Racial and Ethnic Minority Health Disparities in Kansas A Data and Chartbook



April 2005 KHI/R 05-4



Kim S. Kimminau Connie J. Satzler

KANSAS HEALTH INSTITUTE

212 SW Eighth Avenue, Suite 300 • Topeka, Kansas 66603-3936 Telephone (785) 233-5443 • Fax (785) 233-1168 • www.khi.org

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MESSAGE FROM THE GOVERNOR

Almost without exception, the voices of racial and ethnic minorities are muffled in our overarching discussions of health care. Yet these groups almost always must meet distinct and difficult health care challenges. The publication of Racial and Ethnic Minority Health Disparities in Kansas: A Data and Chartbook thus provides cause for both celebration and concern.

We celebrate the investigation of racial and ethnic health disparities by the Kansas Turning Point project with a grant from the Kansas Department of Health and Environment, and the presentation of these important issues in their full social, behavioral, public health and health care contexts. We can also celebrate the hard work underway in many of our communities to ensure that every Kansan has an equal chance to lead a healthy life.

Still, the disparities noted here are shocking, especially in a nation where one dollar in every six goes to pay for health care. We must work together to improve the health of all Kansans, and especially those who systematically receive the least care.

For reforms to work well, we need the best information possible. This report represents one valuable step in a long journey, but it will inform the efforts of all who seek high-quality health care for Kansans of all races and ethnicities.

Kathleen Sebelius Governor of the State of Kansas

FOREWARD

For years, our efforts to address disparities in health status affecting minority Kansans have been hampered by the absence of a summary resource. In 2000, the Kansas Department of Health and Environment asked the Kansas Health Institute to lead an effort to address that deficiency. The Robert Wood Johnson Foundation, through the Kansas Turning Point project, and the Kansas Health Foundation generously provided the financial support for this effort.

Racial and Ethnic Minority Health Disparities in Kansas: A Data and Chartbook and the shorter, companion flipbook titled Minority Health Disparities in Kansas are a set of data tools for population-oriented responses to health disparities at the state and local levels. They are foundation documents of assessment, making more accessible important data about minority health status and pinpointing critical gaps in such data. They are crucial building blocks for assurance, providing guidance to opportunities for institution and improvement of services; they are also invaluable sources for baseline data to evaluate the impact of efforts to reduce health disparities. Finally, all engaged in health policy development and health advocacy efforts should derive great benefit from the existence of this reliable and scientifically rigorous compilation of minority health data that have been assembled from a wide array of sources.

These documents make it clear that there are still many gaps in what we know about the health status of minority Kansans. It is important that we undertake to close those gaps. Such efforts must be built on collaboration with the minority communities of Kansas. The support and involvement of minority communities is essential in order to develop the ability to collect the data that are needed to understand the health needs of minority Kansans and effectively respond to those needs.

The Department of Health and Environment is pleased to have been able to bring this project to a successful outcome, and I am sure that, in partnership with many communities, these materials will be used to help improve the health of our state.

Howard Rodenberg, M.D., M.P.H. Director, Division of Health April 2005

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

Wading into the complex issues of health disparities is filled with challenges that test your perspectives and world view. Throughout this project, the research team tried to remain objective and provide a data and chartbook that would express the authentic voices and perspectives of the Kansas communities experiencing disparities. These communities will judge whether the project team has succeeded in capturing the key issues they feel are important. We sincerely hope they approve of our effort.

The research team would like to thank all those who participated in the Kansas Turning Point project that was supported by grants from the Robert Wood Johnson Foundation and the Kansas Health Foundation. First, our deepest thanks to those who generously donated their time and shared their perspectives through both structured interviews and focus groups conducted across the state. Without your voices and input, this project could not have been completed. In particular, the communities of Garden City, Wichita, and Kansas City shared their resources and wisdom over many months.

Many individuals helped make the project a reality at the Kansas Health Institute, EnVisage Consulting, the Kansas Department of Health and Environment, Division of Health, the University of Kansas School of Medicine – Kansas City, the University of Kansas School of Medicine – Wichita, United Methodist Mexican-American Ministries (Garden City), the Center for Health and Wellness (Wichita), and the Native American Cancer Awareness Council (Kansas City). Each of these organizations has tremendously talented and dedicated staff who shared their work, their ideas and their encouragement throughout the project.

The authors would especially like to thank Michael J. Moser, M.D., FAAP, former Kansas Health Officer, who provided encouragement to the team and supported the use of a participatory research approach. This research process, while not typically used in public health studies, provided the opportunity to understand disparities through the values and experiences of those within our communities who are most familiar with them, and with the underlying causes of disparity and health inequity. Dr. Moser's trust in the research team and the collaboration

between KDHE and KHI which he fostered was a source of strength that allowed the project to take on the shape it needed.

Kim S. Kimminau, Ph.D., led the research team that conducted this study at the Kansas Health Institute, and she is responsible for the content. Interpretations of the data and opinions expressed are solely those of the authors and do not necessarily reflect the opinions of the Kansas Department of Health and Environment, the Kansas Health Institute, funding agencies or other partners involved in the project.

The authors regret including any mistakes or factual errors, and they take full responsibility for them. We know that the support from an excellent production team (Pam Clay, Cathy McNorton, Emily Lubliner and Marc Velasco) as well as the talent of our editors, Jan Sokoloff Harness and Ken DeSieghardt, greatly reduced our "error rate." Challenging ideas – confronting difficult issues and closely examining the sources of disparities in Kansas – are included, and the authors take pride in that accomplishment.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Message from the Governor	3
Foreword	4
Acknowledgments	5
List of Tables and Figures	9
Executive Summary	10
Introduction	13
Kansas Turning Point Initiative	16
Participatory research	18
Definition of health and social determinants	20
What is race?	23
Background on the use of race and ethnicity	23
Discrimination and racism	26
Race and health	31
Ethnicity and health	32
What are disparities?	38
Kansas community perspectives on what causes health disparities	40
Kansas community perspectives – Garden City	52
Kansas community perspectives – Wichita	56
Kansas community perspectives – Kansas City, Kansas	61
Data findings	65
General minority health characteristics	65
Characteristics of Kansas Asians and Pacific Islanders	68
Characteristics of Kansas Native Americans	71
Characteristics of Kansas African Americans	75
Characteristics of Kansas Hispanics/Latinos	80
Disease-specific health disparities	84
Cancer	84
Diabetes	86
HIV/AIDS	89
Immunizations	90

Cardiovascular disease	91
Maternal and child health	93
Mental health	95
Key issues of causality	97
Socioeconomic factors	97
Health services	97
Quality	102
Geography	103
Policy issues for Kansas	105
A policy framework	105
Policy actions that would build the state's infrastructure	107
References	119

LIST OF TABLES AND FIGURES

Figure 1. Community-Based Model for Health Improvement	.20
Table 1. Select U.S. Census Categories, 1790-2000	.23
Table 2. U.S. Census Categories, 2000	.25
Figure 2. Percent of Patients Who Felt Looked Down Upon/Treated with Disrespect by	
Their Doctors	.30
Figure 3. Folk Medicine	.37
Figure 4. Relation of Per Capita Group Membership in United States to Age Adjusted	
Total Mortality	.44
Figure 5. Diabetes Indicators for ZIP Code 67214 and Sedgwick County by Race	.88
Table 3. Number and Percent of Nonfederal Physicians by Race for Kansas and the	
U.S	.113

"From the minute of my birth – no, from the minute of my conception – I was disadvantaged and trying to catch up and I didn't even know it." – African American participant in the Kansas Turning Point project

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

Racial and ethnic minorities in Kansas are disadvantaged. The data reveal pervasive disparities in healthcare, in education, in employment, in housing – the interwoven list goes on and on.

The Kansas Turning Point project, funded by the Robert Wood Johnson Foundation and the Kansas Health Foundation, provided an opportunity for discussions of minority health and disparities with community residents and leaders across the state. We heard from African Americans in Wichita, concerned about diabetic relatives with no health insurance. We talked with Asians and Latinos in Garden City about the challenges of communicating with health professionals who only speak English. We listened as Native Americans in Kansas City expressed their personal hopelessness and their despair over children turning to alcohol and drugs.

The data collected by KHI and others reveal that each minority group in Kansas has a unique profile of health and disease. Our state results resemble national findings on racial and ethnic health disparities, and identify distinct problems that must be addressed, including:

- Kansas Native Americans die sooner than others from diabetes and report higher rates of risk behaviors that lead to injury and death
- Kansas African Americans have higher infant mortality, die sooner than others from cancer and diabetes, and often die from avoidable causes, such as homicide
- Kansas Asians and Pacific Islanders may be reluctant to submit to certain health screening tests and are, therefore, at risk for late detection of some diseases
- Kansas Latinos have the lowest rate of seeking early prenatal care and have the lowest educational attainment rates, a known predictor for poor health outcomes later in life

The problems of minority health disparities in Kansas are an echo of what is happening nationally. Although there have been initiatives throughout federal agencies and in many states, and support from national philanthropies, little improvement has been detected over the past 10 years since minority health disparities became a focus of attention.

One goal for the Racial and Ethnic Minority Health Disparities in Kansas: A Data and Chartbook was to organize data for use by communities seeking local change. Many times, the community leaders we spoke with lamented their inability to access available data on populations of color in their areas. They wanted to fully understand their community's health needs, rather than operate from stereotypes and assumptions.

A second goal was to identify issues that affect our ability to measure and monitor health disparities across the state for policymakers. As important as the data are, it's also important that many data are missing. For example, we do not know the major causes of hospitalization for Native Americans, Asians or Pacific Islanders, or the cancer statistics for Hispanics/Latinos. If our state wants to ensure the health of all citizens, these missing data make the job for public health, medical and social services much tougher. How can we be surprised that disparities exist when we cannot accomplish the prerequisite monitoring necessary to serve the health of the public effectively?

As alarming as these disparities are, they can be addressed. The prescription is action:

- 1. Encourage better and more consistent data
- 2. Monitor health conditions
- 3. Develop minority-targeted health programs
- 4. Improve the workforce
- 5. Establish an office of minority health
- 6. Build accountability
- 7. Support communities

Why take action now? Kansas has a window of opportunity to establish minority health as a priority, knowing that our population demographics will continue to change dramatically. Why take action at all? Certainly, there are health system financial benefits for eliminating disparities, but the need for action goes far beyond that. Disparity is a quality-of-life issue. No matter what our race or ethnicity, disparities impact our schools, our jobs, our neighbors and our communities. Minority health needs speak out in this report. It is time for all of us to give it the attention it deserves.

"We shall not cease from exploration And the end of all our exploring Will be to arrive where we started And know the place for the first time." – T.S. Eliot

INTRODUCTION

Disparities. Unequal treatment. Inequality. Discrimination. Conscious bias that may extend all the way to prejudice. These words from the Institute of Medicine's (IOM) 2002 seminal work, "Unequal Treatment: Confronting Racial and Ethnic Disparities in Healthcare" (Smedley, Stith, & Nelson, 2002) describe what we currently know and is documented related to differences in health among racial and ethnic groups. This book, published while we were conducting the Kansas Turning Point Minority Health Disparities project, provides a comprehensive view of disparities relevant to healthcare delivery at the national level. The principle findings from this and many other published works since then include the following:

- 1. Racial and ethnic disparities in healthcare exist and, because they are associated with worse outcomes in many cases, are unacceptable.
- 2. Racial and ethnic disparities in healthcare occur in the context of broader historic and contemporary social and economic inequality, and there is evidence of persistent racial and ethnic discrimination in many sectors of American life.
- 3. Many sources including health systems, healthcare providers, patients and utilization managers – may contribute to racial and ethnic disparities in healthcare.
- 4. Bias, stereotyping, prejudice and clinical uncertainty on the part of healthcare providers may contribute to racial and ethnic disparities in healthcare. While indirect evidence from several lines of research supports this statement, a greater understanding of the prevalence and influence of these processes is needed and should be sought through research.
- 5. A small number of studies suggest that racial and ethnic minority patients are more likely than white patients to refuse treatment. These studies find that differences in refusal rates are generally small and that minority patient refusal does not fully explain healthcare disparities.

These key findings are presented in a comprehensive summary, but they only address *healthcare* disparities; a discussion of these disparities, along with others identified during the course of the Kansas Turning Point project, will be included as we examine why race and ethnicity have a role in health.

The *National Healthcare Disparities Report* (NHDR) (Agency for Healthcare Research and Quality, 2003) was released in 2003. The objective of the report was to help policymakers and researchers discern the areas of greatest need regarding health disparities, monitor trends over time, and identify successful programs for addressing those needs. It is different from the IOM report in that *Unequal Treatment* extensively documents healthcare disparities, while the NHDR examines the breadth of the problem from a national perspective. NHDR includes analysis of disparities, with particular attention to the impact of socioeconomic position, race and ethnicity on health. Importantly, the report provides baseline findings for use in measuring the effectiveness of national disparities reduction initiatives over time.

The findings of the NHDR reinforce the findings in the IOM report. Seven key points were identified to improve health services for all populations:

- 1. Inequity in quality persists
- 2. Disparities come at a personal and societal price
- 3. Differential access may lead to disparities in quality
- 4. Opportunities to provide preventive care are frequently missed
- 5. Knowledge of why disparities exist is limited
- 6. Improvement is possible
- 7. Data limitations hinder targeted improvement efforts

The NHDR report demonstrated that "racial, ethnic and socioeconomic disparities are national problems that affect healthcare at all points in the process, at all sites of care, and for all medical conditions – disparities are pervasive in our healthcare system" (Agency for Healthcare Research and Quality, 2003, p. 5).

Racial and Ethnic Minority Health Disparities in Kansas: A Data and Chartbook is modeled in the spirit of the NHDR. The hope of the Kansas Turning Point project is to provide a comprehensive baseline of measures relevant to state improvement initiatives. This Data and Chartbook is organized into two principal sections. The first section covers a variety of topics including the history of race and ethnicity in health statistics, a summary of national data sources on existing disparities, and community perspectives on the causes and effects of health disparities. Health characteristics of each major minority population in Kansas are included, along with a focus on disparities by major disease conditions. Key issues of causality, including socioeconomic factors, access to health services, quality issues and geographic factors, are then followed by a section on policy implications and recommendations. This section of the material was authored by Kim S. Kimminau, Ph.D., the principal investigator for this project.

Appendices in the second section present the data gathered throughout the project. Eight separate appendices provide both summary data-at-a-glance findings as well as data at the state, population density, and/or county level when available. Topics include demographics, housing, crime, education and health behaviors. This section of the Data and Chartbook was organized and written under the direction of Dr. Kimminau by Connie J. Satzler, M.S., and her staff at EnVisage Consulting, with contributions by Barbara J. LaClair, Cheng-Chung Huang and Jeff Alvarez of the Kansas Health Institute.

An additional Appendix section, "Minority Health Community Training Materials" includes presentations shared during the community data training activities, an additional phase of the Turning Point project. The authors of documents in this section are identified on each presentation title slide and include Kim Kimminau, Charlie Hunt, Henri Menager, Connie Satzler, Angelia Paschal and Barbara Starrett.

A glossary of terms, technical notes on how the team handled the data and reported them, a listing of web-based resources on minority health and disparities, and a selected bibliography complete the components of the *Data and Chartbook*.

KANSAS TURNING POINT INITIATIVE

The Turning Point Initiative was created by the Robert Wood Johnson Foundation (RWJF) and the W.K. Kellogg Foundation (WKKF) in 1994, with an initial group of 14 state-level grantees funded by RWJF and 41 community-level grantees funded by WKKF. The purpose of the Turning Point Initiative was to:

- Sponsor and create an environment where state agencies and organizations and their community partners could plan collaboratively to analyze the issues and challenges related to public health systems improvements and link those to health status improvement.
- 2. Develop a strategic planning document that would communicate the state of the public health system and identify ways to address gaps in system capacity.
- 3. Highlight strategies that will sustain a public health workforce and improve information systems.
- 4. Establish a network of public health partners who would contribute to an agenda that addresses issues of public health importance such as eliminating disparities, increasing access to care, preventing infectious disease, reducing chronic disease and protecting the public from hazards and toxins in the environment (Berkowitz & Thompson, 2000).

Kansas was a state grant recipient in 1998. The initial funding focused on supporting statewide activities and the collaborative "Governor's Public Health Improvement Commission." The first-phase outcome of Turning Point was the production of a thorough assessment and a summary document highlighting gaps in a broad set of areas relevant to public health and public health infrastructure. Minority health was identified as a gap area. Participants in the Governor's Public Health Improvement Commission process recognized that insufficient data on health disparities created a probable barrier for public health improvement for the state overall and specifically for racial and ethnic minority communities.

Additional support through the Turning Point Initiative and by the Kansas Health Foundation spurred the development of the Minority Health Disparities project represented by this *Data and Chartbook*. The goals of the Minority Health Disparities Turning Point project were to:

- 1. Collect and organize available health and other data relevant to minority populations in the state.
- 2. Engage community partners in identifying their concerns and areas of need in providing public health services to their minority communities.
- 3. **Inform** the development of state-specific Healthy People 2010 goals.

An additional component of the Turning Point project was expanded during the grant period. It included a community data training project, designed to help community members who work with minority Kansans understand public health concepts, how to use available data, and how to display and communicate information about their programs and services. These materials are included as a separate Appendix (Appendix I).

The Kansas Turning Point project turned to communities across the state in an effort to better understand whether and how nationally identified patterns of disparities were playing out at the state and local levels. While Kansas' population continues to be characterized by a white majority, the state's racial and ethnic populations have both a long history and a growing presence in virtually every county. Given that, do racial and ethnic minorities in Kansas share the disparities in health status, access to healthcare, and other health issues that have been documented nationally? Or, are Kansans different? If disparities in health do exist here, how do they compare to national patterns?

To address these questions, race and ethnicity data had to be gathered and evaluated so that an evidence-based assessment could be made. No single source of information had been developed to evaluate disparities at the state level, so the Turning Point project was identified as a critical component for the state to move forward on the issue. The cornerstone of the project is this Data and Chartbook that, for the first time, integrates the available information for communities, leaders and policymakers in the state. This project provides one place to access data relevant to ethnic and racial minorities in the state, and serves as a tool for community planning and data interpretation. Finally, the project included a goal of identifying gaps in the data available on minority health.

PARTICIPATORY RESEARCH

A participatory research approach was used for the health disparities project. Participatory research is defined as "systematic inquiry, with the collaboration of those affected by the issue being studied, for purposes of education and taking action or effecting change" (Frankish, George, Daniel, Doyle Waters, & Walker, 1997). A principle tenet of this model is that the most authentic and realistic picture of any issue relevant to communities is best identified through a collaborative, community-focused process. If communities – and those ultimately impacted by the product of research – help shape the research, the resulting knowledge must be more relevant than if it was conducted without their influence and voice. In addition, the product of knowledge gained through community research should be put directly back into the hands of those who generated it. Meaningful action and change can grow out of the process, because communities are intimately linked to the results and believe in their veracity, and elements of the system that are ready to change can take action with the inherent support of those who will be affected.

Participatory research is not value-free. Our ways of making interpretations (including doing research) always are influenced by our social and cultural systems; these elements are an inescapable fact of our social nature, and our research is mediated to a large extent by our personal history and tradition, and by the culture of our times, by what we see and read. Participatory researchers are not only aware of this phenomenon, they are convinced that validating or challenging research findings is best accomplished by collaborating *with* those with whom they are doing the research. The difference is fundamental – participatory research requires collaboration and a collective discovery process. Communities are not studied *per se*, but rather are collaborators in the investigatory process.

Participatory research has grown out of recognition that unequal relationships relative to knowledge perpetuate divisiveness. Inequality in access to information, the tools to understand data, and in the development of research data itself alienates the elite "researchers" and their research "subjects." These very terms, researcher and subject, exemplify the unequal power position inherent in research. "Truth" is not the privilege of trained experts. Decisions based on "expert" knowledge that affect ordinary people deny the rationality of individual citizens and

their life experiences (Sohng, 1995). Specialists tend to dominate the debate concerning issues of public interest, because ordinary people are unable to enter the "scientized" debate: They lack the technical terminology and specialized language needed (Habermas, 1979).

This project brings the input of communities forward in the discussion of health disparities. Summaries of their comments and concerns are included along with the peer-reviewed literature. Community impressions gained during interviews, focus groups and through other ethnographic approaches are shared in the hope that these perspectives will connect the realities of minority Kansans with the data of minority Kansans. The project team believes participatory research can build alliances among those who will make choices, shape action and create change. We have much to gain by critically engaging the theory and practice of participatory research as we face the challenge of health disparities.

A community-based model for health improvement was used throughout the project, and is represented in Figure 1. Central to the model is that communities "drive" the process of longterm outcomes and health improvement. The Kansas Turning Point project approach to communities was to listen to their interests and concerns, attempt to understand their shared vision, and then assess the role of health data in helping them achieve their goals.

Shared Vision Corrective/ Strategy **Adaptive Behavior** Long Term Outcomes Community Health Focus Access Community Accountability Cost Managing with Fixed Resources Quality Seamless Continuum of Care **Health Status** Monitoring and **Implementation Evaluation** Steps/Plans

Figure 1. Community-Based Model for Health Improvement

Source: Public-Private Partnerships to Improve Health Care. Health Research and Educational Trust. http://www.hret.org/hret/programs/content/CCNevalreport.pdf

DEFINITION OF HEALTH AND SOCIAL DETERMINANTS

Health is a state of complete physical, mental and social well-being and not merely the absence of disease or infirmity (World Health Organization, 1946). This definition has not been revised since 1948, when the World Health Organization defined health by including the *positive* aspects of health. It is interesting that no revision has occurred, given the tremendous change in human genomics, greater understanding of the etiology of disease, and the broader adoption of the fundamental role of social factors in influencing health.

For this report, defining health from the communities' perspective frequently included a broad range of issues that some would consider "non-health" related dimensions. Focus group participants cited adequate employment, a working wage, supportive family (specifically living near relatives), being a member of a vibrant religious community, and high-quality childcare and educational resources for children as contributing to health. Without these community features,

participants felt their health would be diminished or threatened, and that their children would be less likely to thrive. This finding was not prompted by the presentation of a social determinants approach to health. Rather, communities identified, in very straightforward ways, their implicit understanding that health is a holistic concept involving social, emotional and spiritual health in addition to biological aspects of health.

Throughout this project, we approached the topic of racial and ethnic disparities within the framework of a broad definition of health using a social determinants approach. Simply stated, "social determinants of health" means that lifestyles, and the conditions in which people work and live, are believed to have a strong influence on their health. These determinants have individual, social, economic, cultural, environmental and service factors. This field has emerged from the intersection between social and behavioral sciences, and medicine. An Internet search for the term "social determinants of health" reveals more than 300,000 websites or links, and there is a vast body of published literature on the subject.

While this research area has grown dramatically over the past 20 years, most studies remain largely descriptive, lacking both standards of scientific rigor and sophisticated measurement techniques present in other fields. These deficits result in many considering social determinants of health as an "emerging" field that has yet to identify quantitative contributions of various social and behavioral factors to health. Precisely because social and behavioral factors are so difficult to measure quantitatively, and because they are synergistic, teasing out their relative contributions to any measure of health is challenging. This relationship has been described as a complex system of reciprocal feedback loops, and the causal pathways crisscross disciplinary boundaries and loop back in positive and negative feedbacks. All in all, the measurement challenge to identify root causes exceeds the limits of epidemiology as we know it today. If measurement techniques were sophisticated enough to allow for modeling the impact of policy decisions, adopting effective interventions, and determining the kinds of investment needed to produce a positive health change, the effects would be enormous. This potential holds great promise for the future of social determinants. It is disappointing that at this point in time, many social determinants of health studies rest their findings and interpretations on descriptive

statistics and correlations, neither of which assist in understanding causality or the contributory impact of various factors on health outcomes.

Even with these shortcomings, studies that seek to understand the influence of socioeconomic status, access to healthcare and other resources, education, the effects of racism and segregation, and living and occupational conditions play a critical role in understanding disparities. Communities across the state were somewhat aware of the evidence regarding medical treatment inequality; however, all of them recognized that disparities are perpetuated by fundamental social and behavioral factors. Without addressing these root causes, the outcome of recognizing disparities among the various sources of data available will be of little long-term impact, in their view.

WHAT IS RACE?

BACKGROUND ON THE USE OF RACE AND ETHNICITY

The use of ethnic and racial categories has a long history, and is embedded in the earliest development of American health statistics. Race in particular has long had a federal role by being used for representational apportionment through the 1840s by the U.S. Census. As was typical of the time from the 1790s through the 1840s, races were typological, static and reflected political and social position more than anything remotely biological in nature (see Table 1).

Table 1. Select U.S. Census Categories, 1790-2000			
Year	Racial Categories		
1790	Free White Males; White Females; All Other Persons; Slaves		
1820	Free White Males; Free White Females; Free Colored Persons; All Other Persons except Indians Not Taxed; Slaves		
1840	Free White Persons; Free Colored Persons; Slaves		
1880	White; Black; Mulatto; Chinese; Indian		
1920	White; Black; Mulatto; Indian; Chinese; Japanese; Filipino; Hindu; Korean; Other (plus write in)		
1960	White; Negro; American Indian; Japanese; Chinese; Filipino; Hawaiian; Korean; Other (print race)		
1980	White; Negro or Black; Japanese; Chinese; Filipino; Korean; Vietnamese; American Indian; Asian Indian; Hawaiian, Guamanian; Other Asian Pacific Islander; Other Race		
1990	White; Black or Negro; American Indian; Eskimo; Aleut; Chinese; Filipino; Hawaiian; Korean; Vietnamese; Japanese; Asian Indian; Samoan; Guamanian; Other Asian Pacific Islander, Other		
2000	White; Black, African American or Negro; American Indian or Alaska Native; Asian Indian, Chinese; Filipino; Japanese; Korean; Vietnamese; Native Hawaiian; Guamanian or Chamorro; Samoan; Other Asian; Other Pacific Islander; Some other race (print race)		

Racial theory advanced in the 1850s with the publication of Darwin's On the Origin of Species and the development of the theory of natural selection to explain natural diversity. Social determinists quickly took up natural selection and gave rise to the notion of social races – those of higher class and standing were innately superior to those of lower socioeconomic class. This misuse of the notion of survival of the fittest, and the inappropriate application of "fitness" to social and economic success rather than success at leaving offspring, continues even today.

In a direct way, the U.S. Census and the census-taking process continued to build racial theory. The Census developed ways in which human variation, as reflected in phenotypically (observable) racial characteristics, would be classified and organized. This structure informed how these groupings would be used for a wide variety of datasets, including ones relevant to health. Racial taxonomies continually change under the influence of social, political and migration events, such as the 1880s' inclusion of "Chinese" or that of "Hawaiians" in 1960. From the 1930s through the 1960s, a number of pivotal changes occurred. The biological race concept was defeated among academics and replaced with recognition that biological variability is continuous. U.S. minority populations were on the rise; the nation was increasingly diverse, with larger numbers of immigrants. The civil rights movement emerged, and a growing national focus on social equality gained acceptance.

From the 1970s through the most recent census taken in 2000, racial categories again were changed. The federal Office of Management and Budget (OMB) governs the statistical reporting by all federal agencies with respect to race and ethnicity. In 1994, OMB formed the Interagency Committee for the Review of Racial and Ethnic Standards, and in 1977, OMB released Statistical Directive No. 15. This Directive established that "Hispanic" was an ethnic and not a racial category, and that in cases of self-identification, individuals should choose the category that "most closely reflects the individual's recognition in his community." For the first time in U.S. Census history, in 2000, respondents could choose more than one race on their census schedules, selecting from five racial groups and 15 categories. Furthermore, there was no single, multiracial category choice. The five principle categories include: White, Black or African American, American Indian or Alaska Native, Asian, Native Hawaiian or Other Pacific Islander (see Table 2).

Throughout the text section of *Racial and Ethnic Minority Health Disparities in Kansas: A Data and Chartbook*, the terms black and African American are used interchangeably, as are the terms Hispanic and Latino. Throughout the text section, the term "white" refers to non-Hispanic whites. Throughout the appendices, the choice of racial and ethnic terms used reflects the terminology used in the *source* for the data presented. Finally, Asians, Native Hawaiians and Other Pacific Islanders are combined because of their small population size in the state.

Table 2. U.S. Census Categories, 2000			
Racial Category	Racial Grouping		
White	White		
Black, African American	Black, African American		
American Indian or Alaska Native	American Indian or Alaska Native		
Asian Indian	Asian		
Chinese	Asian		
Filipino	Asian		
Japanese	Asian		
Korean	Asian		
Vietnamese	Asian		
Other Asian	Asian		
Native Hawaiian	Native Hawaiian or Other Pacific Islander		
Guamanian or Chamorro	Native Hawaiian or Other Pacific Islander		
Samoan	Native Hawaiian or Other Pacific Islander		
Other Pacific Islander	Native Hawaiian or Other Pacific Islander		
Some Other Race (print race)			

Source: Office of Management and Budget. Revisions to the Standards for the Classification of Federal Data on Race and Ethnicity. Federal Register 1997;52(210). Available at http://www.whitehouse.gov/omb/fedreg/ombdir15.html.

Census categories historically have included a broad array of racial, population, religious, ethnic and geopolitical classifications, and been revised to reflect current needs (i.e., political, social, ethnic) for categorization. Quite simply, race has long been used as a social category and not a biological one.

Social dimensions of race are evident when each group is examined closely. African Americans, for example, come from many societies, including many from the African continent, and from the English-, French-, Dutch-, Portuguese-, and Spanish-speaking nations of the Americas and Caribbean. Because of their skin color, society tends to aggregate them into the African American category, even though their ethnicities may be very different. The same holds true of Hispanics/Latinos – many different cultures with unique beliefs, family structures,

medical models, dietary patterns and more – are bundled together with a single ethnicity designation.

Social and behavioral scientists have been active at both ends of the argument when it comes to race. The early development and application of taxonomic principles to human variation was championed by some in these disciplines, and later the charge to dismiss the use of race altogether as an explanatory factor was also accomplished by these individuals. While the biological basis for differences we observe clearly results from a set of biological processes, linking the genetic and phenotypic (observable) expressions of these traits to health is not entirely possible. Advances in human genetic research have already identified links between various genetic characteristics and certain illnesses or health conditions. However, the precise mapping of genetic-to-outcome linkage has yet to be widely established. This observation does not dismiss the need to understand the ways in which race has influenced population health; it could make such study even more important. Whether or not a particular racial or ethnic group has genetic or biological characteristics that predispose them to certain health risks, or whether their membership in a particular racial or ethnic group influences external factors that predispose them to the same risks becomes more of an argument of root cause and not relevant to dealing with the health outcome itself.

DISCRIMINATION AND RACISM

In light of historic forces that have disadvantaged groups of individuals based on either their ethnicity or on their race (skin color), or both, these same categorizations have been used to mitigate the effects through programs like affirmative action. Race and one of its consequences, racism, has led to calls for social justice that require the recognition of race, even in light of the evidence that it does not have a biological basis and that it is more a relevant social construct than a biological marker.

Racism is the belief that some races are superior to others, and the exercise of discrimination based on that belief (McNeilly Dominguez et al., 1996). One model for understanding the insidious impact of racial stereotyping and racism is provided by Camara Phyllis Jones. Jones argues that race precisely captures the social classification of people in our society, and she and

others suggest that race-associated differences in health are due to the effects of racism (Jones, 2000; Krieger, Rowley, Herman, Avery, & Phillips, 1993).

Institutionalized, personally mediated, and internalized racism form a triumvirate that grips our contemporary culture. Institutionalized racism forms the framework where differential access to core, high-quality resources – such as the best educational systems, neighborhoods, environments, and employment opportunities – are limited to those who have historically controlled political and social power. With institutionalized racism, systemic and pervasive impacts permeate or influence social, political and environmental dimensions of society.

Personally mediated racism represents those behaviors expressed on an individual-toindividual basis which display disrespect, prejudice or discrimination based on race. Personally mediated racism generally focuses on skin color, but it can be based on ethnicity – a person's native language, culture, etc. This is the outward manifestation of ethnocentrism and a world view that permits individuals to treat others with a lack of respect and to devalue, dehumanize and be suspicious of those who are "different." The general population is shocked when cases of personally mediated racism are revealed. The case of Susan Smith of Union, South Carolina, is one recent example that documents such racism. Smith, a white woman, was convicted of murdering her two sons by driving them into a lake and drowning them after she initially attempted to blame their deaths on a black man. She described a scene of being stopped at a red light, forced to drive off at gunpoint, being able to get out of the car three or four miles down the road and having the driver leave the scene with her 3-year-old and 14-month-old sons still inside. She described the driver as "a black male in his late 20s to 30s, wearing a plaid shirt, jeans and a toboggan-type hat" (Brooke, 1994). This is an example of scapegoating which fuels racism and uses stereotypes to blame others.

Internalized racism is defined as acceptance by members of the stigmatized races of negative messages about their own abilities and intrinsic worth (Jones, 2000). This results in accepting – most often unconsciously – lower expectations and a self-imposed disenfranchisement of privileges. People suffering from internal racism might fail to vote or drop out of school; this

type of racism creates a personal burden of resignation and helplessness.

Throughout the Turning Point project, participants told stories that highlighted internalized racism. For example, some Native American Kansans revealed their sense of hopelessness for a healthy life for themselves, but fervently hoped they could do something to "save the next generation"; they wanted to target the reduction of health disparities in their children to spare them the negative health outcomes from which they were suffering. This community also recognized the resilience of their spirits and will; even while carrying the burden of internalized racism, they were cognizant of their power to influence the next generation.

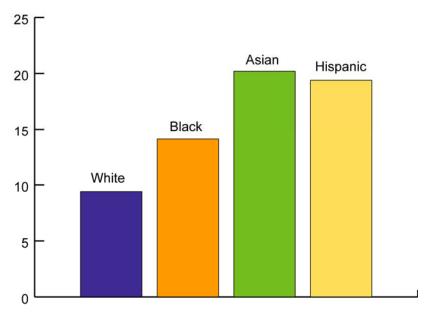
By whatever process, unconscious bias or through overt prejudice, the impact of race has a number of influencing effects on health. The Institute of Medicine's report, *Unequal Treatment* finds that there is a range of patient-level, provider-level and system-level factors that may be directly involved in healthcare disparities. For example, patient-level factors included minorities refusing recommended services or adhering poorly to treatment regimens. Provider-level factors, such as providers not always treating patients with comparable conditions in the same way, leads to what the IOM report called "clinical encounter disparities." System-level factors included language and cultural barriers between patients and sources of care. These, and other "care process-level variables" might be operating from the delivery side of medical care, and in each case, they are influenced by a set of social and historic constraints related to racial attitudes and behaviors.

A relatively new hypothesis regarding racism's direct impact on health is that it contributes to stress. Stress produced because of racism can be expressed on an individual level (internalized feelings of low self-esteem or worth), community level (concentrations of racial populations in impoverished neighborhoods with inadequate housing or with exposure to environmental risks) and on a larger scale (unequal distribution of resources in society). In a study conducted among African American women, 50 percent reported being discriminated against some of the time in public (Vines et al., 2004). At least 83 percent reported that blacks are 1) watched more closely than other workers and have their work scrutinized more often; 2) hired at a lower grade or starting salary and 3) followed or watched more closely when shopping. Fifty-seven percent of

the more than 450 participants reported an experience with racism, and 26 percent described the experience as very stressful. At least 60 percent reported being very concerned about their children getting poor instruction in school, being harassed by police, getting stopped in white neighborhoods, being punished more harshly, being discouraged from trying things and having fewer choices. Racism's subtle and overt influence is likely expressed on a continuum, from modest impact to direct health factors, such as stress, that are associated with poor health and health outcomes.

Minorities are significantly more likely than whites to report being looked down upon or disrespected in patient-provider relationships (Figure 2) (Blanchard & Lurie, 2004). Researchers cite both race and language as reasons why minorities felt they were treated unfairly; minorities also felt they would have received better care had they belonged to another race. Men were more likely than women to report feeling disrespected by doctors. Those without a college education were more likely to believe they had been treated with disrespect. One important corollary to these findings is that respondents who report negative experiences with providers were also less likely to get appropriate and necessary care. When care is delivered in an environment that seems unwelcoming or even hostile, avoidance is a natural response. For health issues that require treatment, follow-up and monitoring, such avoidance may result in poorer outcomes.

Figure 2. Percent of Patients Who Felt They Were Looked Down Upon/Treated with Disrespect by Their Doctors



Source: J. Blanchard and N. Lurie (2004)

Recent studies document the persistence of discrimination, particularly for African Americans (Cose, 1993), but Hispanics and Asian Americans also experience it (Kim & Lewis, 1994; Telles & Murgia, 1990). The 1995 Detroit Area Study (DAS) assessed major experiences of discrimination without reference to ethnicity or race. This design component allowed for the separate assessment of racial discrimination from that based on other social factors. While a recent study documented a relatively low level of discrimination (11 percent of respondents reported that they or a family member had been treated badly because of race) (Williams & Chung, 1997), the DAS found that routine discourtesies – receiving poorer service than others in restaurants, being treated as if you're not smart, being called names – may result in stress and have other psychosocial impacts. How individuals respond to discrimination and manage it is an area of little scientific investigation. Many, however, believe that the ways individuals handle such stressors have indirect and direct effects on their cardiovascular health and mental health, and that these accommodations vary by individual, by gender and by race.

These findings, and many others in the literature, document that our society's standards regarding race have substantial impact on many aspects of our daily lives. These impacts are expressed in many different forms, including some with a direct health cost and others that contribute to environmental conditions which have high, indirect costs on health.

RACE AND HEALTH

Researchers frequently use race as a variable in medical and health services research. This challenge has not stopped researchers from using a classificatory system that includes a discrete variable which is imprecise and largely biologically irrelevant. What results is a form of biological determinism built on the assumption that identified differences have a genetic origin. A contemporary rationale for the inclusion of race rests not as much on expecting race to identify underlying biological reasons for variation captured in a research study, but on using it as a proxy for relevant social, behavioral and perhaps biological factors that influence the condition under study. Often, race is included as an independent variable in a multivariate model of health. The hope is that it will explain, in a statistical sense, some level of the variance measured. In cases where race partially "explains" the pattern of relationships identified in the multivariate model, what does that tell the researcher? What should it tell all of us? The imprecision of what race actually represents – perhaps some set of predisposing behavioral conditions, perhaps something genetic or biologic – yields a particularly unsatisfying result. When race does explain part of the variance, we lack the ability to target interventions in any meaningful way. For example, what aspect of the racial experience could be modified to improve the opportunities of racial populations to achieve more positive health outcomes?

This line of discussion argues for the irrelevance of race in health services research. The use of race does, however, deserve attention. Most frequently, race is a classificatory tool that identifies individuals based on one dimension of expressed, biological variation – skin color. The important health factor is whether skin color influences how an individual or group is treated within the social and medical system. The definition of race is rarely made explicit by researchers, likely reflecting their reluctance to write about a subject they have little training in or feel is too volatile to discuss. Fear of offending sensibilities has pushed our society into not discussing race at all. The field of health services research will not move forward in providing

dynamic and multilevel explanations of health and disease causality until researchers disclose exactly what they mean by the classificatory systems of race they use.

Even when researchers statistically control for educational attainment and other socioeconomic factors, hypertension is frequently thought to have a significant genetic component for African Americans. The weakness of this argument is that it is fundamentally reductionistic: critical psychosocial aspects of lifelong experiences resulting from racial differences are not taken into account. Even though this weakness has been cogently presented (Cooper & Rotimi, 1994)), many articles continue to be written that link assumed genetic factors with the higher incidence of hypertension among African Americans.

When racial differences are observed, providing an interpretation of the finding is necessary, but rarely done. Race and ethnicity (shared behaviors due to common ancestry and social ties) may sometimes explain the pattern(s) within or between group differences. For example, dietary preferences typical in a particular region may account for obesity or cardiovascular disease risk. For example, the "Southern" diet may impact Southern African Americans differently than African Americans who live in the Northeast. Race expressed as biological variability/skin color may reflect opportunities or barriers experienced due to differential access to high-quality educational institutions. Education might be the underlying cause for differences correlated with health knowledge and disease prevention awareness.

Whatever the pathway, we must explain the nature of the influence of race on health. It is insufficient to use race as part of a multivariate model, reduce and explain some level of the variance within the model by race, and then not provide for a model or pathway by which race has had its influence.

ETHNICITY AND HEALTH

Ethnicity suffers the same fate as race as a concept in many health studies. Ethnicity is defined here as a set of traditions, behaviors, common history, social practices, religion or belief system, and other components of shared, group social behavior. Although not explicitly defined or delimited, characterizations of health risk sometimes are explained with the term "ethnicity."

Many different groups are represented in the summary level category labeled Hispanic/Latino. Individuals may share a language (Spanish, Portuguese) or share ancestral ties to Spain or countries of Latin America. By the 1930 U.S. Census, a new category was added to the race/color question that gave formal acceptance to using Mexican nationality for race (Hayes-Bautista & Chapa, 2002). Within 10 years, the Census reversed itself and directed that Mexicans were to be listed as white unless they were Indian or of some other non-white racial group. The resulting confusion has led to individuals of different nationalities, languages, cultures and races being grouped together as Hispanic/Latino over time.

In the United States, "Hispanic" is the only currently recognized ethnicity at the federal level. The OMB Directive 15 recognized "Hispanic" as an ethnicity in 1977, and individuals now are directed to select their ethnicity as "Hispanic" or "Not Hispanic" in a separate U.S. Census question that does not refer to race.

Surnames, birthplace and the Spanish language have each been used to classify Latinos over the years. The lack of clarity has led to many different classifications – one person or group may be included or excluded, depending on which factors define the classification. Currently, the least objectionable term for these populations is "Latino," collectively representing individuals who share a Latin American affiliation. The label "Hispanic" used throughout the appendices of this material maintains an association between the data and the label used in the data source, and it was the most common term applied in most cases. It is important to recognize that the use of "Latino" based primarily on nationality will "reshuffle" populations previously grouped together. For example, if the term is limited to those who were born in a Latin American country, it would include non-Hispanic Latin Americans such as Brazilians or Guyanese and would exclude Spanish, Portuguese, Cape Verdean and Filipino individuals. This is particularly important when attempting to compare health statistics over periods when the classification parameters changed.

A major challenge in understanding the impact of ethnicity on health is that the choices of race and ethnicity are not necessarily culturally relevant or understood at the individual **or community levels.** Frequently, both or at least one of these data fields are left incomplete.

Those who choose the ethnicity category "Hispanic" are most likely to leave the "Race" category blank, believing their definitions of race and their personal identity are best captured with the use of ethnicity alone.

However defined, Latinos are a vast and varied population. There can be as much variability within the population labeled Latino as there is between Latinos and other ethnic or racial groups. Many different indigenous populations, as well as various European groups, have had an impact on Latinos and Latino culture over time. Further, whether an Hispanic individual is foreign-born or U.S.-born likely has an impact on their health.

Parallel to the discussion of race, the use of ethnicity as a predictor or explanatory variable of a health condition is murky. In fact, the phenomenon called the "Hispanic paradox" demonstrates the pitfall of trying to understand an extremely diverse group and health outcomes. Latinos nationally are characterized by low income, low levels of educational attainment and high proportions of workers in blue-collar or unskilled occupations. However, their all-cause mortality and infant mortality rates are low – lower than would be expected by comparison with African Americans and other groups who share a similar set of socioeconomic characteristics. The lower all-cause mortality is thought to be related to relatively lower mortality among older Latinos for the diseases that are the leading causes of death for the majority of Americans such as cardiovascular disease, stroke and cancer (Franzini, Ribble, & Keddie, 2002)

There are a number of hypotheses concerning the cause of the Hispanic paradox. One is referred to as the "salmon bias hypothesis" which suggests that the paradox stems from elderly Hispanics returning to their native countries. This would remove them from national death records and statistics, thereby affecting the numerator used to calculate mortality rates. This hypothesis can only be supported for foreign-born individuals, and it was tested by examining Cubans who could not return to Cuba for political reasons and Puerto Ricans whose deaths would be recorded in U.S. vital statistics regardless of their return to Puerto Rica. These groups had lower mortality rates than non-Hispanic whites, providing evidence against the salmon bias hypothesis. This explanation is not well-supported with Kansas data, as Cubans and Puerto Ricans tend to perform better than other Hispanic groups on a number of maternal and child

health measures (i.e., prenatal care; see Appendix F-5). The difficulty in assessing the hypothesis in Kansas is largely due to the lack of older Hispanics in the state, making even age-adjusted mortality data unreliable.

Another hypothesis, called the "healthy migrant" hypothesis, is based on the idea that the healthiest members of a population are most likely to migrate to a new country. They may represent the healthiest individuals from their home country, but there would be no reason to suggest that Latino migrants would be any different in this regard than migrants from other nations. In fact, non-Hispanic white migrants do not seem to have the same mortality advantage as that of Hispanic migrants, suggesting that the healthy migrant hypothesis is not a major explanation for the Hispanic paradox (Abraido-Lanza, Dohrenwend, Ng-Mak, & Turner, 1999).

Other factors, such as acculturation and culture itself, may have strong mediating influences on risk factors and other aspects of social determinants of health that impact the Hispanic paradox. Less-acculturated Hispanics identify with their native culture and retain their foodways and other behaviors that contribute to a healthy lifestyle as compared to U.S.-born Latinos who grow up in an American culture. Once acculturation and the adaptation of diet and behavior swing towards a typical American lifestyle, a change in health profile occurs. A strong ethnic identity may have a protective health effect among Latinos, particularly among Mexican Americans, that is not seen among African Americans (James, 1993). If this is the case, the insulating affect of ethnic identity is only effective as long as their culture remains distinct from the majority American population.

Another dimension of ethnicity that has a direct impact on health is the use of complementary and alternative medicine, and healers. An estimated one in three Americans uses some type of complementary or alternative medicine for chronic illness, including herbal medicines, acupuncture and massage (Eisenberg et al., 1993). A number of studies indicate that perhaps 50 percent or more Hispanics, particularly elders, use some type of complementary medicine (Astin, Pelletier, Marie, & Haskell, 2000).

At least three systems of non-traditional healing are important to studies of Hispanics/Latinos in Kansas. *Curanderismo*, *espiritismo* and *santeria* are traditional systems of care for a variety of Latino cultures. Providers include Mexican folk healers (*curanderos*), Puerto Rican faith healers (*espiritistas*), Cuban faith healers (*santeros*), as well as herbalists (*yerbistas*) and massage therapists (*sobadores*), and you can find these practitioners across the state. It is unclear how many Latinos access these sources of care, but anecdotal examples – and the availability of necessary products, such as herbs seen in many markets and stores – attest to the use of these complementary services.

Small sample studies have documented that Mexican Americans in particular may choose traditional healing and remedies because of the high cost of prescription medicines (Applewhite-Lozano, 1995). It is important for medical providers to realize these individuals may be using herbal and other remedies in place of prescriptions. Unless providers are sensitive to the cultural practices among their clients and invite conversation about such behaviors, they will be treating their patients without knowing the possible effects of these interventions.

Figure 3. Folk Medicine



Kim Kimminau

"Remedios," or remedies, are complimentary herbal medicines used in folk medicine. This photo was taken in a Hispanic grocery store in Garden City, Kansas.

"I care for riches, to make gifts to friends, or lead a sick man back to health with ease and plenty. Else small aid is wealth for daily gladness; once a man be done with hunger, rich and poor are all as one." – Euripides

WHAT ARE DISPARITIES?

A review of the terms "disparity," "inequality" and "inequity" reveals significant variation in their use and application to health. "Health disparity" is used most often in the United States, while "health inequality" more often is used internationally (Carter-Pokras & Baquet, 2002). "Disparity" usually describes a measurable difference in a health indicator, regardless of whether the cause(s) is inevitable, unfair or unjust. "Equity" exists when disparities are absent (Braveman & Gruskin, 2003). "Inequality" implies that a fundamental unfairness contributes to the difference between the groups being compared. Those who use the term "inequality" rarely define whether they think the cause(s) is unnecessary and amenable to intervention, or whether it is inevitable and unavoidable. The feature of preventability does not ascribe whether the group could modify the risk on its own, or whether public policy or civil society could marshal the resources to eliminate or mitigate the cause. Finally, "inequity" is generally reserved for those cases of disparity/inequality where health determinants *are* avoidable to some degree and are socially unacceptable. In all cases, the challenge is to identify with certainty which determinants of health underlie a given inequality and to quantify their contribution to the condition examined.

Margaret Whitehead argues that disparities arise from: 1) natural, biological variation 2) health-damaging behavior that is freely chosen, such as participation in certain sports or pastimes; 3) the transient health advantage of one group over another when one group is first to adopt a health-promoting behavior, as long as other groups have the means to catch up fairly soon; 4) health-damaging behavior in which the degree of lifestyle choices is severely restricted; 5) exposure to unhealthy, stressful living and working conditions; 6) inadequate access to essential health services and other basic services; 7) natural selection, or health-related social mobility involving the tendency for sick people to move down the social scale (Whitehead, 1991).

According to Whitehead, health disparities determined by the first three categories would not be considered unfair nor unjust, while the last four would be "considered by many to be avoidable and the resultant health differences to be unjust."

Disparities are differences. Various organizations and researchers include differences in health status, adverse health conditions and death rates in their definitions; there is no unified approach, and this presents a problem. The units of comparison can change the finding of disparity. For example, Hispanics have a lower incidence rate of gonorrhea than the entire U.S. population, but have a higher rate than that of non-Hispanic whites (Carter-Pokras & Baquet, 2002). In the first case, there is no disparity. In the second, there is. Throughout this report's appendices, data are presented for the reader's comparison at the state level, at the level of population density of groups of counties, and at the level of the individual county, where possible. This is done so that a determination of disparity, based on the relevant comparative grouping, can be made.

Current interest in eliminating disparities began with the Clinton administration's 1998 call to eliminate disparities in infant mortality, cancer screening and management, cardiovascular disease, diabetes, HIV infection/AIDS and immunizations. These health issues were selected because, at the time, they reflected areas known to affect multiple racial and ethnic groups at all life stages. The initial National Institutes of Health (NIH) definition of disparity was based on "differences in the incidence, prevalence, mortality and burden of diseases and other adverse health outcomes that exist among specific population groups in the United States" (National Institutes of Health (US), 2000). The specific populations of focus included African Americans, Asians, Pacific Islanders, Hispanics/Latinos, Native Americans and Native Alaskans, but an allowance to examine disparities related to socioeconomic status also was included.

What is missing from the NIH definition and what continues to be a challenge today is that this national initiative seeks solutions to health disparities without a clear framework or model on what causes them in the first place, what the appropriate units of comparison should be, and whether or not a difference identified is avoidable and therefore preventable. If disparities exist because of inequalities, which unequal condition is amenable to intervention and which is not?

Which health condition is caused by a determinant or set of determinants that can be modified with the goal of health improvement? Simply identifying that a health condition is different between two population groups does not necessarily lead to clarity on what should be done to equalize or modify conditions so that the less-well-off population can achieve the same or comparable health outcome as the higher-performing/healthier population.

Another important dimension is determining whether the cause of inequality is avoidable. For example, inequality based on age is largely unavoidable. Like it or not, as we age, biological changes occur that cannot be prevented. In contrast, if people are predisposed to health risks because of inequality in workplace conditions or early childhood education, those risks are avoidable and could theoretically be mitigated by appropriate policy intervention(s).

The role of ethical judgment in health disparities adds another layer of complexity. Ethical judgment enters the arena because decisions must be made on how to modify the risk for the benefit of health outcomes, and assessment of whether an inequity is present and unjust will direct the focus on which risk(s) to modify. The IOM report, *Unequal Access*, focuses on only one aspect of known health disparity – that of differences in medical treatment. The central question for that work was whether anything can be done to avoid the negative aspects of the underlying causes that lead to medical treatment differences. If policymakers and others want to improve the overall health of minorities, they must change conditions that lead to disparities in the first place.

KANSAS COMMUNITY PERSPECTIVES ON WHAT CAUSES HEALTH DISPARITIES

Examining the nature of health differences within and among various social, economic, racial and ethnic groups commonly recognized in the United States and in Kansas is complex. One way to unravel that complexity is to study disparities and the story of them in Kansas through the eyes of those who experience their impact. With this in mind, we asked those most directly affected by disparities what they think *causes* disparities, what forces encourage their persistence and what they feel can be done to eliminate them. Awareness within communities of racial and ethnic bias, health disparities, and challenges to maintaining personal, family and community health had not been assessed, and the project team was anxious to learn how communities

viewed the idea of health disparities and how they might be addressing the core issues that contribute to them. The use of a participatory research model allowed informants to guide where the project team focused, clarifying what data they felt would be most telling, most useful and most relevant to local efforts to improve the health of special populations in their community.

So, what do communities think the most important social and environmental factors are that contribute to disparities? What do they consider the social determinants of health? Given no specific framework, community participants generally agreed on eight determinants that lead to health disparities: medical care, health behaviors, health insurance and income, working conditions, housing and community resources, early child development, education, and biology/genetics.

Medical Care – Access, Cost, Quality

The provision of medical care has many dimensions. First, medical care has to be accessible to those who need it. Access may mean that there is a provider, clinic or hospital located nearby, but it also may mean whether or not someone can financially afford to seek services, let alone receive them. Once received, the quality of medical care – measured by adherence to best practices or clinical guidelines, acumen in differential diagnosis or performance of medical procedures with relatively greater skill – may vary among those providing care. It has been suggested that there may be a quality difference between providers practicing in more affluent areas and those "forced" to practice in less-affluent or less-desirable communities. The argument rests on the financial differences providers settle for if they practice in lower socioeconomic communities. Those who graduate higher in their class and have more prestigious residencies and specialty training can command higher fees, take on little or no charity care, and join or start practices in higher-quality neighborhoods. These individuals may provide better quality care than those who graduate towards the bottom of their class, who do not have the opportunity to select higher-income-generating specialties, and cannot afford to set up their practices because of debt and/or the cost of loan repayment – the providers more likely to practice in lower-income areas. If this hypothesis is supported, it reflects another dimension of the impact of neighborhood level differences based on socioeconomic factors observed among communities that participated in this study.

Another aspect of access barriers is that racial and ethnic minorities may not seek preventive or treatment services at times that result in the best possible outcomes. Why? If the number of accessible providers is limited, even the simple act of scheduling an appointment may be time-intensive and difficult. In addition, taking time off from work, arranging childcare and handling transportation barriers may make routine visits costly and challenging.

A key issue raised by minority communities in Kansas is their perception that the American health system is focused on treatment – not prevention. Preventing disease in the first place by promoting social and living conditions that support healthy lifestyles has been neglected as a public health and policy issue, even though there is an accepted notion that this approach is cost-effective and more just than the current system of care. If prevention is a key to promoting health (and thereby decreasing the need for health services either too early in an individual's life or for avoidable conditions), then communities generally think that local services, tuned in to the many needs of local communities, are the most effective way to increase healthy outcomes. Communities across Kansas feel that local clinics, hospitals and health departments need to work collaboratively to encourage community health in its broadest sense.

Health Behaviors

A prominent social determinant hypothesis for health disparities is that the elevated risk among the socioeconomically disadvantaged is largely due to the higher prevalence of health risk behaviors among those with lower levels of education and income (Lantz et al., 1998). The association of risky behaviors, for example, binge drinking or not wearing seat belts, with poor health plays a role in health disparities, and some of these behavioral risk patterns are described in Appendix H. Communities interviewed had a clear sense of the role of personal responsibility, but they felt equally strongly that many "blame the victim" when it comes to holding minorities responsible for engaging in health risk behaviors. They argue that the use of alcohol or tobacco, for example, is among a limited number of coping strategies that individuals use to deal with the stress of their disadvantaged position in society. Without condoning such behavior, many of those interviewed for this study feel that such addictions and behaviors are somewhat understandable when viewed in context. They further suggest that simply controlling these kinds of behaviors is not likely to eliminate disparities. In fact Lantz et al. note

that socioeconomic differences in mortality will persist, even if risk behaviors decrease among the disadvantaged.

Health behaviors must be understood within the social and cultural context of racial and ethnic minority life. Food selection, preparation and consumption are excellent examples of how lifestyle, familial or cultural behaviors influence health. There is abundant evidence that acculturation to Western and American diet frequently results in health problems for recent immigrants (Delpapa & Mayer, 1990). Modifying traditional food patterns has a long history of impacting immigrant populations by shifting their diets and resulting in increased obesity, type 2 diabetes, hyperlipidemia and other conditions associated with chronic disease and poor health. At the same time, we frequently maintain our ethnic and cultural identities by holding on to traditional food patterns while also adopting new foodways. This complex phenomenon makes delivering messages about weight control and the health risks of weight gain very challenging to public health and healthcare professionals. Communities and individuals interviewed voiced concern that those delivering health messages be fully aware of the important sociocultural context in which health behavior modification is sought. For example, health messaging and social marketing may target a behavior with significant social, cultural or religious context, such as the traditional use of tobacco among Native Americans. If the context for the behavior is not well understood or respected, modifying that behavior is a challenge.

Health Insurance and Income

In these days of unprecedented economic growth, ill health disproportionately afflicts poor people worldwide (World Health Organization, 2002). In the United States, the poverty rate has remained relatively stable, along with the percentage of people without health insurance. Health insurance is influenced by employment, income and work conditions, and they all impact health. National data demonstrate that efforts to decrease poverty have been only slightly, if at all, effective (in 1990, 13 percent of the U.S. population was below poverty and in 2000, only a one percent improvement was measured). Health insurance, while of great interest and considered to be a major factor in predicting health outcomes and health status, also has shown very little change over the past 10 years.

1020 4ge adjusted mortality per 100 000 r = -0.49, P<0.05 960 900 840 780 720 660 1.2 1.4 1.6 1.8 2.0 2.2 2.4 2.6 Per capita group membership

Figure 4. Relation of Per Capita Group Membership in United States to Age Adjusted Total Mortality

Source: Kawachi and Kennedy, BMJ 1997;314:1037 (5 April)

Researchers have identified a gradient between income and health measures. One example is shared in Figure 4 by Kawachi and Kennedy (1997). Some researchers feel that inequitable income distribution, and the continuously widening gap between high- and low-wage workers (as well as between the employed and unemployed), is a fundamental characteristic of our social system that drives disparities (Daniels, Kennedy, & Kawachi, 2000; Kawachi & Kennedy, 1997). Communities in Kansas could not agree more. Insurance coverage unanimously was considered a prerequisite for receiving *any* healthcare, and there was a strong corollary that insurance coverage largely predicts the ability to receive *quality* care. Of particular concern is whether individuals are covered by public or private insurance, and the nature of the benefits themselves. Many of those who serve racial and ethnic minorities recognized that **individuals without the ability to pay do not seek care at all, or postpone treatment until a condition is urgent**. A single illness or accident can bankrupt a family, and charity care and safety net providers are not able to adequately meet all the needs arising from these situations.

Furthermore, communities recognize that being relegated to "second class" health is a consequence of not being able to compete for higher wage jobs that offer health insurance

benefits. Communities believe that inability stems from many factors including poor-quality primary and secondary education, limited opportunities to develop trade skills or matriculate into high-quality colleges and universities, and overall racial and ethnic bias encountered once in the workforce.

Of all of the underlying causes for health disparities, income and poverty – and their direct influence on health – garnered the most focus during discussions. The influence of income was most frequently cited as the single most fundamental cause for differences in health and for disparities. As groups agreed to the premise that income contributes to health, they focused more on the causes of income differences than on any specific health issue the research team would pose for discussion. For example, participants would discuss the disproportionate burden of certain cancers in their communities in the context of how a poor-quality education impacts earning potential and leaves people vulnerable to underinsurance. Further, they argue that individuals who must make a trade-off between out-of-pocket costs for care and other expenses – coupled with the humiliation of seeking services you cannot pay for – leads to their late diagnosis. Differential age-adjusted mortality statistics shared with these participants won knowing nods; none of the data demonstrating late diagnosis and worse outcomes including premature death surprised those working directly with racial and ethnic minorities across the state.

Lower-wage jobs may be insufficient to support individuals or families, and individuals may need to take on two or more jobs to meet their needs. Not only does this lifestyle bring with it the stress of balancing many priorities over the course of the day, it is unlikely to provide workers with opportunities for professional growth or advancement. While preoccupied with balancing multiple job responsibilities, study participants clearly identified the stress such lifestyles bring to other family members, particularly children. When parents increase work hours because hourly wages are low or because they need to take on more than one low-paying job, they are less available for their family. This conflict can lead to stress that affects the entire family in terms of spousal support, parenting and emotional stability.

Stories describing the stress of making conscious health choices based on financial factors were common. The theme of income and poverty was almost always at the forefront of the communities' views of either the cause of health disparity or the way in which communities could combat disparity. This later theme of using education to combat disparities often was shared as the most hopeful way to end health disparities. Many participants believed that the playing field for good health would be leveled if educational quality were equal for all. If everyone had an equal opportunity to attain educational success, there would be less of a competitive advantage allowing any one group to succeed at the expense of other groups.

Working Conditions

A job that exposes workers to industrial risks or hazardous materials, or work that requires repetitive movements or sustained immobility, carries a substantial health impact. These health risks occur disproportionately for the racial and ethnic minorities frequently employed in these positions. These jobs tend to be lower-wage positions, they may not offer health insurance benefits or the cost of insurance offered is too high. Again, with limited income, working conditions that force minorities to choose between health insurance and other expenses are considered by many to be unjust.

Undocumented (also known as "undeclared") workers face additional challenges in the workplace. They do not qualify for federal assistance programs like Medicaid, they may face deportation if found to be working illegally, and they are likely employed in jobs that offer little or no health benefits, yet they continue to serve many roles in the Kansas economy. State health department programs serve many of these individuals, and the range of services they require are not unlike other uninsured or underinsured groups' needs in the state. The data collected through the Kansas farmworker program, for example, has an extensive case management database that tracks their services and also collects some health status information. However, knowing the full extent of this sub-population's needs is difficult to ascertain because they live and work without ways of counting their numbers or identifying them directly in other data sources.

Housing and Community Resources

Affordable housing is a critical aspect of being able to maintain individual and family stability. It is estimated that more than 22 percent of Kansas' housing is inferior due to one or more physical or financial conditions, such as lack of plumbing facilities. Among the 30 percent who rent homes, most are racial and ethnic minority Kansans. These homes are often in neighborhoods that may be exposed to noise, air and other pollutants, or may pose a risk to children by being located near high vehicular or railway traffic areas. In addition, these homes may be of older construction, where asbestos or lead-based paints were used. Both of these environmental hazards represent significant health risks.

Community resources that impact racial and ethnic minority families include many factors. Minority and poorer communities are more likely to live in polluted environments, and there may also be a disproportionate placement of pollution-intensive industries and hazardous waste sites in low-income and minority communities (National Institute of Environmental Health Sciences, 2005). Whether communities have sidewalks, lighted streets, an adequate supply of police, fire and emergency services personnel, locally owned businesses and supermarkets have all been associated with health. One example is the limited number of supermarkets or locations to buy fresh food, fruit and vegetables in northeast Wichita, an area characterized by a substantial African American population. When community resources are scarce, particularly those resources necessary for encouraging healthy behaviors, it comes as no surprise that the impact is felt on the health status of those communities.

In Kansas, one in 10 households reported food insecurity or hunger in a report conducted by KHI in 2004. National research among low-income families shows that mothers first sacrifice their own nutrition by restricting their food intake to protect their children. Food restriction has a health impact and, for pregnant women, may contribute to poor birth outcomes for their infants. Studies on the effect of undernutrition and malnutrition demonstrate that nutrient limitation has both short- and longer-term impact. Finally, studies indicate that older individuals who suffer from malnutrition have poorer health outcomes (Akner & Cederholm, 2001). An issue to address in this regard is that some communities of color lack

available markets and stores where they could purchase fresh produce and other high-quality foods.

Another key component of community is the presence of strong, faith-based organizations. There is a greater dependence on churches and their leaders within the African American and Latino communities compared to other racial groups. The typical black church has an average attendance about 50 percent greater than that of the typical white church; 63 percent say the pastors of black churches are the most important leaders in the African American community; and 91 percent of Hispanics say their faith is a very important part of their daily life (Barna Group, 2005). Latino and African American participants in this study expect to receive key health messages from the pulpit, and they consider the church a central player in community health improvement. Clergy activism on health issues is quite variable and largely a matter of their personal choice, so some community members feel the church is an asset in health improvement while others wish that were the case.

Early Childhood Development

Access to a positive early developmental environment is critical for infants and children. Informants in the project often said early disadvantages set the stage for persistent disparities later in life. As one African American participant stated, "From the minute of my birth – no, from the minute of my conception – I was disadvantaged and trying to catch up and I didn't even know it." Social dimensions of how parents nurture children and expose them to healthy lifestyles and health-promoting behaviors are influenced by a complex set of environmental, educational and behavioral interactions. While all parents likely hold the same hope for health for their children, expectations of health and access to care that can promote health in early childhood is not available to everyone equally. One component contributing to health disparities is the availability of affordable, quality childcare. It has been demonstrated that licensed quality childcare improves developmental and health outcomes of children in general, and children-atrisk in particular (Raphael, Bryant, & Curry-Stevens, 2004). Lack of access to such care is a challenge communities cite when discussing the disadvantaged environment of many racial and ethnic minority children.

Education

Education is a key determinant of health, and communities often refer to improved educational opportunities as key to reducing disparities. Educational attainment and positive health has been linked in many studies (Kitagawa & Hauser, 1973). For example, a relationship between socioeconomic indicators and risk factors for cardiovascular disease has been shown to be strongest and most consistent for education (Wickleby, Jatulis, Frank, & Fortmann, 1992). Many racial and ethnic minority students in the state fail to complete school (see Appendix C). The impact of this disparity not only seems to affect health outcomes, it also predicts socioeconomic differentials described in the Health Insurance and Income section above. Furthermore, even when educational levels are equal, opportunities for educational advancement may not apply to all students, particularly if the financial and emotional costs of continuing an education are too great. For individuals living below poverty thresholds, education seems to have little relation to health status, suggesting that substantial material deprivation cannot be buffered or mediated by educational factors (Krieger & Fee, 1994).

Participants in this study identified other issues when asked about the role of education in disparities. First, some participants suggested that appropriate accommodations for minority students are not always made by schools and teachers. Generally, they referenced the need for early remedial support for students entering school without key learning skills. There was a sense that when children do not receive services at critical points in their development, they tend to carry those deficiencies with them throughout their educational careers. There were some participants who felt that cultural and linguistic barriers were primary reasons why many ethnic and racial minority students struggled, and they suggested that one way to improve this condition was to train and recruit a more diverse educational workforce.

Another dimension of the education issue is one expressed by Asian participants in this study. Asians are often stereotyped as the "model minority." A common mainstream understanding is that Asians are college-educated, particularly gifted in math and science, and do not need special accommodations in educational settings. This stereotype is particularly detrimental, because it casts *all* Asian and Pacific Islanders in one light, without recognition of the variable experiences within their population. For example, although nationally approximately

42 percent of all Asian American adults have a college degree, Vietnamese Americans have a college attainment rate of 16 percent, only one-quarter the rate for other Asian ethnic groups. The rates for Laotians, Cambodians and Khmer are even lower, around five percent (Le, 2001). Some have argued that this stereotype camouflages or excuses workplace discrimination whereby some qualified Asians and Pacific Islanders are overlooked for promotion and career development opportunities. This phenomenon, sometimes referred to as the "glass ceiling," leaves qualified Asian Americans underemployed.

Many participants shared their concern that academic expectations were set too low for their children. They identified a perception that teachers may not expect as much from their children, and, by doing so, send a message to children that their lower level of performance was not only acceptable but was all they should strive to achieve or expect. The message these children get is that they are *expected* to perform poorly. Children can live up or down to expectations; when expectations are low, children are not motivated to perform to their highest potential.

Biology and Genetics

As reviewed earlier, there are two dominant historical perspectives on race and ethnicity. One perspective is rooted in the eugenics movement that treated racial and ethnic categories as biological classifications, or at least as groupings that reflect biological differences (Huxley, 1951; Kevles, 1995). The other tradition argued that race and ethnicity are primarily social and historic constructs with little biological significance (Boas, 1942). What remains, however, is the subtle presumption that racial and ethnic distinctions nonetheless capture "some" meaningful biological differences (Kaufman & Cooper, 2001). Both the empirical and conceptual relationships between social populations and biological features can be subtle (Juengst, 1998), and racial and ethnic communities believe there is something to these relationships.

Regardless of the largely academic confusion over whether racial categories are "real" and whether they reflect true underlying biological health risks, minority communities are likely to believe that they are, at least in part, at biological risk because of these categorical groupings. This notion is reinforced by their knowledge that diabetes, hypertension, certain cancers and

other diseases are more prevalent in their population than in the majority population. Feeling "fated" to suffer one of these illnesses is an undercurrent present in discussions of health risk. Some in the community believe there is a level of biological predisposition to such illnesses that has largely to do with their race. Sickle cell anemia among sub-Saharan African populations and their descendents, thalassemia in Middle Eastern, North African and Mediterranean populations and Tay-Sachs disease among Ashkenazi Jews all contribute to the idea that particular populations are more susceptible to certain (genetic) diseases than others, even though these conditions occur in other populations as well.

"We come from many countries, and we work hard, hard, hard. We all came here to find the American Dream." – Vietnamese Businessman, Garden City

"Language is a big issue, but speaking Spanish doesn't mean that we don't deserve respect." – Latina Health Provider, Garden City

KANSAS COMMUNITY PERSPECTIVES - GARDEN CITY

Garden City, Kansas, is a diverse, vibrant community characterized by many different ethnic populations. It has been called the most cosmopolitan city in Kansas. Finney County, where Garden City is located, is one of only 61 counties in the entire United States where more than 20 percent of the population was born in another country. Employment draws immigrants to southwestern Kansas, and meatpacking is the primary industry for immigrants and residents. In the 1980s, rapid economic growth was spurred by the establishment of one of the world's largest packing plants, which attracted more than 6,000 new residents. The city had a longstanding Mexican American community, but with the opportunities presented by a large employer, Vietnamese, Lao, Cambodian and ethnic Chinese, as well as Latino populations from Central and South America, moved to Garden City. The Ford Foundation selected Garden City (along with Los Angeles, Miami, Chicago, Houston and Philadelphia) for a study led by Don Stull, Ph.D., of the University of Kansas with Michael Broadway, Ph.D., of Wichita State University, as the only non-urban city involving how newcomers and established residents adapt to one another.

The impact of these diverse populations has an effect on virtually every aspect of life in this community, from education to housing to health services. Schools are challenged to meet the needs of children who speak English as a second language. Affordable and available housing is a concern when any community's population grows quickly. Grocers carry the diverse foods needed for various ethnic cooking, and restaurants, book stores and music vendors cater to many different languages and cultures. Multilingual services are essential for working with the diverse needs of the community, and cultural competency to deal with idiosyncratic or unique cultural approaches to health and wellness must be achieved. A high level of worker turnover, primarily due to the demands and pressures of the meatpacking industry, provides a stream of new workers to take their place, and that process inevitably affects community stability.

Given the geographic location of Garden City and its distance from centers of political power and influence in the state, Garden Citians tend to think of how they can solve their own problems, and health disparities is one area they recognize as critical to the vitality of the community. Garden Citians identify clear pathways to disparities in health for those in their community. The following list identifies the top 11 recurrent themes, issues and concerns that the Asian and Pacific Islander community and the Latino community feel are key to their health:

- 1. Many minority and immigrant families are living from paycheck to paycheck. Hourly workers in the meatpacking industry cannot depend on a stable 40-hour work week throughout the year. When companies slow production and only permit full-time workers 32 hours of paid work, family resources are strained. **Discretionary income** is limited or non-existent, so if medical services have out-of-pocket costs, care is delayed or not sought. This pattern presents a recurrent challenge for those delivering health services particularly for those trying to encourage routine visits for conditions such as hypertension and diabetes.
- 2. The importance of family in Latino and Asian cultures is extremely high. The family is a critical source of strength and stability for these populations, and family values affect health decisions, particularly for children. For example, while many Hispanics/Latinos interviewed had little concern about cardiovascular disease or stroke (feeling that it was premature to be overly concerned personally, because these diseases affect the elderly), they were very concerned about immunizations for their children. The health and well-being of their children was often the central focus of answers about crime, gangs, and neighborhood safety, as well as in discussions of elementary education.
- 3. Prenatal care is not considered essential to a positive birth outcome, and Latinos interviewed were generally puzzled with Western medicine's view of pregnancy as an illness requiring treatment. The cultures of many Latinos have a medical model that sees pregnancy as natural and in some cases, mystical, and interference in the process (even to provide preventive care or simply ongoing monitoring) is considered at best a waste of resources and, at worst, a possible source of negative influence on the health of the baby.

- 4. Garden City minorities considered education to be absolutely essential in providing for a positive future. Expanding multilingual and cross-cultural services within the school district was a common concern. Asians interviewed for this project cited educational opportunities as critical for their children, but many lamented the fact that when they or their parents came to the United States, they took jobs with less pay and prestige than those they had in their home countries. Breaking out of the cycle of underemployment, and being seen as leaders and senior managers, is a frustration for some.
- 5. A strong entrepreneurial spirit and a positive approach to business development and community growth were widespread. The community seemed to understand that health services in Garden City are strained to meet the need, but they also felt that a combination of faith-based services, public services and charity was serving the community well.
- 6. Hardships shared appear to draw the community together. The working conditions in cattle feed lots and meatpacking plants serve as a common experience understood by both the Asian and Hispanic/Latino communities, as well as within the white population. The general geographic isolation of Garden City contributed to this phenomenon, too. This common bond serves to support the perception by Garden Citians that they are the ones who best understand one another, and that outsiders tend to trivialize or only partially understand the lives they lead. They are equally proud of having many diverse businesses in their community, and while they recognize the labor that the meatpacking plants bring to their region, they point to the fact that they have a diverse local economy.
- 7. Lack of integration and cooperation among health services organizations was seen as an ongoing challenge. Many in the community did not perceive the various charities and faith-based organizations working maximally with the state and local health departments, local hospital and providers, and they voiced their sense that this represented a lost opportunity. They felt much more could be accomplished if these organizations could work effectively together. The community did, however, proudly point to the fact that many different agencies with different agendas work together

- to deal with various aspects of social determinants, such as juvenile crime, afterschool programs, cultural competency and awareness.
- 8. Concerns about employment opportunities, particularly for youth, threaten the future vitality of Garden City. There was a worry that the best local talent may leave the area for opportunities elsewhere in the state. The other side of this issue was that many Garden Citians were seeking ways to attract new businesses and training opportunities to their area in an effort to retain their workforce and ensure growth.
- 9. The availability of culturally competent services was increasing in Garden City. The challenge for many delivering services was to remain flexible enough to accommodate the needs of new immigrants of different cultures while meeting the needs of those already acculturating. Participants frequently said they felt they were aiming at a constantly moving target that challenged where they should invest efforts to meet the needs of recent arrivals. One month, a group of Somalis moved into the area; the next, a new wave of German Mennonites arrived. The dilemma was how to strategically invest resources so the community can meet the needs of these groups over time.
- 10. Linguistic services, both in educational environments and throughout the healthcare system, were seen as essential to meeting the needs of minority **communities.** The relatively remote location of Garden City fueled the feeling that such training needed to be available to public health and healthcare workers locally. The Hispanic community in particular believed that where someone lives, their age, gender, health insurance status, and primary language were all likely to have a larger contributory effect on health disparities than race alone.
- 11. The role of faith-based organizations should not be underestimated for the Latino community. Prayer and faith has been reported to be an important value, belief and coping mechanism for many Latinos (Talamantes, Gomez, & Braun, 2000). While on one hand, faith may persuade some that their health condition is not under their own control, reflecting the belief that illness is "God's will," it also presents an enormous source of strength and support to Latinos individually and collectively.

"We cannot be one America when a whole segment of our nation has no trust in America." – President Bill Clinton, May 16, 1997 Apology for the Tuskegee Syphilis Study

"Equal health is out of reach for African Americans in a society that doesn't value social justice." –African American Pastor, Wichita, Kansas

KANSAS COMMUNITY PERSPECTIVES - WICHITA

As early as the 1850s, African Americans came to Kansas as both freestaters and former slaves. They were soldiers. They were homesteaders. They were cowboys, driving cattle up the Chisholm Trail. African Americans participated fully in the growth of Kansas and particularly in the 1870s in Wichita's booming "cowtown." The African American community in Wichita is a longstanding one, and many families have resided in the city for many generations.

While the African American community has been involved in virtually every aspect of Wichita's growth, some individuals interviewed for this study had a sense of isolation and, in some cases, a feeling of abandonment by local political and city-based interests.

The historic context of African American influence in Wichita is extremely interesting. Four years after the Supreme Court overturned *Plessy v. Ferguson* and ruled that racially separate schools were not equal, African Americans staged a sit-in at the downtown Wichita Dokum drugstore lunch counter. This protest is described as one of the most effective sit-ins over segregation that occurred across the nation during the summer of 1958. A fascinating history of sit-ins and other racial issues, including profiles of those involved, is the basis of Gretchen Cassel Eick's book, *Dissent in Wichita* (Eick, 2001).

Throughout the 1950s, African Americans influenced the local community through the establishment of churches, employment in the aircraft industry, and contributions to the growth of other businesses. Like many semi-urban/urban communities, there is a legacy of racially segregated neighborhoods in Wichita. While there is no clear "urban core" *per se*, Wichita's African American communities tend to be limited to the northeastern area and are less likely to be located in suburban areas around the city. Residential segregation increased during the 1950s

and by 1960, 90 percent of the city's black population lived in seven contiguous census tracts (Eick, 2001).

Health issues that dominate the African American experience include diabetes, hypertension and premature death due to certain cancers. Communities shared their feeling that primary contributors to health disparities include institutionalized and internalized racism, differential access to quality education, and longstanding low standards that have become internalized by the community itself. Communities lean heavily on faith-based organizations and their strong commitment to the total well-being of the individual as they look to the future vitality of their population.

The following list represents core themes and concerns of African American communities in Kansas based on information gathered through focus groups and structured interviews, primarily conducted in Wichita. The list is not presented in rank order.

- 1. The concept of race is firmly rooted and expressed as political and economic disenfranchisement for the African American community. Consequently, healthcare issues (including access to care, cost of insurance, and availability of culturally competent providers) can be attributed to these predisposing factors, rather than to race itself. The community repeatedly emphasized their belief that racial health is determined by social and political forces.
- 2. Impoverished communities with poor schools, a lack of business opportunities, little local business ownership, and low social capital were considered a disproportionate disadvantage for African Americans.
- 3. Community members felt they had less chance of achieving good health because they lack role models and positive health messages from a very early age.
- 4. Modeling change and intervention from a community assets perspective, rather than a deficit model, is considered a critical factor in addressing health disparities at a community level. The Wichita community was embracing this model and moving ahead in critical areas of access to health and healthcare services, such as Project Access.

- 5. The key to a successful community-based approach to eliminating health disparities rests with leveraging local resources, including African American churches, beauticians, barbers and locally owned businesses. Participants believe using these community-based resources empowers them to institute health improvement and health promotion messages.
- 6. Predisposing social factors including education, crime, alcohol and drug use, single family households, teen pregnancy, under-employment and other factors begin the separation of the mainstream population health and health risk of African Americans. This separation grows to result in the full-fledged health disparities noted at a population level, including early mortality, poor birth outcomes, cardiovascular diseases and diabetes/hypertension. To understand the core issues responsible for health disparities, it was impossible not to talk about incarceration, teen pregnancy, school dropout rates and family structure. These social factors weigh heavily on determining health risks to the African American community. Without a doubt, the Wichita African American community clearly understood the role of social determinants in health.
- 7. The African American community felt that the issue of health disparities cannot be discussed without discussing both overt and covert racism. Institutionalized racism continues to impact the behavior, policies and financing of health for African Americans.
- 8. Those delivering healthcare to the African American community interestingly raised their concern that African Americans are largely left out of mainstream clinical trial research. Diseases that affect their populations disproportionately, such as diabetes and renal disease or hypertension, are less likely to be studied using African American patients who might help researchers develop more effective treatment and intervention models relevant to their community. The health services providers felt this left them at a disadvantage, unconvinced of the efficacy of certain treatments.
- 9. In communities that want to make a difference and address health disparities, locally relevant surveys and data based on their neighborhood, ZIP code or service area were needed. These were rare, and the community was often limited in its ability to collect this information due to costs and limited expertise in how to accomplish such tasks.

- 10. The health system must respond to minority communities by encouraging communitybased clinics, staffed by community members and providers who reflect the community's ethnic and racial composition. Workforce initiatives were considered a key element in improving the health system.
- 11. Diet, nutrition and exercise were common contributing factors cited in exacerbating health risks among African Americans. Study participants lamented that few of their neighborhoods have safe sidewalks, street lights or walking trails near enough to be used by those who need them.
- 12. In Kansas, African Americans generally live in the most urban, populated areas of the state. Therefore, urban living issues such as lack of public transportation, poor housing standards (i.e., possible exposure to lead paint), and exposure to other environmental hazards contribute to health problems.
- 13. Particularly for young African American males, a sense of hopelessness and mental health-related conditions destroy the opportunity to live healthy lives. This can be a devastating situation, leading those who need services to cease seeking them. They simply give up. To address this issue, community health leaders argued that the only effective way to reach these individuals was to take health campaigns and health services to the street level. To do so, they stressed that community outreach worker training and pay needed to be addressed.
- 14. Local health departments currently do not provide effective services to the African American community. Local health departments included in this study acknowledged the lack of cultural competency skills needed to address many minority health issues. Generally, however, those providing public health services tended to think of cultural competence in relation to foreign immigrants and those who do not have English as a first language; they demonstrated little understanding for the needs of cultural competence in dealing with the African American community.
- 15. Finding ways to encourage behavior change at the individual, neighborhood, parish, and/or community level will be the cornerstone to improving African American health. There was a clear sense of self-determination, and a desire for the community to drive the direction and tempo of change concerning key health issues.

- 16. Health insurance costs and pharmacy costs were shared as key barriers for African Americans. When contrasted against other key financial issues (clothes, food, rent, mortgages, car payments, etc.), individuals may choose to forgo insurance for themselves or their children hoping they will not have a major medical expense. They also short-change drug regimens by using less than the prescribed amount of medication (pill-splitting).
- 17. Community leaders have very low expectations that the state of Kansas will tackle the issues of health disparities. State agencies are seen as bureaucratically ineffective, without leaders who care about local minority health issues. The community believes the dearth of African American politicians at the state level diminishes the chance that minority health will receive much attention. Accordingly, African American Wichitans are focused on improving their neighborhoods and communities themselves, despite the lack of attention or support from others.

"I have to carry two cards just to prove that I'm Indian." - Native American Community Leader, Kansas City, Kansas

KANSAS COMMUNITY PERSPECTIVES – KANSAS CITY, KANSAS

The American Indian or Native American experience throughout the history of the United States is a difficult one to tell, not only because it was often tragic, but also because the experience was so varied among the many tribes who lived in North America. Many of the original Plains tribes that inhabited Kansas were driven or removed from their land by the western expansion of Europeans. The Kansa (Konza), Cheyenne, Arapahoe, Osage, Pawnee, Kiowa, Comanche, and other Plains tribes in the area no longer live in significant numbers in Kansas. Those that remain and those who were resettled here have diverse cultures and histories.

The 1830 Removal Act precipitated a number of actions, including a series of treaties and relocation events for current-day Kansas American Indians. Originally, the Kickapoo lived in Wisconsin and Illinois, the Prairie Band Potawatomi were from the Great Lakes region, the Sac and Fox (Asakiwaki (Sauk) and Meshkwahkihaki (Mesquakie/Fox) were also from Wisconsin and surrounding areas, and the Iowa were from Missouri. These tribes currently reside on independent reservations; they operate as independent governments and are recognized as sovereign nations. They have their own services including police and fire departments, tribal court, casinos, social services and health clinics.

If a Native American is enrolled in one of more than 550 federally recognized American Indian or Alaska Native tribes, they are eligible for services provided by the Indian Health Service (IHS). The IHS is an agency within the Department of Health and Human Services that provides a comprehensive health service delivery system for approximately 1.6 million of the nation's estimated 2.6 million American Indians and Alaska Natives. The IHS provides access to healthcare services in more than 45 hospitals and 500 other facilities operated by the IHS, by tribes, by Alaska Native corporations or purchased from private providers. This introduces a unique and complex dimension of health for Native Americans. Their healthcare and health behaviors are characterized by a dynamic network of moving between the IHS, community clinics, federally qualified health centers (FQHC), private providers and charity care organizations. Participants in this study described complex personal health decisions

reflecting where they go for health services. One participant discussed returning to the reservation for IHS services regarding general medical care and for diabetic care including medications; visiting a separate IHS clinic for dental services; using a local provider for mental health services; and attending yet another local clinic for prenatal care, given the distance to the IHS clinic. This complex nexus of services invites poor coordination of care. Because providers do not systematically exchange healthcare information, the individual becomes responsible for telling providers about medications and treatments recommended by other providers.

American Indians and Alaska Natives have long experienced lower health status when compared to other populations of Americans (U.S. Department of Health and Human Services Indian Health Service, 2000). Life expectancy is lower, infant mortality is higher and the rates of death from alcoholism, tuberculosis, diabetes, accidents and suicide are higher than the overall national population rates. Whenever examining conditions that result in death as the measure, it should be recognized that miscoding or missing information on death certificates likely under-enumerate native peoples, so rate calculations are likely modest estimates (Rosenberg et al., 1999).

Environmental issues that most Americans take for granted are lower quality for many American Indians and Alaska Natives. Safe and adequate water supplies and sanitary waste disposal facilities, for example, are lacking in approximately 7.5 percent of American Indian and Alaska Native homes, compared to 1 percent of the homes for the general U.S. population (Environmental Protection Agency).

While the IHS service population is largely rural, many American Indians in Kansas live in an urban setting. Even for those who return to clinics on reservations or who use other IHS service sites, it is estimated that the IHS-appropriated funding provides only 59 percent of the necessary federal funding for healthcare services to American Indians and Alaska Natives using the system, and only 54 percent for those living in the IHS service area of 35 states (U.S. Department of Health and Human Services Indian Health Service, 2000).

This project focused on a culturally diverse group of urban American Indians living in and around the greater Kansas City metropolitan area. Individuals representing the four sovereign Indian nations that have reservations in Kansas (Iowa, Kickapoo, Prairie Band Potowatami, and Sac and Fox) as well as individuals representing at least 10 other (primarily Plains Indian) tribes participated in focus groups or structured interviews. The following lists their central health concerns.

- 1. Native Americans were granted U.S. citizenship, and with it the right to vote, in 1924 - just 81 years ago. Many in the Indian community feel their concerns are not taken seriously because they have had, and continue to have, little or no political representation or voice in the state.
- 2. Virtually all those interviewed expressed concern about mental health issues. Depression, and its relationship to alcohol and drug use, was cited frequently as a **central health concern.** Further, Native Americans lament the fact that there are virtually no mental health services in the Kansas City, Kansas, metropolitan area, and very few other providers who understand the key mental health issues for these individuals.
- 3. Native Americans have the highest rate of diabetes and are more than two-and-onehalf times more likely to have been diagnosed than the general population (National Diabetes Information Clearinghouse, 2002). Participants knew from personal experience that many of them go undiagnosed and are at risk for early onset of type 2 diabetes. They shared a generally fatalistic idea that diabetes was inevitable and unavoidable.
- 4. When the research team shared that mortality rates may be underestimated by as much as 20 percent due to misclassification of race on death certificates (Rosenberg et al., 1999), they were not surprised. As one participant stated, "My sister was born an Indian and died as white" reflecting the fact that her birth certificate information was provided by a family member, but her death certificate was completed by a funeral director. The impact this has on national and state statistics was not lost on study participants.

- 5. Unhealthy behaviors, including smoking cigarettes and poor self-perceived mental health are substantially greater among American Indians and Alaska

 Natives compared to others in the state. Poor diet, inadequate nutrition, and lack of exercise are known to contribute to the adverse outcomes of diabetes, and these conditions are of concern. Overall, participants in the study were concerned with what they referred to as patterns of "self-destructive" behaviors, and they stated that these actions had to be understood in the context of the overall sense of helplessness and inability to display resilience to stress felt by many Native peoples. They feel that their cultures, ways of life and value within society has been so undermined that they retain little hope of being able to maintain healthy cultural identities. "If you felt worthless, were ostracized because of your race, and considered a relic of days gone by, how would you feel?" asked one informant.
- 6. Native Americans share a concern that several forms of discrimination exist in the delivery of healthcare by providers, who treat them differently from majority clients, and by a system in which they believe better quality care is a function of one's ability to pay.
- 7. Stereotypes of the "stoic" or "unemotional Indian" fundamentally limit the quality of interaction that underpins the delivery of health services. The need for culturally competent workers with an appreciation of the many facets of Indian life that affect health and well-being is substantial.

DATA FINDINGS

The following section provides a summary of health and other characteristics of four primary populations: Asians and Pacific Islanders, Native Americans, African Americans and Hispanics/Latinos. When reading this section of the report, **keep in mind that Kansas data on racial and ethnic minority health status are limited**. Since the number of persons in minority population groups is relatively small in comparison to the total population of the state, rates or differences may be based on a very small number of cases and in some cases, are so small they are not reported. To increase the number of cases in some health or disease categories, rates generally have been calculated using five years of combined data. This allows for reporting a more statistically "stable" number, but it lacks sensitivity to changes that may have occurred within those combined years. This approach is used in many health reports; nonetheless, it is important to qualify the numbers so the reader retains an appropriate context for reviewing these data. State, population density and county level data, when available, supporting each finding can be located in the appropriate topical appendices to this report.

GENERAL MINORITY HEALTH CHARACTERISTICS

Population Characteristics

- Minority racial populations in Kansas represented 3.7 percent of the population in 1900; they now represent 13.9 percent of the population. When *ethnic* minorities were included, the total minority population in 2000 was 16.9 percent of all Kansans.
- The number of minorities doubled from 1980 to 2000 (from 223,637 to 454,421).
- Minority populations grew an estimated 9.1 percent from 2000 to 2003, and the rate was highest in urban areas.
- Kansas is sometimes thought of as a state with many seniors; however, Kansas' median age of 35.2 years places the state as the 15th youngest among the 50 states. The number and relatively young age of Hispanics/Latinos (median age is 23 years) accounts for this pattern. Kansans who list their race only as "white" had a median age of 36.9 years, which is older than any other group by at least seven years.

Housing Characteristics

- Minority housing units are more likely to be rented than owned.
- High occupancy per room is considered a measure of inadequate or substandard housing conditions; minorities represent 13 percent of occupied housing units but represent 56 percent of units with high occupancy per room.
- Minorities are more likely to report living without kitchen facilities, without complete
 plumbing facilities, and paying monthly housing costs greater than 30 percent of their
 household incomes.

Social Determinants

- One in four (24.4 percent) Kansas families with children under age 18 is headed by a single parent.
- Children in single-parent households are five times more likely than children in married-couple families to be living in poverty.
- Single-parent families with children under five years of age are twice as likely to be living in poverty as single-parent families where all children are five years old or older.
- In 2000, there were approximately 21,000 Kansas households that were linguistically isolated (defined as having no one age 14 years or older who can speak only English, or who can speak English "very well").
- Eighty-six percent of adults age 25 years or older has earned a high school diploma or equivalent.
- In Kansas, 18.5 percent of mothers with live births had less than a high school diploma.

Income and Employment

- Based on 1999 income, 9.9 percent of Kansans live below the poverty level (100 percent of the federal poverty level). Racial and ethnic minorities were two to three times more likely than whites to be living below poverty. Minorities were two to four times more likely to be living in extreme poverty (below 50 percent of poverty) than whites.
- Minorities are more likely to be unemployed than the white population.
- Approximately 10 percent of Kansans were uninsured in 2001.

Disease and Disability

- Selected reportable diseases (chlamydia, gonorrhea, tuberculosis) are higher among minorities (African Americans, and Asians and Pacific Islanders) than they are among whites.
- The incidence rate for HIV is 3.9 per 100,000.

Births

- Teen pregnancy rates have continued to decline from 1996 through 2003. Rates among 10-19 year olds were lowest among whites (27.2 per 1,000) and highest among Hispanics (54.2 per 1,000) and African Americans (51.6 per 1,000).
- Most mothers (64 percent) report their newborn's ancestry as "American." Following American or European, the next most frequent ancestry listed is Mexican. Hispanic ethnicity combines five ancestry codes (Mexican, Puerto Rican, Cuban, Central or South American, and Other & Unknown Spanish). "Mexican" was the largest Hispanic ancestry, comprising 83 percent of all Hispanic births from 1999-2003.
- Low birthweight (infants weighing less than five pounds) characterized 7.1 percent of births in Kansas between 1999 and 2003.
- Infant mortality was 7 deaths per 1,000 live births (1999-2003). All racial and ethnic groups except Asians and Pacific Islanders exceeded the Healthy People 2010 target of 4.5 deaths per 1,000 live births.

Deaths

 The suicide rate for whites was significantly higher than for all other racial and ethnic groups.

Risk Behaviors

- Almost one in four (24 percent) 8th, 10th and 12th graders report having smoked cigarettes in the previous 30 days (1998-2002 data).
- Forty-four percent of 8th, 10th and 12th graders report using alcohol in the past 30 days (1998-2002 data).

- Fourteen percent of 8th, 10th and 12th graders report using marijuana in the past 30 days (1998-2002 data).
- Twelve percent of Kansans report that their health is "fair" or "poor."
- More than half of all Kansans (57 percent) were overweight or obese (body mass index greater than or equal to 25) (1995-2003 data).
- Only one in five Kansans reported eating the recommended five servings of fruit and vegetables per day for the last month (1995-2002).

CHARACTERISTICS OF KANSAS ASIANS AND PACIFIC ISLANDERS

Kansas Asians and Pacific Islanders have a unique profile of health. They are a very culturally diverse group; in order of their representation in the Kansas population, they include: Vietnamese, Asian Indian, Chinese, Korean, Filipino, Laotian, Japanese and Hmong. The following list identifies key social and health features identified from the data collected for this project.

Population Characteristics

- From 1980 to 2000, Asians and Pacific Islanders experienced the greatest percent increase in population of any racial group, a 219 percent increase mostly occurring in Dense Rural and Urban counties. Fifty-nine percent of this population lives in either Johnson or Sedgwick counties.
- Asians and Pacific Islanders were young. Their median age was 29.1 and 26.7 years, respectively, compared to 35.2 years for the total state population.
- Only 4.3 percent of the population was 65 years and older, compared to 13.3 percent of all Kansans.

Housing

- Nearly one in five (17.8 percent) of Asians and Pacific Islanders occupied housing units that had more than one occupant (compared to 2 percent of whites).
- Asian and Pacific Islander housing was most likely to lack complete kitchen facilities.
 Just over one percent of their housing units lack kitchens compared to 0.5 percent of the general population.

• Housing units occupied by Asians and Pacific Islanders were the least likely to report being without a vehicle (3.8 percent) compared to the state rate of 5.7 percent.

Social Determinants

- Asians and Pacific Islanders report the lowest level of families headed by a single parent (14.5 percent compared to 24.4 percent for the general population).
- Forty-one percent of Asians and Pacific Islanders reported not being able to speak
 English "very well" compared to only 2 percent of the white population. Older Asians
 and Pacific Islanders were most likely to report linguistic isolation.
- About one-fifth of linguistically-isolated Kansas households spoke an Asian or Pacific Islander language. The top eight counties with the largest number of these households were Sedgwick, Johnson, Douglas, Riley, Wyandotte, Finney, Saline and Geary.
- Asians and Pacific Islanders had a lower than average percentage of adults with a high school diploma (75.2 percent), but the highest proportion of adults with a four-year college degree or higher (40.0 percent). In addition, one in five had a graduate or professional degree. These findings refute the "model minority" stereotype of Asians placing enormous social value on education, and points to the likelihood that particular ethnic groups within this population have had different educational experiences.
- Asians and Pacific Islanders had the lowest percent of mothers with less than a high school education (data 1993-2003).
- Juvenile property crime arrest rates for Asians and Pacific Islanders were 802 per 100,000 among 10-17 year olds; this compares to the state rate of 940 per 100,000. Most arrests were for shoplifting, all other theft, burglary and motor vehicle theft. Juvenile violent crime arrest rates were low (72 per 100,000 vs. 120 per 100,000 for the general population).
- Adult property crime arrest rates (2000-2002) were 91 per 100,000 compared to the state rate of 176 per 100,000. Violent crime arrest rates were less than half that of the general population; 26 per 100,000 compared to 56 per 100,000.

Income and Employment

- Per capita income for Asians and Pacific Islanders was the highest among racial and ethnic minorities in Kansas. However, foreign-born Asians and Pacific Islanders were over three times more likely to be living in poverty than their American-born counterparts.
- Asians and Pacific Islanders were the only minority group with adults (age 18-64 years) *more* likely than children to be living in poverty.
- Among all minorities, Asians and Pacific Islanders were least likely to be unemployed. They were most frequently employed in sales and office occupations (27 percent), managerial, professional and related occupations (25 percent), production, transportation, and material moving occupations (20 percent), service occupations (21 percent), and construction, extraction and maintenance occupations (7 percent). Very few of them reported being employed in farming, fishing or forestry occupations.

Disease and Disability

- Asians and Pacific Islanders report the lowest overall disability rate (27.2 compared to 31.0 for the state).
- Asians and Pacific Islanders had the highest reported tuberculosis rate, a rate 25 times
 higher than that of whites. Most cases were in the state's metropolitan areas, with about
 one-third of all new cases reported in Sedgwick County.
- There were very few cases of HIV or AIDS in this Kansas population (the AIDS rate is
 1.1 per 100,000 for Asians and Pacific Islanders compared to 3.3 per 100,000 for the total population).

Births

- Teen pregnancy was lowest among Asians and Pacific Islanders, and among 15-17 year olds was the lowest of all racial and ethnic groups (see Appendix F-2).
- The Asian and Pacific Islander birth rate was second only to Hispanics (24.8 per 1,000) at 19.1 per 1,000.

- Among mothers choosing an Asian or Pacific Islander ancestry for their newborn's birth certificate, the most commonly chosen category is Southeast Asian and Pacific Islander which includes Japanese, Hawaiian, Indonesian and Australian ancestries.
- No disparities were identified indicating poor outcomes regarding prenatal care, low birthweight infants or infant mortality.

Deaths

The age-adjusted death rate from all causes was lowest among Asians and Pacific Islanders. This indicates that these individuals are not dying unexpectedly in their youth. For example, Asians and Pacific Islanders have the lowest age-adjusted death rate and lowest years-of-potential-life-lost (YPLL) rate from coronary heart disease, cancer and diabetes among all racial groups, although it may reflect an underreporting bias.

Risk Behaviors

- Youth reported lower percentages of cigarette use, alcohol use and marijuana use as compared to all other racial and ethnic groups.
- Asians and Pacific Islanders reported the best self-rated health status, with only 6 percent reporting that their health was "fair" or "poor." They were also least likely to report any activity limitation (4 percent), and reported the lowest levels of overweight or obesity (31 percent vs. 57 percent for the general population).

CHARACTERISTICS OF KANSAS NATIVE AMERICANS

Native American health status is among the worst of any racial or ethnic minority in the Untied States, but it is often difficult to measure. The data we have in Kansas regarding Native Americans is riddled with gaps, largely because American Indians go unnoticed. In the absence of asking a client or patient to identify their race and ethnicity, many Native Americans are not outwardly recognized as being Native Americans; their populations are so diverse, and the visual stereotype so embedded in misconception, that their race frequently is mistaken for other groups. Even with these limitations, the following lists what we do know from the data regarding the health and social conditions of Native Americans in Kansas.

Population Characteristics

- The Native American population has remained stable at approximately 1 percent of the Kansas population from 1980 to 2000. The 2000 U.S. Census permitted multiple racial category selection, and there was a 13.5 percent increase in the number of Native Americans since 1990. Including the group of census respondents who chose Native American plus another racial category would represent a 115.6 percent increase in the population, an unlikely situation. The most common two or more races combination was that of "White" and "American Indian/Alaska Native."
- Native Americans were the only minority group to grow at a rate slower than the general population, an increase of only 0.1 percent which is equivalent to an estimated 16 people.
- Only 8 percent of American Indians and Alaska Natives live in counties with tribal reservations (Brown, Doniphan and Jackson).
- The median age of the Native American population is 28.3 years compared to 35.2 years for the general population. The largest number of Native Americans less than 18 years of age lived in Sedgwick, Douglas and Shawnee counties. Combined, these counties had 36 percent of the state's American Indian and Alaska Native population under age 18.
- Only 5.2 percent (1, 296 individuals) were 65 years and older compared to 13.3 percent of the total population. This could indicate premature death or out-migration.

Housing

- Native Americans had one of the highest percentages of households without telephone service (8.3 percent) compared to the total population (2.8 percent). This has a substantial impact on state and national surveys that are conducted by telephone, leading to underrepresentation.
- Native American households had the highest proportion of occupied housing units that lacked complete plumbing facilities (0.9 percent compared to 0.4 percent statewide).

Social Determinants

• Thirty percent of American Indian and Alaska Native single-parent families with children under age 18 were living below poverty.

- More than 80 percent of Native Americans complete high school or the equivalent, but less than 15 percent complete a college degree.
- The male high school dropout rate is 42.8 per 100 students compared to 2.3 per 100 students for the total population (2002-2003 reporting year).
- American Indian and Alaska Natives were the least likely group to have passed an advanced science or advanced math class.
- American Indian mothers were 25 percent more likely to have less than a high school education than white mothers.
- Juvenile property crime arrest rates for 10-17 year old American Indians were 431 per 100,000 compared to 940 per 100,000 for the general population. Burglary was the most frequent property crime, followed by motor vehicle theft, shoplifting and all other theft. The arrest rate for violent crime was 73 per 100,000 compared to 120 for the general population. Aggravated battery/aggravated assault was most common.
- The adult arrest rate for property crimes among American Indians was 80 per 100,000 compared to 176 per 100,000 for the general population. The violent crime arrest rate was 64 per 100,000, higher than the total population rate of 56 per 100,000.
- One quarter of American Indian children under age 5 was living below the poverty level in 1999.

Income and Employment

Unemployment is about twice as likely for American Indian and Alaska Native adults as compared to the general population.

Disease and Disability

- The American Indian and Alaska Native population had the highest overall disability rate in Kansas: 42.6 per 100 non-institutionalized civilians age 5 or older. Native Americans were more than three times more likely to have a physical disability and nearly three times as likely to have a mental or sensory disability as Asians and Pacific Islanders.
- American Indians had the highest percent of their population with a sensory disability. Nearly five percent of civilian, non-institutionalized Native Americans age 5 or older and 20 percent aged 65 and older reported a sensory disability. They also reported the highest

percent of mental disability (7.5 percent). An especially high proportion of American Indian children had a mental disability (8.5 percent of 5- to 15-year-olds). However, among older American Indians, the mental disability rate declined to 10.2 percent and was below that of any other minority group.

- There were very few cases of HIV or AIDS in this Kansas population, but the HIV rate is comparable to the general population (3.0 per 100,000 for Native Americans compared to 3.3 per 100,000).
- Cancer rates were relatively low and likely represented under-reporting by race.

Births

- American Indian teen pregnancy rates were comparable to the state average, and their overall birth rate was the lowest among racial and ethnic minorities in the state (14.3 per 1,000).
- Percent of low birthweight for Native American infants was 6.6, comparable to whites (6.7), but still above the Healthy People 2010 target of 5 percent.

Deaths

- Native Americans (and African Americans) had the highest coronary heart disease ageadjusted death rate (173 per 100,000). Again, with the high likelihood of under-reporting, the actual rate may be even higher. Three in 10 Native American deaths due to coronary heart disease occurred in Shawnee and Sedgwick counties. Fifteen percent occurred in counties with American Indian reservations (Doniphan, Brown and Jackson).
- The American Indian age-adjusted death rate from cancer was 191 per 100,000 which
 was comparable to the state rate. The cancer rate over time has been erratic, but may have
 been decreasing over time since 1996; again, under-reporting is suspected. One third of
 American Indian deaths due to cancer occurred in Sedgwick and Shawnee counties.
- The American Indian age-adjusted death rate for diabetes is 31 per 100,000 which is higher than that for the general population (24 per 100,000), but the rate is based on only 19 deaths (1999-2003 data). This clearly indicates a pervasive condition of underreporting that belies the actual burden from this disease.

Risk Behaviors

- American Indian and Alaska Native 8th, 10th and 12th grade students reported the highest use of cigarettes (32 percent), alcohol (47 percent, tied with Hispanics) and marijuana (22 percent) compared to all other racial and ethnic groups.
- Cigarette use was highest among American Indians; approximately one in three was a cigarette smoker (1995-2003 data).
- Self-reported "fair" or "poor" health rating was 19 percent, higher than all other groups.

CHARACTERISTICS OF KANSAS AFRICAN AMERICANS

In Kansas, the African American experience has been one of challenges and slow change. Three out of four African Americans live in one of five counties in the state (Wyandotte, Sedgwick, Shawnee, Johnson and Leavenworth), each characterized by relatively high population density and more urban characteristics such as high crime rates and poor housing quality. A national study examining the contributions of major diseases to disparities in mortality identified smoking-related disease among those with low levels of education, and hypertension, HIV, diabetes and trauma among blacks (Wong, Shapiro, Boscardin, & Ettner, 2002). These conditions and others are characteristic of the Kansas African American population:

Population Characteristics

- Until 2000, African Americans were the largest minority group in Kansas; Hispanics now surpass them. In Kansas in 2000, 5.7 percent of the population was African American (compared to 12.3 percent nationwide).
- African Americans had a relatively small increase in population, 3.6 percent, though this still outpaced the growth of the general population (2000-2003).
- Approximately 1 percent of African Americans lived in Frontier or Rural counties.
- Among all persons identifying themselves on the 2000 U.S. Census as African American, one out of 10 reported this race in combination with another racial category.
- More than one in 10 (11 percent) adult African American males between 17 and 64 years of age was in a correctional institution. This increased the African American population

- representation in non-urban counties including Butler, Cowley, Ellsworth, Leavenworth, Norton, Pawnee and Reno.
- The African American population was younger than the general population (28.6 years compared to 35.2 years for the total state population).

Housing

- Twice as many African Americans rented their housing units (56.1 percent) as compared to whites (28.0 percent).
- African American households were most likely to have no vehicle (14.7 percent)
 compared to the general Kansas population (5.7 percent). Most of these households were
 in either Sedgwick or Wyandotte counties. That equates to nearly 8,000 African
 American occupied housing units without a vehicle. Wyandotte County had the highest
 percentage of occupied housing units without a vehicle (11.3 percent), and the number of
 African Americans climbed to 19 percent without a vehicle in that county.
- Nearly 20,000 African Americans in Kansas lived in housing units with one or more of the following issues: a lack of complete plumbing facilities, a lack of complete kitchen facilities, more than one occupant per room, selected monthly owner costs that exceed 30 percent of the household income, and gross rent greater than 30 percent of household income.

Social Determinants

- There were more households headed by a single parent among African Americans than among any other racial or ethnic group (55.2 percent compared to 24.4 percent statewide). Wyandotte County had the highest proportion of single-parent households, 42.2 percent, and Shawnee ranked second with 31.8 percent.
- Among those 25 years and older, 20 percent did not receive a high school diploma, 32
 percent graduated high school, 33 percent attended some college or received an associate
 degree, 10 percent graduated from college and 5 percent have a graduate or professional
 degree.
- African American students were more than twice as likely to be suspended as any other racial or ethnic group, and males in general were about three times more likely to be

- suspended than female students. African American students had a violent-acts-againststudents rate approximately three times higher than the total student population.
- The juvenile property crime arrest rate for African Americans was 1,713 per 100,000 compared to 940 per 100,000 for the total population. The violent crime arrest rate was twice as high as the total population (253 per 100,000 compared to 120 per 100,000).
- The adult property crime arrest rate for African Americans was 541 per 100,000 compared to 176 per 100,000. The violent crime arrest rate was 168 per 100,000 compared to 56 per 100,000 for the total population. It was noted above that 11 percent of adult African American males are incarcerated.

Income and Employment

- Median household income for African Americans was \$28,627 compared to \$40,624 for the state (1999 data).
- Nearly one in four African Americans was living in poverty in 1999, and nearly half of African Americans had incomes below 200 percent of poverty.
- Thirty-eight percent of African American children under the age of 5 were living in poverty compared to 15 percent of same age white children.
- Allen and Crawford counties had the highest percentage of African Americans in poverty (43 percent).
- African Americans with less than a high school education were more than four times as likely to live below 200 percent of poverty than those with a bachelor's degree or higher.
- African Americans are three times more likely to be unemployed than whites (11 percent compared to 3.7 percent).
- African Americans were nearly twice as likely as whites to report being uninsured. They were also three times as likely to report having public insurance coverage (2001 data). South Central Kansas (excluding Sedgwick County) and South West Kansas had the highest proportions of uninsured African Americans.

Disease and Disability

Nearly 16 percent of civilian, non-institutionalized African Americans reported that they had a condition that made it difficult for them to work at a job or business.

- African Americans reported the highest level of self-care disability, which includes
 difficulties with bathing, dressing or getting around at home (3.4 percent for age 5 and
 older and 12.7 percent for aged 65 and older) compared to other racial and ethnic groups.
 More than one in three adults age 65 and older reported a physical disability, the highest
 reported level among all racial and ethnic groups.
- The incidence rate of a reportable disease (chlamydia) for African Americans was nearly 10 times higher than that of whites or Asians, and the gonorrhea incidence rate was similar. It has been suggested that these clients seek treatment from public clinics and that these conditions are more often reported than if they were seen in a private doctor's office. All providers are required to report these conditions, but it appears likely that they do not do so consistently, so other factors may affect these disease-specific disparities.
- The incidence rate for HIV for African Americans was six times greater than for whites (15.9 per 100,000 population compared to 2.7 per 100,000 (2000-2002 data)). AIDS was twice as high among African Americans (4.8 per 100,000 population compared to 2.1 per 100,000 among whites).
- African Americans had the highest overall cancer incidence rates. The rate for African
 American females was slightly less than the rate for white females, but the rate for
 African American males was 31 percent higher than for white males and nearly twice as
 high as that for African American females.
- Male African Americans had prostate cancer, lung cancer and colorectal cancer rates nearly 50 percent higher than the same condition in white males.
- African American hospital discharges were higher than for whites and "others" (1995-1999 data).

Births

- The African American teen (ages 10-19) pregnancy rate was 51.6 per 1,000, nearly double the rate for white adolescents (27.2 per 1,000).
- African American infants represented 7 percent of all births, but 13 percent of the state's low birthweight babies and 16 percent of the state's infant mortalities. The low birthweight percentage was 12.5 compared to the state average of 7.1, and six out of 10 of these births occur in either Sedgwick or Wyandotte counties.

African Americans have a rate of 15 deaths per 1,000 live births, more than twice the rate of infant mortality among whites.

Deaths

- The age-adjusted death rate for all causes was 37 percent higher for African Americans than for whites.
- The coronary heart disease age-adjusted death rate was 173 per 100,000; the state rate was 150 per 100,000. The rate since 1996 appeared to be steadily declining.
- African Americans had the highest cancer age-adjusted death rate (263 per 100,000 compared to 189 per 100,000 for the state).
- The African American age-adjusted death rate from diabetes was three times higher than for whites (61 compared to 23 per 100,000). Seven in 10 of these deaths occur in three counties: Wyandotte, Sedgwick and Shawnee.
- The age-adjusted death rate from unintentional injury was slightly less than that for whites.
- White males were significantly more likely to commit suicide than African American males; however, African American males were 10 times more likely to die from homicide than whites.
- African Americans had the highest years of potential life lost (YPLL) due to all causes before age 75 (10.8 percent of YPLL occur in a population that only represented 5.7 percent of the state). They also had the highest YPLL due to coronary heart disease (751 years of life lost per 100,000), cancer (1,590 years life lost per 100,000) diabetes (310 years life lost per 100,000), and unintentional injury (1,235 years life lost per 100,000) (1999-2003 data).

Risk Behaviors

- African American 8th, 10th and 12th grade students reported the lowest use of cigarettes and alcohol compared to all other racial and ethnic groups. Nineteen percent reported using marijuana in the last 30 days.
- African Americans had the highest levels of overweight and obesity in the state (63 percent), calculating these conditions based on their self-reported height and weight.

Dental sealants are widely accepted as a measure to prevent tooth decay, yet only 4.8
percent of African American third graders were observed to have them compared to 37.0
percent of whites (Kimminau, Huang, McGlasson, & Kim, 2005).

CHARACTERISTICS OF KANSAS HISPANICS/LATINOS

There are more than 188,000 Hispanics/Latinos in Kansas, and they represent 7 percent of the state population. Since 1990, Hispanics/Latinos have increased 101 percent in numbers, and they live throughout the state. While largely of Mexican ethnicity (78 percent), Hispanics/Latinos come from many cultures and countries. Historically, they often immigrated to Kansas as service industry workers, migrant laborers and to work in the meatpacking industry. They left Kansas to return to their countries of origin, and then returned again. Other Hispanic families can trace three or more generations in Kansas. This diversity presents a constantly changing profile of acculturation – with some residents possessing few language and other skills to adjust to American culture, while others can steer through the complex health system with less difficulty. The following list characterizes the Hispanic/Latino population in Kansas. We report here only the statistics for those listed as Hispanic, even though we know from national studies that Hispanics also are represented in the "some other race" category.

Population Characteristics

- The Hispanic population grew by nearly 125,000 from 1980 to 2000 a 198 percent increase. The population increased 330 percent in Dense Rural counties, driven by a more than 400 percent increase in Finney (Garden City), Ford (Dodge City) and Seward (Liberal) counties.
- In just three years, between 2000 and 2003, the Hispanic population increased by an estimated 24,000 individuals.
- Hispanics may be persons of any race. When selecting a racial category, most (89 percent) describe themselves as "white" or "some other race."
- Hispanics have the highest percentage of males compared to females (53.6 percent) in their population.

One quarter (24.6 percent) of all Hispanics in the 2000 census were under age 18. Their median age was the youngest compared to all other racial groups (23.0 years) and to the state (35.2 years). The most common age for Hispanics was 0 (less than 1 year of age).

Housing

- The average household size was 3.49 people compared to the state average of 2.51 people. The average family size was 3.86 people compared to the state average of 3.07 people.
- Hispanics were likely to live in housing without telephone service (3,962 units).
- Approximately one in five Hispanics occupied housing units that had more than one occupant per room. Nearly 3,000 Hispanic households lived with two or more of the following conditions: without complete kitchen facilities, without complete plumbing facilities, and with housing costs that exceed 30 percent of household income.

Social Determinants

- Nearly two-thirds of linguistically isolated households in Kansas spoke Spanish. Finney (16 percent), Seward (13 percent) and Ford (11 percent) plus Sedgwick, Wyandotte, Johnson and Shawnee counties had the largest percentage of such households. The adult population age 18-64 was most likely to have problems communicating in English.
- Hispanic/Latino educational attainment rates were lowest of all minority groups in Kansas. Only 51.7 percent of Hispanics/Latinos had a high school diploma. Hispanic students had the highest dropout rate (3.8 for males). Only 69.4 percent of male and 75.0 percent of female Hispanics/Latinos who entered high school earned a diploma, compared to 88.2 percent of all Kansans. Less than one in 10 (9.7 percent) earned a fouryear college degree.
- Over half of Hispanic mothers with live births (52.7 percent) had less than a high school education compared to 18.1 percent of white mothers. Sixty percent of Hispanic mothers in Frontier counties and 59 percent in Dense Rural counties lacked a high school education.
- The juvenile property crime arrest rate for Hispanics was 1,440 per 100,000 compared to 940 per 100,000 for the total population. Shoplifting and burglary were the most common

- crimes. The juvenile violent crime arrest rate was 211 per 100,000 compared to 120 per 100,000 for the total population. Aggravated battery/aggravated assault was the most common crime.
- The adult property crime arrest rate was 296 per 100,000 compared to 176 per 100,000 for the total population. The adult violent crime arrest rate was 103 per 100,000 compared to 56 per 100,000 for the total population.

Income and Employment

- One quarter of Hispanic children were living below poverty (1999 data). Over one half of Hispanics had incomes below 200 percent of poverty, twice that of the white population.
- In 2000, one in four uninsured was Hispanic. Hispanics were twice as likely as whites to have public health insurance coverage (2001 data).

Disease and Disability

- Hispanics/Latinos reported the lowest levels of self-care disability (1.6 percent) and among the highest levels of employment disability (16 percent).
- The HIV infection rate was 6.9 compared to 2.7 for whites; AIDS rate was 1.9 for
 Hispanics compared to 2.1 for whites. Before 1991, only 3 percent of new AIDS cases
 were among Hispanics; between 2000 and 2002, Hispanics accounted for 15 percent of
 new AIDS cases.
- Cancer rates cannot be calculated for Hispanics.
- Hospital discharge data were not available by ethnicity.

Births

- The Hispanic teen (ages 10-19) pregnancy rate was 54.2 per 1,000 compared to 27.2 for whites.
- Nearly three-quarters of the state's Hispanic/Latino births occurred in seven counties:
 Sedgwick, Wyandotte, Finney, Ford, Seward, Shawnee and Johnson (1999-2003 data).
- The Hispanic birth rate was 24.8 per 1,000 live births compared to 14.5 per 1,000 live births statewide. The Hispanic birth rate was highest for Dense Rural counties (27.9 per 1,000 live births).

- Hispanic mothers most frequently chose "Mexican" ancestry for their newborn's birth certificate (83 percent of all Hispanic births).
- Hispanic women had the lowest first trimester prenatal care rates at 70.3 percent compared to 86.2 percent for the total population. This pattern has been improving, showing an increase from 64.6 percent in 1996 to 70.3 percent in 2003.
- First trimester care varied by ethnicity. Cubans had a rate of 89 percent, just shy of the Healthy People 2010 goal (90 percent). Mexicans had the lowest rate among Latinos at 69.1 percent. One in 10 Latino births in Kansas were to Mexican mothers.
- Hispanic women were least likely to receive "adequate" or better prenatal care (measured as a function of prenatal care visits and when the care began) with a percentage of 63.7 compared to 80.9 percent for the total population. Only 53.4 percent of Hispanics in Dense Rural counties received "adequate" or better prenatal care.
- Low birthweight infants occurred least frequently to Hispanic/Latino mothers compared to the other racial groups; the rate was 6.0 percent compared to 7.1 percent statewide.

Deaths

Death rates calculated for Hispanics are likely to underestimate the actual number of deaths because of racial and ethnic misreporting. The age-adjusted all-cause death rate for Hispanics was about two-thirds that of whites.

Risk Behaviors

- Hispanic 8th, 10th and 12th grade students reported the highest level of alcohol use in the past 30 days (47 percent, tied with Native Americans).
- Sixty percent of Hispanics reported that they are overweight or obese, slightly greater than the 57 percent for the state. Thirty-five percent had no personal doctor or healthcare provider compared to 17 percent for the general population.

DISEASE-SPECIFIC HEALTH DISPARITIES

CANCER

Cancer is the second leading cause of death in the United States after heart disease, and cancer causes one in four deaths (Centers for Disease Control and Prevention, 2002). Cancer awareness has grown steadily, and many national organizations have helped identify cancer trends in minority populations. Since 1987, the third week in April has been set aside as National Minority Cancer Awareness Week. At this time, researchers and healthcare professionals across the country educate minority populations about cancer and explore why some ethnic minorities are more likely to develop and die from certain types of cancers. For example, the national incidence rate for cancer is 16 percent higher among African Americans than for whites, and other racial and ethnic groups have high rates that vary by gender and age. African American men have the highest rates of prostate cancer and colorectal cancer as compared to the general population, while lung cancer is high among Native Americans (Kansas Cancer Registry 1996-1999 Kansas Department of Health and Environment).

While white women are most likely to be diagnosed with breast cancer, African American women are more likely to die from the disease (Boyer-Chammard, Taylor, & Anton-Culver, 1999). One hypothesis is that African American women either do not seek screening or do not perform self examinations at the same rate as white women and are therefore diagnosed later in the course of the disease. Another hypothesis is that they may seek screening and complete self exams at the same rate, but are more likely to visit providers who are less qualified to make early-stage diagnoses. In either event, the health, economic and emotional costs of this situation are high.

Once diagnosed, disparities in treatment patterns are evident among racial and ethnic groups. Disparities have been identified in the primary treatment of breast cancer, cervical cancer and prostate cancer (Agency for Healthcare Research and Quality, 2003). In each of these cancers, as well as in colorectal cancer, we know that mortality can be reduced by screening and early intervention, but some minorities may not receive these screenings at an optimal time. For example, Asian women in Kansas are half as likely to receive a Pap smear test for cervical cancer than the general female population (Bureau of Health Promotion Kansas

Department of Health and Environment Behavioral Risk Factor Surveillance System (BRFSS)1995-2002). An interesting exception to this pattern is that African American women appear to have higher screening rates nationally for cervical cancer (84 percent vs. 82 percent among whites), and they have an associated lower incidence of presenting to the medical system with late stage cancer (Agency for Healthcare Research and Quality, 2003, p. 21).

Between 1996 and 1999, there were 50,075 cancers reported to the Kansas Cancer Registry, or about 12,500 per year. The overall age-adjusted incidence was 461 new cases per 100,000 population. African Americans had the highest overall cancer incidence rates, and for all types of cancer combined, males had higher rates than females for all races except Asians and Pacific Islanders.

Male prostate cancer had the highest incidence rate, and the rate for African Americans was nearly 50 percent higher than for white males. Lung cancer was still a common cancer, more common among males where the incidence rate is nearly twice as high as for females. African American males had a lung cancer rate that was substantially higher than for white males (129 compared to 87 per 100,000).

In general order of severity, the four cancer states include "in situ," local, regional and distant. Generally, treatment and recovery is most likely when the cancer is detected early and is still "in situ" or local, compared to when it has affected distant tissues or organs. Most female breast cancers (56 percent) were diagnosed at the local stage. African American women were more likely than white women to have their breast cancer diagnosed at the regional or distant stage (39 percent compared to 30 percent).

The most common stage for diagnosis of colorectal cancer was regional (43 percent) and the most common for lung cancer was distant (45 percent). No racial disparities regarding stage of diagnosis were identified. Racial disparities were noted in the age-adjusted death rates from cancer. The Kansas African American age-adjusted cancer death rate was 263 per 100,000 population compared to the state rate of 189 per 100,000. This was associated with a higher years

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