

1 **Full title**

2 The COVID-19 health equity twindemic: Statewide epidemiologic trends of SARS-CoV-2
3 outcomes among racial minorities and in rural America

4 **Short title**

5 COVID-19 epidemiologic trends among minority and rural populations

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16

17 **Abstract**

18 **Background:** Early studies on COVID-19 identified unequal patterns in hospitalization and
19 mortality in urban environments for racial and ethnic minorities. These studies were primarily
20 single center observational studies conducted within the first few weeks or months of the
21 pandemic. We sought to examine trends in COVID-19 morbidity and mortality over time for
22 minority and rural populations, especially during the U.S. fall surge.

23 **Methods:** Statewide cohort of all adult residents in Indiana tested for SARS-CoV-2 infection
24 between March 1 and December 31, 2020, linked to electronic health records. Primary
25 measures were per capita rates of infection, hospitalization, and death. Age adjusted rates
26 were calculated for multiple time periods corresponding to public health mitigation efforts.

27 **Results:** Morbidity and mortality increased over time with notable differences among sub-
28 populations. Initially, per capita hospitalizations among racial minorities were 3-4 times higher
29 than whites, and per capita deaths among urban residents were twice those of rural residents.
30 By fall 2020, per capita hospitalizations and deaths in rural areas surpassed those of urban
31 areas, and gaps between black/brown and white populations narrowed. Cumulative morbidity
32 and mortality were highest among minority groups and in rural communities.

33 **Conclusions:** Burden of COVID-19 morbidity and mortality shifted over time, creating a
34 twindemic involving disparities in outcomes based on race and geography. Health officials
35 should explicitly measure disparities and adjust mitigation and vaccination strategies to protect
36 vulnerable sub-populations with greater disease burden.

37 Introduction

38 The rapid spread of coronavirus disease 2019 (COVID-19), caused by the severe acute
39 respiratory syndrome coronavirus 2 (SARS-CoV-2) virus, has challenged health systems. As of
40 January 31, 2021, more than 102 million individuals were infected, and over 2.2 million
41 individuals have died from COVID-19 globally.[1] In the United States, there are over 26 million
42 cases, 131,384 hospitalizations, and 440,000 deaths associated with COVID-19. At the end of
43 2020, the US Centers for Disease Control and Prevention (CDC) reported a COVID-19-associated
44 hospitalization rate of 326.7 per 100,000 population.[2]

45 Data from China, Italy, the US, and other nations suggest that hospitalization and mortality are
46 associated with age as well as gender, in which older and male populations are at higher risk of
47 severe outcomes including death.[3-5] Moreover, early evidence in the US identified unequal
48 patterns in hospitalization and mortality from COVID-19 in dense urban environments with
49 respect to race and ethnicity.[6, 7] Existing studies, however, are limited with respect to both
50 scope and temporality. Early evidence largely comes from single, urban center studies or
51 regional data during the first wave[8, 9] of the COVID-19 pandemic. Subsequent waves, or
52 surges, have not been examined. For example, it is unclear whether the same populations were
53 impacted in fall versus the spring 2020. Furthermore, most studies examine patients after
54 inpatient admission. There are limited studies on individuals with COVID-19 in community
55 settings. For example, early data suggested that testing rates per capita were unequal in the US
56 with respect to race and ethnicity,[10] yet it is unclear how these rates have changed over time.

57 There further exists little evidence on individuals in rural communities, and few studies that
58 compare rural patients to those in urban settings. Nearly 1-in-5 Americans live in a rural
59 county,[11] which are often labeled as medically underserved areas. Using data from CDC
60 gathered two years before the pandemic, Kaufman et al.[12] estimate rural residents to be at
61 increased risk of hospitalization and death from COVID-19. In a single site study in rural
62 Georgia, individuals hospitalized with COVID-19 from March to May 2020 found that, despite a
63 higher burden of comorbid conditions, both critical care and in-hospital mortality was lower
64 than in New York City, as well as China and Italy.[13] Given limited data from rural
65 communities, more study is warranted.

66 No studies to date examine the resurgence of COVID-19 infections within the US during the fall,
67 and little is known about shifts in morbidity and mortality over time from COVID-19. This study
68 examines the epidemiologic trends in COVID-19 infection, hospitalization, and death in Indiana
69 with a focus on health equity. The study examines a large, statewide cohort, including
70 individuals tested by local and state health departments. It further examines care delivered at a
71 wide array of settings, including critical access hospitals and rural county hospitals. Per capita
72 rates, when stratified by age, race, sex, and geography, can shed light on changes in morbidity
73 and mortality over time, as well as within and among sub-populations. Understanding patterns
74 of COVID-19 morbidity and mortality beyond individual health systems and major metropolitan
75 areas can inform national strategies to mitigate the ongoing spread of COVID-19, including
76 vaccination strategies that seek to immunize based primarily on age.

77

78 **Methods**

79 *Setting*

80 The setting for this study is the State of Indiana, which is the 16th largest state in the US with
81 respect to population density and 38th by area. The state has a growing population of 6,732,219
82 individuals, of which 5,063,133 (75.2%) are adults. Approximately 21.7% of residents reside in a
83 rural county.

84 The State of Indiana reported its first case of COVID-19 on March 6, 2020. Similar to many
85 locations, Indiana implemented public health interventions, including a stay-at-home order, to
86 mitigate spread of COVID-19. On May 1, 2020, following declining rates of hospitalization for
87 COVID-19, the Governor ended the stay-at-home order and initiated a phased re-opening
88 plan.[14] New cases increased while hospitalizations declined into the summer, flattening until
89 a second wave began following Labor Day. The second wave consisted of steady increases in
90 new cases as well as hospitalizations and deaths, all of which climbed through the holidays
91 before leveling off towards the end of the year.

92 *Data and Sources*

93 We use data from multiple sources integrated into the Regenstrief Institute COVID-19
94 Dashboard,[15] a data visualization tool developed in response to the pandemic that leverages
95 clinical and administrative health data from the Indiana Network for Patient Care (INPC).[16]
96 The INPC is one of the nation's largest health information networks, which includes 38 distinct
97 health systems representing more than 100 hospitals, commercial laboratories, and physician
98 practices across Indiana.[17] The INPC further includes COVID-19 test results from the Indiana

99 Department of Health (IDOH), which receives test results from large commercial labs
100 contracted for pandemic response as well as local health departments which perform strategic
101 testing in communities identified as high risk, such as nursing homes, prisons, and homeless
102 shelters. All testing data, regardless of source, are linked to hospitalization data as well as death
103 records from IDOH. The combined data represent >95% of the 5 million adult residents who
104 interact with the state's health system.

105 We extracted data on all adults (age ≥ 18 years) tested for COVID-19 in the health system or
106 community, as well as those diagnosed with COVID-19 during a clinical encounter. For each
107 individual, we queried the following information from the INPC: COVID-19 test results, age, sex,
108 race, hospitalizations up to 21 days before or after a positive COVID-19 test, and geography
109 associated with home address. Hospitalizations before positive diagnosis were included due to
110 delays in testing, especially at the start of the epidemic. During March and April 2020, most
111 patients infected with the SARS-CoV-2 virus were admitted with COVID-like symptoms before
112 testing positive. All positive cases were identified using RT-PCR tests recorded in medical
113 records or reported to the public health department, including community-based testing efforts
114 statewide by public health authorities. Individuals testing positive were only counted once,
115 during the period of their first positive result. All patient addresses were geocoded using an
116 established method[18] with rurality determined by a classification system developed by
117 Purdue University for Indiana's geography based on ZIP Code.[19]

118

119 *Data Analysis*

120 We used epidemiological methods to calculate descriptive statistics, including rates per 100,000
121 population, also known as per capita rates. These rates provide an objective method for
122 comparing population characteristics when communities or groups vary in size. Denominator
123 data for calculating per capita rates came from 2018 U.S. Census estimates. All rates were age-
124 adjusted using American Community Survey estimates.

125 Statistics were calculated overall and for multiple time periods corresponding to the state's
126 initial lockdown and subsequent re-opening plan. We examined data from the start of the
127 Indiana epidemic (March 6, 2020) thru the end of the stay-at-home order (April 30, 2020),
128 referred to as Phase 1. Following the stay-at-home order, Indiana initiated a staged reopening.
129 Each subsequent stage reopened additional sectors of the economy or expanded capacity in a
130 given sector. Full details of each stage can be found on the Governor's Back on Track
131 website.[14] The reopening occurred from May 1, 2020 through September 7, 2020 (Labor
132 Day), when the only remaining restrictions included a statewide mask ordinance and a
133 restriction on gatherings larger than 250 people. This is referred to as Phase 2. Finally, we
134 examined data from September 8, 2020 through December 31, 2020, referred to as Phase 3.
135 Institutional review board approval for the study was obtained from Indiana University.

136 **Results**

137 Through December 31, 2020, a total of 1,833,218 unique, adult Indiana residents were tested
138 for COVID-19, which accounts for 36.2% of the statewide adult population. Of those tested,
139 354,539 (19.3%) unique individuals tested positive for COVID-19 infection. Among those

140 infected, 31,352 (8.8%) were hospitalized. A total of 8,104 (0.2% of infected individuals) died
141 either during their hospital course or at home following COVID-19 infection.

142 Overall COVID-19 Infection and Burden

143 Characteristics, as well as morbidity and mortality, of individuals tested for COVID-19 in Indiana
144 are summarized in **Table 1**. More women than men per capita were tested and positive for
145 COVID-19, yet men had higher hospitalizations and mortality per capita compared to women.
146 With respect to age, testing and morbidity were highest in the younger (0-29) and older (80+)
147 groups. Hospitalization and mortality per capita increased with age, with older (70+)
148 populations possessing significantly higher hospitalizations and deaths per capita. With respect
149 to race, morbidity, hospitalization, and mortality rates per capita were higher among racial
150 minority groups, especially Native Hawaiian/Pacific Islanders, American Indian/Native Alaskans,
151 and African Americans respectively. Individuals who did not report their race during testing or
152 hospitalization also possessed high rates of morbidity and mortality. With respect to geography,
153 urban residents were tested more frequently. However, per capita morbidity, hospitalization,
154 and mortality were highest among rural populations.

155

156 **Table 1.** Characteristics and rates for Indiana residents tested for, infected with, hospitalized with, and death following infection
 157 from COVID-19 through December 31, 2020; State of Indiana.

Characteristics	Individuals Tested for COVID-19			COVID-19 Cases			COVID-19 Hospitalizations			COVID-19 Deaths		
	N	%	rate per capita*	N	%	rate per capita*	N	%	rate per capita*	N	%	rate per capita*
Total	1833218		36207.2	354539		7002.4	31352		619.2	8104		160.1
Gender												
Female	1031547	56.3%	39709.7	190632	53.8%	7338.4	15890	50.7%	611.7	4008	49.5%	154.3
Male	790687	43.1%	32071.2	162363	45.8%	6585.6	15459	49.3%	627.0	4073	50.3%	165.2
Age Category												
18-19	73702	4.0%	39707.1	14169	4.0%	7633.6	130	0.4%	70.0	2	0.0%	1.1
20-29	357306	19.5%	39038.2	70064	19.8%	7655.0	1472	4.7%	160.8	38	0.5%	4.2
30-39	312253	17.0%	37227.7	58867	16.6%	7018.3	1950	6.2%	232.5	75	0.9%	8.9
40-49	284677	15.5%	34644.3	59479	16.8%	7238.4	2771	8.8%	337.2	154	1.9%	18.7
50-59	294838	16.1%	32976.5	58540	16.5%	6547.5	4731	15.1%	529.1	408	5.0%	45.6

60-69	258639	14.1%	34580.4	46261	13.0%	6185.2	6756	21.5%	903.3	1244	15.4%	166.3
70-79	157831	8.6%	38123.8	27605	7.8%	6667.9	7241	23.1%	1749.1	2038	25.1%	492.3
80+	93972	5.1%	38238.7	19554	5.5%	7956.8	6301	20.1%	2564.0	4145	51.1%	1686.7
Race												
White	1420211	77.5%	32772.9	272622	76.9%	6291.1	24140	77.0%	557.1	6538	80.7%	150.9
African American	164730	9.0%	37075.1	31596	8.9%	7111.2	4922	15.7%	1107.8	952	11.7%	214.3
Asian	29043	1.6%	23872.1	5638	1.6%	4634.2	353	1.1%	290.2	54	0.7%	44.4
American Indian / Native Alaskan	3961	0.2%	35423.0	1193	0.3%	10668.9	69	0.2%	617.1	4	0.0%	35.8
Native Hawaiian / Pacific Islander	3057	0.2%	142783.7	783	0.2%	36571.7	79	0.3%	3689.9	19	0.2%	887.4
Other or Unknown	212216	11.6%	194470.6	42707	12.0%	39135.9	1789	5.7%	1639.4	537	6.6%	492.1
Geography												
Rural	379567	20.7%	34585.2	82276	23.2%	7496.8	6962	22.2%	634.4	1890	23.3%	172.2
Urban	1453651	79.3%	36656.1	272263	76.8%	6865.5	24390	77.8%	615.0	6214	76.7%	156.7

158 *Rate per capita adjusted for age

159 Comparison of infection, hospitalization, and death over time

160 **Table 2** summarizes per capita testing, infections, hospitalizations, and deaths during the three
161 phases of the COVID-19 epidemic in Indiana through the end of 2020. Testing, infection,
162 hospitalization, and death per capita all increased over time. Furthermore, there are notable
163 differences among sub-populations.

164 Testing and morbidity for women was higher in each phase. Hospitalization and death due to
165 COVID-19 was higher for women only in Phase 2. Men experienced worse outcomes even
166 though women experienced higher morbidity per capita.

167 At the beginning of the pandemic, testing rates were highest in adults 70 years and above.
168 During Phase 2 and Phase 3, per capita testing increased among all groups, but the highest
169 rates were observed in young adults and older adults (70+). Morbidity, hospitalization, and
170 death increased with age and increased across phases for all groups. No deaths occurred
171 among adults aged 18-19 years during the first two phases; there were 0.2 deaths per 100,000
172 population for this age group in Phase 3. Deaths among those 70-79 years and those 80+ years
173 doubled over time, and these rates were 2-10 times higher than younger age groups.

174

175 **Table 2.** Comparison of per capita rates for COVID-19 infection, hospitalization and death for residents across three phases of the
 176 epidemic; State of Indiana.

Characteristics	COVID-19 Cases			COVID-19 Related Hospitalization			COVID-19 Related Deaths		
	Phase 1 (rate per capita)	Phase 2 (rate per capita)	Phase 3 (rate per capita)	Phase 1 (rate per capita)	Phase 2 (rate per capita)	Phase 3 (rate per capita)	Phase 1 (rate per capita)	Phase 2 (rate per capita)	Phase 3 (rate per capita)
Total	402.8	1375.2	5224.4	84.6	133.3	402.5	41.5	41.1	77.5
Gender									
Female	419.4	1421.9	5497.2	80.3	134.5	398.2	39.8	41.9	72.6
Male	377.3	1308.1	4900.3	89.1	132.1	406.8	42.5	40.1	82.6
Age Category									
18-19	83.5	2003.1	5547.0	5.4	23.2	42.0	0.0	0.0	0.2
20-29	265.2	1858.7	5531.4	15.6	46.5	98.9	1.1	1.5	1.5

30-39	370.3	1377.3	5270.7	35.2	62.1	135.9	2.3	2.7	3.9
40-49	426.8	1379.4	5432.3	58.2	89.9	190.1	5.1	5.7	7.9
50-59	416.2	1144.5	4986.8	88.7	119.0	322.0	13.3	12.0	20.4
60-69	396.7	1016.1	4772.5	126.1	181.2	598.2	43.7	39.8	82.8
70-79	480.7	1084.1	5103.4	199.5	330.7	1221.0	116.9	125.4	250.0
80+	1026.6	1501.5	5428.7	323.5	502.1	1743.2	446.8	436.6	803.3
Race									
White	287.2	1068.1	4935.9	62.4	109.2	386.5	35.3	36.5	79.1
African American	926.4	1816.3	4368.5	285.8	287.6	536.1	89.1	63.0	62.1
Asian	433.2	922.2	3278.8	51.0	87.1	152.1	14.8	10.7	18.9
American Indian / Native Alaskan	3559.3	2012.2	5097.5	232.5	152.0	241.5	8.9	0.0	26.8
Native Hawaiian / Pacific Islander	2942.6	10462.4	23166.7	747.3	747.3	2195.2	186.8	280.2	420.4
Other or Unknown	2607.1	12557.2	23971.6	188.8	549.8	904.5	137.5	184.2	170.4

Geography									
Rural	355.9	1232.6	5908.2	51.6	124.5	459.7	24.7	43.7	103.8
Urban	415.8	1414.6	5035.2	93.7	135.8	386.6	46.1	40.4	70.2

177

178 **Footnote:** Phase 1 (March – April, 2020); Phase 2 (May 1, 2020 – September 7, 2020); Phase 3 (September 8, 2020 – December 31,
179 2020)

180

181 Testing, morbidity, hospitalization, and mortality generally increased for each racial group over
182 time, with two exceptions. Morbidity, hospitalization, and deaths decreased between Phase 1
183 and 2 for American Indian/Native Alaskans. Per capita hospitalization and mortality decreased
184 for African Americans, especially between Phase 2 and Phase 3. Comparing Whites with African
185 Americans, however, reveals major disparities. Testing and morbidity per capita was higher for
186 African Americans, except in Phase 3. Hospitalizations were higher for African Americans in all
187 phases (**Figure 1**). Mortality was higher for African Americans in the first two phases.

188 **Fig 1.** Per capita rates for hospitalizations and deaths due to COVID-19 among adults in Indiana,
189 stratified by race, during three distinct time periods between March 1 and December 31, 2020.
190 State of Indiana.

191 In each phase, testing per capita was highest for urban residents. Morbidity and hospitalizations
192 were also higher for urban populations during the first two phases. Deaths were higher among
193 urban populations only in Phase 1. Over time, per capita morbidity (**Figure 2**) and negative
194 outcomes, hospitalization and mortality (**Figure 3**), shifted to rural populations. Morbidity
195 shifted in Phase 3 following the conclusion of the state's re-opening plan. Higher per capita
196 hospitalization and mortality among rural populations began towards the end of Phase 2 then
197 accelerated in Phase 3.

198 **Fig 2.** Weekly COVID-19 incidence, defined as cases per 100,000 population, among adults in
199 Indiana, stratified by urban versus rural county of residence between March 1 and December
200 31, 2020. State of Indiana.

201 **Fig 3.** Weekly rates per capita for hospitalizations and deaths due to COVID-19 among adults in
202 Indiana, stratified by urban versus rural county of residence between March 1 and December
203 31, 2020.

204 **Discussion**

205 Among a statewide cohort of individuals tested for COVID-19, we examined epidemiological
206 trends in testing, infection, hospitalization, and death among three time periods corresponding
207 to mitigation efforts by public health authorities. Infections due to the SARS-CoV-2 virus
208 increased over time across the entire state, across the three phases, yet its impact was not
209 even across sub-populations. Following the initial lockdown in the spring, testing, as well as
210 morbidity, hospitalizations, and mortality, increased over time. During the summer months, the
211 gap between White and African American morbidity and mortality narrowed, although burden
212 remained higher among African American populations. As summer turned into fall, burden
213 among rural communities increased and surpassed urban communities through the end of the
214 year. These trends reveal a twindemic, not of influenza and COVID-19, but of race and
215 geography. The twindemic has implications for continued mitigation of disease spread, as well
216 as vaccination strategies.

217 There are many similarities in the Indiana trends with prior studies as well as national trends.
218 Rates per capita for hospitalization and death increase with age.[4, 6, 20-22] Furthermore,
219 hospitalization and death per capita was greater among men versus women,[21, 22] even
220 though women experienced greater morbidity. Moreover, burden of COVID-19 within the
221 African American community overall was much greater than its proportional composition of the

222 state's population.[7] Per capita hospitalization among African Americans grew and remained
223 highest among all sub-populations throughout the pandemic. Burden among American
224 Indian/Native Alaskan and Native Hawaiian/Pacific Islander populations were also among the
225 highest overall and during most time periods, a trend observed nationally.

226 While the data in this study share much in common with prior studies, there are several unique
227 characteristics that distinguish our work. First, the study uses a large repository of testing data
228 linked to electronic medical records. Testing data includes results from hospital-based,
229 commercial, and public health departments creating a comprehensive source measuring
230 testing, as well as morbidity, per capita. Second, the study measures burden of disease and
231 outcomes during the fall surge, something few studies to date have reported. Stratification by
232 phase is also unique, allowing comparison of burden and outcomes over time. These methods
233 would not be possible without a robust electronic data infrastructure in Indiana aided by a 16+
234 year health information exchange[23] that partnered with the state health department, county
235 health departments, and health care systems in response to the COVID-19 pandemic.[16] This
236 multi-sector approach aligns with the vision set forth by the Public Health 3.0 framework
237 described by DeSalvo et al.[24, 25]

238 Although prior studies document racial disparities, especially during the initial phase of the
239 pandemic, this study presents data on racial disparities in COVID-19 morbidity, hospitalization,
240 and mortality over time. Rates, adjusted for population size, clearly show significant burden on
241 African American populations during each phase of the pandemic. Although deaths per capita
242 were lower than other racial groups in the fall surge, the cumulative mortality is 50% higher
243 than mortality among White populations. Moreover, burden among Native Hawaiian/Pacific

244 Islander populations, albeit they account for a small percentage of the overall population, is
245 nearly 10 times that of Whites. Among those who did not disclose or reported their race as
246 'Other,' is 3-4 times higher than Whites. It is not unreasonable to assume that many Hispanics
247 may be in that group. Therefore, we conclude that while racial disparities narrowed later in the
248 pandemic, especially as burden shifted from urban to rural communities, cumulative burden on
249 racial minorities from COVID-19 are severe. The burden on minority populations exacerbates
250 existing health disparities, necessitating action as the nation attempts to both mitigate further
251 disease spread and protect vulnerable populations through vaccination.

252 Another distinguishing feature of this analysis is a focus on rural communities. A brief report on
253 COVID-19 incidence thru October 2020 from the U.S. Centers for Disease Control and
254 Prevention[26] revealed that morbidity was shifting nationally from urban to rural areas
255 beginning in late summer. These trends are mirrored in this study. Yet this study further
256 provides evidence on hospitalizations and mortality, which both surpassed urban rates per
257 capita around the same time. Rural morbidity is of great concern, as many of these areas are
258 medically underserved. Hospitals in rural areas may possess few ICU beds, and they may lack
259 the staff necessary to handle an influx of COVID-19 cases.[27] During the fall surge, we
260 observed several rural hospitals in Indiana reaching capacity quickly, necessitating transfers to
261 urban centers, in many cases, more than 2 hours away from the resident's home. This placed
262 additional burden on urban hospitals already managing increased workload and burden from
263 local residents infected with COVID-19. The situation further caused a response from public
264 health in which elective procedures were reduced by order of the Governor, placing financial
265 strain on both rural and urban facilities. More attention is needed on the impact of COVID-19 in

266 rural areas, combined with reasonable policies to support rural mitigation strategies and
267 equitable distribution of vaccines to rural populations.

268 Limitations

269 This observational study has several limitations worth noting. Observational clinical data (e.g.,
270 “real-world evidence”), from which much of our findings are derived, is known to have
271 potential biases.[28] First, a significant number of race classifications were reported as Other or
272 Unknown. Similarly, the dataset could not identify ethnicity, as these data are also missing for
273 many patients. Medical records as well as other health information systems, must improve the
274 capture rates for race and ethnicity to enable large scale measurement of health disparities so
275 public health can work with health systems to ensure health for all persons.[29, 30] Second,
276 these data represent hospitalizations and death among individuals from one state. The patterns
277 observed in Indiana may not generalize to all geographic regions of the U.S. or other countries.

278 Public Health Implications

279 This study offers several implications for public health in the wake of the COVID-19 pandemic.
280 First, trends demonstrate a flattening of the curve following the initial stay-at-home order from
281 public health authorities. As the state re-opened, morbidity and mortality increased during
282 subsequent phases. This suggests aggressive mitigation for a longer period of time may be
283 necessary for stronger mitigation. Moreover, sub-population differences highlight the need for
284 more nuanced mitigation policies, perhaps data-driven approaches, that can evolve as the
285 pandemic unfolds.

286 As public health attempts to mitigate disease spread going forward, additional attention should
287 be paid to racial minority and rural populations. Testing increased per capita among racial
288 minority groups in Indiana, enabling better detection of morbidity. Equitable testing was not
289 sufficient for stemming hospitalization due to COVID-19. Mortality decreased among minority
290 groups in the latter phases, yet this might be attributable to improved clinical management
291 rather than contact tracing and isolation which our data did not measure. With respect to rural
292 populations, morbidity, hospitalization, and mortality steadily increased over time, suggesting
293 perhaps rural county health departments struggled with mitigation strategies or rural
294 populations ignored mask ordinances, restrictions on social gatherings, and/or other public
295 health tactics. Anecdotally, we observed complaints from several rural county health officers
296 that local authorities would not enforce ordinances and that residents overtly refused to
297 comply with many policies. More research is necessary to confirm these observations and
298 support the development of more robust mitigation policies.

299 Strategies to vaccinate against COVID-19 need to explicitly address racial disparities. Poorer
300 health outcomes among racial minorities is often attributable to lack of health care access,[31]
301 including preventative medicine and vaccination. In a majority White state, we achieved equity
302 in testing. This means we can achieve equity in testing. However, current policies focus on age
303 and comorbid conditions to drive decisions about which populations should receive vaccines
304 first. While age places individuals at higher risk of hospitalization and death, this study
305 demonstrates that racial minorities and rural populations also should be prioritized given their
306 morbidity and mortality. If health departments are serious about addressing social
307 determinants and racial disparities, they must factor these phenomena into vaccination plans.

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321 deaths for communities across Indiana. Data management during the pandemic has been
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