher education and institutional transformation (Albertus, 2019). Inaction from university management escalated the emotions of the students,who began "occupying and vandalising university residences, libraries and other facilities" and as a result, President Zuma in 2017 establihted the Heher Commission of Enquiry to "investigate scrapping university fees, making higher education a democratic right," (Albertus, 2019). Although the issue of no solution beyond the initial offer of free tuition for the first year of higher education studies remains, this was a significant positive change, and social media had a lot to do with the extent of this protest.

Similarly, the fight against racism in the American educational system has triggered response all throughout social media- with this being the primary form of how word on such things proliferate. However, unlike in South Africa where students have a habit of destroying when their voices are not being heard, US students often rely on social media to bring about change. It is interesting to note that although the United States is a "superpower", whereas South Africa's economy is the second largest in Africa but ranks 37 in the world, both countries have the same issue, remnant of racism in their educational system, today which illustrates that economy has nothing to with this issue, in addition to the response of both countries have proven to be ineffective to the issue at hand. Thus, the stereotype of the black individual has been so deeply ingrained that the methods to eradicate this have not been successful, starting from the issue at hand not fully being acknowledged. Education scholars, policymakers, practitioners and activists need to be better equipped to eradicate this issue of institutional oppression, since it has been utilized to kill the black identity, the black mind, and black success, in America and South Africa, and they must do this by first acknowledging its existence, and then making progressive change.

The ideology of feminism is another mechanism that has been utilized to covertly inculcate racism in the American culture. Feminism, which can be used interchangably with the term white feminism, focuses on the struggles of white women without addressing distinct forms of oppression faced by ethnic minority women, and women lacking other privileges, and has a history of shifting the focus off of racism, as can be seen by the lack of development of an interracial feminist movement (Breines, W., 2007). Feminism has generally been for upper class white woman, and has excluded the experiences of anyone who is not white, cis, or straight and assumes the way that white woman experience misogyny is how everyone experiences misogyny. White feminism leads to a prioritization of issues that affect white women, such as the

pay gap between white men and black women, reproductive freedom, and discussions about workplace flexibility (Breines, W. , 2007).

If we look at reproductive freedom, white feminism assumes that reproductive freedom signifies access to birth control and safe abortions. For instance, court cases such as the 1973 one *Roe v. Wade,* which fought to decide the constitutionality of abortions, eventually ruling it legal, the 2007 case of *Gonzales* v. *Carhart* (2007) in which the court upheld the federal Partial-Birth Abortion Ban Act of 2003 that prohibited a rarely used abortion procedure known as intact dilation and evacuation, The *Whole Woman's Health* v. *Hellerstedt* (2016) case in which the court invoked its decision in *Casey* to strike down two provisions of a Texas law that had required abortion clinics to meet the standards of ambulatory surgical centres and abortion doctors to have admitting privileges at a nearby hospital, all appear to be fighting for women of all walks of life (The Editors of Encyclopaedia Britannica, 2018). These cases highlight that the women has ownership of her body, and thus should be able to decide whether to have an abortion or not. However, if we look at the Black Women's experience, from being denied the right to reproduce from historical evidence of forced sterilization and unwanted coercion into using "higher-risk methods of birth control and welfare policies that penalize women for having more children", to, as in the antebellum slavery period, being told when and by whom to reproduce through mechanisms such as selective breeding, as Jimmy "The Greek" spoke on, and thus a different battle. Lastly, workplace flexibility and balance for working women ignore the long and irregular hours worked by women in low-wage jobs, which are often women of color because of the racial oppression in the workplace," (Dawson, Sharhonda, 2018). The role of racism is so ingrained in the American culture that it is not possible to study racism without bringing the issue of reproductive rights of black women. Feminists have practiced white supremacy views

and policies, illustrating that this ideology was, and still is, detrimental to black women. This killing of the black experience has found a way to trickle down into the healthcare system.

White feminism is a practice in South Africa as well. To begin, there is a gender, race, and class bias, believing that "third world women in the global economy are valuable as a cheap source of labor and as producers of additional cheap labor sources (children)," (MB, 1993). USAID gives 33% of its Family Planning service delivery funding and 50% of policy funds to Africa, and African women and women of color in general are blamed for their own poverty and underdevelopment. There is a white power rhetoric of "Black peril" said to "threaten White power, safety, and profits" and "structural changes in both the US and South Africa are creating large surplus labor pools comprised largely of Black Africans," (MB, 1993). The increase in labor reserves is believed to be the cause of poverty and underemployment and as a result, unhealthy birth control technologies are distributed to South Africans while "health care, economic resources, and social security have been neglected" and population control is used for selective population reduction (MB, 1993). Thus, like in the US, birth control is geared towards the black population, or black women.

In addition, South Africa's abortion law has been very questionable, being in the midst of the country's transition from apartheid to independence and democracy. "
The Choice on Termination of Pregnancy Act (CTOPA) of 1996 drew on a rights-based framework and addressed the pressing need to lower inequitable maternal mortality," (Harries, 2019). This law was passed after the 1975 Abortion and Sterilization Act which legalized abortion under a narrow range of circumstances. This preceding Act reconciled concerns about high levels of illegal and unsafe abortions with the apartheid government's "interest in preferentially increasing birth rates among white women while lowering them among black

women,"(Harries, 2019). However, access to procedure depended upon access to and support from physicians in addition to bearing the financial costs thus because white women were of advanced financially compared to their black counterparts, they were the ones who were better able to obtain legal abortions which was not what the apartheid era government seekeed. Also, white women in South Africa were far better able to travel to other places to get a safe abortion because of their financial means. Therefore, black women continued to bear the worst consequences of illegal, unsafe abortions. Finally, when looking at domestic labour and how it is unvalued in South Africa, one can see the struggle of black women in the country. For example, in a comic strip title Madam and Eve, Eve is Madam's family maid, but she represents the illusion of liberation because her character was created by white males, and she is given the character of a black woman who does not talk back, but when she does, her job is threatened. The labour of black women is a labour of love for her white family, and domestic labour is undervalued as a result, and until "poor, black women no longer do the work, it will remain unskilled labour," (Smith, 1996).

　　As can be seen, the United States and South Africa both attempted and continue to attempt to control the black woman's body and position through various laws. However, with the struggle of the people fighting for justice in both countries, laws have been passed to exterminate these injustices against black women. Thus, both resulted in positive change, and strive to continue doing so. The issue at hand remains precisely this: white, racist men rule the governments in both countries, and bigotry poisons the ink of these policy makers, which leads to a relatively new idea "womb envy".

　　White feminism has an intersectional link, which is illustrated in this relatively new concept of "womb envy," (Bayne, 2011). According to Sigmund Freud, a little girl sees her

mother as her first love object, but the girl later discovers that she lacks a penis and as a result, feels hostile towards her mother, and eventually transfers her love to her father (Bayne, 2011). Thus, this leaves her wounded and in desire for a male child who brings with him the longed for penis (Bayne, 2011).

However, "Freud's own attempt to make a baby himself, carried out with tragic seriousness, fails shamefully", which brings up the notion of womb envy. Penis envy has been a counterargument, arguing that it arises from males desire to be the envied gender rather than from a female desire to be a male, and that the narcissistic injury of not being able to procreate may have caused Freud to deny the child's awareness of feminine functions (Bayne, 2011). Womb envy has been linked with femiphobia and misogyny because, as it has been argued, "it excites our envy when others have something *more* than we have ourselves. We may say, further, that when they have something *different*, something which we can never have, we experience a sense of inferiority, and "devaluation of an envied object is a typical defensive manoeuvre, for as long as an object is devalued it does not need to be envied" (Bayne, 2011). This inferiority then results in reaction formation, which is a defence mechanism whereby one emotion that is deemed unacceptable is replaced by a more socially accepted emotion opposite of the original emotion. "Womb envy (the original and socially unacceptable emotion, which might in turn lead to a sense of inferiority as mentioned by Boehm (1930, p. 457)) being replaced by femiphobia and/or misogyny or, as Lerner (1974, p. 542) says, devaluation (more socially acceptable forms of emotion) (Bayne, 2011). Thus, womb envy led men to claim superiority in other fields, such as controlling the female anatomy regarding reproductive health, which has meant something different for the black women in the United States from the time of slavery up until modern day, as well as in South Africa during apartheid up to today.

Moreover, another overlooked mechanism of continuing to root racism in the American culture and its ties into the healthcare system under institutional racism is through the process of gentrification. Urban renewal policies are implemented by cities to improve the physical, social and economic gain within an area . Projects to achieve this goal include "architectural upgrading, remodeling landscapes and rehabilitating houses" these projects could result in "safer streets, better mobility, improved aesthetics and stronger social cohesion which are all linked to positive health outcomes," (Dawson, Sharhonda, 2018). However, urban renewal programs have a history of having detrimental effects through various contributing factors, which lead to social exclusion and "displacement of long-term residents of lower socio-economic (SES)," (Dawson, Sharhonda, 2018). Gentrification is the "transition from a working-class area to a middle/upper-class neighborhood", and research has illustrated the link between urban-renewal projects aimed at improving the overall neighborhood and health outcomes.

Displacement is the essential component of gentrification and occurs when residents move due to conditions affecting their dwelling beyond their control, "including increased living conditions and cultural (e.g. artistic influx) or social (e.g. age, race, class) transformation," (Gibbons J, Barton M, Brault E, 2018). There are a wide variety of groups such as vulnerable seniors, households led by single-mothers and populations of color as being more likely to experience this forced displacement. Organizations like the Center for Disease Control and Prevention have listed health effects that have been the result of gentrification, such as the increased risk of "mental health and high stress levels and increased risk of injuries due to changes in physical and social environments like violence and crime," (Gibbons J, Barton M, Brault E, 2018). Finally, vulnerable populations are more likely to have "shorter life expectancies, higher infant mortality, and increased cancer, asthma, diabetes, and cardiovascular

disease rates," (Gibbons J, Barton M, Brault E, 2018). Part of this reason is because these neighborhoods are food deserts, where healthy food is hard to come by, but there is a plethora of liquor stores and fast food chains (Adams, Mauriane and Bell, Lee, n.d.). Another part being that the neighborhoods are less likely to have a "green space, clean air, and recreational facilities where it is safe for children to play, and more than twice as likely to have toxic facilities such as sewage plants, dump and disposal sites, or transportation depots," (Adams, Mauriane and Bell, Lee, n.d.).

Similarly, in South Africa's port city of Cape Town, pockets of the commercial and residential market continue to grow and have been a draw for tourists and wealthy outsiders (Christinson, 2019). However, even after the ending of apartheid, CapeTown remains a largely segregated area, but it is a different force that is propelling segregation today: gentrification. "Once people are evicted from their gentrifying neighborhoods in Cape Town, they have few options: Some relocate to the Cape Flats, an area of townships and informal settlements on the outskirts of the city built by the apartheid government for housing nonwhites after they were evicted from their homes during forced removals. As a last resort, others move to a "temporary" relocation camp 18 miles away – though similar camps have proven far from temporary," (Christinson, 2019). As a result, a social movement made up of working-class people and evictees called Reclaim the City occupied an abandoned government hospital in Woodstock, which today houses 900 people. However, on July 25th 2019 this housing was subjected to a brutal raid by the South African Police Service as "Mayor Dan Plato addressed them saying that the former hospital was earmarked for social housing. But to determine whether the city would purchase the property from the provincial government, he said the city would first need to conduct a feasibility study" which has left the residents with an air of uncertainty (Christinson,

2019). In addition, occupational health in South Africa during apartheid illustrates the impact of the enviornment having a detrimental effect on the health of blacks in the country, as the conditions of black migrant workers who came to the cities were often in poor health. These black workers were "faced with infections and diseases to which they had not previously been exposed, they had little or no immunity" and living conditions increased susceptibility to alcoholism, violence and sexually transmitted infections (Horwitz, 2009). Malnutrition, kwashiorkor and marasmus, which are diseases from diets, plus overcrowded working conditions leading to the spread of meningitis and gastroenteritis had a significant effect on black workers in South Africa (Horwitz, 2009). In addition,"at work, they were exposed to harmful chemicals, heat, dust and noise (Horwitz, 2009). The National Party government, which were the authority during Apartheid, "established a system of labour control to protect white workers and to ensure a flow of cheap black labour for farms, mines and other industries," (Horwitz, 2009). From work and living conditions, to industrial accidents and occupational disorders such as tuberculosis, black workers were often excluded from the compensation they deserved from work-related illness, and diseases spread rapidly to their families and other workers due to economic pressure (Horwitz, 2009). Economic pressure signified that individuals were likely to seek new jobs once they were feeling better but before they were cured, and "being in a new job might make them fearful of taking their medicine or requesting time off to attend the clinic in case the knowledge that they had TB would lead to their dismissal" thus it was a cycle among the black workers (Horwitz, 2009).

As can be seen, gentrification and occupational health and its link into healthcare has been used to implant racism into the American culture as well as the South African one, however, there has been more progress in South Africa regarding this because of individuals

who, while going through the same thing, find locations to accommodate others. Gentrification

has been used to create further disparities in healthcare through the killing of the black body, the

black culture, and thus the black identity, which is further described below.

CHAPTER 2

CULTURAL RACISM

As can be seen, institutional racism is one of the many types of racism that has deeply affected the American and South African healthcare system, but another form of racism that plays a significant role within the American and the South African society is cultural racism. Cultural racism promotes the stereotypical image of the black community, to eventually filter out the black image. Stereotypes are "cognitive structures that contain the perceiver's knowledge, beliefs, and expectations about human groups" and these cognitive constructs are often created out of a kernel of truth and then distorted beyond reality (Green, n.d.). The racial stereotypes of early American history significantly shaped attitudes towards and of African-Americans, and still plays a role today such as through images of Sambo, the Coon, Mammy, Jim Crow, Aunt Jemima, Sapphire, and Jezebelle (Green, n.d.). The Sambo stereotype was founded upon the notion of "happy slave", and there was a molded image of African-American males into a jolly, overgrown child who was naturally lazy, and thus reliant upon his master for direction; accepting Jim crow laws (Green, n.d.). The Sambo was transmitted "through music titles and lyrics, folk sayings, literature, children's stories and games, postcards, restaurant names and menus, and thousands of artifacts," (Green, n.d.). This stereotypical image of the black man and his reliance on the white community, or the white savior complex, which refers to the "confluence of practices, processes, and institutions that reify historical inequities to ultimately validate white privilege," (Brittany, 2017) can still be seen today. Sambo defended slavery and segregation, and the black community, blindly, follow the healthcare system that is structured against them today, like slavery, because of a deeply ingrained mindset of relying upon systems that validate their

need of a "savior" so to speak. Healthcare should be a source of improvement because the policies and structures of the system are designed to determine the health of the black population.

The coon caricature, abbreviated from raccoon, on the other hand, was portrayed as a lazy buffoon and acted childish (The Coon Caricature, n.d.). "The prototypical movie coon was Stepin Fetchit, the slow-talking, slow-walking, self-demeaning nitwit, and it took his character almost a minute to say: "I'se be catchin' ma feets nah, Boss." Donald Bogle (1994) and the pure coons emerged as no-account niggers, those unreliable, crazy, lazy, subhuman creatures good for nothing more than eating watermelons, stealing chickens, shooting crap, or butchering the English language (The Coon Caricature, n.d.). Furthermore, slave masters attributed the slaves' poor work performance to shiftlessness, stupidity, desire for freedom, and genetic deficiencies" hence, the "natural talent myth" as described above and the eventual plan to exterminate the black body and mind due to the belief of black inferiority (The Coon Caricature, n.d.). The image most often associated with the Coon is that of a black man, with exaggerated features, eating a watermelon. The watermelon in this picture is symbolic of the supposed simple contentment of the simple-minded black man. Again, portraying the image of intellectual inferiority of colored folk. Below, please find the picture that illustrates this image of the rudimentary brain development of the coon, or black folk:
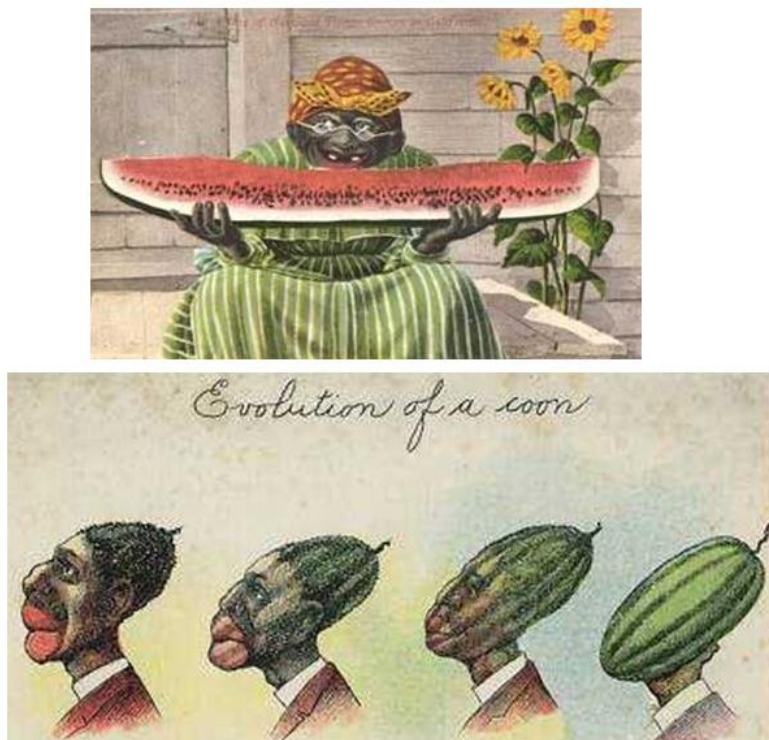
[Figure 2. Racist Postcard in the United States showing the Coon. Reprinted from *Postcards,* by K.F. Davis, 2007, Retrieved from https://slideplayer.com/slide/4488755/]

Racial caricatures are rooted in stereotypes, and stereotyping blacks as coons can still be seen today through Hollywood films (Green, n.d.). The stereotyping of African-Americans, prior to being promoted in Hollywood movies, were brought to the theatrical stage with the advent of the blackface minstrel. In the early 19th century, "white performers darkened their faces with burnt cork, painted grotesquely exaggerated white mouths over their own, donned woolly black wigs and took the stage to entertain society" and this character was Jim Crow, and was the "northern counterpart to the southern 'plantation darky' the Sambo," (Green, n.d.). Furthermore, scientific studies were conducted to establish the accepted place of black people in society, which occurred through the image of blacks being portrayed as animal-like, or "savage". "Scientists conducted tests and measurements and concluded that blacks were savages for the following reasons: '(a) The abnormal length of the arm...; (b) weight of brain... [Negro's] 35

ounces, gorilla 20 ounces, average European 45 ounces; (c) short flat snub nose; (d) thick protruding lips; (e) exceedingly thick cranium; (f) short, black hair, eccentricity elliptical or almost flat in sections, and distinctly woolly; and (g) thick epidermis" (Green, n.d.). In addition to these presumed anatomical differences, African-Americans were thought to be far less sensitive to pain than whites, seen through the black women's apparent little pain with childbirth and "...bear cutting with nearly...as much impunity as dogs and rabbits" which will be discussed further into this paper (Green, n.d.).

Furthermore, stereotypical black women can be seen through caricatures such as mammy, aunt Jemimah, sapphire, and Jezebelle. Mammy was first mentioned in a travel narrative, and "has been associated with a slave woman taking care of white children for centuries," (Kowalski, 2009). Mammy portrayed the image of constant contentment, covering for the slave owner's maltreatment, and this obese "mammy" betrayed the standards of beauty, through exaggerated femininity (Kowalski, 2009). The body of the Mammy, "with broad shoulders, large arms, and a wide stance" took the role of a masculinized subhuman creature, and acts as a "tendon between the races, connecting the muscle of African American slave labor with the skeletal power structure of white southern aristocracy" (Kowalski, 2009). A modern day example of this is with a cartoon drawing of Serena Williams after losing a tennis match to Naomi Osaka on September 18th, 2018. This image illustrates these exaggerated features of black women, resembling the sambo caricature, fitting the image of the angry black women. Please find the artwork below:
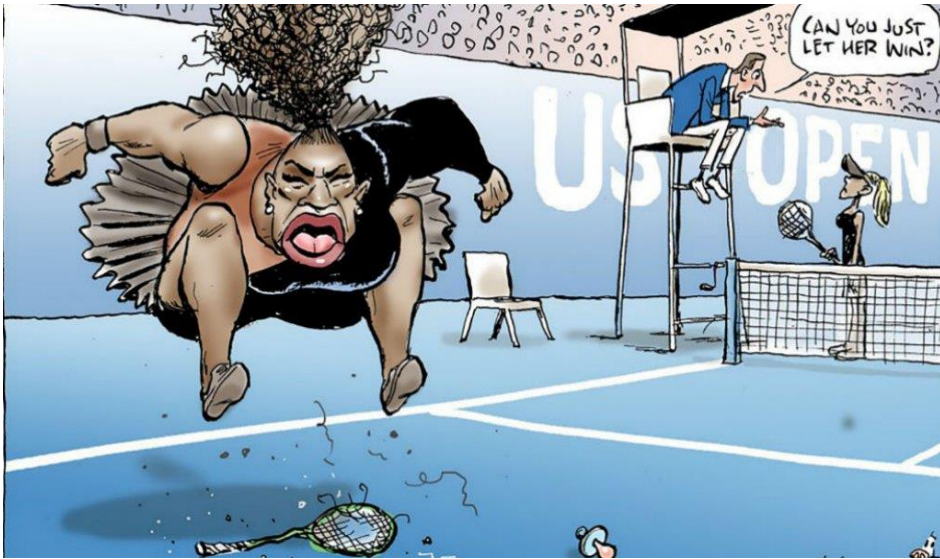
[Figure 3: This is a drawing of Vanessa Williams after her tennis match against Naomi Osaka on September 8th, 2018. Reprinted from The Washington Post, by M.A. Knight, 2018, Retrieved from: https://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-6155851/Murdoch-owned-newspaper-defends-racist-cartoon-Serena-Williams.html]

Moving on, a reconfiguration of the Mammy birthed the caricature Aunt Jemimah, who's "smile and friendly demeanor arose out of the representation of stereotypes concerning black women by racist comedians," (Kowalski, 2009). Furthermore, the Sapphire stereotype was a cartoon that illustrates a bossy black woman engaged in a verbal, and dominating battle with her black husband. Finally, Jezebelle, another stereotype of black women, represented the sexual side of the black women that "more closely resembled the European ideal for beauty" and her seductive nature was used to hold black women accountable for sexual abuse and rape of white slave owners, which gave birth to a black race superior within the black community (Kowalski, 2009).

These stereotypes depicted in American art through caricatures are similar to that in South Africa. Madam and Eve is a daily comic strip originating in South Africa, created by Stephen Francis and Rico Schacherl. Madam & Eve play on power dynamics of the maid/madam

relationship, with Eve being the black maid and Madam being the white wife. In this comic strip, which came out 20 years post-apartheid, Eve is depicted as the symbol of the black woman, yet she is the only woman in the strip that cannot speak back, and when she does, she cannot become too threatening (Smith, 1996). In the strip, Eve's fate is manipulated by those who speak for her, and this is metaphoric to the lack of adequate representation in government and every other field in South Africa. The black characters portrayed in this comic strip are either long-serving, loving maids to their white family, or arrogant, sassy black women, however, as illustrated with Eve, her "sass" comes at a price- which, for domestic workers, signifies their jobs (Smith, 1996). Furthermore, like the caricature of Jezebelle in America which justified rape by white slave owners, Eve's sexual relationship with her white male characters illustrates her role as fulfilling the white man's appetite for brown sugar, and unlike how some white men discriminate their love to only white women, her sexual love is accessible and indiscriminate (Smith, 1996). This is one of the most famous cases of undebated stereotyping through caricatures present in South Africa, and greatly parallels those caricatures of black women in the United States of America. Thus, it is not a question of whether or not racism is portrayed in caricatures throughout the United States and South Africa, but the question lies in what measures are being taken in these countries to put an end to such stereotypification.

When writing about racism in America, M.K. Asante explains in *It's Bigger Than Hip-Hop music* the industry's endless battle with hip-hop culture, and Asante writes this book to encourage the younger generation to utilize the potential power of the media, such as through hip hop music. Asante's *It's Bigger Than Hip-Hop* describes how hip hop, which was created as a rebellious effort against the various systems of oppression in America in the mid-seventies, is now being run by these same oppressive means. The issues raised in this text are systematic

oppression, prison reform, education, and universal suffering such as sexism and xenophobia. Asante illustrates that through artistic means that include rap and art, stereotypes, such as the caricatures explained above, have been utilized to solidify these images and further inculcate cultural racism into the American culture, to eventually root racism in the healthcare system of America.

Going more in depth with Asante's *It's Bigger Than Hip-Hop,* Asante explains that the multinational corporations that are now running the industry dictate the direction of black culture and art. One motif in Asante's text is the role that rappers play in continuing this legacy of oppression. Stereotypes of the black youth are marketed by these corporations, and hip-hop rappers are rapping about violence and committing crimes which they do not condone and have never committed. Rappers do this for reasons of being "trapped" by living up to how society claims they should be, in addition to increasing their music sales. Chapter two describes an interview with a rapper named Russell Tyrone Jones, who goes by ODB (Old Dirty Bastard), who grew up in a middle class home but falsely rapped about living in the projects, and he does this to increase his sales. Thus, hindering a desire to promote education within the black community, Asante illustrates how blacks are mentally "trapped", so to speak, by means such as the modern-day definition of the slang "trap music" (hip-hop music).

Solutions that Asante offer in his book include having Africans and African-Americans unite instead of fighting against one another, and making it easier for their common enemy, the oppressors, to oppress them, and reverting hip-hop to its origins, which was using art to shed light on the sociopolitical context of the oppressed. A recent example is in Jordan Peel's movie *US,* released March 22, 2019, which makes a political and social statement on the discourse between blacks and whites in the United States (hence the title *US).* This movie is about a family

who encounters their shadow selves, representing the oppressed in American society, and

through Peel's artistic creation (this movie) he sheds light on art that has been used to

incorporate stereotypical images into the minds of the American people. Please find a photo from

US below:

[Figure 4: The Story of Little Black Sambo and its relation to Jordan Peele movie *US*. Reprinted
from *Only Black Girl,* by O.B.Girl, 2019, Retrieved from
https://onlyblackgirl.tumblr.com/post/181416481406/this-is-what-happens-every-time-jordan-
peele]

This photo in Peele's *US* was the early stages of the movie, where Adelaide, the main character,

in her youth encounters her doppelgangers, as her "shadow" self, Red, chokes her and replaces

Adelaide's place in society, which is a plot twist revealed in this movie's ending. Many

assumptions can be made determining what this character shift signifies, but it is evident,

through the symbolic loss of voice of the real Adelaide from her shadow, Red, choking her that

Adelaide represents black people in society and how their voices have been muted. Red has

replaced Adelaide illustrating that not only was the true identity of Adelaide, or the black

community, removed, but also has been struck down into the "underworld", or a lower class in

society, by force. Jordan Peele puts black people at the center of his narrative, thus expanding the

perception of them and, with this image above and the relation to Sambo, sheds light on how the

media has been utilized to do the same regarding black stereotypes.

In addition, Jordan Peele touches on Pyromania through the normal son Jason, and his

doppelgangers, Pluto. Both have an obsession with fire, labeled as pyromania, as illustrated in

the picture below:

[Figure 5: Image from Jordan Peele's *US* of Jason with his Doppelganger Pluto. Reprinted from
Mr. Movie Film, by T.R. Johnson, 2019, Retrieved from
https://mrmoviefilmblog.com/2019/03/29/us-2019/]

Because Pyromania, a product of the term given to slaves who attempted to run away,

drapetomania, is portrayed in this movie through these two dynamics, it is evident that Peele is

shedding some light on drapetomania. Slaves running away from the institution of slavery and

eventually deemed as mentally ill because of it illustrates the results of those oppressed when

trying to break free from oppressive means or institutions- "fighting fire with fire", or finding

other ways, through power, to further oppress this group.

Another modern day example of an artivist is Jay-Z, who is an American rapper and executive, and one way his artivistm is shown is through his song titled "The Story of OJ"; released in 2017. The music video portrays masterfully crafted visuals to highlight how art has ingrained images of the stereotypical black man and woman. Imageries such as lynching and segregation, and these various representations of the Black experience were played by a transforming Sambo caricature that Jay-Z names "Jaybo", and caricatures of stereotypical black women, as described above.

[Figure 6: Image from Jay-Z's music video The Story of OJ Simpson. Reprinted from *Kulture Hub,* C.J.Easy, 2017, Retrieved from https://kulturehub.com/jay-z-oj-designer/]

"Jaybo", as illustrated below, is described as lazy, watermelon-loving, and unhinged, and his lack of etiquette deems him as unfiltered, which is a regular portrayal of black men in America through various forms of media.

[Figure 7: Image from Jay-Z's music video The Story of OJ Simpson. Reprinted from *Kulture Hub,* C.J.Easy, 2017, Retrieved from https://kulturehub.com/jay-z-oj-designer/]

Jaybo then transforms into a football player, representing OJ Simpson, or "Orenthal James" who is a former NFL football star, actor, broadcaster and "convicted armed robber and kidnapper known for being acquitted of the murders of Nicole Brown Simpson and her friend Ronald Goldman," (Biography.com Editors, 2014).

[Figure 7: Image from Jay-Z's music video The Story of OJ Simpson. Reprinted from *VIBE,* S.H.Golding, 2017, Retrieved from https://www.vibe.com/2017/07/the-story-of-oj-behind-the-scenes]

As can be seen in the picture above, OJ still has the physical attributes of "Sambo" , however, is more built, and glorified by the media. Also, Jay-Z includes the lyrics "O.J. like, "I'm not black, I'm O.J." to reference how OJ, as a Heisman trophy winning running back at USC, he was the most famous collegiate athlete in the nation and when "Dr. Harry Edwards, founder of the Olympic Project for Human Rights, recruited O.J. to take part in a boycott of the 1968 Summer Olympics [...] O.J. 's response to joining the movement was 'I'm not black, I'm O.J. ' (Wright, 2017). This illustrates because the stereotype of the black man is unfiltered, this black man is detaching himself from that image. OJ Simpson, a successful black man at the time, instead of serving as a representative and encouraging young black athletes to aspire greatness, instead, through his counter-revolutionary attitude, compelled them to idealize white culture and further exterminate the black image. This counteractive behavior of the fight against racism illustrates that although he, or black people who have attained a certain level of success, benefitted from activism, they turn their backs on it and believe that through their success, they

are superior than the black race and thus have transcended the black culture, referencing back to the "superior race", or the black individual mixed with white blood, during slavery times.

OJ Simpson, in this music video, would represent the "house negro" and house servants, and not the "field negro", or field hands. These two labels were used during the slave period to signify the two distinct classes among workers on southern plantations and "'aristocratic' house servants and 'lowly' field hands" and the slave society, eventually becoming aware of this distinction, became fragmented, and whites came to discover and respect these differences," (Harper, 1978). The distinction of these two classes of slaves is a black aristocracy, as Frederick Douglas put it, and house negros learned more about white culture than other slaves (Harper, 1978). This division is evident with divisions amongst the great leaders of the black community, W.E.B. Du Bois and Booker T. Washington, and Martin Luther King, Jr. and Malcolm X. Beginning with W.E.B. Dubois and Booker T. Washington, these two prominent figures within the black community had significant disagreements on strategies for social and economic progress such as "how to end class and racial injustice, [the question of] the role of black leadership, and what do the 'haves' owe the 'have-nots' within the black community," (The Debate Between W.E.B. Du Bois and Booker T. Washington, 1998). Booker T. Washington was an "educator, reformer and the most influential black leader of his time (1856-1915)" and preached a philosophy of self-help, racial solidarity and accomodation, and he urged blacks to accept discrimination because through hard work in the industrial field and gaining material prosperity, whites would eventually accept their humanity (The Debate Between W.E.B. Du Bois and Booker T. Washington, 1998). W.E.B. Dubois, on the other hand, disagreed with Washington's strategy, as he believed that this would serve to perpetuate white oppression and, instead, "advocated political action and a civil rights agenda"; promoting agitation and protest,

which made its way into the Civil Rights movement (The Debate Between W.E.B. Du Bois and Booker T. Washington, 1998). The dispute between these two prominent figures polarized this black, social movement into either the conservative supporters of Washington or Du Bois's radical supporters. Thus, Washington, who is widely known as Uncle Tom from Harriet Beecher Stowe's 1852 novel *Uncle Tom's Cabin,* is perceived within the black community as a sell out, or an "Uncle Tom", and this term Uncle Tom was highly associated with the house negro described above. This class distinction made its way into the Civil Rights Movement, with the stark political, philosophical, religious, and organizationally differences between Malcolm X and Martin Luther King, Jr. These two leaders stood at opposite extremes, and "their disagreements concerning love and hate, violence and nonviolence, separatism and integration, and the relevancy of the Christian faith in the black freedom struggle", (Baldwin, 1989). Where Martin Luther King Jr. promoted change through peaceful measures and "turning the other cheek" through agape, or Christian, love, Malcolm X stressed black supremacy, self-love, afrocentricity, counter violence, complete segregation from the white community and were deemed by Martin and his followers as the hate group (Baldwin, 1989). This difference is notable through the fact that King had personal access to presidents and world leaders, and thus it was easier for King to develop sustainable progress within the black community (Baldwin, 1989).

However, despite the polarity of their struggle, they both were joined by their shared devotion to the liberation of the oppressed, and in their final fate of assassination by those who desired to hinder the progression of the black equality movement (Baldwin, 1989). The divide among X and King is grouped in terms of the house negro, or complacency, versus the field negro, or a course, unhindered negro, and taking a look at which black leader is celebrated and promoted today, it is Martin Luther King Jr., even though both made significant contributions to

the Civil Rights Movement. The division among slaves, and eventually among the fight for social justice during the Civil Rights Movement, made it easier for the oppressors to oppress. Jay Z, illustrating OJ Simpson in his music video "The Story of OJ Simpson" as a house negro, illustrates this divide and how the complacent negro (symbolized as OJ Simpson) is that which is promoted throughout the media; compelling the black community to not confront any form of oppression in the US, such as that in healthcare, as will be illustrated further down.

Sambo, like other black caricatures, has been so embedded within American culture, and "Sam Battistone, Sr., and Newell Bohnett founded the original Sambo restaurant in Santa Barbara, California, on June 17, 1957", and other restaurants followed their footsteps, and "waiters wore t-shirts with the image of a "nappy-haired, big-lipped, grinning Sambo digging into a huge pile of pancakes," (Wright, 2017). Thus, Jay-Z is not only making a commentary on how the media has been utilized to embed stereotypical images of black men and women, but also how blacks, from their childhood on, are told that features, such as dark skin and coarse hair, were shameful. Jay-Z is showing how the media wants people to perceive black culture, so that blacks would eventually be compelled to deny their identity, and thus the black image is exterminated through self-denial and mechanisms to alter their physical appearance, such as the usage of beauty products.

Going more in-depth on the black identity, and the hidden components of it, in M.K. Asante's book *It's Bigger Than Hip Hop,* there is an emphasis on the fact that multinational corporations run by "wealthy white folks" also run the music industry. Therefore, these white folks decide what songs, and even what parts of the songs, get published or not (Asante, 2008). If we examine Jay-Z's "*The Story of OJ Simpson",* one can perceive this as a song with a significant commentary on the promotion of the racial divide. However, this is, in fact, a

mechanism to keep the public blind and not in search of racial factors within the hip hop industry. For instance, Kendrick Lamar, a conscious rapper of modern times, released a song titled "I" in 2014 which is short for "I love myself", and it discusses how the black community needs to love and embrace themselves. However, in this song, there is an interlude at the end. In the interlude, Kendrick Lamar discusses the roots of the "N" word, and how it originally signified royalty, and that in African countries it still means the same, but it has been manipulated into a derogatory term in the United States to keep the black community lower on the societal ladder of successful perception. This part of the song has been removed, and is not found everywhere, which illustrates that the multinational corporations are, in fact, releasing music that speaks on racial issues, however, excluding parts that may actually contribute to the progression of black consciousness and thus the black identity. Thus, as can be seen, art has been used as a way to ingrain racism ideas, but also to shed light by activists, and the United States has spread more awareness through this means and has been more effective than in South Africa in doing such. In both countries, making race and gender oppression marketable and selling it as comedy through the caricatures has been regarded as change. The construction of black subjectivity shows the political resistance to equal treatment, and in Madam and Eve, there is a part in which Eve has to teach Madam the anthem, which illustrates that South African blacks are expected to have a natural awareness of whites of how they were treated, whereas whites are privileged to not be expected to have this natural awareness of their privileges of being white (Smith, 1996). This symbolizes that whites have the privilege of ignorance, and thus may explain the lack of "Artivists" in South Africa in comparison to the United States, as "letting them off the hook" has been a norm.

Chapter ten in Asante's book is titled "Two Sets of Notes", and it is about a black, female student who has two sets of notes, one which is from her history class, and the other which has a history that has been omitted from the history books (Asante, 2008). Thus, Asante illustrates the importance of not relying solely on the educational system, but on doing research outside of the curriculum, especially on black history since their history, which is often hidden from them through means such as the media, is their very identity, such as self-love, and promoting Afrocentricity, similar to what Malcolm X taught (Asante, 2008). Afrocentrism is a "cultural and political movement whose mainly African American adherents regard themselves and all other blacks as syncretic Africans and believe that their worldview should positively reflect traditional African values" and this term was coined in the 1980's by M.K. Asante's activist and scholar father, Molefi Asante (Early, 2015). Afrocentrism is an ideology that reminds blacks of their own culture, which, to those who follow this, "was long devalued by Americans of European descent", and they encourage the preservation and elevation of contemporary African-American culture through language, music, dance, clothing, and other aspects of the American culture that affects the psyche of Black minds (Early, 2015). The birth of afrocentrism is significant progress in the fight for black equality because it illustrates the significance of being aware of cultural racism to expose and stop it in its tracks, and not be consumed by it. Also, Asante structured the book to end each chapter with a solution that is metaphoric to the legacy of hip-hop, and how rappers need to be mindful of what they are leaving behind for upcoming artists. An example of the effects of growing up on music that promotes rug usage can be seen in the recent death of black rapper Jarad Anthony Higgins, professionally known as Juice Wrld, who passed away at the age of 21 from a drug overdose. Juice Wrld was one of the many young artists who grew up listening to rappers that glorified drugs and violence, and ended up violently abusing drugs,

aware of his addiction and desiring to eradicate it. M.K. Asante's main contribution through his book *It's Bigger Than Hip-Hop* is the concept of the Artivist. An Artivist understands that art is a powerful means of which can be utilized to either hinder the oppressed, such as what has been done through the various caricatures promoted through the media, killing the black body and the black brain, or promote education, social awareness, and the uplifting amongst the community of the oppressed by conquering the divide within the black community since, as Jay-Z adds in his lyrics in his song "The Story of Oj Simpson": *"Light nigga, dark nigga, faux nigga, real nigga. Rich nigga, poor nigga, house nigga, field nigga. Still nigga, Still nigga"*- meaning whatever hue the black individual is, they have one common oppressor, and among the oppressors lenses, they are still viewed as monolithic. Thus, art has been utilized to solidify stereotypes and further inculcate cultural racism into the American culture, to eventually create disparities in the healthcare system of America.

Artistic expressions of all forms have made it much easier to promote Eurocentricity instead of Afrocentricity in America and in South Africa. This has been done through the creation of music which degrades black women by choosing fairer skinned women for their music videos, promoting black on black violence, stigmatizing educated, black youth, and excluding songs from the mainstream that shed light on various forms of social injustices. Thus, eventually filtering out the black culture. In America, this has roots in the distinctive slave classes because throughout the slave period, there was an assumption that mulattoes were superior in intelligence to pure blacks, and this supremacy "was assumed by both blacks and whites and was attributed to the infusion of white blood"; assuming privileges on account of their skin color (Harper, 1978). These distinctive classes gave birth to colorism in America; increasing the divide amongst the blacks while perpetuating white America.

Similarly, in South Africa, during and after apartheid, fairer skinned blacks receive more privileges than their darker counter counter parts. During apartheid, "Petty Apartheid began with the 1949 Prohibition of Mixed Marriages [which] was followed by 1950's Immorality Amendment, which outlawed "unlawful racial intercourse" or "any immoral or indecent act" between the races," (Uren, n.d.). In order to classify an individual as white, black, indian, and colored, a pencil test was conducted, which stuck a pencil into one's hair which decreed that if an individual could hold a pencil in their hair while they shook their head, they could not be classified as white and would not receive privileges such as educational resources (Uren, n.d.). The test was imprecise that members of the same family would be categorized into different categories, dividing not only those of the same race, but the same families as well. Therefore, it is no surprise that post-apartheid still has colorism seperating those of the same race, since darker skin has long been associated with poor treatment.

Filtering the black culture in the United States and South Africa, similar to the current state of social media and how it has given birth to a dysmorphia through filters that resemble European features and their standards of beauty, and altering perceptions is also perpetuated through art. "Hip-hop has been a tool of capitalist oppression which, to Marx, is where the capitalist class exploits wage earners for profit to the detriment of the working class, and the reproduction of the social condition of disablement by oppressive social relations exercised through the mode of production (Russell, 2001). And through globalization, this eurocentric ideology has proliferated through the media, and has given birth to another vehicle of racism: beauty products, which contain harmful chemicals, and are targeted towards black people to essentially filter their image and, through the chemicals, exterminate the black population. Beauty product use is an understudied source of environmental chemical exposure and "product

use can include reproductive and developmental toxicants such as phthalates and heavy metals," (Zota AR, Shamasunder B., 2017). Studies show that, compared to white women, women of color, regardless of socioeconomic status, have an increased amount of beauty product-related environmental chemicals, and "even small exposures to toxic chemicals during critical periods of development, such as pregnancy, can trigger adverse health consequences such as impacts on fertility and pregnancy, neurodevelopment, and cancer," (Zota AR, Shamasunder B., 2017). There is a significant link between environmental justice and beauty product-related chemical exposures, and the potential risks in using beauty products such as skin lighteners, hair straighteners, and feminine hygiene products, which, through advertisement, are targeted towards people of color. If we take hair products, compared to white women, African American and African Caribbean women are more likely to use more, and a variety of hair products and to have their hair chemically or professionally treated. "Hair products used by Black women are more likely to contain placenta (a potential source of estrogen hormones as well as industrial chemicals such as parabens that affect estrogenic pathways)" and "premature reproductive development, such as breast budding, was documented in African American girls exposed to estrogen- or placenta-containing hair products," (Zota AR, Shamasunder B., 2017). Other ethnic hair products among African American women have been linked to an increased risk of menarche, uterine fibroid tumors, and premenopausal breast cancer risks.

Skin-lightening creams are another type of beauty product that is regularly used by women of color in America and in South Africa. "Skin-lightening creams can contain hydroquinone, topical corticosteroids, or inorganic mercury" and "multiple cases of mercury poisoning, characterized by damage to the kidneys and the central nervous system, have been reported following the use of skin-lightening product," (Zota AR, Shamasunder B., 2017). A

recent study by the University of Cape Town suggests that "one woman in three in South Africa bleaches her skin. The reasons for this are as varied as the cultures in this country but most people say they use skin-lighteners because they want 'white skin'," **(**Fihlani, 2013).When there are artists, such as South African musician Nomasonto "Mshoza" Mnisi, who is now several shades lighter, who bleach themselves and say, like she did, that their new skin makes them feel more beautiful and confident, this sends the wrong message to the younger generation, and reminds them of the popular church song that was sung in South African churches, found just below:

> *"Lord, I long to be perfectly whole; I want thee forever to live in my soul.*
>
> *Break down every idol, cast out every foe – now wash me, and I shall be*
>
> *whiter than snow."*

This is a line from a popular church song. As the congregants sing it aloud, they hope against the kingdom of darkness whose devil has so often been represented in most human cultures as someone with dark skin," (Mathebula, 2016).

Eurocentric norms are illustrated in the Madam and Eve comic strip, as illustrated above. In this comic strip, Miss Gauteng, or Peggy Sue Khumalo, is a 6-foot black diva with big feet, a big fro, and a big attitude, however, she has to conform to eurocentric aesthetics to win the pageant, such as wearing a straight weave and lighting up her skin (Smith, 1996).

Furthermore, vaginal douches and other fragranced feminine cleansing products has been geared toward black women as well. "In a representative sample of reproductive-aged women, those who reported frequent douching had 150% higher exposures to diethyl phthalate (DEP), a chemical commonly found in fragrances, than douche non-users" and prenatal exposure to DEP can alter maternal sex steroid hormone concentrations during pregnancy and may increase the

risk of adverse health outcomes in offspring," (Zota AR, Shamasunder B., 2017). As can be seen,

mass distribution of images that idealize whiteness have a significant influence on the sales of

these beauty products, as racial discrimination based on European beauty norms can lead to

"internalized racism, body shame, and skin tone dissatisfaction," (Zota AR, Shamasunder B.,

2017). Idealization of whiteness shows how beauty product is another instance of how structural

discrimination becomes biologically embedded in America and South Africa.

CHAPTER 3

INDIVIDUAL RACISM

Now, the components of this paper all lead to one main point: disparities in healthcare,

and the roots of racism in healthcare must be further examined to see how it is still present in

South Africa and the United States of America. Reproductive freedom and civil freedom are

linked not only in their common purpose of liberation, but in the often omitted experience of

black women. During the slave period in the United States, although women outnumbered men

two to one, their role in history is often told in turns of the caricatures explained above, or

"family". Likewise, during apartheid in South Africa, although the sex ratio was about 1, the

black population made up about 65.0% of the total population, however, black women had even

more restrictions because, just like in the United States, black women were portrayed as having

the role of the maid, i.e. a servant of the white family, and even after the 1996 Consititution,

black women have not benefited from land reform (Kariseb, 2018). "Traditionally, women have

been denied rights to property under customary law in South Africa. Under customary law, a

woman was generally regarded as a minor under the guardianship of her father, husband or

brother, incapable of owning or acquiring property" which signified even further restrictions for

the black women (Kariseb, 2018). Also, the South African family planning programme,

established in 1974, is believed to be linked with the fear of whites of the increase in black

numbers, and has spurred "state policies of racial segregation and influx control, ethnic

'homeland' politics, and labour migration of men transformed opportunites and constraints for

black women and men, and altered local and household expectations of childbearing,"

(Kaufman, 2000). Thus, whether through land or through family planning in South Africa, the

black woman's body has been used as a source of income, or lack thereof. Similarily, in the

United States, because the slave system depended upon human beings not just as labor but reproducible raw material, omitting the unique female experience of slavery and their prized "wombs", which was their currency, there has been an omittance of the story of the black women identity in history (Wypijewski, 2012).

Slave breeding in America during the slavery period meant that the profit of slave owners meant the control of reproduction as they "propagated new slaves themselves, and allowed their sons to, and had their physicians exploit female anatomy while working to suppress African midwives' practice in areas of fertility, contraception and abortion", (Wypijewski, 2012). The profit of slavery depended upon the slave owner's right to govern the bodies and reproductive capacity of the black women, shown in the medical testing of the black body. In the 19th century, vesicovaginal fistula was a catastrophic complication of childbirth among American women. The the first successful operation for this condition was developed by Dr. J Marion Sims who carried out various experimental operations on black slave women between 1845 and 1849 and is the "father of modern gynecology," (Iredal, Rachel, 2000). Anesthesia came about in 1846 and because Sims carried out these experiments without anesthesia, his use of enslaved black bodies as medical test subjects falls into a "long, ethically bereft history of medical apartheid," (Holland, Brynn, 2017). James Marion Sims "pioneered a surgical technique to repair vesicovaginal fistula, a common 19th-century complication of childbirth in which a tear between the uterus and bladder caused constant pain and urine leakage," (Holland, Brynn, 2017). Sims has been lionized for his contributions to modern day gynaecology, when, in reality, the progression of this field of medicine would not have been so without the sufferings of black women.

Furthermore on the sufferings of the colored women in America, Margaret Sanger, the founder of Planned Parenthood, which is currently the leading organization advocating abortion in the United States, was significantly influenced by darwinism, and she was an active supporter of the eugenics movement (Wardell D., 1980). The eugenics movement was created in 1883 by a biologist, Darwin's cousin, named Francis Galton, and this word came as a result of combining the roots of the Greek words for "good" and origin" to create the term "eugenics" for an "applied science based on genetics and breeding," (Farber SA., 2008). The eugenics movement is one that seeked to improve the genetic composition of the human race through selective breeding. Pigmentation is a critical part of this movement, as it was the trait utilized to promote specific social and political agendas. The cousin of Darwin, Francis Galton, was the one who coined the term, and though the initial desire was manifested as the promotion of selective breeding, it ultimately contributed to the intellectual underpinnings of state-sponsored discrimination, forced sterilization, and genocide (Farber SA., 2008). Sanger opened her first birth control clinic\ in 1916 in the impoverished Brownsville section of Brooklyn to help control the over breeding issue and set up more clinics in the communities of other "dysgenic" races (Jerry, Bergman, 2008). Margaret Sanger advocated negative eugenics, which was the prevention of procreation of the unfit by law and sterilization. Planned Parenthood today "boasts three-quarters of a billion dollars in annual revenue which is mostly paid for by taxpayers" and thus, even with racists roots, this organization is supported by the American population (Jerry, Bergman, 2008). Regardless of the current work that Planned Parenthood is doing, the founder once said in a letter to Dr. Clarence Gamble in her vision for the "Negro Project" that she does not want the word of the goal of exterminating the negro population to go out. In present day, it has been claimed that the most dangerous place for black women is in the womb, since 52% of African-American

pregnancies end in abortion, 1,786 a day, and since 1973 over 20 million African-Americans have been killed by abortions alone (EWTN, 2018). Although Planned Parenthood has evolved from its origins and now seems to defend women's right to choose, it's history illustrates the roots of racism in the American healthcare system and that this organization started off with, and still has, in fact, a plan for the black population.

Moving on, James Marion Sims was not the only one who manipulated the institution of slavery to perform ethically unacceptable human experiments on marginalized groups. Another such example was the Tuskegee Syphilis experiments, which was a study of untreated syphilis among black men told by the doctors that they were getting treated for bad blood. This experimentation was a notorious venture of twentieth century medicine.

In 1932, the U.S. Public Health Service began this study in Macon County, Alabama and discussion on nervous resistance to syphilis appeared in the medical literature in the early twentieth century as evidence of nervous resistance to syphilis as a conjecture about the natural inferiority of blacks (Crenner, Christopher, 2012). "The concept of a racially determined resistance to syphilis in the nervous system establishes such a link" and white physicians "used the concept to interpret racial differences in neurosyphilis as evidence of the rudimentary development of the brain" and even when penicillin became a drug to treat syphilis in 1945, it was held from the victims (Crenner, Christopher, 2012). The physicians conducted this study on 399 men with latent syphilis and a control group of 201 others free of the disease who were unknowingly treated with syphilis as they were told that they were being treated for bad blood. Syphilis was a sexually transmitted disease, considered to be incurable during the era without antibiotics, and resulted in the loss of mind and body. It was considered the "most terrible of all of mankind's diseases and … its diagnosis [was] accepted as a sentence of death, to take effect at

the latest within four years, generally much sooner" (Medical Apartheid, 2007). The stage of the bacterium invoke a destructive inflammatory response in the central nervous system and leading to blindness, dementia, and partial motor paralysis known as "general paresis of the insane" and neurosyphilis was responsible for 5-10% of all psychiatric admissions (Medical Apartheid, 2007). And with rumors such as Hippocrates discovering the use of fever and heat in treatment of diseases of the brain, Dr. Julius-Wagner-Jauregg, an Austrian psychiatrist, believed that treatment of malaria, which caused fevers, would cure syphilis, thus, blood from malarial patients was directly injected by physicans into syphilitic patients, and this became the mode of treatment due to its apparent efficacy (Medical Apartheid, 2007). Pyromania, which is an impulse-control disorder, in individuals who fail to resist impulses to start fires, is where this pyrotherapy, or, essentially, fighting fire with fire, treatment originates. Pyromania "is a residual 19th century monomania from a list of monomanias, as creative as to include drapetomania (the running away of slaves)" and, without scientific basis, has been used to misdiagnose (Kocsis, n.d.). The ramifications of slaves running away included being diagnosed as having a mental illness (drapetomania) and being "treated" by whatever ramifications the slave owners and/or doctors thought was necessary. Considering that Wagner-Jauregg was also a eugenic, and promoted his theories about mental diseases, saying that criminal genes were "individuals who, because of lasting genetic mental defects, are a danger to the community and unable to fit in", injections of Syphilis, and the eventual use of pyrotherapy was, in fact, part of a larger plan of genocide (Kreston, 2014).

This unethical treatment illustrates the deep rooted history of scientific racism in the healthcare system, but there has also been an adverse effect of the Syphilis experiments on black women. The black men treated with Syphilis brought it into their homes, and because "untreated

syphilis in pregnant women results in death of the fetus in up to 40% of infected pregnant women", and if infected babies are born and survive, they are at risk for serious problems including seizures and developmental delays, this killing of the black body and brain had long standing implications on the reproductive health of the black woman (Stoppler, 2019).

In South Africa, though there is not a substantial amount of information on medical experiments of the black body as there is in the United States, civil freedom and reproductive freedom has significant ties in land ownership and family planning. Economic conditions, employment opportunities, and the concern for health welfare of their families are all constraints that shape a black woman's desire to have fewer children. As briefly mentioned above, "the subordination of women by customary law further found root in colonial and apartheid statutory law" and an example is in rural areas, as "the 1913 Land Act (later the Black Administration Act) legalised the restriction of access to land by women in their own name" and "in urban areas, the Group Areas Act prevented women of different racial groups from having access to land and homes and resulted in many forced relocations," (Kariseb, 2018). In addition, the intestate law on succession also excluded women from ownership of property because succession under customary law was "based on the principle of primogeniture which requires that only males can be heirs to estates of deceased owners," (Kariseb, 2018). Land ownership has directly linked to economic status, and restrictions increase for black women, who not only have been socialised for the domestic space of home and family, but also have restrictions because of the color of their skin. In addition, the economic conditions and employment opportunities, or lack thereof, is illustrated in a finding from the most recent study conducted by the Department of Labor in South Africa in 2011. The report shows that "only 31 percent of black women in South Africa were employed, which was the lowest number for all groups", such as white males, at 73%

employment, and the other groups that all had higher employment than black women in South

Africa (Moreni, 2014). In addition, it was found that "forty-five percent of black women were

considered not economically active (NEA)" which includes discouraged work seekers who were

not employed during the week of the survey, but wanted to work and could not find work due to

a lack of available jobs or lost hope of finding work (Moreni, 2014). Although apartheid ended,

the disparities in economic opportunites still exsits today because of inequality in the education

and usable skills, and black women not given easy access to higher education which, as a result,

causes them to suffer in the job market. Therefore, as can be seen, civil freedom and

reproductive freedom has significant ties in land ownership and family planning, since land

ownership reminds women to stay in a certain place, i.e. the home, and education and

employment opportunities for black women in South Africa keep them in that position which, as

a result, shapes the desire of black women to have less children. This is why the South African

family planning programme has been widely believed to be linked with white fears of growing

black numbers, land ownership being a metaphor for owning the black body by causing a shift in

the mindset of black women on their bodies.

Furthermore, similar to the United States' practice of Darwinism and attempting to find

scientific means for racism, in South Africa, race and science were linked in order to legitimize

white supremacy. In South Africa, it was emphasized that the "darwinism view that the

'ascendancy' of Western peoples 'physical and intellectual' rather than 'moral and spiritual'" and

white rule in South Africa depended upon "some important modification of the ethical system

upon which it is founded," (Rich, 1990). Maurice Evans, one in South Africa who sought to

maintain the cohesion of South African peasant society in the face of advancing industrialization

whom thought was revered, emphasized that "races were different through the inheritance of

acquired characteristics," and craniological and anthropometric measurements appeared increasingly unreliable to illustrate racial differences and justify white supremacy (Rich, 1990). Then, intelligence testing began rapidly appearing, which also did not justify supremization, but white supremacy still prevailed in South Africa, just as racism did in the United States of America (Rich, 1990).

If we trace the philosophical underpinnings of scientific racism from the early works of hereditarians such as Darwin, to the intelligence testing movement led by Galton and Binet, and to the contemporary race and IQ studies, science, as can be seen above, has been utilized to justify the enactment of racist social policies. Science has proposed, projected, and enacted racist social policies and products that target the colored in America and South Africa. Reproductive freedom and civil freedom have been significantly linked in order to enhance white power or supremacy, and to effect not only the black population, but their offspring as well. There are various other examples of how disparities in health care is a result of the deep rooted racism in the American ideology, and one reason this has continued to be so is due to the black to white ratio in the healthcare system. Though the racial and ethnic diversity of the U.S. population continues to increase, the physician workforce has been diversifying at a much slower speed and uneven course. In America, "Reports of general lack of diversity in a number of medical and surgical specialties, such as radiology, oncology, emergency medicine, orthopedic surgery, obstetrics and gynecology, and ophthalmology documented the continuing lack of diversity in certain specialties," (Xierali IM, Nivet MA, 2018). These differences in racial and ethnic diversity of primary care physicians from a national perspective and the association between physician race/ethnicity and their geographic distribution is another mechanism in which the upper class succeeds in controlling the healthcare system in America. Whereas in America, the

control of the black woman's body is direct, in South Africa this link is much more subtle, through restrictions on land ownership to men by white men, which symbolizes the restriction of the black woman's body because it shapes the way she thinks through desiring fewer children as a result of a lack of economic and employment opportunities. And, although both countries have strived to make a positive change in scientific racism, there is still much disparity occuring today and a solution to this includes having more representation for the black women, such as in policy making.
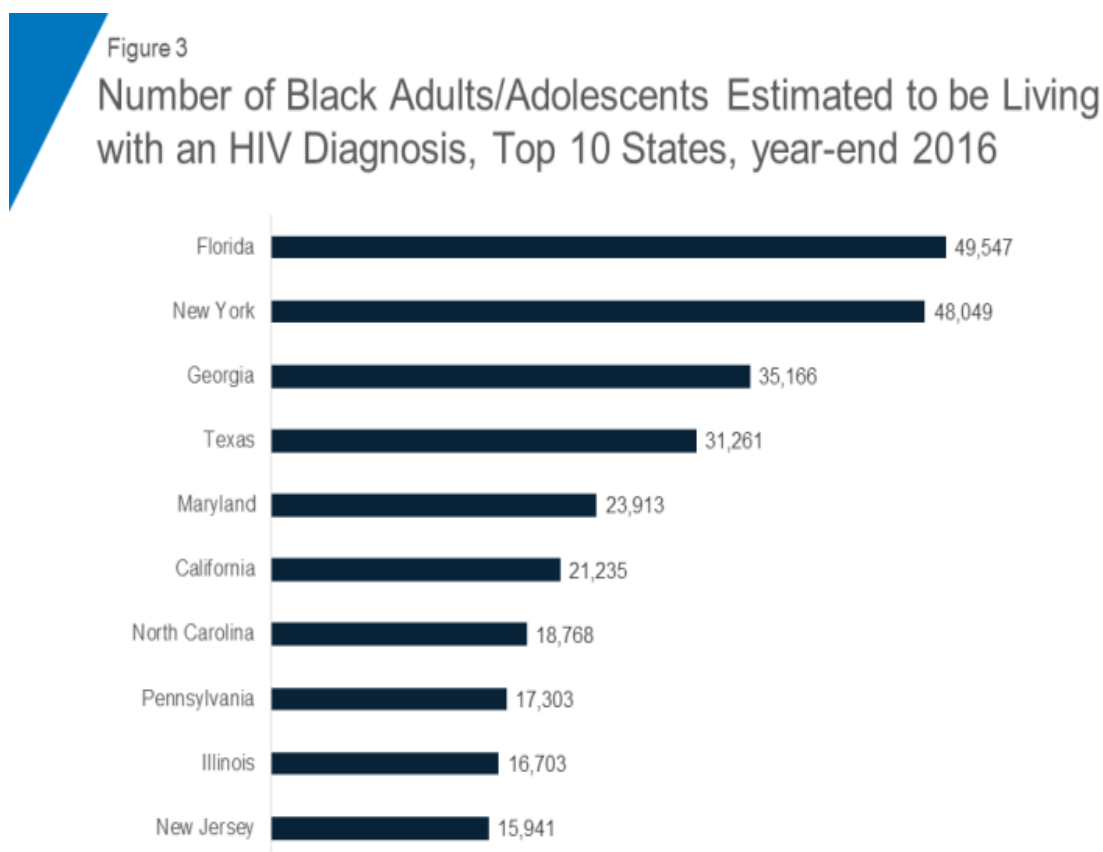
One common thread of this paper is the strive of power. Paul-Michel Foucault had a lot to say about this, as he was a French postmodernist whose theories addressed the relationship between power and knowledge, and its use as a form of societal control through societal institutions. Foucault has "been hugely influential in shaping understandings of power, leading away from the analysis of actors who use power as an instrument of coercion, and even away from the discrete structures in which those actors operate, toward the idea that 'power is everywhere', diffused and embodied in discourse, knowledge and 'regimes of truth," (Gaventa, 2005). Foucault challenges the ideas that "meta power" or "regime of truth" is in constant flux and negotiation, and he uses the term 'power/knowledge'(Gaventa, 2005). If we take stereotypes, for instance, white, multinational corporations control the image of the black community by determining what forms of media get promoted and even released, in addition to promoting the European standard of beauty, and causing black people to have a revulsion for their culture; eventually filtering out the black identity. In addition, power is used to control the education system, and thus the behavior, of the black community through policies deeply rooted within the educational system. Controlling the mind of black bodies is also illustrated through the Tuskegee Syphilis Experiment, which attempted to prove the intellectual inferiority of the black

population, and this had an adverse neurological effect on the offspring of those who were affected. Likewise, with land ownership and the desire for black women to have less children due to their economic inability. This power, also seen through womb envy, conveys policy which gives white men the ability to control the body of black women. In addition, the division among Malcolm X and Martin Luther King, Jr., and Dubois and Washington, it can be argued, occurred as a way to hinder the rapid progression of the fight for equality. Power, therefore, as Foucault explains, has been used as a source of discipline and conformity, and has been used to subjugate the physical bodies and the minds of black people.

After reading about the roots of racism and its link to modern day healthcare in South Africa and the United States, one may ask how this ties into Universal Health care. The World Health Organization (WHO) Constitution of 1946 declared that the "enjoyment of the highest attainable standard of health"—defined as "a state of complete physical, mental and social well-being and not merely the absence of disease or infirmity"—"is one of the fundamental rights of every human being" (WHO remains firmly committed to the principles set out in the preamble to the Constitution, n.d.). The constitution added that "governments have a responsibility for the health of their people which can be fulfilled only by the provision of adequate health and social measures." (Christopher, 2015). Thus, taking a look at statistical evidence in addition to the ones provided with beauty products and the group that they target, we are able to see how racism affects healthcare. For instance, black Americans have been disproportionately affected by HIV/AIDS, and "although they represent only 12% of the U.S. population, Blacks account for a much larger share of HIV diagnoses (43%), people estimated to be living with HIV disease (42%), and deaths among people with HIV (43%) than any other racial/ethnic group in the U.S.**,"** (Black Americans and HIV Aids: The Basics, 2019). Attributes, such as poverty, lack of access

to health care, lack of awareness of HIV status, and stigma, have caused this disparity, and HIV death rates are highest among blacks (Black Americans and HIV Aids: The Basics, 2019). Furthermore, among all women, Black women account for the largest share of new HIV diagnoses, and the rate of new diagnoses among Black women is nearly 15 times the rate among white women (Black Americans and HIV Aids: The Basics, 2019). Regarding the disparities due to housing and geography, regionally, "the South accounts for the majority of Blacks newly diagnosed with HIV (63% in 2017) and Blacks living with an HIV diagnosis at the end of 2016 (58%)" and HIV diagnoses among Blacks are clustered in a handful of states, as can be seen in the graph below (Black Americans and HIV Aids: The Basics, 2019).

Figure 3

Number of Black Adults/Adolescents Estimated to be Living with an HIV Diagnosis, Top 10 States, year-end 2016

State	Number
Florida	49,547
New York	48,049
Georgia	35,166
Texas	31,261
Maryland	23,913
California	21,235
North Carolina	18,768
Pennsylvania	17,303
Illinois	16,703
New Jersey	15,941

NOTES: Data are estimates for adults/adolescents aged 13 and older.
SOURCE: CDC. *HIV Surveillance Report, Diagnosis of HIV Infection in the United States and Dependent Areas, 2017,* Vol. 29; November 2018. HIV diagnosis data are estimates from 50 states, the District of Columbia, and 6 U.S. dependent areas.

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[Figure 8: Graph of Black Adults Estimated to be Living with an HIV diagnosis. Reprinted from *CDC* , by CDC, 2019, Retrieved from https://www.kff.org/hivaids/fact-sheet/black-americans-and-hivaids-the-basics/]

From late HIV testing, such as the 20% of Blacks that were HIV positive and were tested for HIV late in their illness, to missed opportunities of Blacks receiving HIV diagnosis and viral suppression, the disparities in Healthcare is evident. Studies conducted in which the socioeconomic status and education levels were controlled found that African-American women who are college graduates have a higher infant mortality rate than white women who dropped out of high school (Adams, n.d.). In addition, African-Americans "have the highest cancer rates, are twice as likely as their white counterparts to suffer from diabetes, and represent 49% of individuals who were HIV-infected in the United States," (Adams, n.d.). Furthermore, "only a fraction of African-American deaths are related to hereditary causes" but a history of "egregious medical experiments, distorted diagnosis from medical professionals, and an overall failure to humanize the experience of ailing African Americans by the medical field" has greatly sustained health disparities (Adams, n.d.).

Taking a look at infant mortality rates, as the state of a country's health care is reflected upon this, US and South African statistics further illustrates the roots of racism in healthcare. In present-day America, African-Americans have 2.3 times the infant mortality rate as non-Hispanic whites, African-American infants are 3.8 times as likely to die from complications related to low birthweight as compared to non-Hispanic white infants, African-Americans had over twice the sudden infant death syndrome mortality rate as non-Hispanic whites, and African American mothers were 2.3 times more likely than non-Hispanic white mothers to receive late or no prenatal care in 2017 (CDC 2019). In South Africa, during the 1950s, amongst white South Africans infant mortality was less than 15 deaths per 1,000 live births, and amongst black South

Africans in rural areas, "30-50% of live births died before they turned five," (Horwitz, 2009).

Although this has changed a bit since apartheid, as "according to an IRR report, infant mortality

(measured as infant deaths per 1 000 live births) in SA fell by 32% between 2002 and 2017, as

more mothers sought antenatal visits", apartheid policies and the health care system had a

negative impact on the health of majority of South Africans, as will be discussed a bit further

down (Alfred, 2018).

Furthermore, as described earlier in this paper, in the US during the 1800's, slaves who

ran away were diagnosed with drapetomania, and since the civil rights movement, black men

have been over-diagnosed with schizophrenia at three times the rate (Adams, n.d.). Likewise,

before apartheid from the mid-19th century, "the mentally 'disordered' in South Africa were

confined to permanent institutions to minimise their impact on society and to prevent them from

procreating and passing on 'undesirable' characteristics," (Horwitz, 2009).The 8 institutions that

were available were "prison-like, overcrowded and mostly housed the underprivileged and the

deviant" and white patients receive superior treatment to black patients (Horwitz, 2009). Mental

health during apartheid Apartheid South Africa was one of the most "psychologically ill societies

in the world, characterised by repression, human rights abuse, violence, alcohol-related

problems, malnutrition and poverty." and these factors had serious effects on the mental health of

black populace (Horwitz, 2009). Furthermore, race and diagnosis treatment for black people

consisted largely of institutionalisation in inadequate facilities and was based on inaccurate

notions, such as:

    • "Black people did not get depressed

    • Black people displaying symptoms of severe stress or trauma suffered from

    'Bantu Hysteria' and should be treated with sedatives.

• Black people were subject to permanent and untreatable disorders such as schizophrenia, paranoia and epileptic psychosis, while white people were more inclined to manic-depressive psychosis, neurosis and defective mental development which were considered to be less severe. Black people were often misdiagnosed and denied professional services because:

• The biomedical concepts of the formal medical sector were often in conflict with the culture of the majority of patients in need of treatment.

• Bio-medical practitioners did not acknowledge the psychological effects of Apartheid

 • Diagnostic criteria were deliberately abused and used to silence activists by condemning them to institutions where they were under State control" (Horwitz, 2009).

Thus, disparities regarding mental health in both the United States and South Africa illustrated that mental health became a method of power.

The attitudes and behaviors of health care providers in both countries have been identified as one of many factors that contribute to health disparities. Such factors include implicit biases that blacks feel less pain and thus they are prescribed medicine and healthcare at less of the value compared to their white counterparts, and from medical experimentations and over-diagnosis on black bodies, as explained above, to women in the United States dying during or after pregnancy three to four times than white women due to providers spending less time with black patients due to racial bias. "The health sector, through apathy, acceptance of the status quo and acts of omission, allowed the creation of an environment in which the health of millions of South Africans was neglected, even at times actively compromised, and in which violations of moral and ethical codes of practice were frequent, facilitating violations of human rights,"

(Horwitz, 2009). Thus, it is inevitable that this will have a negative effect on the psyche of the black community- iatrophobia. The phrase Iatrophobia describes "[African Americans'] fear of medical professionals and institutions" (Adams, n.d.). Iatrophobia causes reluctance within the black community, in addition to the fact that "nationwide, just over one in five (21%) of Blacks do not have health insurance" (Artiga, 2013). to seek medical attention; thus, increasing the likelihood of transmission of communicable diseases, and increasing the probability of dying from preventable, communicable diseases, among the black community.

The United States and South Africa, as this paper has illustrated, has not been providing the constitutional right of health to colored folks throughout history which only has resulted in the downfall of the nation. Internationally, Universal Health care is argued to be a source of protection of human rights based on ethical theories about equity, and acknowledging a right to health means addresses the social determinants of health care (Christopher, Andrea, 2015). "The September 1978 Alma-Ata Declaration is a landmark event in the history of global health" and this declaration of health for all "reduces human misery and suffering, advances equality, and safeguards human dignity" and recognizes economic development, social development and international security as the causes and consequences of better health (Bloom, David, 2018). The desire for Universal health care is the result of the knowledge that a healthy population translates into a productive and stable nation, which is measured by the country's Gross Domestic Product, thus, we have a responsibility to advocate for policies that improve population health in order to progress as a society. Because globalization interconnects nations, the United States, as the world's superpower, must play its role in the progression of Universal Health Care by eliminating the disparities in health care in the first place. The Gross Domestic Product is an indicator of economic performance, and a tool for economic policy-making and, as

such, should be further analyzed in order to improve the conditions of the health care system in America. For instance, higher levels of university graduates will help the US and South African society and economy grow significantly. Reversing racism and sexism are the first steps, and with such disparities still occurring in these countries, we can see that the country has not progressed enough.

      As can be seen, this paper illustrated that race is used as a form of power to control black minds and bodies in America and South Africa. Institutional racism in America is illustrated through the underachievement of blacks being used to maintain their underachievement. In addition, black students in America are geared towards sports because of the "natural talent myth" advocated by Jimmy "The Greek", However, once in sports, the sports field resemble a sharecropper in a sense because blacks are promised a bright future, however, black athletes have a low graduation rate relative to white athletes, an there is a high entrance of white athletes in athletics postgraduate level. Similarly, institutional racism in South Africa is practiced through the Bantu Education Act in which blacks are denied the same access to educational opportunities and resources as whites, and the curriculum promotes myths and stereotypes about blacks, such as being untraditional and unlearning. In addition, South Africa limited blacks to certain laborers by preventing access to higher education and entry into occupations requiring more than basic skills. In the United States and South Africa, there is a lower ratio of blacks in medicine than whites, and this causes iatrophobia, which further perpetuates disparities in healthcare. Also, schooling has a history driven by racialization and racism in both countries and the exclusion of black history ultimately signifies the exclusion of the black body. South Africa and America deal with this similarity, in South Africa, street protesting and media is used to combat this like in America, media is used as well. Furthermore, feminism or, more so, white feminism, has

disregarded the black experience. Reproductive freedom, a lack of birth control, and safe abortions is the topic for white feminists but for blacks, its a matter of being denied the right to reproduce, and being told by whom and when to do so. Similarly, white feminism in South Africa is a matter of race, gender, an class bias an black women are blame for their own poverty and underdevelopment, and the comic strip Madam and Eve illustrates the unervaluement of domestic labour because it is the position of the black women, most oftenly. Furthemore, womb envy, which is a concept that says the devaluation of an envied object has led men to claim superiority in other fields, such as controlling the female antomonomy, can be argued to be the reason white policy makers make the policy that they do, which further creates disparities in healthcare. Lastly under institutional racism, gentrification has played a role in both America and South Africa. The solution of this is to remove white policy makers and increase the number of black women in politics.

Cultural Racism is another form of racism that this paper went in-depth about. In the United States, various types of caricatures are portrayed in the media, such as Sambo, which allowed slave masters to attribute poor work performed by blacks as a result of stupidity, desire for freedom, and genetic deficiencies, which goes to the "natural talent myth" of blacks. In the present day United States, this translates to the black minstrel. Other caricatures are portrayed in the media targeting black women by glorifying the European standard of beauty. In South Africa, Madam and Eve play the role of a white worker and a black house maid, and there is a power dynamic that illustrates the manipulation of a black woman's fate by white males. The use of the media is a recurring theme in this paper, as it illustrates its powerful effect. MK Asante "It's Bigger than Hip Hop" understands this, as he sheds light on it through his book. Likewise, rappers such as Jay Z, and directors such as Jordan Peele, show the various divides not only

within racism, but within the black community as well. Furthermore, social media dysmorphia occurs through the filters that resemble European features and standards of beauty. Through globalization, Eurocentric ideology proliferated, and it produced even more racism through beauty products which have harmful chemicals targeted towards black, which is used to filter and exterminate the black population by reproductive and developmental toxicants. These products include, but are not limited to, skin-lighteners, hair straighteners, and feminie hygiene products. As can be seen, cultural racism has been ingrained in the United States and South African culture for decades on end, and has had detrimental effects on black people, but specifically black women.

Finally, this paper illustrates individual racism. Reproductive freedom and civil freedom have had significant ties in America and South Africa, and although the black women have been at the forefront of this topic, their experience has often been omitted. Through lan and family planning, the black women's body has been used as a source of income, or lack thereof. And Paul-Michel Foucault has illustrated that the relationship between power and knowledge and use for societal control through institutions has played a role in determining the role of the black women in these two societies. This power is demonstrated through the racial disparities in Universal Health Care, more specifically with reproductive health and mental health. Power has been abused and has targeted the emotional, physical, and psychological well-being of the black population in South America and America but, more specifically, the black women.

After reading this paper, the question of whether there are solutions may be imposed. The role and usage of globalization and social media, and the music industry is a solution, as it can be utilized to bring about positive social change through shedding light on these racial issues, such as the viewing, and thus the treating of blacks, as a subhuman. In addition, another solution

is to combat gentrification and the exclusion of the black women's experience in order to bring about reproductive justice. Furthermore, promoting the black image and eliminating social media filters that resemble European beauty standards will eradicate the desire of black women to alter their features to be more 'beautiful'. Furthermore, there needs to be policy-makers, health professions, and advocates that represent that black women, hence more black women in office. The increase of black doctors decreases the likelihood of bias during health assessment and reduces iatrophobia, which will result in earlier health diagnoses and reduce the spread of disease. Overall, black women's womb has been a source of currency in both countries, yet it has been the target of oppression, evaluation, and silence by pushing them further onto the margins. The acknowledgement of the oppressed voice of the black women will give birth to a more productive and fruitful working class and thus, giving power to the powerless will benefit the society as a whole.

This paper illustrated the three types of racism- institutional, cultural, and individual- and the goal of these forms of oppression, which is black genocide. From medical experimentations done to prove beliefs of intellectual inferiority, and the inhumanness of black people, the result has been unethical treatment of not only their bodies, but that of their offspring. Killing the black body, in addition to the black mind and identity through gentrification and the educational system and the natural talent myth, has been a voracious battle to dehumanize the black body and hinder the black mind through the power to enact individual, institutional, and cultural racism. The music industry has been a powerful tool utilized to perpetrate this vicious cycle of exterminating, or filtering out, the black image and pursuing the long term goal: exterminating the black identity. However, addressing this issue, as was done, will result in the United States of America being able to see progress as a whole.

SUMMARY

The theme among the three types of racism described in this paper is viewing black people as inhuman. Combating issues such as gentrification, and excluding the experience of black women through the feminist movement when, in reality, it was the black woman's womb which was the currency during the slave breeding era, in addition to promoting the positive black image instead of filtering it, can occur with the efforts of policy-makers and advocates. However, these advocates must be mindful of a mechanism used to divide the black movement, such as creating division within the fight for equality in addition to being deemed as "mentally ill" when trying to escape the prison of black oppression. Tackling these issues can be, and has been, done through the music industry, which has been the very method that deeply implanted racism into the American culture. In addition, increasing the number of black doctors in the medical care system decreases the likelihood of biased health assessment and thus will reduce iatrophobia within the black community, giving rise to earlier health diagnoses and a reduction of the spread of disease. All together, "people without a history are considered not quite human and incorporate that judgment in their own thinking...they cooperate in their own oppression" and "the lack of a history with 'truth,' concerning the role of black women in the United States before, during, and after the Civil War, continues the act of oppression well into the twentieth and twenty-first century," (Kowalski, Jennifer, 2009). The truth of the matter is that the black woman's womb is a currency, but has been the target of oppression, devaluation, and silence by pushing this most oppressed class further into the margins of society. Acknowledging this truth and the voice of the black women, which has been manipulated and controlled for centuries on,

will give birth to a more productive, and fruitful working class and thus a more stable economy.

Therefore, conveying power to the powerless will have a tremendously beneficial result.

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