1	<u>Title Page</u>	
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3	Submission Title	
4	"Informing Efforts Beyond Tailored Promotional Campaigns by Understanding Contextual Factors	
5	Shaping Vaccine Hesitancy Among Equity-Deserving Populations in Canada: An Exploratory	
6	Qualitative Study"	
7	Accepted 26/09/23	
8	International journal of Equity in Health	
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26 Abstract

Background: Vaccine hesitancy exists on a continuum ranging between complete adherence and complete refusal due to doubts or concerns within a heterogeneous group of individuals. Despite widespread acknowledgement of the contextual factors influencing attitudes and beliefs shaping COVID-19 vaccine hesitancy, qualitative research with equity-deserving groups, accounting for unique lived experiences, remains a gap in the literature. We aim to identify and begin to understand and document the unique contextual factors shaping hesitancy by equity-deserving groups as it relates to relationships with government and health authorities.

<u>Methods:</u> Participants were recruited and interviewed between Aug-Dec 2021. Semi-structured interviews using a convergent interviewing technique were conducted with individuals from the general population, as well as individuals who identify as First Nations, Métis, or Inuit, members of the LGBT2SQ+ community, low-income Canadians, Black Canadians, and newcomers. Interviews were audio recorded and transcribed by a team of researchers. Memos were written following interviews and used to complement the thematic analysis of the interview data. Themes are presented in the results section.

<u>Results:</u> The rationale for hesitancy among equity-deserving groups is consistent with literature
documenting hesitancy in the general population. Contextual factors surrounding equitydeserving groups' attitudes and beliefs, however, are unique and relate to a history of

oppression, discrimination, and genocide. We identified factors unique to subgroups; for
example, religious or fatalistic beliefs among participant who identify as FNMI, fear associated
with lack of testing and speed of vaccines' production among participants who identify as FNMI,
Black, and LGBT2SQ+, distrust of the healthcare system for LGBT2SQ+ and Black Canadians, and
distrust of the government and opposition to vaccine mandates for participating who identify as
LGBT2SQ+, low-income, FNMI, or Black Canadian. Newcomers stood out as very trusting of the
government and accepting of COVID-19 vaccination.

51 <u>Conclusions:</u> While our data on vaccine hesitancy largely mirror concerns reported in the vast 52 body of literature citing rationale for COVID-19 hesitancy in high-income countries, the 53 contextual factors identified in our work point to the need for wider systemic change. Our results 54 may be used to support efforts, beyond tailored promotion campaigns, to support the confident 55 acceptance of vaccines for COVID-19 and the acceptance of novel vaccines as future infectious 56 diseases emerge.

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58 Keywords

59 COVID-19, Equity-Deserving Groups, Marginalized groups, Canada, Vaccine Hesitancy, Contextual
 60 Factors, Promotional Campaigns, Vaccine Confidence, Qualitative.

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70 Background

Canada's first COVID-19 case was confirmed on January 23, 2020, in Toronto, Ontario (1,2). In 71 response, government officials called upon the public to trust and accept measures to mitigate 72 73 the risk of COVID-19 spread. One such measure was vaccination, the uptake of which is complex 74 and multifactorial (3). Vaccine hesitancy (VH), a long-studied phenomenon particularly as it relates to childhood vaccination, became a critical consideration and concern for the 75 76 management of COVID-19 in Canada and elsewhere, with the World Health Organization (WHO) naming VH one of the top ten threats to global health in 2019 (4). Within the present paper, we 77 78 conceptualize VH as existing on a continuum ranging between complete adherence and complete 79 refusal due to doubts or concerns within a heterogeneous group of individuals who may be influenced by a combination of cognitive, emotional, cultural, social, spiritual, and political 80 factors (5–7). Within these extremes, there is a varying period of delay in acceptance or refusal 81 of vaccination, despite vaccines being readily available to the public (8). Central to the present 82 work, hesitancy is influenced by the historical, political, and sociocultural contexts in which 83 84 vaccination occurs (7). Furthermore, hesitancy is vaccine dependent; for example, there has been criticism that public health messaging around COVID-19 vaccines resembled those aiming at 85 86 reducing VH for routine immunization and, as a result, did not sufficiently address the constant 87 changes to COVID-19 vaccine recommendations (9). As such, across the population, attitudes and beliefs regarding vaccination, and thus strategies to promote vaccination, will vary considerably
– and even more so given the novelty of the COVID-19 vaccine.

COVID-19 VH in high-income countries is well documented and has been associated with a 90 number of factors, including the absence of a recent history of influenza vaccination, lower 91 92 perceived risk of contracting COVID-19, reduced fear of COVID-19 disease, lower perceived 93 COVID-19 disease severity, absence of a chronic medical condition, belief that vaccines are not safe/effective, concerns with the speed in which COVID-19 vaccines were developed, exposure 94 95 to misinformation about COVID-19, and public concerns over the safety of vaccines (10–12). Alternatively, factors associated with vaccine uptake include motivation to protect oneself or 96 others, trust in government, belief that the vaccine is safe and has a low risk of adverse effects, 97 98 availability of sufficient information about COVID-19 vaccination, greater perceived risk of COVID-19 to others (but not a risk to oneself), being of older age, and previously receiving an 99 100 influenza vaccine (13,14).

101 Over the last few years, the research community has generated a vast body of literature regarding COVID-19 VH as it relates to equity-deserving groups. Equity-deserving has been 102 defined as "a group of people who, because of systemic discrimination, face barriers that prevent 103 them from having the same access to the resources and opportunities that are available to other 104 105 members of society, and that are necessary for them to attain just outcomes" (15). Within 106 Canada, the location of the present study, nonwhite (racialized) individuals have been 107 documented to be less likely than white individuals to receive the COVID-19 vaccine (16). Being 108 indigenous, black, multiracial or a visible minority has been associated with a lower intention to 109 get vaccinated (16,17). This finding is consistent within high-income countries; for example,

research has found an association between individuals who identify as Black, Indigenous, BIPOC
or as part of the LGBTQ+ community and VH (18,19). Furthermore, in terms of VH, individuals
who immigrated to Canada (compared to Canadian-born individuals) and individuals of lower
socioeconomic status have been found to be more hesitant toward COVID-19 vaccines (16,20).

114 Despite progress made in understanding contextual factors influencing attitudes and beliefs shaping COVID-19 vaccine VH in equity-deserving groups (20), research to date has 115 predominantly relied on survey-based study models (19). The present study draws on interviews 116 117 to understand the lived experiences of vulnerable populations (21) disproportionately impacted 118 by the COVID-19 pandemic (22–26) and whose voices are predominantly absent from public health efforts relating to pandemic preparedness (27). The need to increase the representation 119 120 of equity-deserving groups in public health research is necessary not only to inform and drive vaccination efforts with hopes to increase COVID-19 vaccination uptake among equity-deserving 121 122 groups but also to reduce health disparities and get one step closer toward achieving health 123 equity.

Given that attitudes and beliefs can influence behavior, government and public health have 124 125 worked to tailor public health messaging to promote vaccine uptake in diverse communities. However, as we will discuss, the unique contextual factors, as they relate to equity-deserving 126 127 populations' relationships with government and health authorities in the past, will require 128 interventions that go beyond tailored vaccine promotion efforts. Indeed, typical promotional materials have been criticized as not addressing specific anxieties elicited by the novel vaccines 129 130 (9), no less among populations whereby VH is influenced by the historical, political, and 131 sociocultural contexts (7). Herein, we aim to investigate and document demographic and 132 contextual factors that underly VH within equity-deserving populations. We focus on these 133 populations for two reasons: 1. They have been historically marginalized by government organizations, including healthcare services, and thus less likely to trust, and thus accept, 134 government interventions (e.g., see history) ((28)); and/or 2. They have been disproportionately 135 136 impacted by COVID-19 in Canada (29), rendering vaccination critical for health equity (30). Our results may be used to support efforts, beyond tailored promotion campaigns, to support the 137 confident acceptance of vaccines for COVID-19 but perhaps more importantly, the acceptance of 138 139 novel vaccines as future infectious diseases emerge.

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141 Methods

The data presented herein are part of a larger research project investigating the acceptance of COVID-19 countermeasures in Canada. Here, we specifically focus on data collected from participants who self-identified as belonging to an equity-deserving group regarding their perspectives on COVID-19 vaccination.

Semi-structured interviews (n=56) were conducted with individuals aged 18+ between August 146 147 and December 2021. In addition to the general population (n=19), we specifically sampled subpopulations of equity-deserving populations, including First Nations, Métis, or Inuit (n=7), 148 149 LGBT2SQ+ (n=5), low-income Canadians (less than \$40,000 annually; n=8), Black Canadians (n=7), 150 and newcomers (less than 5 years living in Canada; n=10). We acknowledge that each of the subgroups is unique from one another due to differences in shared experiences, cultural beliefs, 151 152 and practices, which is important given that VH is specific to groups and communities. This, 153 however, does not mean there are no similarities across subgroups. Additionally, we

acknowledge that within each of the subgroups, there is diversity across participants, and as such,
we do not intend to use our findings for generalization. Participants were recruited through
Leger, Canada's largest and most representative research marketing firm, to gain representation
from harder-to-reach populations. Leger recruited potential participants and provided contact
information to the research team to obtain consent to participate and schedule the interviews.
Participants for our sample size were collected until we reached saturation of themes (31).

We used a convergent interviewing technique (32) via telephone or a virtual platform (Cisco 160 161 Webex, Zoom or Microsoft Teams), depending on the preference of the participant. Convergent 162 in-depth interviews are characterized by a structured process and unstructured content. Interviews are embedded within a process of design and analysis so that subsequent interviews 163 164 can build on reflective opportunities from former interviews. This specific interview technique allows for the analysis of interview data to overlap with the collection of that data, and unlike 165 166 other interview techniques, it is time-efficient, emergent, and data-driven (32). This approach allowed us to continue data collection until a point where themes were saturated while also 167 ensuring that we explored novel insights relevant to the research aim. For the present paper, we 168 focus on interview questions specifically investigating COVID-19 countermeasures pertaining to 169 vaccination behaviors. Namely, we asked, "Have you been vaccinated against COVID-19?", "If 170 171 yes, what was your experience, if no, why not?", "If periodic boosters end up being 172 recommended (e.g., on a bi, semi or annual basis) do you intend to get them? Why/why not?", "What are your thoughts about the use of legal mandates by governments to increase 173 vaccination?", "How has the prospect or actual implementation of vaccine mandates influenced 174 your views on vaccination or your decision to get vaccinated?". Given the role of contextual 175

factors in VH, participants were also asked to respond to sociodemographic questions and
vaccine status. Interviews were conducted by six researchers with the goal of having congruence
in social identity between participants and the interviewer, though this was not possible across
all participating subgroups.

180 Interviews were audio recorded and transcribed by an agency abiding by a confidentiality agreement. Following interviews, memos were written by each researcher to document 181 elements of the data meaningful to the project aims. Memos served as a record of the 182 183 researcher's initial thoughts on each interview for the purpose of communicating the analytic 184 progress to the team and for recall later down the process of analysis. All six interviewers listened to audio files and prepared memos based on their respective assigned subgroup interviews. 185 186 Following this procedure, one researcher led the remainder of the analysis, with ongoing input from the team. Initial coding involved staying close to the data and remaining open to exploring 187 188 all findings relevant to the aim of the interviews. Initial coding, coded by author <removed for blind review>, involved systematically working through the entire dataset, giving full and equal 189 190 attention to every data point. For this exploratory phase, we were open to coding all data before 191 determining what was or was not meaningful to the analysis (33). In vivo codes (the participants' own words) were used to help preserve participants' meanings of their views and actions. 192 193 Focused coding involved taking earlier codes that continually reappeared and using them to 194 organize large amounts of the data into meaningful themes and was used to re-examine the initial codes to determine their adequacy and conceptual strength in meeting the research aim. 195 196 Focused coding was less open-ended and more directed and conceptual, based on themes 197 relevant to their dataset (e.g., coverage of themes relevant to the aim). Within our process of

moving from initial to focused coding, we were intentionally attentive to data relevant to the aim
of the paper; that is, we were not focused on the most common themes but rather, those that
were meaningful.

Ethics approval was obtained by <removed for blind peer review>. All participants provided written or oral consent for the recording and use of quotes in publications. Pseudonyms have been used to maintain anonymity.

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205 Results

206 Our results provide timely insight into the sociodemographic factors associated with VH at a time in Canada when there were four COVID-19 vaccines authorized for public use (Pfizer-BioNtech, 207 208 Moderna, Jessen, and AstraZeneca) and enough vaccine supply for the completion of primary 209 series (1st and 2nd doses) for eligible individuals. The period of data collection also coincided 210 with all provinces and the Yukon territory introducing vaccine passports (34). Furthermore, 211 information on vaccines' side effects (common and rare), as well as recommendations/guidelines 212 to populations (i.e., permissible to interchange between authorized COVID-19 vaccines in a two-213 dose primary series, long-term care residents and seniors living in other congregate settings are 214 recommended to receive their booster dose, and AstraZeneca vaccine use is recommended in 215 younger adults, among others) was also available to the public at this time period (35,36). 216 All participants but one selected English (over French) as the primary language. Participants

ranged from 18-75, with half aged 25-44 years. Most participants were female (n=36), with 19

represented all provinces except for NL and NS, with higher representation in ON and AB. Ages

males and one individual identified as nonbinary. Most participants (n=20) reported earning
between \$20,000-\$59,000.

Table 1 summarizes acceptance of vaccination across subgroups at the time of the interviews. Of 221 222 all participants (n=56), 51 individuals received their 1st and 2nd doses. Five individuals in total 223 (n= 2 Black Canadians, n=1 FNMI and n=2 or low-income) reported nonvaccinated status. Of all 224 participants, eight reported getting the vaccine either because it was mandated or because they 225 felt pressured by their families to receive their vaccine. Two participants expressed a reluctance 226 to accept booster shots or being reluctant to consider the possibility of annual vaccination. Last, at the time the interviews were conducted, no participant had yet received their booster (3rd 227 dose) vaccine. 228

229 Table 1. Vaccine Acceptance by Subgroup for Participants in the Sample

Population Sub-Groups	Have not received the vaccine	ave received one or two dose
Black Canadians (n=7)	2	5
FNMI (n=7)	1	6
LGBT2SQ+ (n=5)	0	5
Low-Income (n=8)	2	6
Newcomers (n=10)	0	10
General Population (n=19)	0	19
Total (n=56)	5	51

230

The following section of this paper showcases findings from our data. Acronyms to categorize equity-deserving groups and the general population were used, such as general population (GP),

Black Canadians (BC), LGBT2SQ+ (LGBT2SQ+), First Nations, Métis, and Inuit (FNMI), Low Income

234 (LI), and Newcomer (N).

235 <u>Vaccine Hesitancy across the population</u>

236	We present data below to underscore that in many ways, the rationale for hesitancy among
237	participants who identify as members of equity-deserving groups is consistent with what is
238	already documented regarding hesitancy across the general population.
239	Participants explained their own VH (in general and COVID-19 related) in terms of the following
240	key themes:
241	- Beliefs of resiliency/immunity;
242	- Vaccination history;
243	- Low perceived vulnerability based on others' experiences;
244	- Perceived risk of severe adverse reactions/vaccine safety (exacerbated by reported
245	adverse reactions);
246	- Lack of understanding of the vaccine's mechanisms
247	- Perceptions of fast development/administration;
248	 Availability of several brand options of COVID-19 vaccines;
249	- Perceived lack of need, effectiveness, and purpose for the COVID-19 vaccines;
250	- Absence/presence of previous vaccination, and
251	- Lack of trust in the government.
252	For instance, the following quote demonstrates how participants who reported vaccine
253	acceptance in the past were more accepting of COVID-19 vaccination, suggesting that receiving
254	routine vaccines may be a factor in COVID-19 vaccine acceptance.
255	"I didn't really pause and agonize over it a great deal of time. I kept getting vaccines all my
256	life. I went to receive them since I was a child, and I wish I had confidence in them, and I didn't
257	see why they should be any different." – 75+, Woman, LI4

258 On the contrary, a participant (35-44, Woman, N1) questioned the value of the vaccine as they 259 kept "(...) hearing about new variants coming and then new restrictions and lockdown and 260 everything (...)". This led them to doubt the need for vaccines, since in their perspective was that

- 261 "even those who are double vaccinated still have to keep all the rules of social distancing (...)".
- A lack of understanding of how vaccines work, which may have resulted in a perception of severe
- 263 vaccine side effects, is evident by the following quote:
- 264 *"I don't want something in my body that could change my DNA or my genetic material. That*
- is very important to me as a woman who can produce offspring. I don't want my genetics, my
- 266 DNA [messed] with. That's important to me." 25-34, Woman, FNMI7
- Perceived political agendas behind vaccination campaigns were seen as shaping individuals' by
 undermining the level of trust in the vaccines. Relatedly, trust in the government was seen as an
 influencing factor of VH, with lower trust in the government seemingly increasing VH and higher
- 270 trust in the government seemingly decreasing VH. For instance, despite receiving both vaccine
- doses, a participant (25-34, Woman, GP10) disclosed with us the process of "(...) going back and
- forth because [they] don't really trust the government in a lot of things". Their delay in receiving
- a vaccine demonstrates their hesitancy.
- 274 <u>Vaccine compliance vs vaccine acceptance across the general population</u>

275 While most participants were vaccinated, VH was still present, with vaccine hesitant participants 276 only getting vaccinated either because it was mandated of them or because they felt pressured 277 by their families to do so. Among those who were against vaccine mandates, we identified the

- 278 following key themes:
- 279 Lack of autonomy;

280 - Government control, and

- Violation of citizens' rights and freedoms.

For instance, a participant (18-24, Man, LI7) describes the consequences of not following the mandate (e.g., receiving a fine, not allowed to enter certain establishments) as a form of "punishment". For this participant "(...) to punish somebody for not taking something that they know is a risk to them with a hundred percent certainty that there's that possibility, it's morally and ethically wrong". This quote illustrates the perspective that vaccine mandates run counter to freedom of choice and autonomy.

In contrast, some participants acknowledged that mandates are important and necessary in some
contexts, such as grocery stores, medical offices/hospitals, and the military. Responsibility for
others within the community (social responsibility) versus personal freedoms (personal choice)
was also discussed in relation to vaccine mandates.

"I can remember when I went to school, and the big emphasis was on positioning like a scale
of rights on one side and responsibilities on the other. If you had the right, you had a
responsibility. If you had a responsibility, then you should have an equal weight. But now
people seem to be so focused on the right, they forget about responsibility." – 75+, Woman,

296 *LI*4

297 <u>Contextual factors surrounding equity-deserving groups' attitudes and beliefs</u>

In the section that follows, we present contextual factors surrounding equity-deserving groups'
 attitudes and beliefs that are more unique to these groups, beyond those experienced across the
 general population. Equity-deserving groups described VH in terms of the following key themes:
 Fatalistic beliefs in divine will and predeterminism;

302	- Rapid development and production of COVID-19 vaccines;	
303	- Experiences with the healthcare system;	
304	- Distrust of the government;	
305	- Personal liberty and vaccine mandates, and	
306	- Support for government.	
307		
308	Fatalistic beliefs in divine will and predeterminism	
309	Unique to our participants who identified as FNMI were discussions of fatalistic beliefs in divine	
310	will/predeterminism driving hesitancy. For example, a participant (35-44, Woman, FNMI4)	
311	discussed COVID-19 infections as "mother nature's way of cleansing things". For this subgroup,	
312	contextual factors such as religious beliefs or fate were identified as playing an important role in	
313	how individuals perceived the need for vaccines or how they perceived the risk of COVID-19. For	
314	example, another participant highlighted the process of actively taking action to protect oneself	
315	with vaccines, and how perhaps one should just accept one's fate.	
316	"I've just about had it. It's like, I had to take one for pneumonia. I had to take one for the flu,	
317	had to take it because of my lungs. And I thought I just had it. Maybe my time is my time" –	
318	55-64, Woman, FNMI6	
319	Rapid development and production of COVID-19 vaccines	
320	Relating to risk, the lack of testing and speed of production of the vaccines was associated with	
321	doubts about their safety and efficacy across FNMI, Black Canadians and LGBT2SQ+ participants.	
322	This was identified as a prominent factor impacting the VH of equity-deserving groups. For	
323	instance, the following two quotes illustrate that individuals were worried about how fast COVID-	

19 vaccines were developed, leading them to question the safety of the vaccine and risk to theirhealth and well-being:

326 *"I was a little hesitant, just because of the mRNA. I mean, they say it's been around forever.*

327 But, at the same time, I mean, I think we all should've been able to sign an informed consent

- 328 that this was experimental, because, I mean, even the guy who made the mRNA said, 'Until
- 329 you've done 10 years of human trials, it's still experimental.' I was a little worried because of
- that. I didn't want my son to take it." 35-44, Woman, FNMI4
- 331 *"To me, it's basically just like pharmaceutical and medical marketing, trying to push a product*
- because they feel it's going to be effective. They don't know if it's going to be effective. They're
- just going off of numbers and statistics and research, and their own research." 35-44, Man,
- 334 BC3
- As a consequence, one participant (35-44, Woman, LGBT2SQ+ 2) shared not wanting to be "(...) the first to get a vaccine (...)". To this same participant, "[the vaccine] was just very much in a trial phase and from [their] experience working with trials, [they] felt very uncomfortable participating in something that [they were] being tested on."
- Experiences with the healthcare system

The previous quotes on hesitancy due to the rapid development and production of COVID-19 vaccines also relate to the subgroups' experiences with the healthcare system. Members of the LGBT2SQ+ community, as well as Black Canadians, expressed their distrust of the healthcare system as being a key factor impacting their decision-making regarding COVID-19 vaccines. For instance, a member of the LGBT2SQ+ community explained how members of their community worried they would be treated differently by the medical community. When you identify as part of the queer the community, I think that the first thing is that there's always a little part of your brain when you're encountering a health care provider, especially someone that you're not familiar with, that they might have personal biases or they might be personally uncomfortable, for whatever reason (...) I think that's a negative because it's like an extra step or an extra barrier or an extra condition to how we access or receive by

351 *health care settings." – 25-34, Man, LGBT2SQ+ 4*

Relatedly, a participant from the Black community (35-44, Man, BC3) explained how "everybody's 352 353 genetic makeup is different. Someone may get the vaccine and be fine. Someone may get the vaccine and be very ill from it. It's not a guarantee". However, this participant also explained that 354 despite this, "(...) healthcare officials would portray [COVID-19 vaccines] as a beneficial thing to 355 do for yourself, your household, your colleagues, your society, your community". They further 356 explained that this stance by the healthcare officials is not adequate since "they're not you", and 357 358 thus "they can't really say what's in your best interest". This shared perspective highlights a lack of trust in the ability of healthcare professionals to understand and advocate for the unique 359 needs of their patients. 360

• Distrust of the government

Distrust of the government, as it relates to COVID-19 VH, was expressed across several groups. For instance, below, an LGBT2SQ+ participant discusses their perception of the government as self-serving, as opposed to serving the population and at-risk communities such as the LGBT2SQ+ community.

366 *"I have little to no trust in my government. I feel that the government is the powers that be,*367 *or, for example, Trudeau, are simply symbols of many other moving parts and many of these*

368 moving parts are self-serving. (...) And I don't believe that many of the promises and 369 agreements that it makes and dealings that it does, are not always in the best interest of the 370 community." – 25-34, Woman, LGBT2SQ+ 5

This aligns with experiences from low-income participants, where they discussed feeling 371 372 misunderstood and unvalued by the government. They further expressed how the definition of being low-income alone is problematic and not representative of the diversity within this 373 subgroup. For instance, one participant (18-24, Man, LI7) stated that they believed that "(...) [the 374 375 government] should redefine what they mean by low income". The same participant explained 376 that "things have changed, things have increased, prices have changed", suggesting that perhaps the definition is fluid and must be revisited to ensure the needs of the population are being met. 377 378 A greater understanding of the experiences of low-income Canadians was seen as beneficial to helping the government better serve individuals within this community and help them feel heard 379 380 and valued.

Participants also talked about feelings of defiance. For example, a following participant (55-64,
Woman, FNMI6), discussed their feelings towards government in relation to COVID-19 vaccine
mandates:

"I think it's just defiance. I've had it with the whole health care telling us what we have to do
now. And I'm so offended. (...) When did somebody think that because they had an outbreak
of something, it's okay to take away people's rights or have them forced to give some of your
medical information? I don't understand why that is so acceptable now. I get it. We're in a
panic. I get we are going through something bad. But we've had bad things happen before."
- 55-64, Woman, FNMI6

• Personal liberty and vaccine mandates

Another prominent factor associated with VH was objection to COVID-19 vaccine mandates. Black Canadians perceived this as a violation of their ability to advocate for themselves and as a barrier to Black Canadians' own decisions. For example, one participant (25-34, Woman, BC4) shared their lack of choice in their vaccination status, sharing that they were forced to get it "so that's why [they are] going to eventually do it, but [they] would prefer not to". They then followed this statement by stating that "it doesn't seem like [they] have much to say about it at this point", which seems to be an expression of lack of choice.

Vaccine mandates were also described by this subgroup as not beneficial to the general 398 399 population and as a violation of the government's responsibility to protect the population. Some 400 low-income participants who reported being hesitant about the COVID-19 vaccine felt they had no choice in whether they received the vaccine since the alternative would be unemployment, 401 which may suggest a form of resentful acceptance or rather, adherence without acceptance. For 402 403 instance, a participant (55-64, Woman, LI2) talked about having to take "a second job to help 404 with [their] financial situation", however, that job "falls under that new umbrella that Doug [premier of Ontario] put out this week", and as consequence they now "have to get vaccinated, 405 or [they] don't work". They went on to state their lack of choice in accepting the vaccine, "if [they] 406 407 don't work, then [they] don't pay my bills". Another participant shared their discontent with vaccine mandates, challenging the government decision to dismiss healthcare workers refusing 408 409 the vaccine by stating:

410 "(...) When it comes to the point that you're firing... essentially firing. They call it leave without
411 pay, but they're basically off the job, 290 healthcare workers, healthcare workers who last

412 year were being heroes for treating people with this and risking their lives at a guaranteed
413 risk to combat this virus, and then a year later just to get rid of them and say, yeah, we don't
414 value you anymore because you're not going along with our narrative, it's not good." – 18-24,

415 Man, LI7

Additionally, and in line with earlier data regarding personal liberty as a factor driving the
rejection of vaccination, the following quote shows the opinion of a participant who identified as
FNMI arguing that by being in unceded territory, they are not within Canadian jurisdiction and,
as such, should not have to abide by rules put in place by the government.

420 "So, [not receiving] the booster would be out of defiance. It's up to me. It's not up to you
421 whether I get it. It's I don't want to put it on a piece of paper and hand it to border security
422 going across the border. It's not right. It's not my border. (...) That's the Canadian border. It's
423 not my border. So, I have different views on some things." – 55-64, Woman, FNMI6

• Support for government

425 Contrary to previous groups, newcomers stood out by being generally very trusting of the government and accepting of COVID-19 vaccination. For instance, a participant (25-34, Man, N9) 426 427 stated "any person coming to Canada will follow everything they need to follow to come here 428 because [they, as newcomers] want to be here. If [newcomers] had to get a vaccine, they will get it. If [newcomers] had to guarantine, they will guarantine. [Newcomers] will respect the rules." 429 430 Another participant (18-24, Woman, N8), provided greater insight into this phenomenon, by 431 explaining that newcomers "(...) don't want a situation where they have to get deported to their country just because of a pandemic, kind of a thing", and how newcomers "don't want their 432 dream of a better life to be thrown away". 433

Being new to Canada and being offered the opportunity to immigrate and start a new life in a new country seem to be associated with vaccine acceptance, seemingly arising from feelings of both gratitude and fear of deportation, as demonstrated in the quote below:

437 *"We are arriving at a new country, so in my case, I want to learn about the country, and I want*

438 to follow all the rules. So I don't know if all newcomers are the same, but if they think like I

439 think, they are easy because they want to make the thing correctly in this new country." – 35-

440 *44, Woman, N7*

441

442 Discussion

This study aimed to investigate contextual factors contributing to COVID-19 VH across equity-443 444 deserving populations in Canada. Our findings speak to the nature of COVID-19 hesitancy, as observed during pre-pandemic vaccine campaigns and during the early stages of vaccine 445 446 availability. In many ways data are consistent with the existing literature on COVID-19 vaccine hesitancy (16,17,37–40). From this, we can conclude that equity-deserving groups share many of 447 the same beliefs/attitudes that fuel VH in the general population. Our novel data, however, 448 contribute to a growing body of research acknowledging the contextual factors driving vaccine-449 related attitudes and beliefs, and the historical, political, and sociocultural factors impacting VH 450 451 in equity-deserving populations. These contextual factors require consideration and response by 452 government and should inform efforts towards meaningful engagement with community as a starting point to promote the confident acceptance of novel vaccines among equity-deserving 453 groups within Canada. We discuss key findings as they relate to each subgroup below. 454

455 <u>Contextual factors for participants identifying as FNMI: themes of fatalistic beliefs in divine</u>
 456 <u>will/predeterminism, feelings of defiance toward government mandates, perceptions relating to</u>
 457 <u>experimental vaccines and informed consent, history of oppression and discrimination, and</u>
 458 <u>distrust of the healthcare system</u>

459 Participants identifying as FNMI discussed topics relating to themes of fatalistic beliefs in divine 460 will/predeterminism as reasons not to accept the COVID-19 vaccine. Without expertise in this area, we suggest further research that engages FNMI communities to better understand and 461 462 work to support vaccine acceptance in a manner that respects and accounts for these beliefs as 463 a next step forward. Data also points to the importance of taking action to acknowledge and respond to feelings of defiance toward government mandates in association with VH. Historical 464 465 experiences of oppression and cultural genocide across generations of FNMI communities may be exacerbated by the Government of Canada still failing to meet the needs of Indigenous People, 466 467 as they experience barriers to adequate health care, healthy food, clean water supply, and 468 experience issues such as overcrowded housing, homelessness, and high levels of incarceration (41). Relatedly, participants identifying as FNMI also discussed experimental vaccines and 469 informed consent as reasons for VH. While the general concern that vaccines can have severe 470 471 side effects exists among the general population, the history of medical experimentation, 472 especially among children, that occurred on reserves and in residential schools in Canada (42), 473 may explain why participants expressed hesitancy toward the vaccine, questioning its 'experimental' nature and concerns regarding informed consent. This might also relate to the 474 475 fact that indigenous communities were one of the priority groups for vaccines and thus one of the first population groups to be offered the vaccine (43). This prioritization may have created or 476

477 reinforced ideas of being the 'guinea pig' and explain a reluctance to receive COVID-19 vaccines. 478 These historical injustices experienced by FNMI communities can in part explain the persisting 479 opposition to government intervention and provide further weight for the need to redress 480 historical injustices over generating more tailored promotional materials to increase vaccine 481 acceptance. As a step forward, research has emphasized the importance of supporting Indigenous peoples' right to self-determination, in how that may be an important step toward 482 reducing hesitance toward the COVID-19 vaccines (44), and as such, likely novel vaccines in the 483 484 future.

485 Contextual factors for the LGBT2SQ+ community: themes of perceptions relating to experimental vaccines and vaccine safety, as history of medical harm and distrust of the healthcare system 486 487 Participants that identified as LGBT2SQ+ also expressed concerns regarding the lack of testing of COVID-19 vaccines and low trust in government. As with FMNI, these are commonly cited 488 489 concerns regarding the COVID-19 vaccine, but the rationale for these concerns may be rooted in 490 experiences of systemic oppression leading to a lack of trust and VH (45). For example, society 491 continues to privilege heterosexuality, which perpetuates the stigma and inequality negatively 492 impacting gay and bisexual men (46). Furthermore, social marginalization and sexual health inequalities are found to contribute to behaviors such as unwillingness to seek and receive 493 494 needed and adequate services and medical care (47). Indeed, historical and ongoing medical 495 trauma, including misgendering and perceived emotional violence, have been found to be barriers to trust in the medical system and consequently to the uptake of COVID-19 vaccines (48). 496 For example, Twitter data collected during COVID-19 found that posters used to promote COVID-497 19 vaccination were viewed as stigmatizing, akin to the promotion of preexposure prophylaxis 498

499 (18), a medication for people who do not have HIV but are at higher risk of exposure to it, via sex 500 or injection-drug use (49). This showcases how a legacy of harm caused by healthcare institutions 501 contributes to COVID-19 VH in this community of individuals (18). In addition, it was only in 1969 502 that Prime Minister Pierre Trudeau's proposed amendments to the Criminal Code permitted the 503 decriminalization of homosexuality in Canada (50). The unique relationship between LGBT2SQ+ 504 and the government may help with the understanding of why some individuals in this subgroup are hesitant upon being asked to receive a COVID-19 vaccine. Broken trust, from a long history 505 506 of oppression and persecution, needs to be rebuilt for greater adherence to vaccine mandates.

507 <u>Contextual factors for Black Canadians: themes of perceived lack of autonomy, history of</u>
 508 <u>oppression and discrimination, and distrust of the healthcare system</u>

509 Black participants in our research cited concerns regarding COVID-19 that largely reflect those of the general population, namely, distrusting healthcare providers/the healthcare system, 510 511 rejection of vaccine mandates, and concerns about vaccine safety. However, the contextual factors discussed provide novel insight. In relation to vaccine mandates, participants described 512 the denial of their rights and feeling that decisions were being made for members of the Black 513 community and hesitancy related to medical distrust. These findings have been reported 514 515 elsewhere in the Canadian context (51) and support calls to action Black-led partnerships 516 between health care and stakeholders with existing trusted relationships in the community to 517 increase confidence in SARS-CoV-2 vaccination in Black communities. This will also be an important consideration moving forward in the promotion of vaccination more broadly, 518 519 particularly with novel vaccines to address emerging infectious diseases.

520 <u>Contextual factors for low-income Canadians: themes of feeling misunderstood, distrust in the</u>

521 government, financial stress and unemployment threat, autonomy, and personal liberty

Low-income individuals in this study discussed feeling misunderstood by the government, which 522 523 impacted their acceptance of the COVID-19 vaccines. Participants justified these feelings by 524 sharing how they believe that those in power, namely, political leaders, have not experienced some of what the low-income community has experienced, creating a sense of disconnect 525 between the two. Some of the distrust in authority and concerns of conflict of interest in this 526 527 subgroup may arise from failures in a formal representative democracy of low-income 528 individuals, which leads to situations where wealthy peoples' opinions carry more weight than the opinions of the poor (52). Representation is important because the preference in policies for 529 530 higher income individuals may be different than that of the low-income subgroup (52). Lack of representation and communication between local government and members of this subgroup 531 532 can greatly impact the trust that low-income individuals have in public health and government, both of which can lead to VH. Distrust in the government and feeling misunderstood by political 533 leaders raises questions about the target demographic that benefits most from 534 recommendations and mandates set about in response to COVID-19. 535

Low-income participants also cited concerns regarding the lack of prioritization of employment over vaccination status. The threat of unemployment is more salient for low-income individuals, since low-income individuals often do not have a safety net and experience barriers in access to quality food, hosing care, and safety, as well as experience financial stress and poor mental health and more often engage in risky behaviors (53). In the context of vaccine mandates, losing their job and further aggravating their financial stress puts individuals with lower incomes in a

542 particularly unique place, where they adhere to COVID-19 vaccination, albeit begrudgingly. These 543 factors contributed to discontent and anger toward the government, which may further 544 exacerbate VH, and discussed defiance relating to the COVID-19 vaccines. Given that VH has been 545 found to greatly affect individuals with lower socioeconomic status (e.g., lower education or 546 income levels) (17), it is important that greater efforts are made to support this subgroup.

547 <u>Contextual factors for newcomer to Canada: themes of support the government, and acceptance</u>
548 of vaccines

549 Newcomer participants were found to be generally accepting of the COVID-19 vaccine, a finding 550 that is inconsistent with research suggesting that the odds of VH among immigrants in Canada 551 are approximately two times greater than their Canadian-born counterparts (16). It is possible 552 that this finding reflects the newcomer status – as one of perceived vulnerability – as our participants cited explanations for acceptance as they related to following the 'rules', doing what 553 554 is asked of them, and not wanting to 'throw away' their new lives for not doing so. This is 555 consistent with recent published work (e.g., see)(54)). It will be important to move forward to support newcomers to confidently accept vaccines and health information more broadly based 556 on informed choice as opposed to perceived fear of punitive repercussions. 557

558 <u>Eroded trust in the government and public health across equity-deserving subgroups</u>

559 Underlying our themes and impacting the level of acceptance of novel vaccines across groups, 560 appears to be an issue of eroding trust, particularly trust towards the government and public 561 health. Previous research has found trust to be a critical factor impacting vaccine decision 562 making, and thus VH (55,56). However, it has been suggested that a gap exists in the 563 understanding of the process through which trust can be lost (57). It is important to acknowledge

that concepts of trust, mistrust and distrust are interrelated with one another, and that 564 565 individuals experiencing VH may be able to change if the experiences they have with healthcare institutions and governments change (57). While it is possible for healthcare professionals to 566 "partially repair the severed relationship" (57), this is simply a band-aid solution. Our findings 567 568 provide some insight into contextual influences that may explain the process of losing trust across equity-deserving groups. However, it is important to acknowledge that trust as a concept is quite 569 570 complex, and that trust may be more difficult to (re)build if it has been eroding over many 571 generations as opposed to being challenged during the COVID-19 pandemic. Future research 572 should keep exploring the process of losing trust and the role it has on VH, across different vaccines and population groups. Identifying and understanding contextual factors driving 573 vaccine-related attitudes and beliefs, and the historical, political, and sociocultural factors 574 impacting VH, has the potential to support trust between equity-deserving groups and the 575 576 Canadian government, and may support the development of interventions to increase the confident acceptance of vaccines, and particularly novel vaccines. 577

578 Going beyond tailored promotion efforts

Our findings suggest that governments must work with equity-deserving groups to address vaccine-related anxieties and worries by acknowledging and responding to their needs. This approach may take different forms and will vary depending on the target population. While we did not co-develop our work with affected communities and acknowledge this as a limitation, our findings provide a foundation upon which to engage with communities and develop humancentered design strategies, such as co-creation, co-design, and co-production efforts, focused on VH across equity-deserving groups (58). For example, previous work done in Montreal, Canada,

supports the benefits of these strategies to address VH among children and youth (59). Our work 586 587 may help inform the design of strategies that can be used by researchers, government agencies, and policymakers to engage equity-deserving groups, taking into consideration the contextual 588 589 factors shaping behaviors. A first step may be to acknowledge historical relationships with 590 government and public health, respond to injustices of the past, and demonstrate trustworthiness and respect for including the voices of representatives of equity-deserving 591 populations. Successful engagement with equity-deserving groups to promote vaccine 592 593 acceptance, that take into consideration of the unique identities, experiences, and needs of 594 underserved populations exist (61). This work might be replicated within Canada with a focus on individuals who identify as First Nations, Métis, Inuit, LGBT2SQ+, low-income and/or Black 595 Canadians. 596

597 <u>Limitations</u>

598 When collecting demographic data for participants involved in the study, level of education was not considered, despite being a key influencing factor of VH. While some sources interchangeably 599 600 use education or level of income as a good indicator of SES, it is possible that data on low levels of education could have provided further insight into some of the themes presented. Political 601 affiliation as a participant characteristic has also been suggested to be a strong influencing factor 602 603 related to VH and should be a consideration in research investigating the acceptance of novel 604 vaccines in the future. Our recruitment via Leger precluded us from obtaining perspectives of equity-deserving groups marginalized based on language (non-English or French speaking), those 605 606 with the inability to be recruited or participate due to literacy or access to technology or from 607 indigenous peoples living on reserve. Lastly, we were not able to ensure congruence between

interviewer and interviewee for all subgroups of focus. We acknowledge this is the limitation in
both the collection, analysis, and interpretation of data. Our team will prioritize representation
of marginalised populations, who understand the unique contexts of these communities in
Canada, in future research.

612

613 Conclusions

VH is complex and multifaceted. This study highlights demographic and contextual factors 614 615 associated with COVID-19 VH that are unique to equity-deserving groups within Canada. While 616 the data regarding hesitancy largely mirror concerns reported in the vast body of literature citing rationale for COVID-19 hesitancy in high-income countries, the contextual factors related to 617 618 historic and ongoing oppression point to the need for wider systemic change, over or in 619 conjunction with tailored promotional materials. Herein, we identified novel themes - e.g., 620 fatalistic beliefs in divine will/predeterminism – that demonstrate a need for greater engagement with the community to better understand and support promotion efforts that do not run counter 621 622 to belief systems. Our data provide government agencies and policymakers with an overview of the contextual factors influencing VH among equity-deserving groups that relate to unmet needs 623 that should be addressed before we can expect attitudes and behaviours to change. Government 624 625 and health officials might act on these findings by working with communities to co-design/co-626 produce efforts to address VH; going beyond simply tailoring promotional campaigns. As we "exit" the COVID-19 pandemic and see the emergence of novel infectious diseases and related 627 628 vaccines, hesitancy in equity-deserving groups should continue to be a priority for public health 629 across Canada. We focus here on historical and political factors that are and should continue to

- 630 be redressed to promote the confident acceptance of health promotion efforts now and moving
- 631 forward.
- 632
- 633 List of Abbreviations
- 634 VH Vaccine Hesitancy
- 635 GP General Population
- 636 BC Black Canadians
- 637 LGBT2SQ+ Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transgender, Two-Spirit, Queer, and additional sexual
- orientations, and gender identities under the LGBT2SQ+ umbrella.
- 639 FNMI First Nations, Métis, and Inuit
- 640 LI Low Income
- 641 N Newcomer
- 642 NL Newfoundland and Labrador
- 643 NS Nova Scotia
- 644 ON Ontario
- 645 AB Alberta
- 646 BIPOC Black, Indigenous, People of Color
- 647
- 648 **Declarations**
- 649 <u>Ethics approval and consent to participate</u>
- 650 Ethics approvals were granted by the University of Waterloo Research Ethics committee
- 651 (approval number 42486).

- 652 <u>Consent for publication</u>
- Participants have provided consent for interview data to be used for the write up and publication
- 654 of this manuscript.
- 655 Availability of data and materials
- 656 Data are not available as it is a requirement of the ethics committee that data remain
- 657 confidential.
- 658 <u>Competing Interests</u>
- The author declares that there are no conflicts of interest.
- 660 <u>Funding</u>
- 661 This work was supported by the Canadian Institutes for Health Research Op. Grant: Emerging
- 662 COVID-19 Research Gaps & Priorities—Confidence in science [# 466769] and a Social Sciences
- and Humanities Research Network Insight Development Grant [# 430-2020-00447].
- 664 <u>Authors' contributions</u>
- 665 Conceptualization: LGN, SBM, PRW, PB, MC
- 666 Data collection: SBM, EF, LGN, HH, BR, NAUI,
- 667 Formal analysis: LGN
- 668 Funding acquisition: SBM
- 669 Investigation: SBM
- 670 Writing: MHGN, SBM, PRW, PB, NAUI, EF, KEB
- 671 Methodology: SBM, PRW, PB, MC
- 672 Project administration: SBM
- 673 Resources: SBM

674 Supervision: SBM

675 <u>Acknowledgements</u>

676 We wish to acknowledge the trainees with whom we have worked that supported the collection

- 677 of literature and data informing the present work.
- 678

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