

# 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 policies against COVID-19. 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 during the last three months of 2021, individuals in certain equity-deserving groups (visible minorities) were three times less likely to be vaccinated than White/Caucasian individuals across the province 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 West Health Region of Ontario within certain equity-deserving 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 have been largely impacted by the pandemic.

## 26 Keywords

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

## 28 Background

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

35 In particular, a major weakness that has received attention during the pandemic has been  
36 related to inequalities in vaccine uptake. The rapid development of vaccines against COVID-  
37 19 initially brought the hope of a rapid end to the pandemic due to the start of vaccination  
38 campaigns in certain parts of the world toward the end of 2020<sup>5-8</sup>) but inequalities in vaccine  
39 uptake made these pharmaceutical interventions ultimately unable to replicate the experience  
40 of smallpox, where vaccination on a global scale and was crucial to control this disease<sup>9</sup>.

41 This problematic is a multifaceted issue resulting from a combination of factors, among which  
42 are failed public health measures<sup>10</sup>, inequality in vaccine access between high- and low-income  
43 countries<sup>11,12</sup>, and vaccine hesitancy<sup>13</sup>. Furthermore, it is well established that this issue has  
44 affected in particular individuals in certain equity-deserving groups (e.g., Black, Asian, or  
45 Indigenous) as well as individuals with socio-economic disadvantages<sup>14-20</sup>.

46 Reasons given for this inequality have included medical mistrust due to systemic medical  
47 racism<sup>16,21</sup>, mistrust in vaccines<sup>14</sup>, and the influence of conspiracy theories<sup>21-23</sup>. However, it  
48 is important to also consider that vaccination uptake can be influenced by geographical (spa-  
49 tial) factors. In this regard, differences in COVID-19 vaccination rates have been associated  
50 with varied regional attitudes towards vaccination<sup>24</sup>, spatial differences in vaccine access and  
51 supply, vaccination location availability, and lack of prioritization of areas where vulnerable  
52 groups reside<sup>7,25</sup>. Other studies have also shown heterogeneity in vaccine uptake within small  
53 governmental administrative units such as counties<sup>26-29</sup>, and that accounting for geographical  
54 differences in vaccination can help predict patterns of booster uptake<sup>30</sup>.

55 However, such analyses have been carried mostly in territories outside of Canada, where avail-  
56 able studies have been focused in certain cities (such as Toronto<sup>31</sup>, or Montreal<sup>32</sup>), or have  
57 explored differences at a province-wide level<sup>18</sup>. Therefore, there is a need for studies that  
58 explore spatial differences in vaccination within the Canadian territory and that consequently,  
59 can help identify disparities that need to be addressed within specific areas in each province.

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

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

Therefore, in this study we hypothesized that there were differences in vaccination uptake between the different Health Regions of Ontario between October of 2021 and January of 2022. By including socio-economic factors in our analysis, we aimed at identifying in which groups these differences were significant in order to provide an assessment of the current state of healthcare access in Ontario.

## Methods

### Data and Methods

We used data from the *Survey of COVID-19 related Behaviours and Attitudes*, a repeated cross sectional survey focused on the Canadian province of Ontario that was commissioned by the Fields Institute for Research in Mathematical Sciences and the Mathematical Modelling of COVID-19 Task Force under ethical guidance from the University of Toronto, and which ran between September 30th, 2021 and January 17th, 2022. The survey collected socio-economic information from participants (Table 1), their location (nearest municipality, as shown in Figure 1), the date of access to the survey, and asked information on vaccination status by using the question “Have you received the first dose of the COVID vaccine?”, with possible answers “yes” and “no”. The original dataset contained 39,029 observations.

By design, the survey allowed respondents to exit at any time and deployed the questions randomly, which resulted in  $\approx 84\%$  of the observations having multiple missing answers or

being incomplete. Therefore, we selected 6,343 observations that were labeled as “complete” in the dataset and that had answers for all covariates considered in our analysis. Later, we matched the city of each observation with its corresponding LHIN and Health Region, and removed observations from areas with low representation (107 observations corresponding to the North West and North East Health Regions). After all the preliminary analyses indicated above, the total number of observations used for analysis was 6,236 and included the East, Central, Toronto, and West Health Regions covering the period between October 1st, 2021 and January 17, 2022. The original dataset, clean dataset, and details on the data cleaning process are described in detail in the [GitHub repository](#) for this paper.

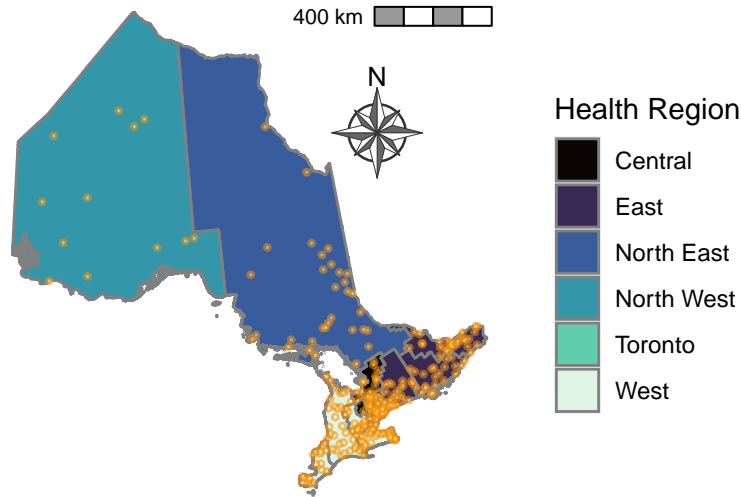


Figure 1: Geographic representation of the data collected by the *Survey of COVID-19 related Behaviours and Attitudes*, collected by the Fields Institute in Ontario. The municipalities (cities) from where survey participants provided answers (in the clean dataset) appear as points. The Health six Regions 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.

## Statistical analyses

We used a logistic regression model to examine the impact of the Health Regions in vaccination rates while considering the socio-economic factors and months covered by the survey (Table 1) and certain interactions (Race and Health Region and Race and income), as previous studies have shown that socio-economic factors and their interactions are significant predictors of intent of vaccination and vaccination status<sup>39–41</sup>. Because we identified differences in repre-

112 sentativity between the survey data and the estimates from the Census, we used an iterative  
 113 proportional fitting procedure (*raking*)<sup>42</sup> to correct the data using data from the Census and  
 114 Health Region population totals; and fitted the regression model to the uncorrected and cor-  
 115 rected data. Details regarding the correction can be found in the Appendix. All analyses were  
 116 conducted in R 4.2.2 using the packages `survey`<sup>43</sup>, `tidyverse`<sup>44</sup>, `quarto`<sup>45</sup>, `modelsummary`<sup>46</sup>,  
 117 and `gtsummary`<sup>47</sup>.

## 118 Results

### 119 Sample Characteristics

120 Table 1 shows the characteristics of the data from the Fields COVID-19 survey used for  
 121 analysis. The sample contained 6,236 observations, from which 24.8% (1,547) corresponded to  
 122 individuals that reported not having received the first dose of the vaccine. Vaccination rates  
 123 ranged between 71-79% across all household income brackets, age groups, Health Regions, and  
 124 the months considered in the survey. However, the highest vaccination rates in each category  
 125 were reported by individuals in the highest income bracket (79%), those between 16 and 34  
 126 years of age (77%), individuals that lived in the East Health Region (77%), and during January  
 127 of 2022 (78%). Between racial/ethnic groups, the highest vaccination rate was reported by  
 128 White/Caucasian individuals (84%), against vaccination rates between 63-66% reported in the  
 129 case of Arab/Middle Eastern, Black, Indigenous, Latin American individuals, and those that  
 130 reported belonging to “Other” racial groups, which included Southeast Asian, Filipino, West  
 131 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 equity-deserving 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

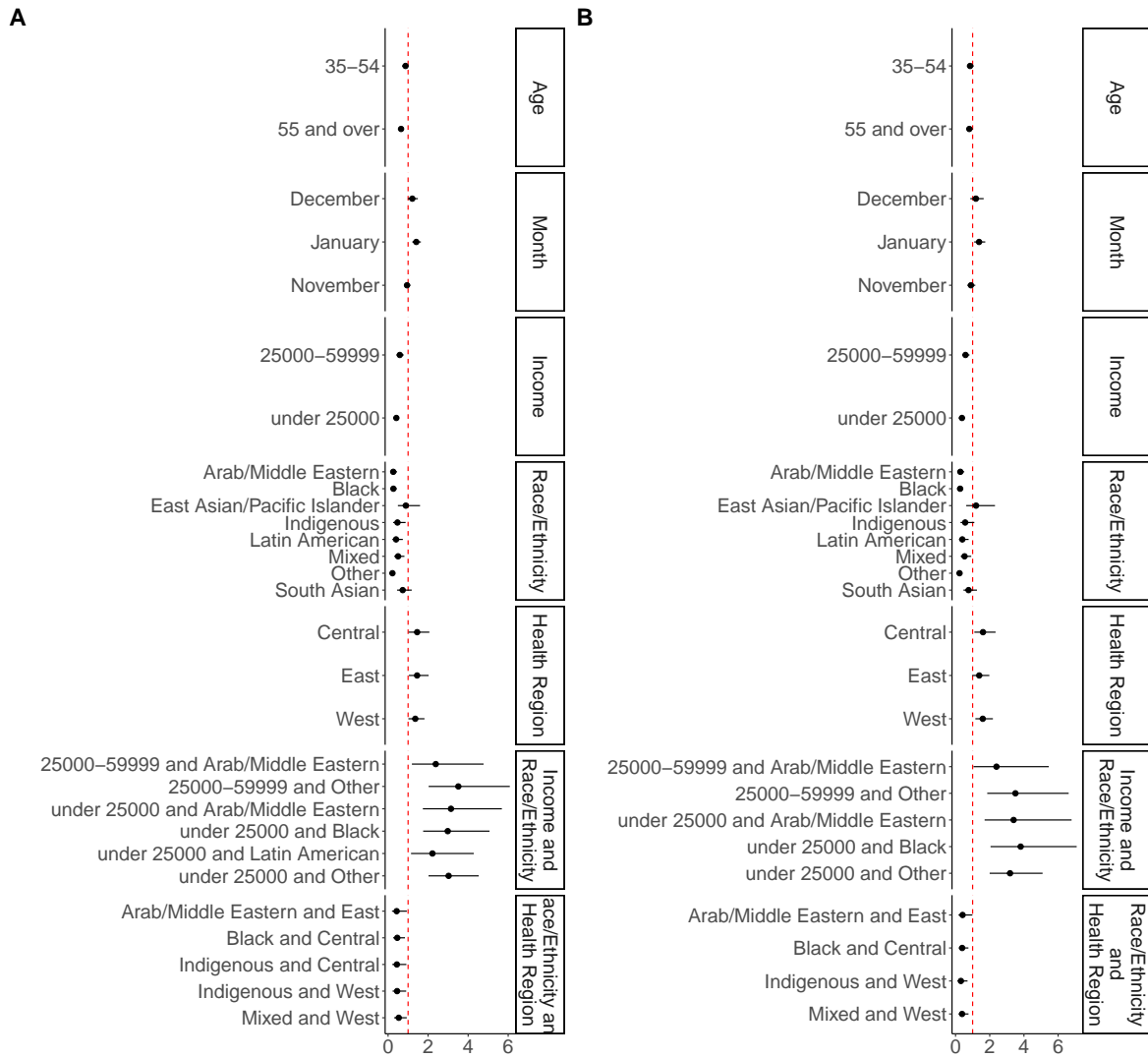


Figure 2: Coefficient estimates and confidence intervals for the uncorrected model. Only statistically significant interaction terms are shown. Full interaction terms can be found in Supplementary Figures A-3 and A-4.

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 equity-deserving 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 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, significantly lower odds of vaccination were identified (when compared to the Toronto Health Region) for 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 during 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.

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 equity-deserving Canadian individuals to 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 equity-deserving 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 demand<sup>54</sup>. This suggests that the observed differences are associated to 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 racial minority groups when compared 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 racial minority 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 in individuals of equity-deserving 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 equity-deserving 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. Indeed, these rationales have been associated to observed lower vaccination rates among these groups<sup>63,64</sup>. Taken together, this suggests that healthcare disparities specific to these equity-deserving groups in certain parts of the province impacted vaccination uptake, and highlights the need of policy-makers to invest in resources and infrastructure focused on personalized care, such as community-led advisors or race-concordant health professionals that have been shown to improve trust in vaccination in marginalized individuals<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 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 only account for 5% of the total population of Ontario, but in contrast, they have the highest proportion of Indigenous inhabitants<sup>62</sup>. In the context of personalized care, there is a need for collecting 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, because 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 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 in order 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 Region model in Ontario aimed at reducing the bureaucratic complexity and disparities in health identified under the LHINs. However, the complex socio-demographic landscape of the province poses multiple challenges to the aim of the Health Region model of improving healthcare for all Ontarians. In particular, because the Health Regions cover larger geographical areas with various degrees of rurality and representation of equity-deserving groups, there is a need for decision-makers to consider that the evidence collected during the COVID-19 indicates a lack of infrastructure that can support personalized care for marginalized individuals

This study explored differences in COVID-19 vaccination across the province of Ontario during the last quarter of 2021 taking into consideration socio-economic factors, such as income and race, their interactions, and the Health Regions within the province. Our results show that during the period analyzed, differences in vaccination uptake existed across multiple equity-deserving groups in the province, and that these differences were significant in two of the Health Regions analyzed. It is important that future public health policies in Ontario take into consideration how to adequately reach individuals from equity-deserving groups that might live in areas of the province where access to healthcare might be difficult. Only in this way the goal of the Health Region model, which aims at reducing disparities, will become successful.

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