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# Ethno-Graphical Factors Behind Polio Vaccine Hesitancy in Pakistan: An Analytical Perspective

# Mazhar Nisar<sup>1</sup>, Shahzad Ali Khan<sup>2</sup>, Tariq Mehmood Ali<sup>3</sup>, Muhammad Nadeem Asghar<sup>4\*</sup>

<sup>1,2,3</sup>Health Services Academy, Quaid-i-Azam University, Islamabad, Pakistan <sup>2</sup>Email: shahzad@hsa.edu.pk <sup>4\*</sup>Department of Medical Biology, University of Québec at Trois-Rivieres, Trois-Rivieres, QC G9A 5H7, Canada

\*Corresponding Author: Muhammad Nadeem Asghar \*Email: muhammad.nadeem.asghar2@uqtr.ca

**Abstract:** United in its stand, global community is still at war against paralytic poliomyelitis. Even though the concomitant efforts have reduced to global percentage of polio virus by 99%, countries such as Pakistan and Afghanistan are still facing it as major public health concern. The recent surge in the number of cases in the region is alarming. In Pakistan, it is particularly linked to refusal of vaccine by the parents belonging to various ethnicities in high-risk areas. Keeping in view, it was proposed to critically investigate the ethnic and cultural differences shaping reluctance towards vaccination and hence propose a way forward. Therefore, a cross sectional analytical study was conducted by interviewing health care workers at vaccination centers in high-risk regions across Pakistan. The results present striking similarities in hesitancy towards vaccine across various ethnic factor. While no significant correlation could be established between vaccine refusal and ethnicity, yet Pashtuns appeared most reluctant towards vaccine followed by Baloch and Sindhi. This study highlighted the importance of awareness campaigns particularly to address the misconceptions about vaccine, among under privileged communities who despite technological boom have limited access to valid information.

Keywords: polio, ethnicity, misconception, vaccine, Pakistan

#### <sup>1</sup>. Introduction

Despite being an arduous task, conjoined efforts of stake holders and funding under international agencies has led to polio eradication from most of the world. The Global Polio Eradication initiative by the World Health Organization (WHO) reduced the global burden by up to 99.9% WHO. However, it is largely faced as a global challenge due to its continuous spread in countries like Pakistan and Afghanistan [1]. No matter faced with multitude of constrains, Pakistan has been at the forefront in the fight against polio as evident by the declining trail reported from the country. Notwithstanding, only one case in 2021 to 20 cases as of now, implies that endemic for polio can follow an upward trend if not addressed properly [2]. According to WHO, the recent outbreak of polio virus cVDPV2 in the country, ended up paralyzing eight children in 2021 [3]. The outbreak primarily steeped the areas reported to have low immunization coverage and/or inherent absence of immunity [4].

The major reason for this upward trend was vaccine refusal in the different parts of Pakistan [5]. This indicates failure in planning and implementation of policies by the government which additionally manifest as false markings and bribery for vaccine refusal [6][7] [8]. Extensive studies conducted in various high risk areas highlighted religious, social and political factors as being instrumental in vaccine refusal [9][10][11][5]. Reports suggest that miss-conception, demographic location and social threats force the parents and caretakers to resist the polio virus vaccine [12].War torn areas, in particular, are exploited by the religious clerics whereby vaccine is projected as a western product made out of pig which is considered prohibited in Islam [13] [15] [16]. Another miss-conception is that vaccine could render male population sterile thus adding fuel to the fire [17] [18].

In an era where technological innovations have impacted social awareness of the communities, such perceptions not only appear ironical but largely advocate the need to address the root cause. Since Pakistan is home to diverse ethnicities across a vibrant landscape, it is highly desirable to investigate the general perception about the vaccine and vaccination campaigns among the under-privileged communities in particular. Henceforth, this comprehensive study was designed to investigate the ethnographic and behavioral factors responsible for polio-vaccine refusal across high risk areas in Pakistan. In a country which presented marked decline in polio cases over the decades, a surge in the disease burden needs to be investigated. Therefore, the study presented herein was conducted to identify the specific reasons shaping the vaccine refusal culture in Pakistan.

#### 2. Materials and Methods

**Study Design:** This cross-sectional analytical study was conducted all across the three provinces of Pakistan i-e, Khyber Pakhtunkhwa (KPK), Balochistan and Sindh, over a span of two years 2019-2020.

**Setting:** To analyze the ethnic roots and associated reasons of the vaccine refusal behavior, data was initially collected from National Emergency Operation Centre (NEOC), situated in Islamabad. The Union Councils UCs presenting vaccine refusals,

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during National Immunization days polio vaccination campaigns were marked. Following, team of investigators, under the principal investigator, interviewed trained health workers at the district health offices and vaccination centers in all the marked UCs.

**Survey Design and Pilot Study**: The survey comprised of an interview session of the healthcare workers with the investigators following, filling out a pre-designed questionnaire manually by the participant. The maximum time allotted to each participant was 30 minutes. A standardized questionnaire, consisting of three sections, was designed after extensive review of all the reasons presented for vaccine refusal [19][20][6][18]. Section I covered general information about the enrolled health care worker such as District of health care facility, no of vaccination campaigns joined, immunization year, total refusals. Section II consists of seven questions corresponding to demographic characteristics of the population such as gender, age of the parents/guardian, number of children < 5 years age, education and socio-economic status. Section III looked at the reasons behind vaccine refusals against a total of eight questions such as "religious reasons, misconception, safety reasons, demand refusal, repeated campaigns, sickness and others". A pilot study conducted among healthcare workers in twin cities Rawalpindi and Islamabad helped in initial validation of the entire survey design to ensure its applicability, suitability and consistency. The responses acquired were not incorporated in final analysis but helped overcome confusions in leading questions and generate a finalized form of the questionnaire. For ease of participants, questionnaire was translated into English, Urdu language.

**Data Analysis**: After in-depth analysis of the recorded interviews and filled questionnaires, all the data was recorded and analyzed in SPSS 20.22 (IBM Inc., Chicago, IL, USA). Statistical analyses were recorded as percentage and presented by correlating no and reasons of refusals by different ethnic group in each province.

**Ethical Approval**: Ethical approval of the study was obtained from Institutional Review Board, National Institute of Health, Islamabad, prior to the survey. Participation in the survey was voluntary however informed consent of each participant was obtained prior to the interviews and confidentiality of the participant was strictly maintained.

## 3. Results

This study is based on refusals encountered during National Immunization Day NID polio vaccination campaigns conducted during the year 2019 and 2020. There were altogether six vaccination campaigns from January 2019 till December 2020 across Pakistan. Initial data collected from NEOC revealed that refusal rate is high in under-privileged areas of three provinces Sindh, KPK and Balochistan. Therefore, final study focused these three provinces. The results for vaccination refusal were tabulated gender wise; province wise and refusal reason for each province were analyzed individually.

There were a total of three NID Polio Eradication campaigns conducted during the year 2020 (Table 1). During the first campaign, conducted in February 2020, a total of 40,315,882 children were targeted, out of which there were 187,578 refusals 0.5%. Subsequent campaigns conducted during September and November present a net decline in number of refusals, recorded as 0.4% and 0.3% respectively. Comparing the trends, the greatest number of refusals was recorded for the province Sindh where the refusal percentage outnumbers all other provinces, in all three of the campaigns conducted during this year. For the campaigns conducted during year 2019, maximum refusals were received in KPK followed by Baluchistan.

 

 Table 1: Province wise data for vaccination targets and refusals during NIDs polio vaccination campaigns January 2020-November 2019

NID Campaigns	Province		Total coverage	Still Refusals	Still Refusals % out of target
February 2020	Islamabad		363411	240	0.1
	Gilgit Baltistan		241590	20	0.0
	AJK		683657	100	0.0
	Balochistan		2441981	6736	0.3
	KPK		6619209	62508	0.9
	Sindh		9387261	117969	1.3
	Punjab		20578773	5	0.0
		Total	40,315,882	187,578	0.5
September 2020	Islamabad		330823	274	0.1
	Gilgit Baltistan		252246	0	0.0
	AJK		664436	142	0.0
	Balochistan		2408164	18094	0.8
	КРК		6640285	46030	0.7
	Sindh		8916705	104087	1.2

	Punjab		19589137	43	0.0	
		Total	38,801,796	168,670	0.4	
November 2020	Islamabad		335682	413	0.1	
	Gilgit Baltistan		246436	5	0.0	
	AJK		664618	154	0.0	
	Balochistan		2423316	14171	0.6	
	КРК		6748529	39770	0.6	
	Sindh		9124612	77421	0.8	
	Punjab		19876575	1	0.0	
		Total	39419768	131935	0.3	

In depth analysis of data revealed that hesitancy towards vaccination is not gender specific. While in Sindh, female population present higher refusal; 51% in 2019 and 53% in 2020; the trend is otherwise in other two provinces (Figure 1).



Figure 1. Gender of the parents refusing polio vaccine during national immunization days NIDs polio vaccination campaigns from January 2019-November 2020

Similarly, there is no prominent correlation between ethnicity/race and vaccine refusals. Each province presents maximum refusals by the dominant race/ethnic group in the respective province. This trend is consistent in all the campaigns conducted from January 2019 till November 2020. As shown in the figure (2a, 2b, 2c) maximum refusals in Balochistan were noted for the Baloch, Sindhi in Sindh and Pashtun in KPK. The trend



Figure 2a. Ethnicity of polio vaccine refusals in Balochistan during NIDs 2019-2020



Figure 2b. Ethnicity of polio vaccine refusals in KPK during NIDs 2019-2020



Figure 2c. Ethnicity of polio vaccine refusals in Sindh during NIDs 2019-2020

Analyzing the responses received for refusals, misconception regarding vaccine and vaccination campaigns appeared as the most dominant refusal reason in all three of the provinces (Figure 3). It was followed by religious reasons where by general public seemed misguided about the nature or the origin of the vaccine. Sickness following vaccination is another notable factor. There are altogether no safety concerns. Some factors such as repeated campaigns, direct refusals and vaccine demand related issues did show province specific trend specifically prominent in Balochistan, Sindh and KPK respectively.



Figure 3. Vaccine refusal reasons across high risk underprivileged areas of Balochistan, KPK and Sindh

## 4. Discussion

Despite being at the forefront in the fight against polio eradication, Pakistan is still counted among countries where this acute paralytic disease is endemic. Not only this is a major healthcare challenge for the country itself, geographic location of the country and cross boarder mobility can render it pandemic if sufficient measures are not taken in time. The recent hike in the number of polio cases in Pakistan has prompted national and international stake holders to revisit the policies and planning regarding polio eradication. Vaccination with oral polio vaccine OPV is considered gold standard in establishing immunity against the diseases [5]. Therefore "door to door" vaccination campaigns are routinely organized via trained health care workers (HCW), whereby each vaccinated child is marked https://www.endpolio.com.pk/polioin-pakistan. Healthcare workers are at the frontline and reported to have positive attitude towards polio vaccination [21]. Nevertheless, the vaccination campaigns have faced resistance in some part of the country, particularly in under privileged communities of KPK, Balochistan and Sindh. Studies report that false markings, bribery and refusal of the general public towards vaccination as major factors responsible for increasing number of polio cases [22] [23] [24].

The common myths against vaccination instigated the authors to conduct an in-depth analysis of the factors responsible for shaping hesitation among the general public against polio vaccine. Therefore, the data was organized based on information received from frontline HCW in areas reported to present high number of refusals. The study summarized the reasons for refusals as trio of misconception, religious pretense and sickness. Among the common misconceptions, the fear of infertility, particularly among the male gender was most common, as reported earlier by other studies [25] [9] [26]. Similarly, the propaganda by religious clerics deems vaccine "western agenda" which aims to wipe out Muslim population by rendering them infertile [27]. The "war torn "areas of tribal region in KPK (ex FATA) have been exploited by militants and extremists who further pressurized parents and caretakers to stop immunization of their children[26] [25] [28]. It is this hostility and misconception among masses that developed hostility and led to fatal attacks at the polio vaccination teams [29] [30].

The trend towards acceptance or refusal of vaccine among various ethnic groups, in all three of the provinces, was strikingly similar. Studies report higher reluctance among Pashtuns in accepting the vaccine [31] which is in line with our findings. Although most of the refusals in each province are reported by the dominant ethnic group, being major population, the refusal percentage in Pashtun ethnic group in province other than KPK is noticeable. This is because most of the Pashtun belong to the regions inflicted by war against terror and consider the West responsible for their sufferings [28] [32].

The other most hesitant ethnic group is the Baloch population living in all three of the provinces studied. Balochistan is a province known for its natural resources and under developed regions both at the same time. Amidst poor infrastructure and resource allocation particularly in education and health care system, there are socioeconomic insecurities and lack of awareness among the masses [33] [34]. Resultantly, the people cannot forsake their heirs to become infertile [20] [35].

Additionally, it is revealed that socio-economic stability and status of education of the parents and caretakers has a direct bearing on refusal or acceptance of the vaccine. Some parents believe that one time vaccination is enough and successive vaccination can lead to sickness. This belief is strengthened by incidents whereby vaccinated children developed abdominal pain, vomiting and diarrhea following vaccination [36] [37].

It is worth mentioning that this study targeted exact number of community refusals from the NEOC, Islamabad, followed by detailed data acquisition from the health care workers. Since descriptive or qualitative method of data collection was avoided, the approach adds to the validity of the data whereby each refusal was verified. While the international community is focusing recently launched Global Polio Surveillance Action Plan (GPSAP) 2022-2024 ,to eradicate wild polio virus WPV as well as circulating vaccine derived poliovirus cVDPV, improved measures are highly encouraged to address the persistent gaps in surveillance and chronic vulnerability to virus transmission [38]. Therefore, assessments to conduct health-seeking behaviors among vulnerable communities are encouraged for real time monitoring and capacity building.

Given the fact that misconception is the prime cause of refusal in Pakistan, campaigns need to be designed to educate and convince the masses by involving indigenous dignitaries and notable figures through print, electronic and social media. No matter communication officers and mobilization teams are making efforts, so far the message has not been effectively communicated and need revised action plan.

#### 5. Conclusions

A comprehensive account of the various ethnographic variables included in the study highlighted that misconception about the vaccine is the major reason for vaccine refusal irrespective of the province or the ethnic group. Though Pashtuns appear most hesitant, the major reasons for hesitancy among them are equally shared with Baloch or Sindhi community. These findings advocate the need to revise the policies as well as strategies to counter the false narrative about vaccine, particularly in high risk areas.

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