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Reports of Experiences of Socioeconomic Status Discrimination and Sleep Quality in
African-American and White Adults

By

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Degree to be awarded: MPH

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African-American and White Adults

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2013

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Abstract

Reports of Socioeconomic Status Discrimination and Subjective Sleep Quality in African-American and White Adults

By Miriam Van Dyke

Research on reports of discrimination and risk for chronic diseases has grown, but much of this work has focused on racial discrimination or overall mistreatment. Less is known about reports of discrimination on the basis of socioeconomic status (SES), despite the fact that SES is one of the most powerful social determinants of health. We examined the cross-sectional association between self-reports of SES discrimination and subjective sleep quality, an emerging risk factor for poor health. We also examined whether associations varied by SES or race – given well-documented black-white disparities in sleep quality.

Participants were 425 African-American and White adults (67.5% female, 50.6% African-American, 55.3% college educated) aged 30-65 from the Morehouse & Emory Team Up to eliminate Cardiovascular Health Disparities (META-HEALTH) study. Self-reports of SES discrimination were assessed with a modified Experiences of Discrimination Scale and subjective sleep complaints were assessed with the Pittsburgh Sleep Quality Index. SES and race-stratified linear regression analyses were conducted to examine the association between reports of SES discrimination and subjective sleep quality after controlling for demographics, self-reports of racial and gender discrimination, financial and general stress, BMI, and depressive symptoms.

Compared to Whites, African-Americans reported higher levels of both SES and racial discrimination (p -values <0.0001), but not gender discrimination ($p>0.1$). In race-stratified models, self-reports of SES discrimination were significantly associated with subjective sleep quality in African-Americans after adjusting for demographics ($\beta=1.58$, $p<0.01$). The association remained significant after adjustment for other forms of discrimination (neither of which were significantly associated with sleep quality), BMI, and stress ($\beta=1.49$, $p<0.01$); but was reduced to marginal significance after adjusting for depressive symptoms ($p=0.06$). No significant associations were observed in Whites ($p>0.1$). No consistent patterns emerged in SES-stratified models.

Findings suggest that self-reports of SES discrimination may be an important risk factor for subjective sleep quality among African-Americans.

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Table of Contents

Chapter I.	
Background.....	1
Chapter II. Manuscript	
Introduction.....	5
Methods.....	9
Results.....	14
Discussion.....	16
Chapter III.	
Public Health Implications, Possible Future Directions.....	21
Tables and Figure.....	24
Reference.....	36

Chapter I: Background

According to the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention (CDC), “insufficient sleep is a public health epidemic¹.” Data from the 2009 Behavioral Risk Factor Surveillance System (BRFSS) survey suggests that over 35% of 74,571 adult respondents from 12 U.S. states reported having less than 7 hours of sleep per day². The National Department of Transportation estimates that nearly 1,550 deaths and 40,000 injuries that occur annually in the U.S. can be attributed to drowsy driving³. Beyond the association of poor sleep with motor vehicle accidents⁴, poor sleep has also been associated with important overall indicators of health, including increased mortality⁵⁻⁸ and mental and physical health⁹. More specifically, poor sleep has been associated with an increased risk of obesity^{10,11}, lowered immune function, stroke¹², diabetes^{11,13}, heart disease, cancer¹⁴, hypertension^{11,15,16}, cardiovascular disease^{11,17,18}, and mental health disorders¹⁹.

In the United States, certain groups bear a disproportionate burden of adverse sleep outcomes. A recent review of studies examining racial disparities in sleep revealed that African-Americans are more likely to experience adverse sleep outcomes including “poorer sleep continuity and quality, excessively short or long sleep duration, greater sleep variability, and greater risk for sleep apnea” than their White counterparts²⁰. Similarly, individuals with a low socioeconomic status (SES) (defined by income, occupation, or education) and those that report financial strain have been found to be more likely to have a poor quality of sleep than those with a high SES^{9,21-23}

Although race may be highly confounded with SES in the United States^{24,25}, research suggests that racial disparities in sleep are not completely due to SES²⁶. In fact, at least one study has found that African-Americans from *higher* SES backgrounds

actually have worse sleep than African-Americans from lower SES backgrounds²⁶. In a nationally representative sample of 41,088 African-American and White adults from the National Health Interview Survey, Jackson, et al found that with increasing occupational prestige, the prevalence of short sleep decreased among Whites, but increased among African-Americans. Thus, the racial disparity in sleep was smallest for those working in a manufacturing/construction occupation (PR=1.14) and largest among those holding professional occupations (PR=1.44)²⁶.

Several researchers have hypothesized that discrimination may be one possible explanation for these racial disparities in sleep, particularly at the highest level of SES. . Discrimination, defined as “the practice of unfairly treating a person or group of people differently from other people or groups of people²⁷,” has been conceptualized as a form of chronic stress that might impact a range of health outcomes. Across studies, reports of discrimination have been associated with various health conditions, including hypertension, atherosclerosis, obesity^{28,29}, breast cancer, asthma, -- all conditions where poor sleep may also play a role^{11,30}.

A number of studies have found positive associations between reports of discrimination and sleep. In 2013, Lewis, et al³¹, published findings examining the association between reports of discrimination overall and sleep in 368 African-American, White, and Chinese women from the Study of Women’s Health Across the Nation Sleep Study. Although the measurement of discrimination was not specific to any one form of discrimination (e.g. race, SES or gender), the findings provided some documentation that chronic feelings of discrimination over time may significantly influence not only objective, polysomnography-assessed sleep, but also subjective sleep outcomes, regardless of race and after adjustment for depressive symptoms.

In contrast, Grandner, et al utilized cross-sectional data from a group of 7,148 adults from Michigan and Wisconsin to examine the association between experiences of racism, measured by one question in the 2006 BRFSS in regards to seeking healthcare, and self-reported sleep disturbance³². After adjustment for covariates that included demographics and depressed mood, investigators found a significant association between experiences of racism in seeking healthcare and sleep disturbance among Whites, but not African-Americans. These findings are interesting in that reports of experiences of racism were only significant in Whites and not in African-Americans, where Whites may not necessarily be considered the “minority” in the United States. It is important to note that because African-Americans in the sample were more likely to experience perceived discrimination, authors speculated the non-significant stratified results in African-Americans may be attributed to a lack of power. Further it is also important to note that the discrimination measurement only included healthcare as a setting, where it may be that African-Americans may be more likely to experience discrimination more often than Whites in other settings/situations not queried.

More recent research examining linkages between discrimination and sleep suggest that experiences of discrimination may impact sleep outcomes independent of other psychosocial stressors³³. In a cross-sectional study conducted by Slopen and Williams with a sample of nearly 3,000 Black, Hispanic, and White adults, results revealed that discrimination, both racial and non-racial, was associated with sleep duration and difficulties independent of SES and other psychosocial stressors, and that racial/ethnic disparities were eliminated after adjustment for experiences of discrimination. Although Slopen and Williams only utilized two open ended questions to

measure sleep duration and sleep difficulties, their measurement of race-based discrimination was relatively comprehensive as they utilized both a Major Experiences of discrimination scale and an everyday discrimination scale to capture not only one-time discriminatory events that may be considered acute, but also more chronic discriminatory experiences that may occur on a daily basis. Overall, Slopen and Williams found that the association between experiences of racial discrimination and sleep was independent of other psychosocial stressors that included acute events, childhood adversity, financial, community, employment, relationships, etc.

Although the literature on discrimination and sleep has evolved over time, there are some limitations that should be addressed in future research³⁴. For example, studies of discrimination and sleep quality should consider including other forms of discrimination besides only reports of overall or racial discrimination. Although Slopen and Williams looked at “nonracial” discrimination in their 2014 study³³, clearer definitions are needed to distinguish different types of discrimination (e.g. based on gender, weight, religious affiliation, sexual orientation, SES, etc.) and the independent effects of each type of discrimination on sleep and other health outcomes in general. SES discrimination may be particularly important to consider as SES has been a consistently powerful determinant of health in U.S. society³⁵ and may actually gain greater significance in future decades as income inequality increases. Understanding the role of SES-related stressors like SES discrimination, in the context of race, and racial discrimination may be particularly important.

Chapter II: Manuscript

“Reports of Experiences of Socioeconomic Status Discrimination and Sleep Quality in African-American and White Adults”

Introduction

In the United States (U.S.) there are substantial disparities in health³⁶⁻³⁸, education³⁹, employment⁴⁰, and prosecution by the judicial system³⁶ that disproportionately impact racial/ethnic minorities and persons of lower socioeconomic status (SES)⁴¹. These disparities have led many to conclude that certain groups in the U.S. have different life experiences in comparison to others^{36,42}. Discrimination, or “the practice of unfairly treating a person or group of people differently from other people or groups of people²⁷,” may be a part of these differential life experiences.^{43,44} Self-reported experiences of discrimination are conceptualized as a form of psychosocial stress³³ that may impact health through stress-related mechanisms^{45,46}, including cortisol secretions, inflammation⁴⁷, and deregulated blood pressure⁴⁸. Reports of discrimination have been associated with important clinical endpoints such as breast cancer⁴⁹, cardiovascular disease²⁸, depression⁵⁰, hypertension⁵¹, and obesity^{52,53}. Many of these diseases are considered chronic conditions, which as a whole are responsible for 75% of the U.S. health care spending according to a 2012 Institute of Medicine Report⁵⁴.

The majority of research on discrimination and health has focused on racial discrimination or overall mistreatment^{29,45}, but other forms of discrimination, specifically

socioeconomic (SES) discrimination, may also be important to consider based on the well-documented association between SES and health^{35,41,55,56}. SES has been a consistently powerful determinant of health in U.S. society and may actually gain greater significance in future decades as income inequality increases. According to a report by the Congressional Budget Office in 2011, income for the top 1% grew by 275 percent in comparison to a growth in income of 18% for the bottom 20% of Americans⁵⁷.

However, SES is shaped by race²⁵. For example, in 2010, on average, Whites made twice as much in income and had attained six times as much wealth than African-Americans⁵⁸. Further, research suggests that SES factors may operate differentially in African-Americans compared to Whites, particularly in relation to health⁵⁹. In a study examining the association between race, education, and weight change in 2,019 African-American and White women from the SWAN study, differential effects for the impact of educational attainment on BMI were observed for Whites in comparison to African-Americans. Among White women, educational attainment was associated with lower BMI as education level increased, whereas in African-American women, the “protective” effect of educational attainment was not observed⁶⁰. In another example, a longitudinal study examining change in inflammation levels and educational attainment among 2,670 African-American and White young adults, aged 18-30 years, found that each additional year of education reported in Whites was associated with a 7-mg/dl lower increase in fibrogen levels over the 15-year follow-up. However, educational attainment was not associated with a beneficial effect on the change in fibrogen levels over time in African-Americans⁶¹. These results suggest that educational attainment in the U.S. may be more beneficial for Whites in comparison to African-Americans.

Results from these studies in addition to others^{24,61-64} suggest that the impact of SES processes on health may differ by race. However, most of these studies have focused on the impact of actual SES indicators. Limited research has been done examining the effect of SES-related stressors, particularly SES discrimination, on health in the context of race. Research suggests that certain racial groups, such as African-Americans, may be more vulnerable to the health effects of SES-related stressors when compared to Whites, because they have access to fewer economic, cultural, and social resources to help cope with stress from negative events related to socioeconomic status⁶⁵⁻⁶⁷.

Thus, the current study was designed to examine the independent effects of SES discrimination on sleep quality in an urban cohort of African-American and White middle-aged adults by race. To date, we are aware of only one other study that has examined the association between SES discrimination and any indicator of health⁶⁸. In a nationally representative sample of 1,659 individuals in the United States, Ren, et al⁶⁸ examined associations among reports of SES discrimination, racial discrimination and three different self-reported outcomes: depressive symptoms, general health status, and mental health status⁶⁸. They found independent associations between SES discrimination, racial discrimination and each of their three outcomes: depressive symptoms, general health status, and mental health status. However, their cohort was predominantly White (86.3%), and they did not control for important confounds, including financial stress^{21,33,59} and gender discrimination. The need to examine discrimination within the “larger social context of the multiple stressful exposures within which it is embedded” has been recommended in recent work^{29,33,59}; thus, we are examining SES discrimination in the context of other specific stressors related to socioeconomic status (i.e. financial

stress) as well as other forms of discriminatory stress (i.e. both racial and gender discrimination).

Sleep quality, an emerging risk factor in chronic health outcomes, has been associated with obesity³⁰, stroke, cancer, and mortality¹⁴. Racial and socioeconomic disparities in sleep quality have been well-documented^{20,69-71}. Individuals of a low SES and those that report financial strain have been found to be more likely to have poor quality sleep than those with a high SES^{9,21-23}. Moreover, a recent review of studies examining racial disparities in sleep revealed that African-Americans are more likely to experience adverse sleep outcomes including “poorer sleep continuity and quality, excessively short or long sleep duration, greater sleep variability, and greater risk for sleep apnea” in comparison to their White counterparts²⁰. The review also highlighted the need for further research on the mechanisms helping to explain the persistent racial disparities in sleep²⁰.

Studies suggest that psychosocial stressors, such as both racial and non-specific discrimination may be a risk factor for adverse sleep quality^{31-33,72,73}, and may help to explain racial disparities observed in sleep quality³³. However it is currently unknown whether discrimination based on SES is associated with sleep quality, independent of race, SES, and other types of discrimination. Based on previous research, we hypothesized that self-reported experiences of SES discrimination would be associated with worse subjective sleep quality, independent of other psychosocial stressors, including financial stress and both racial and gender discrimination. This hypothesis was tested in both race-stratified and SES-stratified statistical models, because of prior research noting the differential impact of SES-related processes on African-Americans

compared to Whites and the potential salience of SES discrimination as a stressor for lower-SES individuals.^{20,22,69,71,74}

Methods

Participants

Participants were a subset of 470 non-Hispanic African-American and White adults from the Morehouse & Emory Team up to Eliminate Cardiovascular Health Disparities (META-HEALTH) Study. The META-HEALTH study was a two-stage cross-sectional study of randomly sampled African-American and White males and females ages 30-65 from the Metropolitan Atlanta, Georgia area. During the first stage from March 2006 to October 2009, data for this study was collected from participants residing in four distinct Metropolitan Atlanta counties. Participants were selected using random digit dialing methodology stratified by county median income to ensure the inclusion of an adequate representation of individuals from varying levels of SES backgrounds.

Sampling methodology for META-HEALTH was similar to that used for the behavioral risk factor surveillance system (BRFSS), which is the standard for area sample designs. Sample telephone numbers were selected in 100-series telephone banks containing one or more listed households. Before a party was deemed as “unreachable,” nine calls were placed. Calls to the selected numbers were placed at different times and days so that a total of three day attempts, three night attempts, and three weekend attempts were made.

The META-HEALTH study aimed to examine psychosocial, cultural, and biological factors, of cardiovascular health outcomes in African-Americans and Whites. A total of 3,391 participants completed phone interviews in the first stage of the study, and of those, 753 participated in the second stage of the study, which included an extended interview and clinical exam including anthropometrics and the assessment of biomarkers at either Emory or Morehouse Schools of Medicine. Data on subjective sleep quality were available for 470 participants. A total of 45 participants were excluded due to missing or incomplete information on the subjective sleep quality or experiences of SES discrimination scale. Our final analytic sample of 425 included 215 African-Americans and 210 Whites, and was 67.5% female. An additional 14 participants were excluded due to missing data on covariates during analyses. This study was approved by the Emory and Morehouse institutional review boards and informed consent was received from all study participants.

Reports of Discrimination

Experiences of discrimination based on SES, race, or gender, respectively were measured using a modified version of the Experiences of Discrimination Scale⁷⁵. This scale has been widely used in African-American and White study populations^{68,75-77} and has been shown to have high levels of validity and reliability⁷⁵. Participants were asked if they had ever “been prevented from doing something”, or “been hassled or made to feel inferior” because of their SES, in seven different situations and settings. Examples of the situations and settings included: “at school, getting a job, at work, at home, receiving medical care, or on the street or in a public setting.” Two additional questionnaires asked about experiences of discrimination in the same seven scenarios, but inquired whether

experiences could be attributed to race, or gender, respectively. Prior studies have shown that the seven situations and settings measured in the scale capture the same underlying construct and yield a high internal reliability⁶⁸. Because responses to the discrimination questions were highly skewed, with the majority of participants reporting “never” or only one experience of discrimination, a dichotomous ever/never variable was created for each type of discrimination.⁷⁸

Subjective Sleep Quality

Subjective sleep quality was measured with the Pittsburgh Sleep Quality Index (PSQI)⁷⁹, a 19-item questionnaire that measures aspects of sleep over the preceding month. Questions inquire about sleep duration, sleep disturbance, sleep latency (time spent falling asleep), dysfunction during the day due to sleepiness (i.e. trouble staying awake while driving), sleep efficiency (time in bed spent asleep), and sleep medication use. Total scores on the PSQI ranges from 0-21, with higher scores suggesting lower quality sleep and more sleep complaints. The measure has been widely used across study populations and has been found to have good validity and high test-retest reliability⁸⁰. Scores of 5 and greater on the PSQI indicate poor sleep quality⁷⁹.

Demographics

Age in years, race (non-Hispanic African-American, non-Hispanic White), and gender (male, female) were all assessed via self-report. Education was used as an indicator of SES because it remains fairly constant throughout adulthood, is believed to be a major determinant of SES, and is less likely than other measures of SES (e.g. income, wealth) to have a large amount of missing values⁸¹. For education, a dichotomous variable defined by the self-reported completion of a college education was

created. Those who reported completing at least a college education were considered to be high SES, and those not reporting the completion of a college education were considered to be low SES.

Covariates

Covariates including body mass index (BMI), depressive symptoms, financial stress and perceived stress, were selected based on previous literature identifying them as conceptual or empirical covariates of discrimination and/or sleep^{31-33,73,82}. BMI was calculated utilizing measured height and weight ($BMI = \text{weight (kg)} / \text{height (m}^2\text{)}$), assessed during the clinic visit, and was modeled continuously in all analyses. . Depressive symptoms were assessed using the Beck Depression Inventory-II (BDI-II)⁸³, a questionnaire consisting of 21 groups of statements examining depressive symptoms in the past two weeks. The question assessing sleep quality in the BDI-II was removed for the purposes of these analyses and a composite BDI-II score was calculated by summing the remaining questions with a potential range of 0-60. The BDI-II has been validated in various populations⁸⁴ and was modeled continuously.

Perceived stress was assessed via the Perceived Stress Scale, a valid and reliable 14-item scale measuring global feelings of stress⁸⁵, with scores ranging from 0 to 50. Financial stress was measured using three questions examining stress related to paying for food, medical care, or bills. Those reporting financial stress once in a while, fairly often, or very often were given a score of 1 for each respective question. The three questions assessing financial stress were summed to create a continuous measure with a range of 0-3. Both perceived stress and financial stress were modeled continuously in analyses.

Statistical Analysis

T-tests and Chi-squared analyses were conducted to characterize study variables by race in our sample. Race-specific correlation analyses were conducted to examine the bivariate associations between each covariate and reports of SES discrimination or sleep quality, respectively. Race-stratified and SES-stratified analyses were conducted using adjusted multiple linear and logistic regression models to examine the association between reports of SES discrimination and subjective sleep quality among the two racial and two SES groups. Models examined the association between reports of SES discrimination and sleep quality after adjustment for age, gender (Step 1) reports of racial and gender discrimination (Step 2), BMI, perceived stress, financial stress, (Step 3) and depressive symptoms (Step 4). In addition to those covariates, education was adjusted for in race-stratified models, and race was adjusted for in SES-stratified models in Step 1. The two-way interaction between race and SES discrimination was assessed in non-stratified linear and logistic regression models including all covariates. Because participants reporting SES discrimination may be more likely to also report other forms of discrimination (i.e. racial or gender discrimination), we tested for multicollinearity. Multicollinearity was examined by assessing condition indices (CIs) and variance decomposition proportions (VDPs). All analyses were conducted using the SAS software version 9.4 (SAS®Institute, Inc., Cary,NC,USA).

Results

Descriptive statistics of the analytic sample are presented in Table 1. In comparison to Whites, African-Americans were younger ($p=0.02$), less likely to be college educated ($p<0.0001$) and more likely to report SES and racial discrimination overall and in a greater number of settings ($p<0.0001$). African-Americans also reported worse subjective sleep quality ($p=0.0008$), had higher BMIs ($p<0.0001$) and were more likely to report financial stress ($p<0.0001$) than their White counterparts. Reports of gender discrimination, depressive symptoms and perceived stress were similar in African-Americans and Whites ($p>0.05$).

In both African-Americans and Whites, reports of SES discrimination were positively correlated with subjective sleep quality (Pearson coefficients: 0.20-0.23) (Tables 2a and 2b) and were weakly to moderately correlated with perceived stress, financial stress and depressive symptoms (Pearson coefficients: 0.18-0.36). Racial discrimination, gender discrimination, and depressive symptoms were weakly to moderately positively correlated with sleep quality (Pearson coefficients: 0.16-0.46) in both races. . Racial and gender discrimination were moderately correlated with SES discrimination in both races (Pearson coefficients: 0.47-0.64) (Table 2a, 2b).

Race, Reports of SES Discrimination, and Sleep

In race-stratified, multivariable linear regression models presented in Table 3, self-reports of SES discrimination were significantly associated with subjective sleep quality in African-Americans after adjustment for age, gender and education ($\beta=1.58$, $p<0.01$). The association remained significant after adjustment for racial discrimination

and gender discrimination, BMI, financial stress, and perceived stress ($\beta=1.49$, $p<0.01$). After further adjustment for depressive symptoms, the association was reduced to marginal significance ($\beta=1.04$, $p=0.06$). No significant association for reports of SES discrimination and sleep quality was observed in Whites in linear models after adjustment for demographics and other forms of discrimination ($p>0.1$) (Table 3). Among the covariates adjusted for in race-stratified linear models, only perceived stress ($p=0.0154$) and depressive symptoms ($p<0.0001$) were significantly associated with subjective sleep quality in the final fully adjusted model for African-Americans (Table 4). Tests for multicollinearity in linear regression models were non-significant with CIs of < 30 and no two pairs of VDPs >0.5 in final models.

In race-stratified, adjusted logistic regression models (Table 5), African-Americans reporting SES discrimination had a significantly larger odds of experiencing poor sleep quality (PSQI scores greater than 4) than African-Americans not reporting SES discrimination (OR=2.32, 95% CI=1.14-4.72). No significant associations were observed within Whites (OR=0.60, 95% CI= 0.28-1.29) (Table 5). The fully adjusted association between SES discrimination and poor sleep quality in logistic regression models for African-Americans and Whites is graphically depicted in Figure 1. Two-way interactions between race and SES discrimination in fully-adjusted, non-stratified logistic and linear regression models were non-significant.

SES, Reports of SES Discrimination, and Sleep

No consistent patterns emerged in SES-stratified linear and logistic regression models. Reports of SES discrimination were significantly associated with subjective sleep quality in linear regression models for low SES participants after adjusting for

demographics ($\beta=1.21$, $p=0.03$), but were attenuated once other types of discrimination, BMI, financial and perceived stress, and depressive symptoms were controlled for ($\beta=0.68$, $p>0.05$). For high SES participants, reports of SES discrimination were significantly associated with subjective sleep quality in linear models after adjusting for demographics ($\beta=1.39$, $p<0.01$), but were non-significant once other types of discrimination, BMI, financial and perceived stress, and depressive symptoms were considered ($\beta=0.24$, $p>0.05$).

Reports of SES discrimination were not significantly associated with poor sleep quality in unadjusted (OR=1.50, 95% CI=0.82, 2.76) or fully adjusted logistic regression models (OR=1.17, 95% CI= 0.52, 2.64) among low SES participants. However, similar to results from linear regression models, for high SES participants, reports of SES discrimination were significantly associated with poor sleep quality (OR= 1.76, 95% CI= 1.02, 3.05) until other forms of discrimination, BMI, financial stress, perceived stress, and depressive symptoms were considered (OR= 1.24, 95% CI= 0.64, 2.40).

Discussion

In this population-based cohort of African-American and White Adults, reports of SES discrimination were associated with poor sleep among African-Americans, but not Whites. Thus, consistent with research on other SES indicators⁶⁴ and SES-related stressors⁸⁶, our results suggest that African-Americans may be more vulnerable to the effects of SES-discrimination on health than their White counterparts. We found that African-Americans, regardless of SES, were significantly more likely to report SES

discrimination, and reported SES discrimination in more settings and situations than Whites (Supplemental Table 1). Consequently, educational attainment appeared to be protective against SES discrimination for Whites, but not for African-Americans.

This is consistent with prior work, which argues that middle-class African-Americans may be unable to exercise privileges associated with higher SES due to their race⁸⁷⁻⁸⁹. It is also possible that SES discrimination may be more salient for African-Americans than Whites because even at similar levels of education, African-Americans have less wealth and fewer financial resources than their White counterparts^{58,64}. Thus, even the college-educated African-Americans in our sample may be more vulnerable to SES-related stressors than college-educated Whites.

Our finding that reports of SES discrimination were significantly associated with sleep quality in African-Americans independent of reports of racial discrimination suggests that SES discrimination in itself may be an important form of discrimination to consider as a psychosocial stressor in future studies. Further, because racial discrimination was not significant in models including SES discrimination for African-Americans, it is possible that SES discrimination may arguably be a more important form of discrimination to consider than racial discrimination in African-Americans, in line with some theories on the declining significance of race^{90,91}. However, this is likely not true, because our overall findings were not independent of race (i.e. reports of SES discrimination were significantly associated with poor sleep among African-Americans, but not Whites).

Other possible explanations for our observation that SES discrimination was more strongly associated with poor sleep quality than racial discrimination relate to the very

strong confound between race and SES in United States society. Because race and class are highly correlated, it is possible that even high SES African-Americans are frequently assumed to be lower-SES and thus experience (and are impacted by) SES discrimination in a range of contexts more frequently than their White counterparts. Thus, these individuals would actually be experiencing SES-related discrimination (e.g. in stores and restaurants), but the assumptions underlying the perception of them as low-SES would be primarily driven by their race. Similarly, it is also possible that African-Americans are experiencing discrimination, but are misattributing experiences of racial discrimination to SES discrimination. Prior research⁹² suggests that attributes of discrimination may be confused when study participants hold multiple statuses (i.e. African-American and low SES), where in our study it may be possible that African-Americans reporting SES discrimination are attributing mistreatment to SES discrimination even when it could be at least partially due to racial discrimination. The considerably moderate to strong correlation between reports of racial and SES discrimination in this study provide some support for this concept, suggesting that SES discrimination and racial discrimination may be interconnected.

It is noteworthy that college educated African-Americans reported just as much SES-related discrimination as their less-educated counterparts, and more SES discrimination than college-educated Whites. While information on childhood SES was not available in this cohort, childhood SES may be an important factor to consider in the context of this study. Heflin and Patillo found that African Americans who were considered to be middle-class were four times more likely to have come from a poor background than their White middle-class counterparts⁹³. Thus it may be that the

college-educated African-Americans reporting SES discrimination in this study were more likely to come from a low SES childhood background in comparison to college-educated Whites^{67,93}. SES during childhood could confound the association between reports of ever experiencing SES discrimination and sleep quality as evidence already suggests that childhood SES is associated with sleep outcomes⁹⁴.

Although interaction terms between race and SES discrimination were not significant in full, non-stratified models, given our descriptive findings among high-SES African-Americans we conducted exploratory regression models (Supplemental Tables 3,4,5) stratified by high and low SES for African-Americans and Whites separately, to further examine associations among race, SES, SES discrimination and sleep quality. This was done because results from prior studies suggest that discrimination may have a stronger impact on health among higher-SES African-Americans^{95,96}. Consistent with these prior studies, a significant effect for reports of SES discrimination on sleep quality emerged for high SES African-Americans in our cohort in exploratory analyses, although it was attenuated once depressive symptoms were controlled for (Supplemental Table 5). Otherwise, no consistent findings were observed in linear and logistic regression models stratified by SES for African-Americans and Whites separately.

This study had several limitations. First, while it is the most widely used methodology for assessing discrimination, our primary exposure, reports of discrimination, was self-reported which may need to be considered when interpreting results²⁹. The measurement of sleep quality, the outcome in our study, was also based on self-reports. Although there is evidence in the discrimination and sleep literature that both objective and subjective forms of sleep quality will provide similar results³¹, the use of an

objective measure, such as polysomnography, or actigraphy is preferred. Secondly, only 425 of the 753 participants in the second-stage of the study had information on reports of SES discrimination and subjective sleep quality. Although those with missing information were not significantly different from our analytic sample on most covariates, they were significantly more likely to report depressive symptoms. As a result, our analytic sample may have been slightly healthier than the overall sample. Third, the cross-sectional nature of our study limits the ability of causal inference of the effect of reports of experiences of SES discrimination on sleep quality. Finally, although the META-HEALTH study sample is population-based and consists of a cohort that is nearly half African-American, with a high prevalence of higher-SES African-Americans --a group that is historically known to have low participation in research⁹⁷, it is comprised of only non-Hispanic African-Americans and Whites from four counties in Georgia. This potentially weakens the ability to generalize the results of this study to other racial/ethnic groups and populations in other geographic locations.

To our knowledge, this is the first epidemiological study to examine the association between reports of SES discrimination and sleep quality. In this sample of non-Hispanic African-American and White men and women from a population based cohort, reports of experiences of SES discrimination were independently associated with reports of poor sleep quality in African-Americans, but not Whites. Although replication is needed, our findings expand upon the current discrimination and sleep literature by incorporating SES discrimination as a factor associated with adverse sleep quality independent of other forms of discrimination, such as gender and racial discrimination. In addition to the replication of our study, further examination of the association of reports of SES

discrimination and other health outcomes in diverse populations over time and with consideration of other forms of discrimination and psychosocial stressors, and work and living environment factors is warranted.

Our findings provide a potential intersection not largely researched between the established literature on SES as a determinant of health and the growing literature on discrimination and health. As the United States continues to strive to “create social and physical environments that promote good health for all” by 2020⁹⁸, reports of discrimination as it relates to socioeconomic status in the context of race may be an important psychosocial construct and SES-related stressor to consider in public health research and policy.

Chapter III. Public Health Implications, Possible Future Directions

As interactions and societal structures surrounding race and class in society continue to evolve, discrimination as a psychosocial stressor associated with health outcomes will most likely remain highly relevant. Although recent controversial cases, such as the Trayvon Martin case⁹⁹, the Eric Garner case¹⁰⁰, and the Michael Brown case¹⁰¹ – all unarmed African-American men killed without penalty by police officers or other citizens who felt threatened-- brought great disruption and division to the U.S. population along racial lines, these controversies also highlighted for many the importance of discrimination and psychological stress based on race and SES. The ongoing public significance of these topics has brought them to the forefront of public health research and practice. Further, with the recent economic recession, housing market

crash, continuous constraints on the job market, and the growing problem of income inequality in the U.S., where some of these issues may be more salient for marginalized groups of the population¹⁰², the inclusion of psychological stressors (i.e. SES discrimination) which can be shaped by the continuously changing social climate and economic environment in public health research, intervention, and policy is critically important.

Psychosocial experiences, such as experiences of discrimination, are believed to be an important contributor to the differential experiences of many of those impacted by disparate health outcomes in the United States. A continuous focus on improving health disparities by race and social class in the U.S. may prove to be effective in decreasing the growing costs of healthcare in the United States¹⁰². With the continuous commitment of the U.S. government and other organizations to addressing institutional discriminatory practices in housing, healthcare, and employment, which are all social constructs that influence health patterns, through policy, there is a further need to address other forms of discrimination, such as internalized and interpersonal discrimination. Public health research and interventions based on personally-mediated and internalized forms of discrimination are also needed.

Additionally, because most discrimination and health research has solely focused on racial and overall discrimination, there is a need for more research focused on other types of discrimination (i.e. SES-based, gender based, sexual orientation-based, weight-based, etc.) and the pathways and mechanisms (i.e. perceived stress, depressive symptoms, etc.) in which they impact health. It will be of particular importance to consider the role of these other types of discrimination in persons of different genders,

nationalities, sexual orientations, religious affiliations, class backgrounds, ages, and race/ethnicities. This type of research will allow for the identification of potential interventions (i.e. social support, counseling, etc.) that may be fundamental for mitigating adverse health effects associated with discrimination.

For SES- related discrimination in particular, the complexity of this specific type of discrimination in the context of race in the U.S. and the current lack of research examining SES discrimination and the effects of other SES-related stressors on health is of particular concern. It is quite possible that the importance of SES-related stressors as determinants of health may grow in the near future for the overall general population, although the magnitude of their importance will likely be determined by race. Future research examining social disadvantage and characteristics of place in relation to health should consider the role of SES discrimination as a potentially pervasive psychosocial stressor in the day to day lives of disadvantaged individuals. Prospective studies with racially and ethnically diverse, nationally representative samples with varying levels of socioeconomic status from different structural environments are warranted to help further examine the interplay between race, SES, SES discrimination, and health.

Tables

Table 1. META-HEALTH Participant Characteristics by Race

	African-American (n=215)	Whites (n=210)	<i>p</i>^a
Age	49.3 (9.6)	51.6 (9.4)	0.02
Female (%)	69.8	65.2	0.32
College education (%)	39.5	71.6	<.01
Experiences of discrimination			
<i>Socioeconomic</i>			
Ever (%)	52.1	31.9	<.01
Situation frequency	1.5 (2.0)	0.71 (1.4)	<.01
<i>Racial</i>			
Ever (%)	71.5	41.4	<.01
Situation frequency	2.6 (2.2)	0.8 (1.2)	<.01
<i>Gender</i>			
Ever (%)	56.1	56.2	0.98
Situation frequency	1.4 (1.6)	1.3 (1.5)	0.18
Depressive symptoms	6.7 (6.8)	6.5 (6.9)	0.63
BMI (kg/m ²) ^b	31.5 (8.1)	28.2 (6.6)	<.01
Perceived stress	21 (7.8)	20.4 (7.4)	0.55
Financial stress	1.5 (1.2)	0.85 (1.1)	<.01
Subjective sleep quality (PSQI)- continuous	6.3 (3.8)	5.1 (3.1)	0.01
Poor sleep quality (PSQI) - dichotomous (%)	62.8	49.1	0.01

Note. Values are mean with standard deviation in parentheses

^a*p* values from T-Tests and Chi-square tests of racial differences

PSQI= Pittsburgh Sleep Quality Index

BMI= Body Mass Index

^bBMI= weight (in kg)/height (in m²)

Table 2a. Correlation Analyses in Whites in the META-HEALTH Study (N=205)

	BMI	Age	Depressive Symptoms	Financial Stress	Perceived Stress	SES Discrimination [†]	Racial Discrimination [†]	Gender Discrimination [†]	Subjective Sleep Quality
BMI	1	0.14	0.28***	0.18*	0.04	0.13	0.13	0.01	0.06
Age		1	0.05	-0.1	-0.08	0.05	0.06	0.08	0.05
Depressive Symptoms			1	0.27***	0.52***	0.24***	0.13	0.09	0.46***
Financial Stress				1	0.41***	0.36***	0.21**	0.22**	0.12
Perceived Stress					1	0.19**	0.12	0.13	0.28***
SES Discrimination [†]						1	0.58***	0.47***	0.20**
Racial Discrimination [†]							1	0.45***	0.18*
Gender Discrimination [†]								1	0.08
Subjective Sleep Quality [†]									1

Note. [†]Discrimination is continuous and indicates number of settings and situations where type of discrimination is reported

P<0.05*

P<0.01**

P<0.001***

Table 2b. Correlation Analyses in African-Americans in the META-HEALTH Study (N=206)

	BMI	Age	Depressive Symptoms	Financial Stress	Perceived Stress	SES Discrimination ^a	Racial Discrimination ^a	Gender Discrimination ^a	Subjective Sleep Quality
BMI	1	0.01	0.16*	0.01	0.07	0.05	0.05	0.03	0.07
Age		1	-0.05	-0.01	-0.01	-0.02	0.01	0.04	-0.01
Depressive Symptoms			1	0.27****	0.46****	0.27****	0.18**	0.21**	0.42****
Financial Stress				1	0.34****	0.18**	0.13	0.22**	0.19**
Perceived Stress					1	0.25****	0.19**	0.25****	0.34****
SES Discrimination ^a						1	0.64****	0.57****	0.23**
Racial Discrimination ^a							1	0.60****	0.17*
Gender Discrimination ^a								1	0.16*
Subjective Sleep Quality									1

Note. ^aDiscrimination is continuous and indicates number of settings and situations where type of discrimination is reported

P<0.05*

P<0.01**

P<0.001***

Table 3. Association of SES Discrimination and Subjective Sleep Quality by Race in the META-HEALTH Study using Linear Regression Models

Race-Stratified Models	African-American Participants			White Participants		
	PSQI	P-value	N	PSQI	P-value	N
	Estimate (SE)			Estimate (SE)		
Model 1						
SES Discrimination	1.57 (0.51)	0.0021	215	1.02 (0.46)	0.0283	210
Model 2						
SES Discrimination	1.58 (0.51)	0.0021	215	0.94 (0.46)	0.0435	208
Model 3						
SES Discrimination	1.46 (0.59)	0.0142	213	0.27 (0.50)	0.5938	208
Model 4						
SES Discrimination	1.49 (0.57)	0.0092	207	0.20 (0.51)	0.6985	205
Model 5						
SES Discrimination	1.04 (0.56)	0.0622	206	-0.21 (0.48)	0.6579	205

Model 1: SES Discrimination

Model 2: Model 1 + Age, Gender, and Education

Model 3: Model 2+ Gender and Race Discrimination

Model 4: Model 3+ BMI, Financial Stress and Perceived Stress

Model 5: Model 4+ Depressive Symptoms

Table 4. Association of SES Discrimination and Subjective Sleep Quality in African-Americans in the META-HEALTH Study: Full Adjusted Linear Regression Models

	African-Americans (N=206)	
	PSQI Beta-estimate (SE)	P-value
SES Discrimination	1.04 (0.56)	0.06
College	-0.07 (0.53)	0.90
Age	0.01 (0.025)	0.86
Gender	0.41 (0.53)	0.44
Racial Discrimination	0.04 (0.64)	0.95
Gender Discrimination	-0.32 (0.56)	0.57
BMI (kg/m ²)	-0.01 (0.03)	0.95
Perceived Stress	0.09 (0.04)	0.02
Financial Stress	0.09 (0.23)	0.71
Depressive Symptoms (BDI-II)	0.17 (0.04)	<.01

Table 5. Association of SES Discrimination and Poor Sleep Quality by Race in the META-HEALTH Study using Logistic Regression Models

Race-Stratified Models	African-American Participants				White Participants			
	PSQI				PSQI			
	OR	LL 95% CI	UL 95% CI	N	OR	LL 95% CI	UL 95% CI	N
Model 1								
SES Discrimination	2.37	1.35	4.18	215	1.11	0.62	1.97	210
Model 2								
SES Discrimination	2.39	1.35	4.24	215	1.03	0.57	1.87	208
Model 3								
SES Discrimination	2.68	1.38	5.19	213	0.77	0.40	1.50	208
Model 4								
SES Discrimination	2.68	1.34	5.37	207	0.76	0.37	1.55	205
Model 5								
SES Discrimination	2.32	1.14	4.72	206	0.60	0.28	1.29	205

Model 1: SES Discrimination

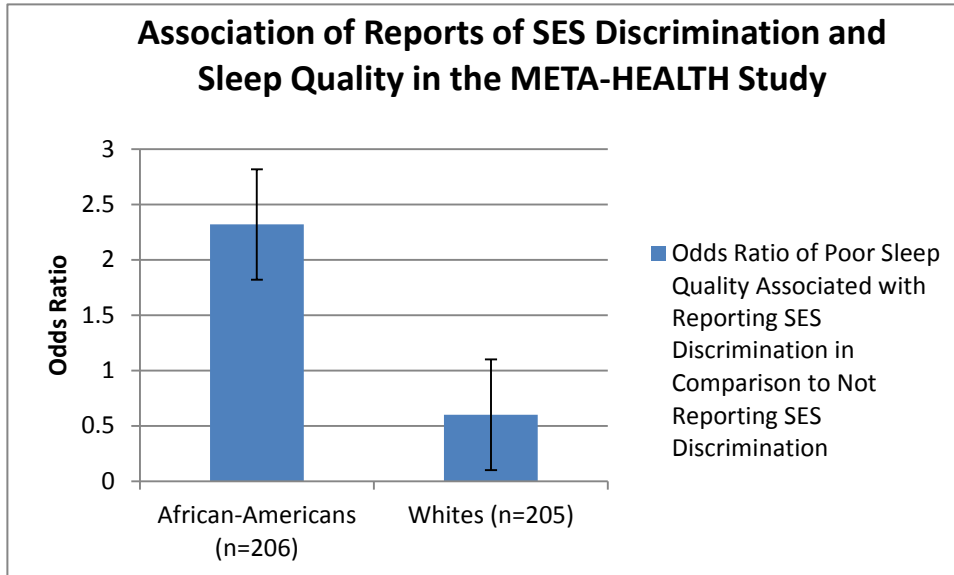
Model 2: Model 1 + Age, Gender, and Education

Model 3: Model 2+ Gender and Race Discrimination

Model 4: Model 3+ BMI, Financial Stress and Perceived Stress

Model 5: Model 4+ Depressive Symptoms

Figure 1. Fully Adjusted Association between SES Discrimination and Poor Sleep Quality in Logistic Regression Models for African-Americans and Whites in the META-HEALTH Study



Supplemental Tables

Supplemental Table 1. Situations and Settings of Reports of SES Discrimination by SES and Race in the META-HEALTH study.

Ever experienced SES discrimination (%)	High SES African-Americans (n=85)	High SES Whites (n=149)	P-value ^a	Low SES African-Americans (n=130)	Low SES Whites (n=59)	P-value ^a
At school	19	17	0.72	19	26	0.34
Getting a job	20	7	0.01	21	17	0.69
At work	25	11	0.01	23	10	0.05
Getting housing	19	5	0.02	22	10	0.07
Getting medical care	17	6	0.01	12	14	0.82
From police or in courts	18	2	<0.01	22	7	0.01
On street or in public setting	33	11	<0.01	32	19	0.08

^aFisher's exact test between races within SES strata with alpha=0.05

Supplemental Table 2. Situations and Settings of Reports of SES Discrimination by SES and Race in the META-HEALTH study.

Ever experienced SES discrimination (%)	Low SES African-Americans (n=130)	High SES African-Americans (n=85)	P-value ^a	Low SES Whites (n=59)	High SES Whites (n=149)	P-value ^a
At school	19	19	1.0	26	17	0.17
Getting a job	21	20	1.0	17	7	0.07
At work	23	25	0.87	10	11	1.0
Getting housing	22	19	0.61	10	5	0.23
Getting medical care	12	17	0.42	14	6	0.09
From police or in courts	22	18	0.60	7	2	0.11
On street or in public setting	32	33	0.88	19	11	0.17

^aFisher's exact test among between SES strata within races with alpha=0.05

Supplemental Table 3. META-HEALTH Participant Characteristics by Race and SES

	African-Americans		Whites	
	No College (n=130)	College (n=85)	No College (n=59)	College (n=149)
Age	50.4 (10.1)	47.6 (8.7)	52.6 (9.6)	51.1 (9.4)
Female (%)	66.9	74.1	66.1	65.8
Experiences of Discrimination				
<i>Racial,%</i>	67.7	77.4	45.8	38.9
<i>Socioeconomic,%</i>	51.5	52.9	35.6	30.9
<i>Gender,%</i>	50.8	64.3	55.9	56.4
Depressive symptoms	7.5 (7.2)	5.6 (6.2)	7.4 (6.6)	6.2 (7.0)
BMI ^a (kg/m ²)	31.9 (8.9)	30.8 (6.8)	29.8 (7.8)	27.4 (6.0)
Perceived stress	22.1 (8.5)	19.3 (6.4)	21.3 (7.4)	20.2 (7.4)
Financial stress	1.8 (1.1)	1.1 (1.1)	1.0 (1.2)	0.8 (1.1)
Subjective sleep quality (PSQI)	6.5 (3.9)	5.8 (3.6)	5.7 (3.3)	5.0 (3.0)
Poor sleep quality (PSQI) - dichotomous (%)	66.9	56.5	62.7	44.3

Note. Values are mean with standard deviation in parentheses

PSQI= Pittsburgh Sleep Quality Index

BMI= Body Mass Index

^aBMI= weight (in kg)/height (in m²)

Supplemental Table 4. Association of SES Discrimination and Subjective Sleep Quality by SES and Race in the META-HEALTH Study using Linear Regression Models

	High SES African-Americans				Low SES African-Americans				High SES Whites				Low SES Whites			
	Estimate (SE)	p-Value	N	psqi	Estimate (SE)	p-Value	N	psqi	Estimate (SE)	p-Value	N	psqi	Estimate (SE)	p-Value	N	
Model 1																
SES Discrimination	2.12 (0.74)	0.01	85		1.25 (0.67)	0.07	130		0.92 (0.54)	0.09	149		1.02 (0.91)	0.27	59	
Model 2																
SES Discrimination	2.06 (0.76)	0.01	85		1.25 (0.69)	0.07	130		0.91 (0.54)	0.09	149		0.85 (0.90)	0.35	59	
Model 3																
SES Discrimination	2.13 (0.91)	0.02	83		1.08 (0.80)	0.18	130		0.42 (0.57)	0.46	149		-0.03 (1.13)	0.98	59	
Model 4																
SES Discrimination	1.66 (0.90)	0.07	83		1.42 (0.77)	0.07	124		0.26 (0.56)	0.65	146		0.38 (1.12)	0.75	59	
Model 5																
SES Discrimination	0.92 (0.85)	0.28	82		1.05 (0.76)	0.17	124		-0.14 (0.54)	0.80	146		-0.05 (1.12)	0.97	59	

Model 1: SES Discrimination

Model 2: Model 1 + Age and Gender

Model 3: Model 2+ Gender and Race Discrimination

Model 4: Model 3+ BMI, Financial Stress and Perceived Stress

Model 5: Model 4+ Depressive Symptoms

Supplemental Table 5. Association of SES Discrimination and Poor Sleep Quality by SES and Race in the META-HEALTH Study using Logistic Regression Models

	High SES African-Americans			Low SES African-Americans			High SES Whites			Low SES Whites				
	OR	LL 95% CI	UL 95% CI	OR	LL 95% CI	UL 95% CI	OR	LL 95% CI	UL 95% CI	OR	LL 95% CI	UL 95% CI		
Model 1														
SES Discrimination	3.00	1.23	7.30	2.07	0.98	4.35	1.23	0.61	2.47	149	0.69	0.23	2.07	59
Model 2														
SES Discrimination	3.07	1.23	7.62	2.02	0.95	4.29	1.24	0.62	2.50	149	0.64	0.20	2.04	59
Model 3														
SES Discrimination	3.94	1.32	11.78	2.22	0.94	5.27	1.02	0.48	2.17	149	0.28	0.05	1.15	59
Model 4														
SES Discrimination	3.57	1.17	10.91	2.54	1.00	6.45	1.24	0.45	2.28	146	0.25	0.04	1.52	59
Model 5														
SES Discrimination	2.82	0.90	8.84	2.27	0.87	5.90	1.24	0.85	2.01	146	0.18	0.03	1.32	59

Model 1: SES Discrimination

Model 2: Model 1 + Age and Gender

Model 3: Model 2 + Gender and Race Discrimination

Model 4: Model 3 + BMI, Financial Stress and Perceived Stress

Model 5: Model 4 + Depressive Symptoms

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