

# Differences in COVID-19 vaccination in the province of Ontario across Health Regions and socio-economic strata

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## Abstract

The COVID-19 pandemic continues to be a worldwide public health concern. Although vaccines against this disease were rapidly developed, vaccination uptake has not been equal across all the segments of the population. In particular, it has been shown that there have been differences in vaccine uptake across different segments of the population. However, there are also differences in vaccination across geographical areas, which might be important to consider in the development of future public health vaccination policies. In this study, we examined the relationship between vaccination status (having received the first dose of a COVID-19 vaccine), and different socio-economic and geographical factors. Our results show that between October of 2021 and January of 2022, individuals from underrepresented communities were three times less likely to be vaccinated than White/Caucasian individuals across the province of Ontario in Canada, and that in some cases, within these groups, individuals in low income brackets had significantly higher odds of vaccination when compared to their peers in high income brackets. Finally, we identified significantly lower odds of vaccination in the Central, East and West Health Regions of Ontario within certain underrepresented groups. This study shows that there is an ongoing need to better understand and address differences in vaccination uptake across diverse segments of the population of Ontario that the pandemic has largely impacted.

## 31 Keywords

32 Covid-19, vaccination, survey, socio-economic factors, visible minorities.

## 33 Background

34 As of May of 2023, there have been 765 million confirmed cases of COVID-19  
35 around the world, including 6.8 million deaths<sup>1</sup>. Although this disease is no  
36 longer categorized as a global health emergency by the World Health Organi-  
37 zation (WHO)<sup>2</sup>, there is ongoing concern due to continued transmission, surges  
38 in cases and deaths due to new variants<sup>3</sup>, and weaknesses in health systems  
39 around the world that could be exploited by a novel virus or another public  
40 health emergency in the future<sup>4</sup>.

41 In particular, a major weakness that has received attention during the pandemic  
42 has been related to inequalities in vaccine uptake. The rapid development of  
43 vaccines against COVID-19 initially brought the hope of a rapid end to the  
44 pandemic due to the start of vaccination campaigns in certain parts of the  
45 world toward the end of 2020<sup>5–8</sup>) but inequalities in vaccine uptake made these  
46 pharmaceutical interventions ultimately unable to replicate the success of the  
47 smallpox vaccination program, which was crucial to control this disease<sup>9</sup>.

48 This problematic is a multifaceted issue resulting from a combination of factors,  
49 among which are failed public health measures<sup>10</sup>, inequality in vaccine access  
50 between high- and low-income countries<sup>11,12</sup>, and vaccine hesitancy<sup>13</sup>. Further-  
51 more, it is well established that this issue has affected in particular individuals  
52 in certain underrepresented groups (e.g., Black, Asian, or Indigenous) as well as  
53 individuals with socio-economic disadvantages<sup>14–20</sup>.

54 Reasons given for this inequality have included medical mistrust due to sys-  
55 temic medical racism<sup>16,21</sup>, mistrust in vaccines<sup>14</sup>, and the influence of conspiracy  
56 theories<sup>21–23</sup>. However, it is important also to consider that vaccination uptake  
57 can be influenced by geographical (spatial) factors. In this regard, differences in  
58 COVID-19 vaccination rates have been associated with varied regional attitudes  
59 towards vaccination<sup>24</sup>, spatial differences in vaccine access and supply, vacci-  
60 nation location availability, and lack of prioritization of areas where vulnerable  
61 groups reside<sup>7,25</sup>. Other studies have also shown heterogeneity in vaccine uptake  
62 within small governmental administrative units such as counties<sup>26–29</sup>, and that  
63 accounting for geographical differences in vaccination can help predict patterns  
64 of booster uptake<sup>30</sup>.

65 However, such analyses have been carried out mostly in territories outside  
66 of Canada, where available studies have been focused in certain cities (such  
67 as Toronto<sup>31</sup>, or Montreal<sup>32</sup>), or have explored differences at a province-wide  
68 level<sup>18</sup>. Therefore, there is a need for studies that explore spatial differences in

69 vaccination within the Canadian territory and that consequently, can help iden-  
70 tify disparities that need to be addressed within specific areas in each province.

71 This need is especially important in the case of Ontario, the most populated  
72 province of Canada. Between 2007 and 2019, Ontario managed healthcare access  
73 to its inhabitants using 14 intra-provincial divisions called the Local Health Inte-  
74 gration Networks (LHINs), which aimed to provide an integrated health system  
75 for the province. However, this approach was complex, bureaucratic, and re-  
76 sulted in excessive expenditures, disparities in mortality rates, the deterioration  
77 of certain performance indicators such as wait times and hospital readmissions,  
78 fragmented electronic health systems, the decline of performance indicators, and  
79 inequities in health services access<sup>33–37</sup>. Therefore, with the intent of better or-  
80 ganizing and delivering care in late 2019 the provincial government eliminated  
81 the LHINs and incorporated the areas covered by them into six larger Health  
82 Regions (North East, North West, Central, Toronto, West, and East)<sup>35</sup>.

83 Because of the relatively recent adoption of the Health Region model and its  
84 alignment with the onset of the COVID-19 pandemic, there is a need to analyze if  
85 there are ongoing disparities in health access under this approach that need to be  
86 addressed before they are exploited by a new disease or public health threat. In  
87 this regard, previous research has highlighted disparities in the level of activity  
88 of each Health Region<sup>38</sup>. Therefore, analyzing differences in vaccination uptake  
89 within the Health Regions and can help identify which socio-demographic groups  
90 are the most vulnerable and what areas of the province deserve special attention  
91 by decision-makers.

92 Therefore, in this study we aim to understand the differences in vaccination  
93 uptake between the different Health Regions of Ontario between October of  
94 2021 and January of 2022. By including socio-economic factors in our analysis,  
95 we aimed to identify in which groups these differences were significant in order  
96 to provide an assessment of the current state of healthcare access in Ontario.

## 97 **Methods**

### 98 **Data and Methods**

99 We used data from the *Survey of COVID-19 related Behaviours and Attitudes*,  
100 a repeated cross sectional survey focused on the Canadian province of Ontario  
101 that was commissioned by the Fields Institute for Research in Mathematical  
102 Sciences and the Mathematical Modelling of COVID-19 Task Force under ethical  
103 guidance from the University of Toronto (under protocol 00043317), and which  
104 ran between September 30th, 2021 and January 17th, 2022. The survey collected  
105 socio-economic information from participants (Table 1), their location (nearest  
106 municipality, as shown in Figure 1), the date of access to the survey, and asked  
107 information on vaccination status by using the question “Have you received the

108 first dose of the COVID vaccine?”, with possible answers “yes” and “no”. The  
109 original dataset contained 39,029 observations.

110 By design, the survey allowed respondents to exit at any time and deployed  
111 the questions randomly, which resulted in  $\approx 84\%$  of the observations having  
112 multiple missing answers or being incomplete. Therefore, we selected 6,343 ob-  
113 servations that were labelled as “complete” in the dataset and that had answers  
114 for all covariates considered in our analysis. Later, we matched the city of each  
115 observation with its corresponding LHIN and Health Region, and removed ob-  
116 servations from areas with low representation (254 observations corresponding  
117 to the North West and North East Health Regions). Finally, we removed out-  
118 liers from the data (19 observations of individuals under 25 years of age with  
119 household size of 1 and income above 110,000 CAD in the original dataset, that  
120 were deemed to lack accuracy). After all the preliminary analyses, the total  
121 number of observations used for analysis was 6,236 and included the East, Cen-  
122 tral, Toronto, and West Health Regions covering between October 1st, 2021 and  
123 January 17, 2022. The original dataset, clean dataset, and details on the data  
124 cleaning process are described in detail in the [GitHub repository](#) for this paper.

## 125 Statistical analyses

126 We used a logistic regression model to examine the impact of the Health Regions  
127 in vaccination rates while considering the socio-economic factors and months  
128 covered by the survey (Table 1) and certain interactions (Race and Health Re-  
129 gion and Race and income), as previous studies have shown that socio-economic  
130 factors and their interactions are significant predictors of intent of vaccination  
131 and vaccination status<sup>39–41</sup>. Because we identified differences in representa-  
132 tivity between the survey data and the estimates from the Census, we used an  
133 iterative proportional fitting procedure (*raking*)<sup>42</sup> to correct the data using data  
134 from the Census and Health Region population totals; and fitted the regression  
135 model to the uncorrected and corrected data. Details regarding the correction  
136 can be found in the Appendix. All analyses were conducted in R 4.2.2 using the  
137 packages `survey`<sup>43</sup>, `tidyverse`<sup>44</sup>, `quarto`<sup>45</sup>, `modelsummary`<sup>46</sup>, and `gtsummary`<sup>47</sup>.

## 138 Results

### 139 Sample Characteristics

140 Table 1 shows the characteristics of the data from the Fields COVID-19 survey  
141 used for analysis. The sample contained 6,236 observations, from which 24.8%  
142 (1,547) corresponded to individuals that reported not having received the first  
143 dose of the vaccine. Vaccination rates ranged between 71-79% across all house-  
144 hold income brackets, age groups, Health Regions, and the months considered

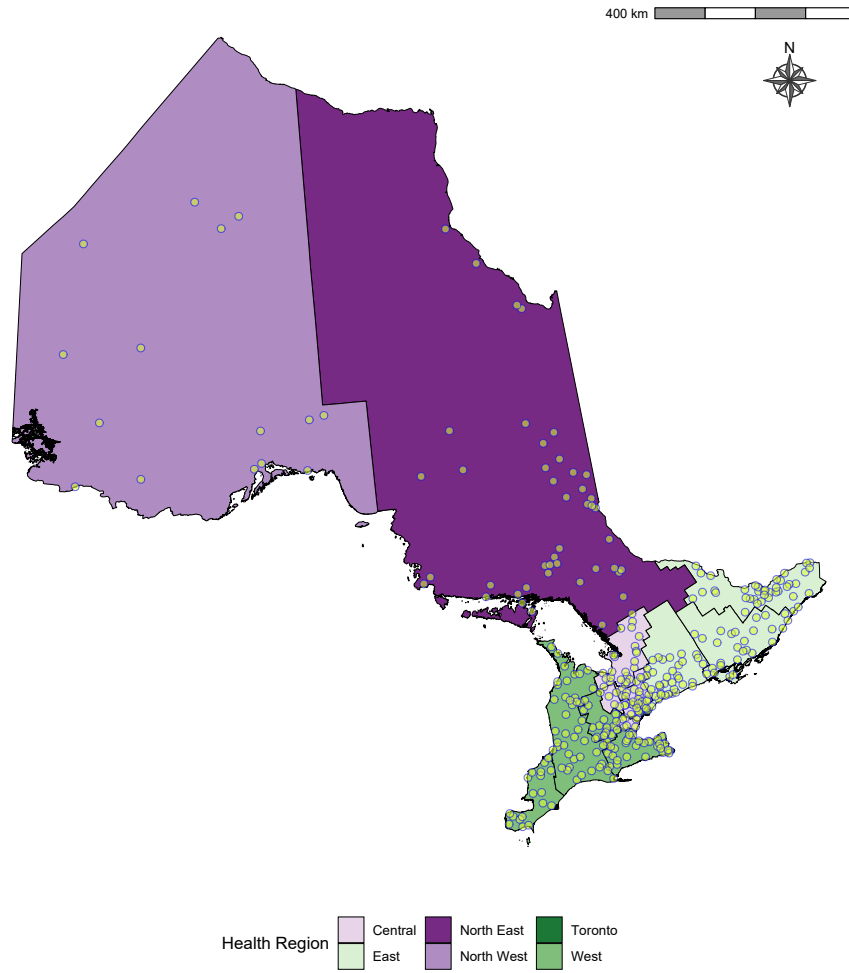


Figure 1: Geographic representation of the data collected by the *Survey of COVID-19 related Behaviours and Attitudes*, collected by the Fields Institute in Ontario. The municipalities from where survey participants provided answers appear as points. The Health six Regions are color-coded. Internal boundaries within certain Health Regions indicate areas that belonged to the Local Integrated Health Networks (LHINs), the geographic areas for healthcare in Ontario before the adoption of the Health Regions.

in the survey. However, the highest vaccination rates in each category were reported by individuals in the highest income bracket (79%), those between 16 and 34 years of age (77%), individuals that lived in the East Health Region (77%), and during January of 2022 (78%). Between racial/ethnic groups, the highest vaccination rate was reported by White/Caucasian individuals (84%), against vaccination rates between 63-66% reported in the case of Arab/Middle Eastern, Black, Indigenous, Latin American individuals, and those that reported belonging to “Other” racial groups, which included Southeast Asian, Filipino, West Asian, and minorities not identified elsewhere.

Table 1: Descriptive Statistics of the Fields COVID-19 Survey (by Vaccination Status)

Variable	no, N = 1,547 <sup>1</sup>	yes, N = 4,689 <sup>1</sup>	p-value <sup>2</sup>
Income (CAD)			<0.001
60000 and above	542 (21%)	1,996 (79%)	
25000-59999	347 (25%)	1,046 (75%)	
under 25000	658 (29%)	1,647 (71%)	
Age Group			0.002
16-34	645 (23%)	2,117 (77%)	
35-54	411 (24%)	1,305 (76%)	
55 and over	491 (28%)	1,267 (72%)	
Health Region			0.3
Toronto	593 (26%)	1,709 (74%)	
Central	372 (26%)	1,083 (74%)	
East	236 (23%)	783 (77%)	
West	346 (24%)	1,114 (76%)	
Month			<0.001
October	469 (27%)	1,263 (73%)	
November	376 (28%)	980 (72%)	
December	181 (24%)	565 (76%)	
January	521 (22%)	1,881 (78%)	
Race			<0.001
White/Caucasian	354 (16%)	1,871 (84%)	
Arab/Middle Eastern	111 (34%)	220 (66%)	
Black	159 (34%)	303 (66%)	
East Asian/Pacific Islander	94 (19%)	404 (81%)	
Indigenous	112 (37%)	194 (63%)	
Latin American	99 (34%)	195 (66%)	
Mixed	177 (30%)	411 (70%)	
Other <sup>3</sup>	315 (34%)	606 (66%)	
South Asian	126 (21%)	485 (79%)	

<sup>1</sup>n (%)

<sup>2</sup>Pearson's Chi-squared test

<sup>3</sup>Southeast Asian, Filipino, West Asian, and minorities not identified elsewhere according to the Census.

## Multivariate Regression

Figure 2 presents the estimates (as odd ratios) from the logistic regression models for vaccination status using the socio-demographic factors collected by the survey, and their interactions. Generally speaking, lower odds of vaccination were identified in both cases in individuals characterized by a low household income, or that identified as part of underrepresented groups. However, the magnitude of the estimates differed between the uncorrected and corrected models and more importantly, there were differences in the statistical significance of certain estimates before and after the correction. Specifically, the uncorrected model showed significant differences in vaccination odds between the age groups considered, the East Health Region, Latin American individuals with a household income under CAD 25,000, and Indigenous individuals living in the Central Health Region (Figure 2,B) but these were deemed non statistically significant after the correction.

However, significantly lower odds of vaccination were identified in the corrected model for those with a household income under CAD 25,000 (OR=0.37, CI=[0.27,0.51]) and those with an income between CAD 25,000 and 59,999 (OR=0.58, CI=[0.42,0.81]). Additionally, individuals who identified as Arab/Middle Eastern, Black, Latin American, of mixed background, or that belonged to other racial groups (a category that included Southeast Asian, Filipino, West Asian, and minorities not identified elsewhere), had significantly lower odds of vaccination than those in the White/Caucasian group (ORs and CIs=0.28 [0.16,0.51], 0.27 [0.16,0.45], 0.40 [0.21,0.76], 0.53 [0.30,0.92], 0.23 [0.15,0.36]). Additionally, individuals that reported living in the Central and West Health Regions had higher odds of vaccination than those in the Health Region of Toronto (ORs and CIs=1.61 [1.10,2.34], and 1.59 [1.16,2.19], respectively).

Interestingly, individuals in underrepresented groups with a household income below CAD 25,000 had higher odds of vaccination (when compared to those with a household income above CAD 60,000). This held true in the case of Arab/Middle Eastern individuals (OR=3.4, CI=[1.70,6.79]), Black individuals (OR=3.81, CI=[2.05, 7.09]), and those in other racial or ethnic groups (OR=3.19, CI=[2.00,5.09]). Additionally, individuals with an income between CAD 25,000 and 59,999 in the Arab/Middle Eastern and other racial or ethnic groups also had higher odds of vaccination than their high-income peers (ORs and CIs=6.96 [2.67,18.16], and 3.5 [1.85,6.62]).

Finally, the place of habitation affected the odds of vaccination for

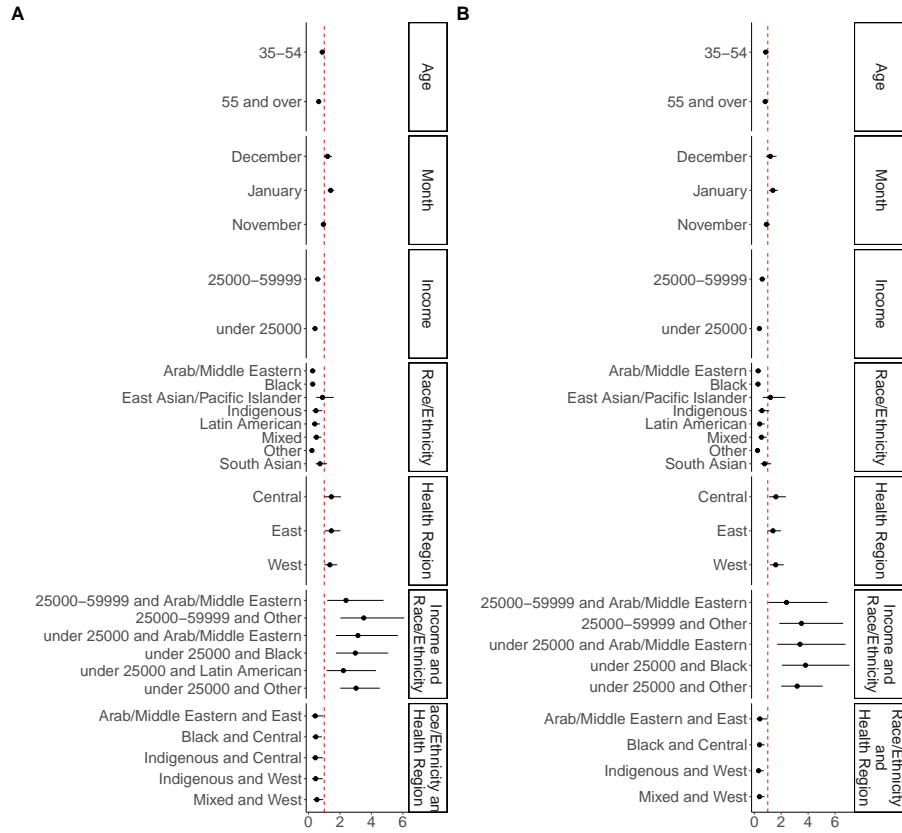


Figure 2: Coefficient estimates and confidence intervals for the uncorrected model. Only statistically significant interaction terms are shown. Full interaction terms can be found in Supplementary Figures A-3 and A-4.



certain underrepresented groups, as significantly lower odds of vaccination were identified for the interaction between Health Region and race in the case of Black individuals in the Central Health Region (OR=0.39, CI=[0.2,0.75]), Arab/Middle Eastern individuals in the East Health Region (OR=0.41 [0.17, 0.98]), and in the Indigenous and mixed groups in the West Health Region (ORs and CIs=[0.31 [0.14, 0.7] and 0.38 [0.19, 0.76], respectively).

## Discussion

In this study, we hypothesized that differences in COVID-19 vaccination uptake were present between the Health Regions between late 2021 and early 2022. Our goal was to determine which socio-demographic groups could be impacted by these disparities in order to provide decision-makers with information that could be used to develop policies focused on reducing or eliminating these differences and ensure that the Health Region model is able to fulfill its mission of improving health access for all Ontarians. **making corrections up to this point**

Our results show that indeed, there were differences in vaccination odds across Ontario in certain socio-demographic groups. Specifically, those who identified as Arab/Middle Eastern, Black, Latin American, having mixed racial or ethnic background, or that belonged to other groups not explicitly included in the survey (Southeast Asian, Filipino, West Asian, and minority groups not identified elsewhere) had vaccination odds that were between a third and a half of that of individuals that identified as White or Caucasian (Figure 2). These results are consistent with previous studies that have shown lower vaccination rates in individuals with the same socio-demographic characteristics<sup>18–20,48</sup>.

Lower vaccine uptake in the socio-demographic groups indicated above may be influenced in part, by vaccine hesitancy and refusal, which have been associated in underrepresented Canadian individuals with concerns on vaccine safety, effectiveness, and experiences of racial discrimination in health settings<sup>41,49–51</sup>. However, it has been shown that structural barriers also play an important role in vaccination uptake. In the case of underrepresented individuals, such barriers include complex scheduling systems, language barriers, lack of adequate public transportation, and lack of accessible vaccination sites<sup>52</sup>. In this regard, it is interesting to note that vaccination venues were scarce in low socio-economic areas that had the highest burden of COVID-19 in Toronto and other regions of Ontario around the time covered by the survey<sup>7,53</sup>, and that pharmacies in the Peel region (an area identified as a “hotspot” with high numbers of essential workers and multigenerational households) could not keep up with vaccine demand<sup>54</sup>. This suggests that the observed differences are associated with disparities in vaccine access that were present during the period covered by the survey.

Interestingly, whereas overall self-reported vaccination rates were found to be statistically significantly lower in various underrepresented groups when com-

pared to White/Caucasian individuals, the change in odds of vaccination within certain racial groups and income strata was actually positive, in contrast to the White/Caucasian group, where vaccination odds decreased in income brackets below CAD 60,000 (Supplementary Figure A-5). Specifically, individuals in low income brackets that belonged to Arab/Middle Eastern, Black, or other minority groups had higher odds of vaccination than their peers with an income above 60,000 CAD.

This result likely reflects in part the fact that individuals in underrepresented groups tend to perform occupations that have been deemed as “essential” in the context of the pandemic<sup>55,56</sup>, which include workers in the areas of grocery stores, gas stations, warehouses, distribution, and manufacturing, all being occupations for which an income within the significant brackets identified in the analysis is to be expected. In Ontario, these workers had priority for COVID-19 vaccination<sup>57</sup>; and there is evidence of interventions by vaccination staff in certain parts of the province to encourage vaccination uptake by these individuals<sup>54</sup>. These facts, combined with evidence of increased trends in vaccination in this group elsewhere<sup>58</sup>, suggest that the type of occupation of individuals in underrepresented groups played an important role in increasing the odds of vaccination.

However, the results also indicate that the place of habitation affected the odds of vaccination for certain underrepresented groups (interaction term of Health Region and Race, Figure 2,B). Specifically, this held true in the case of individuals identifying as Indigenous or with mixed racial background in the West Health Region, Black individuals in the Central Health Region, and Arab/Middle Eastern individuals in the East Health Region Figure 2. For these individuals, vaccination odds were lower when compared to the Toronto Health Region (Supplementary Figure A-6). We indicate next some contributing factors that might help provide context to these results.

First, in this case it is useful to analyze the data considering the LHINs in each Health Region, because most studies in the literature focused on Ontario use the LHINs as the base of their analyses. The West Health Region covers the area previously occupied by the Hamilton Niagara Haldimand Brant, South West, and Waterloo Wellington LHINs, whereas the East Health Region covers the area of the former Champlain and Central East LHINs. Previous research has identified health disparities in these (mostly rural) regions, such as unequal distribution of primary care providers, increased mortality, and low pharmacist availability<sup>59–61</sup>.

Furthermore, there is an ongoing challenge for the health system of the province with regard to personalized healthcare for marginalized individuals. For example, the West Health Region has only two Aboriginal Health Access Centres (community-led primary healthcare organizations focused on First Nations, Métis, and Inuit communities) to provide care to an estimated 100,000 Indigenous individuals living in the area<sup>62</sup>. Lack of access to personalized healthcare affects individuals that may mistrust the traditional healthcare system due to

systemic racism or oppression, which is known to be the case for Indigenous and Black individuals in Canada, as these rationales have been associated with observed lower vaccination rates among these groups<sup>63,64</sup>. Taken together, this suggests that healthcare disparities specific to these underrepresented groups in certain parts of the province impacted vaccination uptake, and highlights the need of investments in the Health Regions focused on resources, infrastructure, and specially personnel that can deliver personalized care to marginalized communities, as it has been shown that such efforts have improved trust in vaccination in underrepresented groups elsewhere<sup>65</sup>.

There are some limitations to the present study. First, the data collection design, which allowed respondents to withdraw from the survey at any point, and that deployed the questions in a random manner resulted in an elevated number of missing observations without a definite pattern and complicated the implementation of sensitivity analyses. Therefore, we focused on entries that had complete answers, and corrected the data using population-wide information from the Census. More granular corrections would be needed to obtain more accurate estimates. For example, our analysis identified higher odds of vaccination in the Central and West Health Regions, but in this case these differences are likely to be driven by the proportion of White/Caucasian individuals, who had higher vaccination rates than other racial groups. Correcting for each racial/ethnic group in each Health Region can provide a more accurate estimation of region-wide vaccination rates but unfortunately, at the moment this correction cannot be implemented as such stratification is has not been implemented in the Census.

Additionally, our analysis did not consider the North West and North East Health Regions, due to the low number of entries from these areas in the survey (Figure 1). Low representation is expected as these regions as they only account for 5% of the total population of Ontario. However, these areas have the highest proportion of Indigenous inhabitants<sup>62</sup>. In the context of personalized care, there is a need to collect data that focuses on these Health Regions where additional health disparities might be present and possibly understudied.

The results in this study are based on self-reported data, where bias might be present. However, in the context of COVID-19, it has been shown that good agreement exists between self-reported and documented vaccination status<sup>66</sup>, we believe that our data was able to provide a valid sample of vaccination uptake in the province. This is supported by the statistically significant higher vaccination odds that were identified for January of 2022 in the model, which are consistent with province-wide trends reported by Public Health Ontario (which show a 4% increase between early December and January, in contrast to a 2.5% increase between October and November<sup>67</sup>); however, the short time window constitutes essentially a “snapshot” view of the evolution of the disease, and additional data would be needed to obtain estimates per racial/ethnic group over time across all Health Regions that can help inform the existence of other health disparities.

Nonetheless, the results presented here can serve as a starting point to motivate

the collection of robust longitudinal data that can be used to quantify geographical and temporal differences within vulnerable segments of the population, and that can be used to inform the development of adequate public health policies within the province of Ontario or across other provinces in Canada that aim to minimize disparities in health access.

## Conclusion

The implementation of the Health Regions in Ontario aimed at reducing the bureaucratic complexity and health disparities identified under the LHIN model. However, there are currently multiple challenges that need to be addressed to ensure that the new model can improve healthcare for the inhabitants of the province. First, the fact that each Health Region now covers a large geographical area that was served by multiple LHINs in the past creates a complex socio-demographic landscape that is different in each case due the different levels of rurality and representation of equity-deserving groups that are now within each Health Region. So far, the evidence collected during the COVID-19 pandemic indicates that differences in vaccination uptake are associated to a lack of infrastructure and resources that can adequately support personalized care to marginalized individuals. In the near future, health decision-makers will need to consider the implementation of policies that are focused on addressing this problematic.

Moreover, the recent nature in the adaption of the Health Region poses a challenge for researchers in the acquisition of data and information that can be used to analyze the performance of the new system. From one side, the Health Regions have not been incorporated as part of Census data (LHINs were considered before in the Census), and this impact the amount and level of detail of available information. Currently, the only demographic information available for each Health Region is provided by Ontario Health (the agency that administers the Health Regions) but this information only provides general estimates that do not allow for detailed analyses of performance indicators (such as hospitalizations, readmissions, and trends in chronic disease incidence) between the regions. Without open information, it is impossible to assess the level of success of the Health Region model, which is critical considering that such evaluations have not been part of the Annual Reports of the Auditor General of Ontario, which in the past analyzed the performance of the LHINs and pointed to ongoing needs and failures in the system.

The Health Region model will only be successful if it ensures that healthcare improves across all segments of the population of Ontario, particularly in the event of a future public health emergency or pandemic where so far, based on the experience of the COVID-19 pandemic, underrepresented individuals have been disproportionately affected.

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## 368 Conflicts of Interest

369 The authors declare no conflict of interest.

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