

**UNDERSERVED AND SOCIALLY
DISADVANTAGED GROUPS AND
LINKAGES WITH HEALTH AND
HEALTH CARE DIFFERENTIALS**

RESEARCH IN THE SOCIOLOGY OF HEALTH CARE

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VOLUME 37

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CONTENTS

<i>List of Figures</i>	vii
<i>List of Tables</i>	ix
<i>About the Contributors</i>	xiii

PART I INTRODUCTION TO VOLUME

Underserved and Socially Disadvantaged Groups and Linkages with Health and Health Care Differentials <i>Jennie Jacobs Kronenfeld</i>	3
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PART II MENTAL HEALTH RELATED ISSUES

Disadvantage Begets Disadvantage? Exploring Mental Health Pathways for Girls of Color <i>Zinobia C. Bennelfield</i>	15
Familial Support and Mental Health Service Use: Differences among First- and Second-generation Asian American and Latinx Older Adults <i>Jessica Valles</i>	33
Psychological Distress Differentials as a Function of Subjective Social Status among Latino Subgroups in the United States <i>Fernando I. Rivera, Kristine M. Molina and Ethel Nicdao</i>	53

PART III OTHER HEALTH PROBLEMS

Race, Environmental Inequality, and Physical Health <i>Jennifer M. Brailsford, Jessica Eckhardt, Terrence D. Hill, Amy M. Burdette and Andrew K. Jorgenson</i>	71
Autism Spectrum Disorders and the Healthcare Experiences of Aging Adults <i>Karen E. Joseph-Kent</i>	87

Hepatitis C and Support Groups in Rural Communities
Atsuko Kawakami, Juyeon Son and Charley Henderson 119

**“I Kinda Look Unhealthy, but I’m Not Unhealthy” –
 Exploring Rural Children’s Perspectives on Health,
 Well-being, and Nutrition**
Anne Scheer 137

**PART IV
 GENDER CONCERNS**

**Public Perception on Gender Issues and Women’s Healthcare
 Concerns Related to Leprosy: Implications for Leprosy Control
 Program in Southeast Nigeria**
Ignatius Uche Nwankwo 165

**Thalassemic Women’s Biographical Trajectory: Retracing
 Gender Inequalities in Health Policies**
Valentina Raffa 189

**PART V
 HEALTH CARE WORKERS**

**Work–life Balance in Medical Practice: The Reproduction of
 Patriarchy and the Politics of Gender**
Jennifer McDonald and Claudia Chaufan 205

**Vulnerable Caregivers: A Comparison of Direct Care Workers’
 Health Risks in Skilled Nursing Facilities and Private Homes**
Kim Price-Glynn and Carter Rakovski 225

**The Health of Migrant Women Working as Home Care
 Assistants in Italy: An Analysis of the Most Hazardous Factors
 of Home Care Work**
Francesca Alice Vianello 239

Index 259

LIST OF FIGURES

Chapter 3

- Fig. 1. Predicted Marginal Means of Psychological Distress as a Function of Subjective Social Status in the United States and Latino Group. 62
- Fig. 2. Predicted Marginal Means of Psychological Distress as a Function of Subjective Social Status in the Community and Latino Group. 63

Chapter 4

- Fig. 1. Unstandardized Coefficients and Sobel Tests (z) for Statistically Significant Indirect Effects (NHANES 2007–2008). 81

Chapter 8

- Fig. 1. Leprosy New Case Detection (NCD) and Prevalence (2005–2009) for Southeast Zone of Nigeria. 168
- Fig. 2. Respondents' Description of Their Relationship with Persons Affected by Leprosy. 182

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LIST OF TABLES

Chapter 1

Table 1.	Mean Value of Psychological Distress and Family Support for Disaggregated Sample.	19
Table 2.	Structural Equation Model Estimates of the Association between Family Support and Psychological Distress.	22
Table 3.	Structural Equation Model Estimates of the Association between Family Support and Psychological Distress with Two-way Interactions.	23
Table 4.	Structural Equation Model Estimates of the Association between Family Support and Psychological Distress with Three-way Interactions.	25

Chapter 2

Table 1.	Descriptive Statistics and Variables for Analysis by Ancestry and Immigrant Generation ($N = 810$).	44
Table 2.	Logistic Regression for Mental Health Service Use with First-generation Asian Americans as Reference Group Using Data of the National Latino and Asian American Survey 2002–2003, Odds Ratios (OR) and 95% Confidence Intervals (CI).	45
Table 3.	Logistic Regression for Mental Health Service Use with First-generation Latinx as Reference Group Using Data of the National Latino and Asian American Survey 2002–2003, Odds Ratios (OR) and 95% Confidence Intervals (CI).	46

Chapter 3

Table 1.	Distribution of Sociodemographic Characteristics for Total Sample and by Latino Ethnicity.	60
Table 2.	Descriptive Statistics of Main Variables for Total Sample and by Latino Group (Weighted).	61
Table 3.	Regression Models for Subjective Social Status Variables Predicting Psychological Distress (Weighted).	61

Chapter 4

Table 1.	Descriptive Statistics ($n = 1,792$).	76
Table 2.	Ordinary Least Squares Regression of Toxin Exposure ($n = 1,792$).	79
Table 3.	Ordinary Least Squares Regression of Self-rated Physical Health ($n = 1,792$).	80

Chapter 5

Table 1.	Characteristics of ASD/ID Subjects under Study.	93
Table 2.	Social Characteristics of ASD/ID Adults.	95
Table 3.	Guardian Characteristics.	96

Chapter 6

Table 1.	Descriptive.	125
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Chapter 8

Table 1.	List of LGAs, Communities and Villages Used in the Study.	175
Table 2.	Distribution of Respondents by Sociodemographic Characteristics.	177
Table 3.	Distribution of Male and Female Respondents by Their Awareness of Leprosy.	180
Table 4.	Distribution of Respondents by some Sociodemographic Variables, Awareness about Leprosy (% in Parenthesis).	180
Table 5.	Distribution of Respondents by Their Opinion about Which Gender Encounters Higher Incidence/Exposure to Leprosy in Their Area?.	180
Table 6.	Distribution of Respondents by Their Opinion on Gender Role That Most Likely Affect Clinic Attendance of Persons Affected by Leprosy in the Control Program.	181
Table 7.	Distribution of Respondents by Their Opinion about Which Gender Receives Greater Community Support and Is Re-accepted and Re-integrated Faster into the Community after Anti-leprosy Treatment.	183
Table 8.	Distribution of Respondents according to Their Gender and Their Acceptance of Belief Systems on Leprosy (% in Parenthesis)..	183

Chapter 10

Table 1.	Identified Categories and Themes on Work–life Balance in the Medical Literature.	210
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Chapter 11

Table 1.	Worker Characteristics by Setting NNAS ($n = 2,909$) NHHAS ($n = 2,077$)..	231
Table 2.	Working Conditions by Setting: Facility (NNAS, $n = 2,909$), Home (NHHAS, $n = 2,077$)..	232
Table 3.	Percentage of Workers with Injuries in the Past Year by Identity and Setting: Facility (NNAS, $n = 2,814$), Home (NHHAS, $n = 2,077$)..	233
Table 4.	Percentage of Workers with Not Enough Time For Tasks by Identity and Setting: Facility (NNAS, $n = 2,814$), Home (NHHAS, $n = 2,077$)..	235

Chapter 12

Table 1.	Topics Covered by Focus Groups.	246
Table 2.	Socio-demographic Characteristics of the Sample (Frequencies: Absolute Number and Percentage).	247
Table 3.	Disorders Perceived by Respondents (Frequencies: Absolute Number and Percentage).	248
Table 4.	Psychophysical Malaise Index (Frequencies: Absolute Number and Percentage).	249
Table 5.	Psychophysical Malaise Index for Physical Strain (Absolute Number and Percentage).	250
Table 6.	Psychophysical Malaise Index for Relational Strain (Absolute Number and Percentage).	251
Table 7.	Psychophysical Malaise Index for Live-in Formula (Absolute Number and Percentage).	252
Table 8.	Psychophysical Malaise Index for the Main Difficulties of Home Care Work (Absolute Number and Percentage).	252
Table 9.	Psychophysical Malaise Index for Sexual Harassment in the Workplace (Absolute Number and Percentage).	254
Table 10.	Psychophysical Malaise Index for Physical Aggressions (Absolute Number and Percentage).	254

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PART I
INTRODUCTION TO VOLUME

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UNDERSERVED AND SOCIALLY DISADVANTAGED GROUPS AND LINKAGES WITH HEALTH AND HEALTH CARE DIFFERENTIALS

Jennie Jacobs Kronenfeld

ABSTRACT

Purpose – This chapter provides an introduction to the volume along with a very brief review of literature on underserved and socially disadvantaged groups and health and health care differentials.

Methodology/Approach – This chapter uses the approach of a literature review.

Findings – The chapter argues for the importance of greater examination of underserved and socially disadvantaged groups in consideration of health and health care differentials.

Originality/Value of Paper – The author reviews the issues of underserved and socially disadvantaged groups in consideration of health and health care differentials and previews this book.

Keywords: Income; education; underserved; socially disadvantaged; health care differentials; health differentials

This chapter provides an introduction to Volume 37 in the *Research in the Sociology of Health Care* series, “Underserved and Socially Disadvantaged Groups and Linkages with Health and Health Care Differentials.” The beginning of this chapter will briefly review some of the more important material

Underserved and Socially Disadvantaged Groups and Linkages with Health and Health Care Differentials

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about underserved and socially disadvantaged groups in consideration of health and health care differentials. The second part of this chapter will review the overall contents of the volume and the structure of the volume.

UNDERSERVED AND SOCIALLY DISADVANTAGED GROUPS AND OTHER SOCIAL FACTORS AS LINKED TO HEALTH DISPARITIES AND HEALTH CARE DISPARITIES

When one uses the terms underserved and socially disadvantaged groups, it could mean many different things. In this volume, it mostly means people of color including Asian Americans and Latinx Americans, as well as rural Americans, and aging populations. In addition, it means issues related to women and gender both as recipients of care and providers of care. Also, a few chapters look at issues of underserved groups outside of the American context. In addition, many of the chapters relate to a variety of other social factors, including but not limited to components of socioeconomic status (SES) such as income, education and occupation, demographic social factors such as age and gender and factors linked to the family such as marriage or divorce and factors linked to employment such as job stress or unemployment. The literatures covering these different groups and factors are huge, and the literature on health inequalities and health care inequalities is also quite large. This chapter will not cover any of this in a comprehensive manner but will focus in a brief section on what we mean by health and health care inequalities. There is also a brief section on the linkage of a few major social factors such as income, education and race and ethnicity with health and health care inequalities.

HEALTH INEQUALITIES, HEALTH CARE INEQUALITIES, AND HEALTH DISPARITIES

One area of growing interest within medical sociology in the past 20 years has been research in health disparities and this is also true within public health and medicine as well as medical sociology more specifically. The interest in health care disparities has expanded beyond researchers to also become an area of high interest to providers of care and policymakers, especially within the United States. The definition of health disparities or differences in health care is important to review. The Institute of Medicine (IOM) defines health care disparities as differences in treatment or access between population groups that cannot be justified by different preferences for services or differences in health (McGuire, Alegria, Cook, Wells, & Zaslavsky, 2006). Within the United States, much of the focus on health care disparities has turned to differences in access and quality across racial and ethnic groups, although these are not the only social characteristics that are of interest either sociologically or from a policy perspective. Differences based on SES and its components including education and income are of both research and policy interest. Beyond research and thinking about

policy implications, health care disparities matter even more if they result in health disparities, defined as differences in health outcomes across population groups (Schnittker & McLeod, 2005).

One interesting study that demonstrates the growth in research about social differences in health and health disparities was summarized well by the Adler and Rehkopf (2008) review of US disparities in health by examining literature for the term “health disparities” and finding that while this was a key word in only one article in 1980, and fewer than 30 in the 1990s, it went up to over 400 articles from 2000 to 2004. If the term “health inequalities” was used instead, the pattern of increase was similar.

The United States is not the only country with growing interest in this topic. Great Britain and more recently some European countries also have interest in the topic. Interest in the topic in Great Britain goes back to 1980, when the Black Report was one of the first in that country to apply the term inequality to an examination of health differences. In the United States in this same time period, studies did link together death and health information with information on SES from sources such as the Current Population Study, the US Census, and Social Security Administration records (Kitagawa & Hauser, 1978; Kliss & Scheuren, 1978). Within the US, some of these earlier studies and traditions in various fields including sociology of research into variation in health, health care utilization and health services issues by SES and race/ethnicity led to the now well-known efforts in the United States to examine and try to eliminate health disparities due to race/ethnicity and SES in the *Healthy People* series. From the federal government level, one of the pushes for more research on health care inequalities came from the passage of Public Law 106–129, the Health Care Research and Quality Act of 1999. A first National Health Care Disparities Report came out in 2005 and built on previous efforts in the federal government, especially Healthy People 2010 (U.S. Department of Health & Human Services, 2000) and the IOM Report, *Unequal Treatment: Confronting Racial and Economic Disparities in Health Care* (Smedley, Stith, & Nelson, 2003). Elimination of disparities in health was a goal of Healthy People, 2010. *Unequal Treatment* extensively documented health care disparities in the United States and focused on those related to race and ethnicity, but not on SES, a weakness of the report. The IOM report on *Unequal Treatment* also looked at factors related to providers of care and argued that providers’ perceptions and, from that, their attitudes toward patients can be influenced by patient race or ethnicity (Smedley et al., 2003).

Federal government focus on these efforts has continued, and much of it is discussed in the Healthy People 2020 publications, much of which is now easily obtainable through United States government websites including access to data from the 2020 objectives (U.S. Department of Health & Human Services, 2019). For the 2020 effort, the report points out that in Healthy People 2000, the goal was to reduce health disparities among Americans, and in Healthy People 2010 the goal was to eliminate, not just reduce, health disparities. By Healthy People 2020, that goal was expanded even further: to achieve health equity, eliminate disparities, and improve the health of all groups. Healthy People 2020 defines

health equity as attaining the highest level of health for all people. In addition, the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention (CDC) is another US federal agency that works on issues of health differences and health disparities in addition to many other concerns about diseases. In a special report they issued in 2011, the agency consolidated the most recent national data available on disparities in mortality, morbidity, behavioral risk factors, health care access, preventive health services, and social determinants of critical health problems in the United States by using selected indicators (Truman et al., 2011).

One of the newest federal government-related efforts to focus on health equity is an effort by the Centers for Medicare & Medicaid Services (CMS). They have collaborated with a wide variety of stakeholders to support work in all three areas of their path to equity: increasing the understanding and awareness of disparities and their causes, developing and disseminating solutions, and implementing sustainable actions. To increase understanding and awareness of disparities, CMS sponsored a special issue of *Health Services Research* (James, 2019) with a goal of contributing to the conversation on health disparities and emphasizing the value of continuing research in this area (Caro, 2019). This is an important new publication to consult related to these concerns.

Beyond the role of the federal government, private foundations such as the Commonwealth Foundation have programs that focus on health differences and health disparities (Commonwealth Fund, 2015). The goals of the Commonwealth Fund's Program on Health Care Disparities are to improve the overall quality of health care delivered to low-income and minority Americans, and to eliminate racial and ethnic health disparities. In addition to issues of health differences and health disparities as many of these reports have examined, another issue related to health disparities has to do with dissatisfaction with the health care system. Recent research that compares the United States with other countries reports that Americans often report low levels of satisfaction and it does not appear to be correlated with per capita health expenditures as it is in many other countries (Hero, Blendon, Zaslavzk, & Campbell, 2016). There is also variation in satisfaction by factors such as income, with greater income associated with greater satisfaction.

UNDERSERVED AND SOCIALLY DISADVANTAGED GROUPS

Many social factors are important in health and health care inequalities. Among the most important factors are aspects of SES such as education, income, and occupation, because these factors often create and shape patterns of disease, patterns of health care utilization, and patterns of inequalities. People who have greater advantages in SES live longer than those without such advantages (Kunst, Feikhe, Mackenbach, & the EU Working Group on Socioeconomic Inequalities in Health, 1998). This is true at the beginning of life in terms of differences in infant mortality as well as across the lifespan (Gortmaker & Wise, 1997). It has also been true across time and is true in many different countries, not just the United States.

More recent research in medical sociology has especially focused on some broader approaches to SES and other social factors, an approach now known as the fundamental cause approach (Link & Phelan, 1995; Link & Phelan, 1996). This is a sociologically based explanation for persistent associations between SES and disease. The argument is that the reason SES is so consistently associated with disease is that resources such as knowledge, money, power, and prestige, all factors embodied in the SES concept, can be used in many different ways and in many different situations to avoid risks for diseases and even death. More socioeconomically advantaged people can better avoid risks and also take up protective strategies to improve health and well-being and can modify these over time to take advantage of new knowledge and approaches in the medical arena. This makes the relationship a dynamic one. If new risk factors emerge, for example, such as lack of exercise or changes in nutritional information, those with the most resources are better able to avoid risks and take advantage of protective factors. The same is true for knowledge about new treatments; the most advantaged people not only often have better health insurance that allows people to use the treatments, but are more likely to learn about the treatments, seek out health providers who familiar with such treatments and be able to pay for the treatment with their own resources if the new treatments are not yet covered by standard health insurance.

Turning away from more theoretical discussions to actual data, the United States government reports have recently been working on ways to create some simpler indicators of such factors as health-related quality of life. They have developed the HALex score which provides one individual-level measure of health-related quality of life (HRQL) that can be used to monitor health status as well as examine inequalities in morbidity across time and groups (Truman et al., 2011). This measure provides a numerical based measure that combines information on self-rated health and activity limitation as reported in nationally representative surveys. The scores on HALex can theoretically range from 1.00 for persons who have no activity limitation and are in excellent health to 0.10 for persons who are limited in activities of daily living (ADL) and are in poor health. For example, a person in excellent health with ADL disabilities is considered as healthy, with an assigned HALex score of 0.47, as is a person in poor health with no disabilities. The average HALex and inequality for HALex among US adults for 1997–2007 is estimated to show a declining trend from 0.8766 in 1997 to 0.8662 in 2007. During the same period, health inequality among individual persons, as measured by the Gini index for HALex, fluctuated, varying from 0.084 to 0.093, and experienced an overall declining trend from 0.093 in 1997 to 0.087 in 2007.

As part of the same research efforts, agencies within the government have been examining the socioeconomic circumstances of persons and the places where they live and work because studies have indicated that these strongly influence their health. The risk for mortality, morbidity, unhealthy behaviors, limited access to health care, and poor quality of care increases with decreasing socioeconomic circumstances. The two most common indicators used are educational attainment and family or household income. To assess disparities in the

prevalence of non-completion of high school and poverty, the CDC analyzed data from the 2005 to 2009 Integrated Public Use Microdata Series – Current Population Survey (IPUMS-CPS). This provides a cross-sectional monthly household survey of a representative sample of the civilian, non-institutionalized US household population and is conducted jointly by the US Census Bureau and the Bureau of Labor Statistics. Group disparities in age-standardized prevalence of non-completion of high school and poverty (poverty income ratio (PIR) <100% of federal poverty level (FPL)) were assessed according to sex, race/ethnicity, age, education, PIR, and disability (Beckles & Truman, 2011). In the 2009 population, statistically significant disparities were identified in non-completion of high school for all characteristics studied. Except for non-Hispanic Asian/Pacific Islander males, the absolute differences between the age-standardized percentages of each non-white racial/ethnic group and non-Hispanic whites who had not completed high school were statistically significant. The degree of racial/ethnic relative disparity varied markedly among the non-white racial/ethnic groups, ranging from three to nine times greater for Hispanics than for other groups. During 2009, the group disparities in poverty observed were similar to those for non-completion of high school. No statistically significant differences were identified between relative disparities in poverty observed for 2005 and 2009.

This section has presented only a small bit of the data linked to social factors and health and health care that is available from US government sources. Because this introduction to this material is in no way comprehensive, these paragraphs are illustrative of the types of information available on CDC and other US government websites such as the Healthy People reports. They are excellent sources for researchers interested in pursuing these topics in greater depth.

Also, previous volumes in this series have presented brief reviews of issues linked to gender and health and health care as well as to race and ethnicity (Kronenfeld, 2012; Kronenfeld, 2015; Kronenfeld, 2016). Consultation of the introductory essays to these volumes will also provide additional information as do the literature review sections of a number of the chapters in this volume.

REVIEW OF CONTENTS OF THE VOLUME

This volume is divided into five parts. The first part is the introduction to this volume and contains only this chapter. The second part is on mental health related issues and contains three chapters, all of which look partially at mental health issues as related to issues of race and ethnicity. The chapter by Bennefield explores mental health pathways for girls of color. The purpose of this study was to examine whether girls of color had more or less social support than their peers and whether that affected their likelihood of experiencing the symptoms of anxiety and depression. Using data from the National Comorbidity Survey, Adolescent Supplement, path analysis found that among adolescents with both low and high SES, girls of color had significantly less family support. Despite this fact, they were not more likely to experience symptoms of anxiety and