

How do we link communication to outcomes?



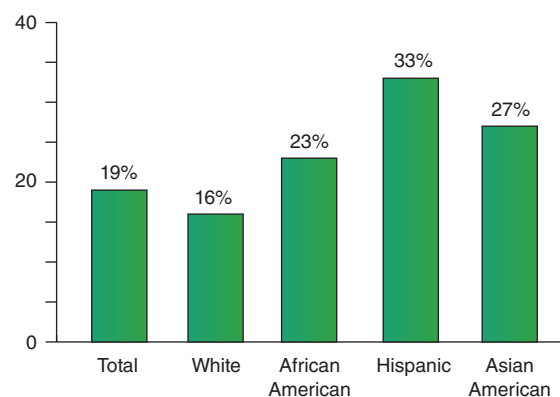
FIGURE 16e-6 The link between effective communication and patient satisfaction, adherence, and health outcomes. (From the Institute of Medicine: *Unequal Treatment: Confronting Racial and Ethnic Disparities in Health Care*. Washington, DC, National Academy Press, 2002.)

In addition, in the setting of even a minimal language barrier, provider–patient communication without an interpreter is recognized as a major challenge to effective health care delivery. These communication barriers for patients with limited English proficiency lead to frequent misunderstanding of diagnosis, treatment, and follow-up plans; inappropriate use of medications; lack of informed consent for surgical procedures; high rates of serious adverse events; and a lower-quality health care experience than is provided to patients who speak fluent English. Physicians who have access to trained interpreters report a significantly higher quality of patient–physician communication than physicians who use other methods. Communication issues related to discordant language disproportionately affect minorities and likely contribute to racial/ethnic disparities in health care.

CLINICAL DECISION-MAKING Theory and research suggest that variations in clinical decision-making may contribute to racial and ethnic disparities in health care. Two factors are central to this process: clinical uncertainty and stereotyping.

First, a doctor’s decision-making process is nested in *clinical uncertainty*. Doctors depend on inferences about severity based on what they understand about illness and the information obtained from the patient. A doctor caring for a patient whose symptoms he or she has difficulty understanding and whose “signals”—the set of clues and indications that physicians rely on to make clinical decisions—are hard to read may make a decision different from the one that would be made

Percent of adults with one or more communication problems*



Base: Adults with health care visit in past two years

*Problems include understanding doctor, feeling doctor listened, had questions but did not ask.

FIGURE 16e-7 Communication difficulties with physicians, by race/ethnicity. The reference population consisted of 6722 Americans ≥ 18 years of age who had made a medical visit in the previous 2 years and were asked whether they had had trouble understanding their doctors, whether they felt that the doctors had not listened, and whether they had had medical questions they were afraid to ask. (From the Commonwealth Fund Health Care Quality Survey, 2001.)

for another patient who presents with exactly the same clinical condition. Given that the expression of symptoms may differ among cultural and racial groups, doctors—the overwhelming majority of whom are white—may understand symptoms best when expressed by patients of their own racial/ethnic groups. The consequence is that white patients may be treated differently from minority patients. Differences in clinical decisions can arise from this mechanism even when the doctor has the same regard for each patient (i.e., is not prejudiced).

Second, the literature on social cognitive theory highlights how natural tendencies to stereotype may influence clinical decision-making. *Stereotyping* can be defined as the way in which people use social categories (e.g., race, gender, age) in acquiring, processing, and recalling information about others. Faced with enormous information loads and the need to make many decisions, people often subconsciously simplify the decision-making process and lessen cognitive effort by using “categories” or “stereotypes” that bundle information into groups or types that can be processed more quickly. Although functional, stereotyping can be systematically biased, as people are automatically classified into social categories based on dimensions such as *race*, *gender*, and *age*. Many people may not be aware of their attitudes, may not consciously endorse specific stereotypes, and paradoxically may consider themselves egalitarian and not prejudiced.

Stereotypes may be strongly influenced by the messages presented consciously and unconsciously in society. For instance, if the media and our social/professional contacts tend to present images of minorities as being less educated, more violent, and nonadherent to health care recommendations, these impressions may generate stereotypes that unnaturally and unjustly impact clinical decision-making. As signs of racism, classism, gender bias, and ageism are experienced (consciously or unconsciously) in our society, stereotypes may be created that impact the way doctors manage patients from these groups. On the basis of training or practice location, doctors may develop certain perceptions about race/ethnicity, culture, and class that may evolve into stereotypes. For example, many medical students and residents are often trained—and minorities cared for—in academic health centers or public hospitals located in socioeconomically disadvantaged areas. As a result, doctors may begin to equate certain races and ethnicities with specific health beliefs and behaviors (e.g., “these patients” engage in risky behaviors, “those patients” tend to be noncompliant) that are more associated with the social environment (e.g., poverty) than with a patient’s racial/ethnic background or cultural traditions. This “conditioning” phenomenon may also be operative if doctors are faced with certain racial/ethnic patient groups who frequently do not choose aggressive forms of diagnostic or therapeutic intervention. The result over time may be that doctors begin to believe that “these patients” do not like invasive procedures; thus they may not offer these procedures as options. A wide range of studies have documented the potential for provider biases to contribute to racial/ethnic disparities in health care. For example, one study measured physicians’ unconscious (or implicit) biases and showed that these were related to differences in decisions to provide thrombolysis for a hypothetical black or white patient with a myocardial infarction.

It is important to differentiate stereotyping from prejudice and discrimination. *Prejudice* is a conscious prejudgment of individuals that may lead to disparate treatment, and *discrimination* is conscious and intentional disparate treatment. All individuals *stereotype* subconsciously, yet, if left unquestioned, these subconscious assumptions may lead to lower-quality care for certain groups because of differences in clinical decision-making or differences in communication and patient-centeredness. For example, one study tested physicians’ unconscious racial/ethnic biases and showed that patients perceived more biased physicians as being less patient-centered in their communication. What is particularly salient is that stereotypes tend to be activated most in environments where the individual is stressed, multitasking, and under time pressure—the hallmarks of the clinical encounter.

Patient-Level Factors Lack of trust has become a major concern for many health care institutions today. For example, an IOM report, *To Err Is Human: Building a Safer Health System*, documented alarming