

## **GENDERAND IMMUNIZATION** Evidence Brief

July 2024

BILL& MELINDA GATES foundation

#### Acknowledgements

This report was commissioned by the Bill & Melinda Gates Foundation's Immunization Program Strategy Team (PST) and researched and written by a team from the Global Center *for* Gender Equality (GC*f*GE), with valuable inputs and review from foundation staff. The GC*f*GE Team included Anna Kalbarczyk, Elizabeth Katz, and Natasha Brownlee, with research support from Judy Rein, Shelby Bourgault, and Jenny Acton, and technical review by Abigail Donner and Angela Hartley. The report benefited from guidance from Immunization PST members Kelly Hamblin, Tove Ryman, Tasleem Kachra, Emily Dansereau, and Kiel Stroupe, and from Keiko Valente on the Gender Integration Team. Whitney Walton provided program management support; the report was copyedited by Kathy Schienle and designed by RRD Design.

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### **Executive Summary**

This scoping review evaluates what is known about the influence and relevance of gender barriers to immunization and gender-intentional interventions for improving immunization sector outcomes in low- and middle-income countries (LMICs). Taken together, the evidence described in this review makes a compelling case that failing to address the significant gender barriers to immunization will impede efforts to "reach children, adolescents, and adults in lower-income countries with the vaccines they need to live a life free from vaccine-preventable diseases."1 In other words, gender barriers are highly salient across South Asia and sub-Saharan Africa, and that cost-effective adaptations to existing vaccination programming to address these barriers could significantly accelerate global immunization outcomes. Evidence on interventions to address gender barriers is limited and more research is needed to understand what works to address these barriers to immunization coverage.

The evidence suggests that three key demand-side gender barriers and two main clinic-level factors decrease the use of vaccination services:

- 1. The barrier to immunization coverage most commonly cited in the literature is women's lack of autonomous decision-making about their health and the health of their children. Across geographies, many women rely on their husband's or an elder's permission to seek healthcare services, including immunization.
- 2. Women's prior experiences with the healthcare system also influence the intent to vaccinate. When women caregivers are shamed by health workers for missing appointments, forgetting to bring a child's vaccine card, or the appearance of a child, they are less likely to return for vaccination services. Because women are disproportionately responsible for bringing their children to get vaccinated, this negative experience has an impact on immunization.
- 3. Access to immunization services is significantly impacted by women's time poverty that is, most women face opportunity costs and competing priorities at home and at work. Women face competing demands on their time, including employment and gendered expectations of caregiving and household labor, that reduces their available time for immunizations.

- 4. Direct costs, including the cost of the vaccine, transportation costs to access services, and illicit fees for services, can be prohibitive. This is particularly a problem when women caregivers rely on their husbands or other family members to provide the resources to cover these costs – a significant gender barrier documented in many studies.
- 5. Problems with clinic readiness, including inadequate numbers of women vaccinators, unreasonable wait times, and vaccine stockouts, can discourage caregivers from bringing their children to get vaccinated. While these are well-known supply-side deterrents, they can be considered gender barriers because they directly compound the time constraints faced by women caregivers.

With respect to interventions designed to improve immunization using a gender lens, a much smaller body of evidence describes and/or evaluates programs largely focused on behavior change communication through male engagement, engagement with religious leaders, home visits, and media campaigns. Other gender-intentional interventions addressed supply-side barriers by extending service hours to benefit mothers who work outside the home, and some leveraged existing women's self-help groups, introducing health modules to increase demand for, and access to, immunization.

What can be learned from this synthesis of evidence related to gender barriers to immunization? First, that some of the most important reasons that women do not bring their children to get vaccinated lie outside the usual purview of immunization programming: household decision-making, for example, which is deeply entwined with social norms governing the appropriate roles for men and women within families, is normally far outside the scope of the health system. Likewise, the fact that women often face multiple competing demands on their time is not easily addressed by immunization-focused interventions. However, some of the gender barriers identified in the research are quite amenable to being addressed with adaptations to vaccination programming: training providers on respectful patient treatment, for example, or offering longer clinic hours and mobile options for vaccine delivery. There is also abundant evidence that offering caregivers - especially those living in

<sup>1</sup> Bill & Melinda Gates Foundation. (n.d.). Immunization. Bill & Melinda Gates Foundation. https://www.gatesfoundation.org/our-work/programs/globaldevelopment/immunization

poverty – compensation for the direct and opportunity costs of immunization is a highly effective way of putting resources into the hands of mothers that they can use to vaccinate their children.

The evidence on gender-intentional immunization is much more limited; this is an under-researched area that merits investment. We need to know more about what it takes to tackle the diverse gender-related drivers of undervaccination, and what is the marginal impact of programming with a gender lens. The most promising interventions from this review are ones that leverage pre-existing women's self-help groups and expand clinic hours to accommodate the schedules of women who work outside the home.

Based on this evaluation of the existing evidence base, the report offers recommendations in three areas: (1) a data and learning agenda, (2) piloting gender-intentional immunization programming, and (3) making use of the insights from gender analysis to inform important new areas of investment in reaching zero-dose populations and the introduction and scaling of new vaccines, such as HPV.

#### 1. Invest in better gender data and research

- » Enable global collection and reporting of genderrelated barriers to vaccination coverage.
- » Fund new research to assess the coverage loss attributable to gender barriers and measure the marginal impact of gender-intentional interventions.

### 2. Pilot innovative approaches to addressing gender barriers

- » Leverage existing local women's organizations to inform, mobilize, and support caregivers to vaccinate their children.
- » Launch social and behavioral change communications campaigns to engage men and other household-level decision-makers around the benefits of vaccination and shared responsibility for children's health.

- » Provide incentives targeted to women to compensate them for the opportunity cost of time and provide private access to funds for direct costs of transportation and vaccination services. Cash infusions to women, paired with supplyside interventions to improve access and quality of services, can improve women's economic empowerment and facilitate their increased decision-making.
- » Invest in clinic-level interventions, including more facilities with cold chain closer to communities, expanding service hours to make vaccination services more accessible to women working outside the home, revising open-vial policies to increase access, operating mobile clinics to alleviate transportation barriers, and instituting respectful care training and accountability mechanisms for providers so that mothers receive complete and accurate information about the vaccines and their normal side effects.
- » Empower women healthcare workers themselves by making provisions for their safety, compensation, and opportunities for promotion and advancement.

### 3. Use insights into gender barriers to guide HPV and zero-dose programming

- » Strengthen health services for adolescent girls, including but not limited to services in schools, in clinics, and in the community, and empower them with respect to their own reproductive health.
- » Inform approaches to reaching the most undervaccinated communities, where women may be exceptionally disempowered with respect to healthcare decisions for their children.

#### Introduction 1.

Global strategies for immunization have increasingly recognized the central role that gender-related barriers play in keeping children, adolescents, and adults from receiving life-saving vaccines. The Immunization Agenda 2023 (IA2030), Gavi, and the Global Polio Eradication Initiative (GPEI) all recognize that successful systems and programming will require interventions that acknowledge and address inequities, including gender barriers, that impact people's access to, and agency over, immunization services for them and their children.

Understanding these barriers - what they are, and how to overcome them - is essential to reaching the IA2030 vision of "a world where everyone, everywhere, at every age, fully benefits from vaccines for good health and well-being."

This report is the result of a scoping review of peer-reviewed academic literature commissioned by the Immunization Team at the Bill & Melinda Gates Foundation to better understand the influence and relevance of gender barriers and gender-intentional interventions along the value chain (see Figure 1) for increasing vaccination coverage and improving immunization sector outcomes in low- and middle-income countries (LMICs).<sup>2</sup> The review was guided by three key questions:

- What are the documented gender barriers and opportunities along the immunization value chain?
- What interventions have been designed to address gender gaps and barriers along the immunization value chain?
- What are the opportunities to contribute to the evidence on integrating gender to improve immunization sector outcomes, including implementation research and testing of promising approaches?

While the existing evidence does not allow for quantification of the value-add of gender-intentional immunization interventions, because there are so few studies and even fewer demonstrating impact on coverage, it does offer a strong sense of which gender barriers are likely to be most salient and identifies a limited number of interventions that have been designed and evaluated to address them. The comprehensive list of gender barriers identified by this review, along with several programmatic interventions to address some of these barriers, demonstrates opportunities to try new and innovative solutions that may have a stronger effect on sectoral outcomes - and to measure their impact. An important caveat: While this report synthesizes evidence collected across diverse settings, approaches must always be tailored through a validation process with local stakeholders, recognizing unique and highly salient barriers for each social and cultural context.

Taken together, the evidence described in this review makes a compelling case that failing to address the significant gender barriers to immunization will impede efforts to "reach children, adolescents, and adults in lower-income countries with the vaccines they need to live a life free from vaccine-preventable diseases."<sup>3</sup> In other words, gender barriers are highly salient across South Asia and sub-Saharan Africa, and programming to address these barriers could significantly accelerate global immunization outcomes. It is also abundantly clear that more welldesigned implementation research is needed to inform the kinds of gender-intentional programs that are most likely to have the greatest and most sustainable impact on vaccination coverage.



2 Most of the evidence reviewed in the report focuses on routine childhood immunizations; the only notable exception is research on gender barriers to HPV vaccine deliverv

3 Bill & Melinda Gates Foundation. (n.d.). Immunization. Bill & Melinda Gates Foundation. https://www.gatesfoundation.org/our-work/programs/globaldevelopment/immunization

### 2. Methods

A research team from the Global Center for Gender Equality (GCfGE) conducted a scoping review of peer-review literature in three scientific databases. Search terms were developed to capture three concepts: 1) gender, 2) immunization, and 3) sub-Saharan Africa and South Asia [to capture specific LMICs of interest to the foundation]. Articles were included if they were related to all three concepts, published between 2000 and 2023, and published in English. Articles were excluded if the focus was on vaccine product development, if evidence was from high-income countries only, and if the analysis was limited to sex-disaggregation of findings and did not further explore gender implications.

Title and abstract reviews and full-text reviews were conducted by two independent reviewers, and any conflicts were resolved by a third reviewer and by team discussion. Systematic and scoping reviews identified in the search were reviewed and any relevant articles contained in them were included in our analysis.

Data were extracted in Covidence, an online software program designed to support scoping reviews, and analyzed in Excel. Data were included on the specific vaccines of focus, country/region of study, details of the gender barriers and/or intervention designed to address those barriers, study methodologies, results, and author conclusions and recommendations.

### 3. Results

In total, 101 articles were included in the final analysis; 92 articles documented gender drivers and barriers, and nine

sought to describe and evaluate interventions to improve immunization uptake using a gender lens.

#### Gender Barriers to Immunization: What Does the Evidence Say?

Studies (focused on 25 or fewer countries) documented a range of gender-related determinants of vaccination across 43 countries in Africa and South Asia (see **Figure 2**). The most frequently studied geographies included Nigeria (n=21), Ethiopia (n=12), and Pakistan (n=10). Three large multi-country studies contained data from approximately 160 countries.



#### Figure 2. Map of documented gender barriers and drivers of immunization

Along the immunization value chain, most studies documented barriers related to demand for immunization and local-level vaccine delivery; very few assessed those barriers influenced by cross-cutting market dynamics, such as the supply chain or representation in leadership (see **Table 1** for a comprehensive overview of the gender barriers documented). The evidence suggests that three key demand-side gender barriers and two main clinic-level factors decrease the use of vaccination services:

### The most common barrier to immunization coverage is women's lack of autonomous decision-making about their health and the health of their children.

Across geographies, many women rely on their husband's or an elder's permission to seek healthcare services, including immunization. Younger women can be at an increased disadvantage, with less financial independence and decision-making power than older women. Women who have more influence over a range of household decisions are statistically significantly more likely to have fully immunized children. Conversely, when women go against their husband's opposition to vaccination, they may face an increased risk of intimate partner violence. "If my husband is present, the children can't be injected because he will get angry. When he leaves then it's time for me to go to the health center, so he doesn't know." – Mother of three in the Philippines (1)

"The women have to get our permission or inform us, this is big decision, especially since it involves money in the family, we have to know." – Father in Malaysia (2)

"Honestly for me already my husband forbids it ... I have not asked what their reasons are. You know we don't have any right over the child." – Mother in Nigeria (3)

#### Women's prior experiences with the healthcare system also influence the intent to vaccinate.

When women caregivers are shamed by health workers for missing appointments, forgetting to bring a child's vaccine card, or the appearance of a child, they are less likely to return for vaccination services. In contrast, women who receive facility-based antenatal services are more likely to have fully immunized children. Because women are disproportionately responsible for bringing their children to get vaccinated, this negative experience has an impact on immunization.

"I was afraid to go to the health center because I lost the vaccination card. I was not also sure about the appointment date. Besides, I was afraid the health workers could disappoint me." – Mother in Ethiopia (4)

### Access to immunization services is significantly impacted by women's time poverty – that is, most women face opportunity costs and competing priorities at home and at work.

Women face competing demands on their time, including employment and gendered expectations of caregiving and household labor, that reduce their time for immunizations. The gender time barrier is exacerbated by men's limited contribution to unpaid domestic work and by constrained operating hours and long travel times to services. Children of women heads of house (i.e., single mothers) are less likely to be immunized, suggesting increased labor and household responsibility.

"During the mangoes season, women go in the early morning to sell their products. We inform them, but they refuse to stop their business for that time and bring their children for vaccination." – Community health worker in Burkina Faso (5)

## Direct costs, including the cost of the vaccine, transportation costs to access services, and illicit fees for services, can be prohibitive.

This is particularly a problem when women caregivers rely on their husbands or other family members to provide the resources to cover these costs – a significant gender barrier documented in many studies. In contrast, women who have independent sources of income and spending discretion have increased odds of their children being fully immunized.

"What's the point of taking my children to a clinic to be vaccinated if I do not have money?" – Caregiver in Malaysia (6)

### Problems with clinic readiness, including inadequate numbers of women vaccinators, unreasonable wait times, and vaccine stockouts, can discourage caregivers from bringing their children to get vaccinated.

While these are well-known supply-side deterrents, we consider them gender barriers because they directly compound the time constraints faced by women caregivers. "There is a problem with vaccine supply in our health facilities. Interruptions do occur due to several reasons, including malfunctioning of refrigerators. This results in mothers not getting the service on the appointment dates and they may fail to come back for the service later." – EPI focal persons in Ethiopia (4) **Table 1** provides a comprehensive overview of the gender barriers documented, organized by the Intent/Access/Readinessframework suggested by Phillips et al. (2017) (7).

Ger imn	der influencers on nunization	Sub-theme	Key points	Geographies/number of studies		
ІМТ	INTENT – THE DEMAND FOR VACCINES THAT WOULD RESULT IN VACCINATION IN THE ABSENCE OF OTHER BARRIERS					
1.	Women's autonomous decision- making	Lack of decision- making over health	In many settings, women rely on their husband's or an elder's permission to seek healthcare services, including immunization. Women with high household decision-making are more likely to have fully immunized children. Women who make decisions jointly with their husbands are more likely to have fully immunized children than when husbands make decisions alone. Some women who oppose their husband's decision face an increased risk of intimate partner violence.	Africa (n=37) South Asia (n=16) Cross-country studies (n=3) (1,3,6,8-49)		
2. Past experiences with the health system		Negative experiences	Some women reported being shamed by health workers if they missed a prior appointment, misremembered or misunderstood vaccine schedules, forgot the child's vaccine card, or if they or their child appeared dirty and/or malnourished. Caregivers were not always provided with complete information about the vaccination, including likely side effects and how best to alleviate those side effects. Caregivers who experience disrespectful treatment are least likely to return to the health system.	Burkina Faso, DRC, Ethiopia Gabon, Nigeria, Mozambique, Pakistan, Timor-Leste, Uganda (n=8) (4,5,16,29,45,50–52)		
		Engagement with ANC	Women who attend ANC are more likely to have fully immunized children than women who do not.	Afghanistan, Ethiopia, Nepal, Senegal (n=8) (19,40,53-58)		
3.	Gendered myths and misconceptions	Fears of infertility	Caregivers and health workers expressed concerns that vaccines (including HPV, COVID-19, H1N1, and childhood immunizations) could cause infertility.	Burkina Faso, Kenya, Malawi, Morocco, Tanzania, Zambia (n=7) (5,9–11,15,21,59)		
		Promotion of earlier/ increased sexual activity	Caregivers feared that HPV immunization would result in earlier sexual debut/increased sexual activity for adolescent girls.	Ethiopia, Ghana, India, Malawi, Papua New Guinea, South Africa, Zimbabwe (n=7) (9,26,44,48,60–62)		

#### Table 1. Gender barriers and drivers of immunization, key points, relevant geographies, and references

Gender influencers on immunization	Sub-theme	Key points	Geographies/number of studies	
ACCESS - THE ABILITY OR INABILITY TO SUCCESSFULLY CARRY OUT THE TRANSACTION OF VACCINE UTILIZATION				
1. Time poverty	Competing demands on time	Women face competing demands on their time, including employment and gendered expectations of caregiving and household labor. This reduces their time for immunizations. Men's limited contribution to unpaid domestic work exacerbates the demand on women's time.	Burkina Faso, Ethiopia, Nigeria, DRC, Mozambique, Sierra Leone, Malaysia, Philippines, Pakistan, Timor-Leste, Uganda, Malawi, Gabon (n=18) (4,5,9,14,16,31,32,45, 50,62-64)	
	Distance to facilities	Operating hours and distance to services can compound the gender time barrier to vaccination. This effect is worse for low-income women and those who are geographically isolated.	Gabon, Malawi, Nigeria, Malaysia, South Africa, Uganda, Guinea, Malawi, Ethiopia, DRC, Mozambique, Bangladesh (n=11) (6,8,16,27,50,53,55,63,67- 70)	
2. Direct costs	Costs of vaccines, transportation to services, and illicit fees	Many women report that the cost of vaccine, transportation costs to access facilities, and illicit fees for services are barriers to immunization.	DRC, Ethiopia, Gabon, Guinea, India, Kenya, Malaysia, Mozambique, Nigeria, Pakistan, Philippines, South Africa, Uganda, Zambia, Zimbabwe (n=15) (6.10.14.16.20.27.48.50.52.	
	Financial	Women lack financial agency, relying on their	57,59,65,69,71,72) DRC, Ethiopia, Gabon, Mozambique, India	
	agency	of funds for immunization. Women with their own income and discretion about spending it have increased odds of their children being fully immunized.	Nigeria, Uganda (n=10) (16,25,29,50,55,56,63,68, 73,74)	
READINESS - THE HEALTH SYSTEM'S SUPPLY OF VACCINE SERVICES TO ADEQUATELY MEET DEMAND				
<ol> <li>Vaccinators/ healthcare providers</li> </ol>	Lack of women vaccinators	A lack of women vaccinators leads to increased coverage inequities, and many men prefer women/daughters to be vaccinated by women.	Bangladesh, DRC, Ethiopia, India, Nigeria, Pakistan, Somalia (n=5) (24.33.47.75.76)	
	Women workers' occupational concerns	Many women health workers experience safety issues, harassment, and low or late remuneration for their services.	Afghanistan, Bangladesh, DRC, Ethiopia, India, Nigeria (n=2) (26,77)	

Gender influencer immunization	s on Sub-theme	Key points	Geographies/number of studies	
2. Healthcare facilities	Gender- unintentional	Lack of privacy and gender-responsive facilities (i.e., functional and separate washrooms and	Bangladesh, Pakistan (n=2)	
	facilities	security for transgender individuals) is a barrier.	(24,52)	
	Excessive wait times	Excessive wait times result in children not receiving immunizations and/or caregivers not being willing to return.	Burkina Faso, DRC, Guinea, Ethiopia, Mozambique, Nigeria, Uganda (n=6)	
			(5,16,27,51,53,63)	
<b>3.</b> Vaccine availability	Vaccine stockouts	Unavailability of vaccines can lead to pessimism and future nonadherence.	Burkina Faso, Ethiopia, Gabon, Guinea, Nigeria,	
		Restrictive vial-opening policies result in delayed vaccination and increased frustration among	Papua New Guinea, Tanzania, Uganda (n=8)	
		caregivers.	(4,5,11,27,50,51,61,63)	

What can be learned from this synthesis of evidence related to gender barriers to immunization? First, that some of the most important reasons women do not bring their children to get vaccinated lie outside the usual purview of immunization programming: household decision-making, for example, which is deeply entwined with social norms governing the appropriate roles for men and women within families, is often perceived as being far outside the scope of the health system. Likewise, the fact that women often face multiple competing demands on their time is not easily addressed by immunization-focused interventions. However, some of the gender barriers identified in the research are quite amenable

to being addressed with adaptations to vaccination programming: training providers on respectful patient treatment, for example, or offering longer clinic hours and mobile options for vaccine delivery. And as argued in **Box 3** and the **Recommendations** section below, there is abundant evidence that offering caregivers – especially those living in poverty – compensation for the direct and opportunity costs of immunization is a highly effective way of giving mothers control over the resources they need to vaccinate their children.

#### BOX 1. WHAT IS KNOWN ABOUT THE GENDER GAP IN VACCINATION COVERAGE?

Historically, policy discussions around the intersection of gender and immunization have focused on potential differences in vaccination rates for boy and girl children, with a particular concern for girls being at greater risk of underimmunization in geographies with strong son preference (94). While this report seeks to shift the emphasis to the more salient and complex gender issues driving immunization coverage, it is valuable to review the most recent evidence on gender gaps in vaccination in order to assess its policy relevance relative to other gender-related issues.

Although global sex-disaggregated vaccination data are not reported on either the World Health Organization (WHO) or <u>UNICEF</u> immunization data portals, surveys such as the <u>Demographic and Health Survey</u> (DHS) and the <u>Multiple</u> <u>Indicator Cluster Survey</u> (MICS) routinely collect childhood vaccine coverage by sex, which allows for estimation of gender gaps at the national and sub-national levels.

Two recent publications utilize distinct methodologies for measuring differences in immunization between boy and girl children. Utazi et al. (2022) analyze nationally representative cross-sectional data from the most recent DHS conducted between 2008 and 2018 in nine low- and middle-income countries to determine key factors (including child sex) associated with non- and under-vaccination (95). They find that the sex of the child is not a significant predictor of vaccination coverage in any of the countries – although other gender-related factors, including maternal utilization of health services (skilled birth attendance, antenatal care attendance, maternal receipt of tetanus toxoid vaccination, and postnatal care) and maternal education are commonly positively associated with children's routine immunization.

Ali et al. (2022) conduct a meta-analysis of 36 individual studies in 18 countries, including studies focused on particular sub-national areas, and find a negative 3% average difference of girls' routine immunization coverage relative to boys' (78). However, there is a good deal of heterogeneity across individual countries and studies. In the majority of included studies, the risk ratios are not statistically significant, and the confidence intervals span one; a small number of studies or datasets from Bangladesh, Brazil, India, and Mongolia suggest a significant risk ratio, whereas there are no studies that suggest a significant relative benefit to being vaccinated, given female.

Further evidence of geographic variation in male/female vaccination coverage comes from Pakistan, where an analysis of 6.2 million children born from 2019 to 2022 and enrolled in the Sindh electronic immunization registry found a wide range of vaccination sex ratios across district subdivisions (Union Councils), with some areas showing boys getting vaccinated at 3 to 6 times the rate of girls (75) (see **Figure 3**). Low maternal education, residing in remote rural and slum regions, and receiving vaccines at fixed sites, as compared to outreach, are all factors associated with fewer females being vaccinated, as compared to males.

High-quality sex-disaggregated immunization data allows researchers and practitioners to assess where, to what degree, and for which antigens, girl children may be under-vaccinated with respect to boys – and to design interventions to address gender inequities where they exist. Continuing to support countries to collect and report such data (e.g., through routine immunization surveys and electronic medical records) is an important contribution to our understanding of gender gaps in immunization coverage.



### Figure 3. Male-to-female ratios of up-to-date vaccination coverage of Pentavalent-3 at 18 weeks and 6, 12, 18, and 24 months, in 0-23-month-old children in 2019–2022 birth cohorts enrolled in SEIR (1 January 2019–31 December 2022)

#### **BOX 2. UNIQUE GENDER CONSIDERATIONS FOR HPV PROGRAMMING**

Adolescents introduce a new dynamic to decision-making norms and immunization, specifically for the HPV vaccine. They must navigate traditional gender barriers (i.e., lack of autonomous decision-making), issues of consent, and emerging myths and misconceptions about the vaccine. Rumors that the HPV vaccine causes infertility and encourages earlier/increasing sexual activity (9,26,44,48,60–62) exacerbate existing challenges to coverage. Parental consent is also an important demand-side factor, and in contexts where a husband's or father's approval matters, this could mean the difference between an adolescent's HPV vaccination or not (2,10,11,15,30,48,65,88). Consent is particularly important when girls are perceived as being 'too young.' Adolescent girls' own increase in knowledge, however, was seen as an important influencer of parental decision-making.

"Unlike infants and children, girls are not passive recipients of the HPV vaccine. Their active engagement is important not only to ensure uptake and impact of HPV vaccination; a positive experience with the health system can also lay the foundation for a lifetime of health-enhancing behaviors for themselves, and for their future children." (81)

In South Africa, two studies linked parental motivation to vaccinate daughters with perceived threats and prevalence of gender-based violence in the community. In these cases, the vaccine was seen as a form of protection if their daughters were assaulted or raped (69,79). Maternal knowledge and perceptions of the severity of HPV was also linked to HPV vaccination coverage (60,62), and in some contexts, older mothers (and grandmothers) were more likely to support their daughters receiving the HPV vaccine than younger mothers (15,62,69).

### "Culturally, young girls are not expected to indulge in sexual activities until they are married. So by giving them the vaccine, it will seem like we are giving them the green light." – Healthcare provider, Zimbabwe (48).

Two studies found that men were unwilling to give the vaccine to their son, one describing it as a "girl's vaccine" (2,61). Another study suggests that adolescent girls who are already sexually active might feel discouraged from receiving the vaccine, which is more effective prior to sexual debut (80).

Many HPV vaccine programs globally are delivered through schools, where parents are not present to provide consent, potentially disrupting traditional decision-making dynamics. But adolescent girls who are not in school are most likely missed by such programs; these include highly vulnerable girls in poverty who contribute to household income and those in early marriages (89). One study conducted in Ethiopia found that adolescent girls in public schools were 1.9 times more likely to accept the HPV vaccine than those in private schools. The HPV vaccine is the responsibility of the Ministry of Health, which prioritizes public schools where other health messaging is already being delivered. In two studies in Pakistan and Kenya, participants recommended that the HPV vaccine be delivered in the community itself via household visits or mobile clinics, to increase uptake among out-of-school girls and those less trusting of health facilities. Participants from these studies also recommended that endorsement from the government and senior members in the community would help increase awareness and acceptance by all decision-makers, including boys and men, who can influence uptake of vaccines in girls (30,80).

HPV immunization programs represent a unique opportunity to connect with young women at a stage in their life course when they are first able to make decisions for themselves which will influence their sexual and reproductive health.

#### BOX 3. FINANCIAL INCENTIVES MAY ALLEVIATE SOME GENDER BARRIERS TO IMMUNIZATION COVERAGE

Results from this review highlight the importance of financial barriers to women's access to immunization. Women are often unable to afford the direct costs associated with transporting themselves and their children to fixed clinic sites, and in many contexts, they are dependent on husbands or other household members to provide them with the cash they need to cover trips to a vaccination facility. In addition to these direct costs, women face the high opportunity costs of their time.

Demand-side financial incentives, including small in-kind or mobile conditional cash transfers (CCTs), are one approach to providing mothers with the cash they need to cover the direct costs of vaccination and compensate them for the opportunity costs of their time. Although not generally considered as gender-intentional interventions, incentives targeted to women caregivers may help to alleviate an important gender barrier to vaccination, which is lack of control over financial resources. When offered as part of a larger income-support program, cash transfers conditional on health service utilization have been shown to be effective for improving child health by increasing immunization coverage (82).

Several recent randomized control trials demonstrate the potential of incentives to increase immunization coverage in low-resource settings. In rural Ghana, cash incentives ranging from USD 3 to USD 10 increased COVID-19 vaccination by 6.3% (83). And in urban Pakistan, small mobile payments of USD 0.6-1.8 per immunization visit improved both immunization coverage and timeliness by as much as 30%, with a cost as low as USD 23 per additional fully immunized child (84). The Pakistan program was also able to test the differential effects of the design features of the incentives by varying the amounts provided, the timing of payments (constant versus increasing over the course of the vaccination schedule), certain payments versus lottery payments, and payment in airtime compared to mobile money. In this program, the large gender gap in cell phone ownership (over 90% of fathers owned a personal cell phone compared to less than half of mothers) meant that the transfers went disproportionately to men. In-kind incentives have also been shown to have a positive impact on vaccination coverage: In Rajasthan, India, providing lentils and a set of plates to caregivers (the majority of whom are mothers) who were bringing their children to the immunization camps increased the number of fully immunized children by 21 percentage points (117%) to 39%, relative to only improving the delivery of immunization (96).

While the longer-term impacts of these incentive programs remain to be explored – for example, do they serve as a behavioral nudge that establishes vaccination as a regular practice, or is adherence discontinued once payment ends? – they do appear to hold potential for providing low-income caregivers with resources to facilitate child immunization.

#### Interventions to Address Gender Barriers to Immunization: What Works?

Our scoping review identified a limited number of studies (n=9) that described and/or evaluated interventions designed to improve immunization using a gender lens. Six interventions targeted childhood immunizations, two targeted HPV, and one focused on communication interventions for polio. Interventions largely focused on behavior change communication through male engagement, engagement with religious leaders, home visits, and media campaigns. One intervention addressed supply side barriers by extending service hours to benefit mothers working outside the home. Two others leveraged existing women's self-help groups, introducing health modules to increase demand for and access to immunization.

Table 2 describes the gender gaps and barriers theintervention seeks to address, how the intervention usesa gender lens, the evaluation methods, and key results/conclusions. Three of the nine evaluations demonstratedincreased coverage; these are discussed in more detailin Boxes 4 and 5. The remaining six evaluations largelyproduced positive results but did not measure coverage.

IMMUNIZATION FOCUS AND GEOGRAPHY	GENDER GAPS/ BARRIERS BEING ADDRESSED	INTERVENTION GENDER LENS	EVALUATION METHODS	RESULTS/CONCLUSIONS
Childhood Immunizations in Bangladesh, 2010 (85)	Inaccessibility of services (limited service hours not conducive for employed mothers)	Extended service hours to benefit employed mothers	Mixed methods; pre-test/post- test, interviews, review of service data	The level of coverage increased dramatically, and drop-out rate decreased significantly Extended service hours are beneficial for employed mothers
Childhood Immunizations in India, 2015 (86)	Lack of male engagement Lack of vaccine- related information	Male health workers recruited and trained to conduct outreach to men	Qualitative evaluation; IDIs with health workers, women, and husbands	Women and men health workers can complement each other's work to improve community demand for and delivery of services
Childhood Immunizations in India , 2018 (87)	Lack of women's empowerment and agency Lack of vaccine- related information	Self-help groups (SHGs)	Two-armed quasi- experimental study	Consistent, significant increase of age- appropriate immunization over time Statistically significant improvement in women's empowerment
Childhood Immunizations and TB in India, 2011 (88)	Lack of women's empowerment and agency Lack of vaccine- related information	Self-help groups (SHGs)	Quasi- experimental study	Immunization coverage increased significantly for children of women in SHGs The spillover effect is also significant; women in SHG villages are more likely to immunize their children than those in control villages
Childhood Immunizations in Nigeria, 2019 (89)	Harmful practices and norms that violate the rights of women and girls	Engagement with religious leaders	Desk review; Qualitative FGDs, IDIs, and KIIs in four communities	Improved health-seeking behavior influenced changes in harmful gender norms and community response against GBV Leveraging the influence of faith leaders may help promote immunization uptake
Childhood Immunizations in Nigeria, 2021 (90)	Lack of women's empowerment and agency Lack of male engagement	Universal home visits	Narratives of change from men and women	Mixed results on autonomous decision- making Home visits increased men's knowledge and support for immunization and led to changes on perceptions of GBV
HPV in Uganda, 2018 (91)	Lack of male engagement Lack of vaccine- related information	Education session	Pre-post survey	Men's acceptance of HPV vaccine for daughters may increase after education *Cannot determine association
HPV in Kenya, 2022 (92)	Lack of vaccine- related information	Doctor's endorsement of the vaccine	Randomized control trial	No difference in effect by gender of the recommending doctor for likelihood of intent to vaccinate Visual communication of a doctor's support for the HPV vaccine can strengthen intentions and safety perceptions but may not be enough to persuade the vaccine- hesitant to vaccinate

#### Table 2. Interventions designed to improve immunization using a gender lens and results of their evaluations

IMMUNIZATION FOCUS AND GEOGRAPHY	GENDER GAPS/ BARRIERS BEING ADDRESSED	INTERVENTION GENDER LENS	EVALUATION METHODS	RESULTS/CONCLUSIONS
Polio in India and Pakistan, 2009 (93)	Misconceptions and myths	Social mobilization, media campaigns	Desk review	Strategic and synergistic communication efforts that integrate social mobilization, interpersonal communication, gender- and culturally sensitive interventions, mass/folk media and political advocacy have contributed to the polio eradication initiative's progress and to access of unreached populations in challenging socio-economic environments

What does this small body of research on gender-intentional immunization interventions tell us about what might work to address gender barriers to vaccination? First and foremost, that this is an under-researched area that merits investment. We need to know more about what it takes to tackle the diverse gender-related drivers of under-vaccination, and what the marginal impact is of programming with a gender lens. Second, the most promising interventions from this small sample are ones that leverage pre-existing women's self-help groups (see **Box 4**) and expand clinic hours to accommodate the schedules of employed women (see **Box 5**). The remaining programs, which could broadly be categorized as social and behavioral change communications interventions, may have been successful at including men in vaccination messaging and at achieving health goals beyond immunization, but it was not possible to assess if they had any effect on immunization coverage.

#### BOX 4. LEVERAGING WOMEN'S EMPOWERMENT GROUPS FOR INCREASED CHILD IMMUNIZATION RATES

Two especially strong intervention evaluations/quasi-experimental studies stood out in the scoping review, both measuring the impact of women's empowerment groups on child immunization rates. In both cases, programs targeted especially marginalized communities, where women often have lower social and economic standing. Leveraging existing women's self-help groups, these interventions embedded health education components to enhance intent to immunize and access to immunization services. Both evaluations used a control group against which to measure outcomes/programmatic impact.

In Bihar, India, as part of the Bill & Melinda Gates Foundation-funded Anaya program, facilitators provide eight sessions of behavior change communication in healthy maternal and newborn practices to women's self-help groups. As compared to a control group, a study found that women in the health-focused groups were significantly more likely to provide age-appropriate immunization for their children (87). The groups also had a significant positive effect on measures of women's collective empowerment.

Elsewhere in Bihar, women's groups called "Mahila Samakhya" received training on health practices. Although these groups do not pre-determine outreach activities, many go on to share this newly gained information with others in their community through campaigns and informal interactions. Interestingly, in addition to the significant impact on immunization coverage among children of women in the program, an evaluation also found significant increase among children in program villages whose mothers were not members of the group, as compared to control villages (88). This suggests a spillover effect on the community through women's existing social networks. These results were strongest among similarly marginalized communities, who are likely to live in the same neighborhoods and have existing connections to the women in the program.

Health education through women's groups can be a strong, low-cost, and sustainable demand-side pathway to increased immunization coverage. The findings of these two studies suggest that interventions that include information-sharing and collective action, like women's and other community-level empowerment groups, may have an outsized positive impact on the larger community. Such groups can simultaneously improve gender equality outcomes and immunization coverage outcomes for improved health and wellness along the life course.

#### **BOX 5. ENHANCING ACCESS TO IMMUNIZATION SERVICES FOR EMPLOYED MOTHERS**

Between 2006 and 2007, in the urban slums of Dhaka, Bangladesh, a package of supply and demand-side interventions – implemented within the existing local healthcare system and with no additional costs – included an extended Expanded Programme on Immunization (EPI) service schedule (85). At the baseline of the study, only 14% of children of employed mothers were fully immunized, as compared to 75% among children of non-employed mothers. In an area where approximately 40% of women aged 15 to 40 are employed, the normal EPI service window of 10:00 am to 2:00 pm made it difficult for women who work outside the home to attend with their children. During the study, service hours were extended to 5:00 pm.

Although part of an overall package, the extended hours stood out as a potential standalone intervention to address the gender barrier of time poverty faced by mothers, who overwhelmingly bear the responsibility of bringing their children for vaccination. Over three times as many children were vaccinated during the extended hours versus the original hours; mothers and service providers confirmed their appreciation of the increased flexibility and convenience; and an impressive 99% of children of both employed and non-employed mothers were fully immunized at endline.

This cost-effective adaptation of existing vaccination services demonstrates that simple interventions that directly address access barriers for women, such as expanding operating hours, can have a meaningful impact on immunization coverage.

# 4. Recommendations for learning and investment-making

Based on the evaluation of the existing evidence base on the intersection of gender and immunization, we offer recommendations in three areas: (1) a data and learning agenda, (2) piloting gender-intentional immunization programming, and (3) making use of the insights from gender analysis to inform important new areas of investment in reaching zero-dose populations and the introduction and scaling of new vaccines, such as HPV.

#### Invest in better gender data and research

### Enable the global collection and reporting of data on gender-related barriers to vaccination coverage

Innovative multicountry survey efforts such as the WHO's <u>Behavioral and Social Drivers of Vaccination</u> (BeSD) and the <u>Vaccine Confidence Project</u> offer the opportunity to deepen our understanding of both demand- and supply-side gender barriers to immunization. Incorporating validated measures of these barriers into the survey instruments, and broadening the respondent criteria to include fathers and other adult decision-makers, could make an important contribution to the evidence base informing immunization policy and programming.

#### Fund new research to assess the coverage loss attributable to gender barriers and measure the marginal impact of gender-intentional interventions

Funders could support a pioneering learning agenda focused on high-quality intervention research to test demand- and supply-side programming addressing gender barriers to vaccination.

#### Pilot innovative approaches to addressing gender barriers

#### Leverage existing local women's organizations to inform, mobilize, and support caregivers to vaccinate their children

Building on the experiences with self-help groups in India, seed funding for immunization savings accounts could provide mothers with rotating access to their own funds for transportation and other direct vaccinations costs.

#### Launch social and behavioral change communications campaigns to engage men and other household-level decision-makers around the benefits of vaccination and shared responsibility for children's health

Here, it will be important that messaging does not reinforce existing harmful social norms around men's and women's roles in healthcare decision-making.

#### Provide incentives targeted to women to compensate them for the opportunity cost of time and provide private access to funds for direct costs of transportation and vaccination services

Well-designed and implemented cash and in-kind transfers to caregivers, conditional on vaccination, can dramatically increase immunization coverage rates.

#### Invest in clinic-level interventions

Invest in clinic-level interventions, including more facilities with cold chain closer to communities, expanding service hours to make vaccination services more accessible to women working outside the home, revising open-vial policies to increase access, operating mobile clinics to alleviate transportation barriers, and instituting respectful care training and accountability mechanisms for providers so that mothers receive complete and accurate information about the vaccines and their normal side effects.

#### **Empower women healthcare workers**

Empower women healthcare workers themselves by making provisions for their safety, compensation, and opportunities for promotion and advancement.

### Use insights into gender barriers to guide HPV and zero-dose programming

#### Strengthen health services for adolescent girls, as well as empower them with respect to their own reproductive health

The introduction and scaling of the HPV vaccine in numerous LMICs presents an opportunity to distinguish the approach from other vaccination delivery systems by recognizing and respecting the (limited) agency of girls who may or may not be under their parents' authority, be in or out of school, and be at varying stages of sexual debut/initiation of sexual activity – including girls who are in child marriages. A positive experience with HPV vaccination may pave the way for these girls to continue to access the health system as they move through their life course. Simple interventions to enhance access to immunization services for girls who are already working for pay – such as expanded clinic hours or offering vaccinations near to markets and other worksites – can help to reach those who are not served by school-based vaccination.

#### Inform approaches to reaching the most undervaccinated communities

Although the gender barriers identified in this report are not unique to zero-dose populations, the insights generated from this evidence base may be used to inform approaches to reaching these most underserved communities, where women may be exceptionally disempowered and need to overcome significant structural barriers with respect to healthcare decisions for their children. As evidenced by the significant geographic variation in gender gaps in vaccination coverage (see **Box 1**), it is clear that the highly localized focus of zero-dose programming is needed to both understand and address the reasons why families are not immunizing their children – which may be different for girls and boys. Financial compensation targeted to mothers, coupled with expanded clinic hours and adequate cold chain supply, may be particularly important for caregivers in zerodose areas.

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