

Part 4

Office interventions for poverty: racialized groups

by Samantha Green, MD, CCFP; Marc Labelle; Victor Vien

PART 4 OF 5

Why poverty is a medical problem



Introduction

IN THIS FOURTH ARTICLE OF OUR FIVE-PART SERIES ON MEDICAL INTERVENTIONS INTO POVERTY, WE LOOK AT RACIALIZED GROUPS THAT EXPERIENCE A DISPROPORTIONATE BURDEN OF THE HEALTH IMPACTS OF POVERTY, THROUGH A FOCUS ON TWO SPECIFIC GROUPS: ABORIGINAL PEOPLES AND NEW IMMIGRANTS AND REFUGEES.^{a,b}

When a patient is both economically disadvantaged and a member of a marginalized social group, the health impact of poverty is increased, and we must refine the tools we use to address the patient's poverty.

While the four steps to addressing poverty discussed in the second article of this series — screen, adjust risk, intervene, and create a poverty reduction team (which appeared in the October 2013 OMR, accessible at www.oma.org) — may still apply to new immigrants and refugees or to patients who identify as Aboriginal, we must also consider these patients' social and cultural context, and the racism they experience. Indeed, the Public Health Agency of Canada considers culture among the key determinants of health.¹ This article will explore practical tools for, and approaches to, addressing poverty and providing patient-centred care to members of these marginalized and racialized groups.

Poverty is much higher among racialized Canadians in general, particularly in urban centres.^{2,3} Racialized individuals are disproportionately represented among the working poor. Their work is often temporary, part

time, or short term, and pays minimum wage or less.⁴ Significant differences in health status and access to health care among racialized Canadians are not solely attributable to poverty.⁵

They may also encounter cultural and linguistic barriers to accessing health care and social services. Moreover, it is important to consider the diversity within these groups; urban Aboriginals, Métis, and immigrants from particular communities face specific stressors and health risks.⁶

There are far more differences than similarities between new immigrants, refugees, and Aboriginal Peoples, and addressing these groups together can be problematic. Nonetheless, newcomers and Aboriginal Peoples are culturally marginalized, and disproportionately suffer from the health impacts of poverty. In a clinical encounter involving a low-income patient from one of these groups, we may make similar adjustments in our approach to addressing their poverty.

Aboriginal Peoples

As a group, Aboriginal Peoples have distinct cultures that emphasize the importance of community, traditions,

and respect for natural environments. Despite these protective factors, Aboriginal Peoples have the highest poverty rates and the worst health of all Canadians. Unemployment exceeds 70% on some reserves.⁵ Aboriginal Canadians have higher rates of diabetes, obesity, smoking, cardiovascular disease, mental illness, suicide, substance misuse, and cancer, as well as higher premature mortality.⁷⁻¹⁰

Focusing on health statistics in the absence of a deeper understanding of their root causes risks promoting racist and paternalistic health care.^{11,12} The health of Aboriginal Peoples reflects the combination of a legacy of colonialism, systemic racism, loss of language and connection to the land, environmental deprivation, and spiritual disconnectedness.¹³⁻¹⁷

Health care in Canada has been used in the past to promote the assimilation of Aboriginal Peoples.¹⁸ As highlighted by recent evidence of medical experimentation in a residential school in Kenora, health-care providers have not always practised medicine or medical research with Aboriginal patients' best interests in mind.¹⁹ This history of medical maltreatment has the poten-

tial to complicate contemporary physician-patient relationships. There is significant mistrust of governmental institutions and researchers, especially on reserve.

New Immigrants And Refugees

New immigrants tend to have lower overall mortality and better health status than their age-matched Canadian-born counterparts, a phenomenon known as the healthy immigrant effect. If someone is healthy enough to travel to Canada, he or she is, on average, healthier than an age-matched Canadian.²⁰ However, health status varies dramatically depending on birthplace, period of immigration, and area of residence.²¹

New immigrants are more likely to work in low-paying jobs, less likely to be employed, and more likely to live in poverty. Immigrants are often well-educated but have difficulty establishing themselves in jobs appropriate with their level of training.²² Moreover, socio-economic factors have a greater effect

on health outcomes for immigrants than non-immigrants.²³

Refugees are at higher risk of ill health than other immigrants due to past exposure to harmful living conditions, violence, and trauma. Some refugees have encountered war, poor sanitation, or specific disease vectors or exposures.²⁴

Refugees and new immigrants with limited English-language or French-language proficiency often report a rapid decline in their health after arrival in Canada.²⁵ New immigrants generally, and refugees in particular, are more likely to report difficulty accessing health care.²⁶

Intervention: Cultural Safety

Culturally safe health care is an approach to patient-centred care in the setting of cultural difference.

Cultural safety arose as a concern in New Zealand in the 1990s, as the country attempted to apply the far-reaching Treaty of Waitangi to health and social

services.²⁷ Although cultural safety is described as a model of care for indigenous patients, it can be applied to other marginalized populations, including new immigrants and refugees.²⁸

A health-care provider's own culture, and the assumptions that stem from that culture, affect clinical encounters. Knowledge of cultural differences is important in clinical encounters, but even more important is an understanding that past and present historical processes are connected to a patient's current health and social status.^{29,30}

Cultural safety requires health-care providers to reflect on their own assumptions, as well as their own cultural position as a result of historical and societal factors.³¹ The burden of cultural adaptation that results when intercultural interactions occur should be relieved from the patient whenever possible.^{32,33} Cultural safety minimizes risk and allows for a safe healing environment.³⁴

Interpreter services are a crucial

WHEN IT COMES TO THE FLU SHOT, YOUR PATIENTS LISTEN TO YOU.

The flu shot is the most effective way to prevent the flu. But we still need to encourage more Ontarians to get it.

As health care providers, you can help your patients make an informed decision. Your support of the flu shot will go a long way to deal with any concerns or questions they might have. It's important to recommend the flu shot to all of your eligible patients.



ontario.ca/flu • 1-877-844-1944 • TTY 1-800-387-5559

Paid for by the Government of Ontario.



component of cultural safety. In addition to providing language translation, the interpreter can act as a cultural translator.³⁵ Interpreters may mediate potential conflicts, and act as medical educators and advocates.³⁶ Using family member interpreters is generally not appropriate as conflicting agendas may lead family members to alter the physician's message in order to tell the patient what they believe the patient should hear.³⁷

When caring for Aboriginal patients, respect for traditional medicines and health practices are a critical component of cultural safety.³⁸ When Aboriginal Peoples are connected with traditional cultural and spiritual practices, their health improves.³⁹⁻⁴² Involvement with traditional culture and spirituality improves resilience and protects against health crises, such as suicide.⁴³⁻⁴⁵ Culturally appropriate prenatal services can improve patient satisfaction with care, permit earlier initiation of care, and increase rates of breastfeeding among Aboriginal women.⁴⁶

Intervention: Practice Accommodations

Physicians can optimize access to health care for populations that are socially marginalized by adjusting practice location, hours, and on-site supports. Aboriginal patients, new immigrants, and refugees may benefit from formal connections with cultural support networks and community services. Cultural safety training for clinic support staff is also important.⁴⁷

Intervention: Specific Government Benefits

Finally, physicians should be aware of specific benefits that Aboriginals and new immigrants and refugees may be eligible for. First Nations people designated as "Status Indian," and Inuit who are registered with the federal government, are eligible for Health Canada's Non-Insured Health Benefits, which covers some services not provided by provincial or territorial health plans. These benefits originate in the "medicine chest" clause of Treaty 6: "That a medicine chest shall be kept at the house of each Indian Agent for the use and benefit of the Indians at the direc-

tion of such agent."^{c,48}

Refugees and some refugee claimants are eligible for coverage under the federal government's Interim Federal Health Program. However, in June of 2012, the federal government implemented cuts to the program, which has led to confusion for refugee claimants and health-care providers. Some patients, including those waiting to register their refugee claim, lost some or all of their health-care coverage.⁴⁹ See the sidebars below for more information and resources.

Conclusion

Physicians can ensure that their practices take steps toward mitigating the negative impact of poverty on the health of Aboriginal Peoples, new immigrants, and refugees by engaging in cultur-

ally safe practices, by connecting with community groups, and by ensuring that their patients have applied for the government resources for which they may be eligible.

It is said that a society should be judged on the basis of how it treats its most vulnerable. Aboriginal Peoples, new immigrants and refugees are particularly vulnerable to poverty and a variety of health threats. As one of the world's richest countries, Canada can and should do much more to assist these marginalized groups to achieve their full human potential, and the highest possible level of health. ■

Overall series editor: Dr. Andrea Feller. Series editorial committee: Dr. Andrea Feller, Dr. Gary Bloch, Dr. Michael Rachlis. The editors would like to thank Kathryn

Health-Care Coverage For Refugees And Claimants In Ontario

Prior to June 2012, all refugees and refugee claimants received uniform health-care coverage, which included services normally covered by provincial health-care plans, as well as dental, vision, physiotherapy, and medication coverage. Failed refugee claimants also received this coverage until their removal order came into effect.

Government-assisted refugees (GARs) continue to receive this coverage, but refugee claimants have been divided into those from Designated Countries of Origin (DCO) and non-DCO countries. DCO countries are those that the government has deemed unlikely to produce refugees; countries on this list include Hungary and Mexico. Claimants from non-DCO countries receive care equivalent to provincial health-care plans and are eligible to apply for social assistance. Claimants from DCO countries, and rejected claimants, receive no coverage for medical care except for diseases posing a risk to public health or safety.

Additional Resources

- **COSTI** provides educational, social, and employment services to help all immigrants in the Toronto area attain self-sufficiency in Canadian society: <http://www.costi.org/>
- **Anishnawbe Health Toronto:** <http://www.aht.ca/>
- **Aboriginal Cultural Safety Initiative:** <http://www.aht.ca/aboriginal-culture-safety>
- **Canadian Council for Refugees:** <http://ccrweb.ca/>
- **Health Canada:** <http://www.hc-sc.gc.ca/fniah-spnia/nihb-ssna/provide-fourrir/index-eng.php>
- **Canadian Doctors for Refugee Care:** <http://www.doctorsforrefugeecare.ca/>
- **Indigenous Physicians Association of Canada:** <http://ipac-amic.org/>
- **Aboriginal Affairs and Northern Development Canada — 1996 Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples:** <http://www.aadnc-aandc.gc.ca/eng/1100100014597/1100100014637#>

MacKay, Ontario Medical Association, for her assistance with the final preparation of the articles.

Dr. Samantha Green is a family physician based in Hamilton; Marc Labelle is a second-year medical student at the University of Toronto and a member of the Métis Nation of Ontario; Victor Vien is a third-year medical student at the University of Toronto and a member of the Métis Nation of Ontario.

Endnotes

- a. The term Aboriginal Peoples refers to the Indigenous Peoples of Canada, which includes First Nations, Inuit, and Métis people.
- b. Per the Canadian Race Relations Foundation, "racialization" is the process through which groups come to be designated as different, and on that basis subjected to differential and unequal treatment. In the present context, "racialized groups" include those who may experience differential treatment on the basis of race, ethnicity, language, economics, religion, culture, politics, etc. That is, treated outside the norm and receiving unequal treatment based upon phenotypal features.
- c. The Indian Agent was the local administrator of the Indian Act, appointed by the Government of Canada. He had extensive powers over the lives of the Aboriginal People in his jurisdiction, including their movement, governance, commerce, and the education of their children.

References

1. Public Health Agency of Canada. What makes Canadians healthy or unhealthy? Underlying premises and evidence table: key determinant 12: culture. [Internet]. Ottawa, ON: Public Health Agency of Canada [modified: 2013 Jan 15]. Available at: <http://www.phac-aspc.gc.ca/ph-sp/determinants/determinants-eng.php#culture>. Accessed: 2013 Oct 23.
2. National Council of Welfare. Snapshot of racialized poverty in Canada. Ottawa: National Council of Welfare; 2012 Jan 30. Available at: http://www.hrsdc.gc.ca/eng/communities/reports/poverty_profile/snapshot.pdf. Accessed: 2013 Oct 23.
3. Ornstein M. Ethno-racial groups in Toronto, 1971-2001: a demographic and socio-economic profile. Toronto, ON: Institute for Social Research, York University; 2006 Jan. Available at: http://www.isr.yorku.ca/download/Ornstein--Ethno-Racial_Groups_in_Toronto_1971-2001.pdf. Accessed: 2013 Oct 23.
4. Statistics Canada. Persons in low income after tax: CANISM table 202-0802. [Internet]. Ottawa, ON: Statistics Canada; [modified: 2013 Jun 27]. [about 3 screens]. Available at: <http://www.statcan.gc.ca/tables-tableaux/sum-som/101/cst01/famil41a-eng.htm>. Accessed: 2013 Oct 23.
5. Veenstra G. Racialized identity and health in Canada: results from a nationally representative survey. *Soc Sci Med*. 2009 Aug;69(4):538-42.
6. Iwasaki Y, Bartlett J, O'Neil J. An examination of stress among Aboriginal women and men with diabetes in Manitoba, Canada. *Ethn Health*. 2004 May;9(2):189-212.
7. Health Canada. A statistical profile on the health of first nations in Canada: determinants of health 1999-2003. Ottawa, ON: Minister of Health Canada; 2009. Available at: http://www.hc-sc.gc.ca/fnihb-spnia/alt_formats/fnihb-dgspni/pdf/pubs/aborig-autoch/2009-stats-profil-eng.pdf. Accessed: 2013 Oct 23.
8. Canada-Aboriginal Peoples Roundtable. Strengthening the relationship: report on the Canada-Aboriginal Peoples Roundtable, April 19th, 2004. Ottawa, ON: Canada-Aboriginal Peoples Roundtable; 2004. Available at: http://epe.lac-bac.gc.ca/100/200/301/inac-ainc/canada_aboriginal-e/strenght_rpt_e.pdf. Accessed: 2013 Oct 23.
9. Richmond CA. Narratives of social support and health in Aboriginal communities. *Can J Public Health*. 2007 Jul-Aug;98(4):347-51.
10. Adelson N. The embodiment of inequity: health disparities in Aboriginal Canada. *Can J Public Health*. 2005 Mar-Apr;96 Suppl 2:S45-61.
11. Raphael D, Bryant T, Rioux MH. *Staying alive: critical perspectives on health, illness, and health care*. Toronto, ON: Canadian Scholars' Press; 2006.
12. Baker AC, Giles AR. Cultural safety: a framework for interactions between Aboriginal patients and Canadian family medicine practitioners. *Journal of Aboriginal Health*. 2012 Nov;9(1):15-22. Available at: http://www.naho.ca/jah/english/jah09_01/jah_volume09_Issue01.pdf. Accessed: 2013 Oct 23.
13. Richmond C, Elliott SJ, Matthews R, Elliott B. The political ecology of health: perceptions of environment, economy, health and well-being among 'Namgis First Nation. *Health Place*. 2005 Dec;11(4):349-65.
14. Newbold KB. Problems in search of solutions: health and Canadian Aboriginals. *J Community Health*. 1998 Feb;23(1):59-73.
15. Nettleton C, Napolitano DA, Stephens C. An overview of current knowledge of the social determinants of indigenous health: working paper: Commissioned by: Commission on Social Determinants of Health, World Health Organisation for Symposium on the Social Determinants of Indigenous Health Adelaide, Australia 29-30 April 2007. London, England: London School of Hygiene and Tropical Medicine; 2007. Available at: <http://som.flinders.edu.au/FUSA/SACHRU/Symposium/Social%20Determinants%20of%20Indigenous%20Health.pdf>. Accessed: 2013 Oct 23.
16. Wilson K, Rosenberg MW. Exploring the determinants of health for First Nations peoples in Canada: can existing frameworks accommodate traditional activities? *Soc Sci Med*. 2002 Dec;55(11):2017-31.
17. Hurst S, Nader P. Building community involvement in cross-cultural Indigenous health programs. *Int J Qual Health Care*. 2006 Aug;18(4):294-8. Available at: <http://intqhc.oxfordjournals.org/content/18/4/294.full.pdf>. Accessed: 2013 Oct 23.
18. Kelm ME. *Colonizing bodies: Aboriginal health and healing in British Columbia, 1900-1950*. 1998. Vancouver, BC: UBC Press; 1998.
19. Mosby I. Administering colonial science: nutrition research and human biomedical experimentation in Aboriginal communities and residential schools, 1942-1952. *Social History*. 2013 May;46(1):145-172. Available at: <http://www.fns.bc.ca/pdf/AdministeringSocialScience.mosby.pdf>. Accessed: 2013 Oct 23.
20. McDonald JT, Kennedy S. Insights into the "healthy immigrant effect": health status and health service use of immigrants to Canada. *Soc Sci Med*. 2004 Oct;59(8):1613-27.
21. Ng E. The healthy immigrant effect and mortality rates. *Health Rep*. 2011 Dec;22(4):25-9. Available at: <http://www.statcan.gc.ca/pub/82-003-x/2011004/article/11588-eng.pdf>. Accessed: 2013 Oct 23.
22. Picot G, Sweetman A. The deteriorating economic welfare of immigrants and possible causes: update 2005. Ottawa, ON: Statistics Canada; 2005. Available at: <http://publications.gc.ca/Collection/Statcan/>

- 11F0019MIE/11F0019MIE2005262.pdf. Accessed: 2013 Oct 23.
23. Dunn JR, Dyck I. Social determinants of health in Canada's immigrant population: results from the National Population Health Survey. *Soc Sci Med*. 2000 Dec;51(11):1573-93.
 24. Gushulak BD, Pottie K, Hatcher Roberts J, Torres S, DesMeules M; Canadian Collaboration for Immigrant and Refugee Health. Migration and health in Canada: health in the global village. *CMAJ*. 2011 Sep 6;183(12):E952-8. Available at: <http://www.cmaj.ca/content/183/12/E952.full>. Accessed: 2013 Oct 23.
 25. Pottie K, Greenaway C, Feightner J, Welch V, Swinkels H, Rashid M, Narasiah L, Kirmayer LJ, Ueffing E, MacDonald NE, Hassan G, McNally M, Khan K, Buhrmann R, Dunn S, Dominic A, McCarthy AE, Gagnon AJ, Rousseau C, Tugwell P; coauthors of the Canadian Collaboration for Immigrant and Refugee Health. Evidence-based clinical guidelines for immigrants and refugees. *CMAJ*. 2011 Sep 6;183(12):E824-925. Available at: <http://www.cmaj.ca/content/183/12/E824.full.pdf>. Accessed: 2013 Oct 23.
 26. Sanmartin C, Ross N. Experiencing difficulties accessing first-contact health services in Canada: Canadians without regular doctors and recent immigrants have difficulties accessing first-contact healthcare services. Reports of difficulties in accessing care vary by age, sex and region. *Health Policy*. 2006 Jan;1(2):103-19. Available at: <http://www.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/pmc/articles/PMC2585333/pdf/policy-01-103.pdf>. Accessed: 2013 Oct 23.
 27. Woods M. Cultural safety and the socioethical nurse. *Nurs Ethics*. 2010 Nov;17(6):715-25. Available at: <http://nej.sagepub.com/content/17/6/715.full.pdf>. Accessed: 2013 Oct 23.
 28. Indigenous Physicians Association of Canada; Association of Faculties of Medicine of Canada. First Nations, Inuit, Métis health core competencies: a curriculum framework for undergraduate medical education. Winnipeg, MB: Indigenous Physicians Association of Canada; 2009 Apr. Available at: http://ipac-amic.org/wp-content/uploads/2011/10/IPAC_AFMC_Core_Competencies_Eng_Final.pdf. Accessed: 2013 Oct 23.
 29. Smye V, Browne AJ. "Cultural safety" and the analysis of health policy affecting Aboriginal People. *Nurse Res*. 2002;9(3):42-56.
 30. Browne AJ, Smye V. A post-colonial analysis of healthcare discourses addressing aboriginal women. *Nurse Res*. 2002; 9(3):28-41.
 31. Bischoff A. Caring for migrant and minority patients in European hospitals: a review of effective interventions. Vienna, Austria: Migrant Friendly Hospitals; 2003. Available at: http://www.mfh-eu.net/public/files/mfh_literature_review.pdf. Accessed: 2013 Oct 23.
 32. Paasche-Orlow M. The ethics of cultural competence. *Acad Med*. 2004 Apr;79(4):347-50.
 33. National Aboriginal Health Organization. Cultural competency and safety: a guide for health care administrators, providers and educators. Ottawa, ON: National Aboriginal Health Organization; 2008 Jul. Available at: <http://www.naho.ca/documents/naho/publications/culturalCompetency.pdf>. Accessed: 2013 Oct 23.
 34. Bunker W. Integrating cultural safety into practice. *Nurs NZ*. 2001 Feb;7(1):18.
 35. Kaufert JM, Putsch RW, Lavallée M. End-of-life decision making among Aboriginal Canadians: interpretation, mediation, and discord in the communication of "bad news". *J Palliat Care*. 1999 Spring;15(1):31-8.
 36. Smylie J. A guide for health professionals working with aboriginal peoples: cross cultural understanding [policy statement]. *J SOGC*. 2001 Feb:1-15. Available at: <http://www.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/pmc/articles/PMC3653841/pdf/nihms2755.pdf>. Accessed: 2013 Oct 23.
 37. O'Neil JD. Referral to traditional healers: the role of medical interpreters. In: Young DE. Health care issues in the Canadian north. Edmonton, AB: Boreal Institute of Northern Studies; 1988.
 38. Hill DM. Traditional medicine in contemporary contexts: protecting and respecting Indigenous knowledge and medicine. Ottawa, ON: National Aboriginal Health Organization; 2003 Mar 19. Available at: http://www.naho.ca/documents/naho/english/pdf/research_tradition.pdf. Accessed: 2013 Oct 22.
 39. Wilson K, Rosenberg MW. Exploring the determinants of health for First Nations peoples in Canada: can existing frameworks accommodate traditional activities? *Soc Sci Med*. 2002 Dec;55(11):2017-31.
 40. Wilson K. Therapeutic landscapes and First Nations peoples: an exploration of culture, health and place. *Health Place*. 2003 Jun;9(2):83-93.
 41. Waldram JB, Herring DA, Young TK. *Aboriginal health in Canada: historical, cultural and epidemiological perspectives*. Toronto, ON: University of Toronto Press; 2006.
 42. British Columbia. Office of the Provincial Health Officer. The health and well-being of aboriginal people in British Columbia: report on the health of British Columbians: Provincial Health Officer's annual report 2001. Victoria, BC: Ministry of Health Planning, Office of the Provincial Health Officer; 2002. Available at: <http://www.health.gov.bc.ca/pho/pdf/phoannual2001.pdf>. Accessed: 2013 Oct 23.
 43. Fleming J, Ledogar RJ. Resilience and indigenous spirituality: a literature review. *Pimatisiwin*. 2008 Summer;6(2):47-64. Available at: <http://www.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/pmc/articles/PMC2956755/pdf/nihms762.pdf>. Accessed: 2013 Oct 23.
 44. Garrouette EM, Goldberg J, Beals J, Herrell R, Manson SM; AI-SUPERFPF Team. Spirituality and attempted suicide among American Indians. *Soc Sci Med*. 2003 Apr;56(7):1571-9
 45. Chandler MJ, Lalonde C. Cultural continuity as a hedge against suicide in Canada's First Nations. *Transcultural Psychiatry*. 1998 Jun;35(2):191-219.
 46. Smith D, Varcoe C, Edwards N. Turning around the intergenerational impact of residential schools on Aboriginal people: implications for health policy and practice. *Can J Nurs Res*. 2005 Dec;37(4):38-60.
 47. Brach C, Fraser I. Can cultural competency reduce racial and ethnic health disparities? A review and conceptual model. *Med Care Res Rev*. 2000;57 Suppl 1:181-217.
 48. Morris A. The treaties of Canada with the Indians of Manitoba and the North West Territories, including the negotiations on which they were based and other information relating thereto. Toronto, ON: Belfords, Clarke & Co; 1880. p. 355. Available at: http://archive.org/details/cihm_14955. Accessed: 2013 Oct 23.
 49. Citizenship and Immigration Canada. Reform of the Interim Federal Health Program ensures fairness, protects public health and safety. [News release]. [Internet]. Ottawa, ON: Citizenship and Immigration Canada; 2012 Apr 25. [about 3 screens]. Available at: www.cic.gc.ca/English/department/media/releases/2012/2012-04-25.asp. Accessed: 2013 Oct 23.