

# Accessibility to healthcare via public transport across Canada

**Geneviève Boisjoly**

School of Urban Planning, McGill University  
[genevieve.boisjoly@mail.mcgill.ca](mailto:genevieve.boisjoly@mail.mcgill.ca)

**Robbin Deboosere**

School of Urban Planning, McGill University  
[robbin.deboosere@mail.mcgill.ca](mailto:robbin.deboosere@mail.mcgill.ca)

**Rania Wasfi**

Centre de Recherche du CHUM, Université de Montréal  
[rania.wasfi@crchum.qc.ca](mailto:rania.wasfi@crchum.qc.ca)

**Heather Orpana**

Centre for Surveillance and Applied Research, Public Health Agency of Canada  
[heather.orpana@canada.ca](mailto:heather.orpana@canada.ca)

**Kevin Manaugh**

Department of Geography, McGill University  
[kevin.manaugh@mcgill.ca](mailto:kevin.manaugh@mcgill.ca)

**Ron Buliung**

Department of Geography and Planning, University of Toronto  
[ron.buliung@utoronto.ca](mailto:ron.buliung@utoronto.ca)

**Ahmed El-Geneidy**

School of Urban Planning, McGill University  
[ahmed.elgeneidy@mcgill.ca](mailto:ahmed.elgeneidy@mcgill.ca)

Paper submitted for Presentation at the 98<sup>th</sup> Transportation Research Board Annual Meeting January 2019

July 2018

Word count: 6475 words text + 1 table \* 250 words = 6725 words

**For Citation please use:** Boisjoly, G., Deboosere, R., Wasfi, R., Orpana, H., Manaugh, K., Buliung, R. & El-Geneidy, A. (2019). *Accessibility to healthcare via public transport across Canada*. Paper presented at the 98th Annual Meeting of the Transportation Research Board, Washington D.C., USA.

1 **ABSTRACT**

2 The ability to access healthcare services has long been considered a ‘right’ by Canadian citizens, and is  
3 protected as such under the Canada Health Act. However, socio-spatial factors can limit access to healthcare  
4 services, especially for vulnerable populations. This paper aims to quantify the spatial accessibility to  
5 healthcare services by public transport across eight major Canadian metropolitan areas, and compare  
6 accessibility to healthcare across vulnerable population groups. Spatial accessibility to general medical and  
7 surgical hospitals was measured through a two-step floating catchment area method, taking into account  
8 both service-to-population ratios and travel time to these health services. Within cities, accessibility is  
9 equitably distributed: residents of vulnerable census tracts generally have greater access to health services  
10 by public transport, with the exception of Vancouver. To quantify vertical equity, an indicator was  
11 subsequently developed using the Spearman’s rank correlation coefficient between accessibility and  
12 vulnerability. Results show that larger metropolitan areas (Calgary, Toronto-Hamilton, and Vancouver) tend  
13 to underperform in terms of vertical equity and average accessibility. This research highlights the challenges  
14 associated with the suburbanization of poverty in large Canadian metropolitan regions and the need to  
15 provide efficient public transport services to reach hospitals located in the periphery. This study is of  
16 relevance to researchers, planners and policy-makers wishing to improve accessibility to healthcare,  
17 especially for vulnerable populations.

1 **INTRODUCTION**

2 The ability to access appropriate healthcare services has been at the centre of Canadian healthcare policy  
3 for decades. One of the five pillars of The Canada Health Act states that “persons must have reasonable and  
4 uniform access to insured health services, free of financial or other barriers. No one may be discriminated  
5 against on the basis of such factors as income, age, and health status.” (1) There has, however, been  
6 extensive debate on how to interpret this notion of accessibility, both in government and academia (2). In  
7 academia, the interpretation of accessibility has generally fallen into two distinct categories: potential and  
8 realized access to healthcare (2; 3). Potential access is considered to be a function of the geographic  
9 distribution and supply of healthcare services, while realized access refers to actual utilization rates (4).  
10 Health Canada, on the other hand, specifies that accessibility can refer to both socio-economic access  
11 (related to medical charges and a patient’s age or health status) and the physical availability of “medically  
12 necessary services” (5). Nevertheless, there seems to be a consensus that a form of geographical or spatial  
13 access to healthcare falls within the concept of accessibility as defined in the Canada Health Act, and can  
14 therefore be interpreted as a ‘right’. Such debate on a ‘right’ to access healthcare services is not unique to  
15 the Canadian context and is present in both developed and developing regions around the world. Considering  
16 the existence of spatial factors that increase barriers to access health services, inadvertently disadvantaging  
17 already vulnerable populations, it is especially pertinent to develop a methodology to measure spatial  
18 accessibility to healthcare and examine it from an equity perspective across different regions.

19 In Canada’s major cities, an aging population progressively relies on public transport to access  
20 healthcare facilities due to conditions resulting in the loss of driving ability that are more frequent at older  
21 ages that (6). At the same time, hospitals have recently begun to increase parking costs, thus making an  
22 ever-larger share of this senior population, and the population at large – especially low-income individuals  
23 – dependent on public transport. This paper aims to quantify the spatial accessibility to healthcare services  
24 (specifically general medical and surgical hospitals) by public transport across eight major Canadian  
25 metropolitan areas, and compare accessibility to healthcare across vulnerable populations. An overview of  
26 the eight areas that were examined in this study can be seen in Figure 1. Spatial accessibility to healthcare  
27 is measured using a two-step floating catchment area method (2SFCA), incorporating both the spatial  
28 relationship between supply (captured by the number of beds) and demand for services (population), and  
29 competition effects for scarce resources (7). Comparison across cities allows identifying some of the main  
30 challenges to be addressed to improve accessibility to healthcare in Canada, especially for vulnerable  
31 populations, and sheds light on the factors to take into account in the allocation of health and transport  
32 resources.

33 The rest of this paper is structured as follows. In section 2, relevant literature is presented, while in  
34 section 3 the data and methodology used to calculate spatial accessibility are discussed. Section 4 presents  
35 the results of the accessibility calculations, and provides a comparison between Canadian cities in terms of  
36 average accessibility and the distribution of accessibility across socio-economic groups. Section 5 then  
37 concludes this paper.



1  
2 **Figure 1 Overview of the 8 metropolitan areas included in the study**

3 **LITERATURE REVIEW**

4 A vast body of literature has established links between access to health services and health outcomes.  
5 Increased distances to healthcare facilities, for example, are associated with lower rates of utilization of the  
6 healthcare system (8; 9), often exacerbating pre-existing inequities in health status (10; 11). However,  
7 despite the substantial importance of these links, two distinct areas of research have independently been  
8 preoccupied with measuring and understanding access to healthcare services.

9 Transport scholars and practitioners usually measure access to (health) services through  
10 accessibility, which is defined as the ease of reaching destinations (12-15). Accessibility, first defined as the  
11 potential of opportunities for interaction (16), is often operationalized through the number of opportunities  
12 that can be reached from a certain point in space within a specified time limit, e.g. the number of hospitals  
13 that can be reached within 30 minutes of travel time— what is known as cumulative accessibility (17). Recent  
14 research has also proposed the use of variable thresholds to measure the number of healthcare clinics  
15 reachable in a region (18). Gravity-based accessibility measures further expand on the cumulative metrics  
16 by discounting services by distance; the further a service is, the less it contributes to accessibility (19; 20).

17 Health researchers often opt for simpler metrics of accessibility such as the distance to the nearest  
18 service, service-to-population ratios, or service areas (21; 22). The average travel time from a point in space  
19 to all health providers in a certain region has also been used for this purpose (3). In contrast with the  
20 transport-oriented metrics, these measures have the advantage of being easier to calculate and communicate  
21 to a large variety of audiences.

22 The above-mentioned metrics are however incomplete and cannot fully capture all dimensions  
23 related to spatial access to health services. Cumulative and gravity-based accessibility measures, for  
24 example, do not take into account demand side considerations; they assume that services will be fully  
25 available to residents, regardless of their capacity - one service 2 km away from one person would be equal

1 to one service at a distance of 2 km away from a million individuals (23). The distance to the nearest service  
2 and service area metrics exhibit the same issues. The service-to-population ratio, on the other hand, does  
3 consider demand, but gives no indication as to how far individuals would need to travel to reach a service  
4 and is often calculated via aggregated areal units that are too large to conclude meaningful results (3; 24).

5 In response to the shortcomings associated with these metrics, the two-step floating catchment area  
6 method (2SFCA) was developed by Joseph and Bantock (25) (although not named as such) and later Luo  
7 and Wang (23), the scholars responsible for coining the term. This method combines both demand and  
8 supply side metrics, and can accurately control for travel impedance, capacity restrictions and competition  
9 for services (21). As the name suggests, the 2SFCA consists of two stages, where in the first step the service-  
10 to-population ratio is computed for each service, and then in the second step cumulative or gravity-based  
11 accessibility is calculated based on the service-to-population ratios (7; 26; 27). In essence, the 2SFCA sums  
12 the service-to-population ratios of services that can be reached from a specified point in space. As  
13 demonstrated by Luo and Wang (23), this is equivalent to the ‘competitive’ measures of access that are  
14 commonly used in transport research to measure accessibility to job opportunities (28-31).

15 Two competing notions of equity exist in transport research: horizontal and vertical equity (32-34).  
16 A distribution is considered horizontally equitable if everyone has the same accessibility, regardless of his  
17 or her personal socio-economic characteristics. The allocation of resources is vertically equitable if those  
18 with the highest need also have access to the most resources, where need is usually measured through socio-  
19 economic status. Accessibility metrics have often been employed to measure the equity of the spatial  
20 distribution of opportunities (35-37). However, most health studies measuring access to healthcare facilities  
21 have paid little attention to how both spatial and non-spatial characteristics, such as socio-economic status,  
22 relate to access levels (38). Furthermore, while many scholars have used metrics such as the Gini coefficient  
23 or the Lorenz curve to measure horizontal equity (33), little research has been undertaken to quantify vertical  
24 equity. To our knowledge, only one study has undertaken this task, by calculating vertical equity through a  
25 spearman correlation coefficient, although the authors did not apply this to an accessibility metric (39). This  
26 is, therefore, the first study to develop a vertical equity measure to assess the distribution of accessibility  
27 levels across socio-economic groups. The study combines the accessibility measures developed with the  
28 2SCFA with household income data to provide a deeper understanding of the socio-spatial patterns of  
29 accessibility to healthcare.

## 30 31 **DATA AND METHODOLOGY**

32 Two distinct data sources were used to compute accessibility levels. Information on general healthcare  
33 services was obtained through the Canadian Institute for Health Information (CIHI). More specifically, the  
34 number of beds staffed and in operation for hospital services in Canadian provinces in 2015-2016 was used  
35 (40). CIHI provides the total number of beds associated with each hospital, and the information was  
36 subsequently geocoded using a Google API using hospital names and addresses. It is important to note that  
37 these data were not available for the Province of Quebec. Accordingly, metropolitan regions in Quebec are  
38 excluded from the analysis. While former studies have measured accessibility to primary healthcare based  
39 on medical clinics or community pharmacies (18; 22; 41), our study specifically focuses on hospital  
40 services, which reflects access to emergency rooms, major outpatient clinics, and specialized care. This kind  
41 of healthcare service was selected for two reasons: the supply of this type of service is more consistent  
42 across provinces (no registration required to access most of these services, except specialized ones) and the  
43 geographic access to such services typically implies longer travel distances, which may require individuals  
44 to travel by car or by public transport. The number of beds is used in this study to better capture the supply  
45 at each hospital, as it reflects the size of the hospital and potentially the diversity of healthcare services  
46 available (assuming larger hospitals offer more services). Other detailed information such as number of  
47 doctors in an emergency care unit or at the hospital can also be used as proxies, yet such information was

1 not available across all regions. The total number of beds available in all hospitals in each of the eight  
 2 regions, as well as the bed-population ratio (number of beds per 1,000 inhabitants), are presented in Table  
 3 1.

4 **Table 1 Information on population and hospital beds in the eight metropolitan region**

Metropolitan region	Population	Number of beds	Population-bed ratio (number of beds/1000 inhabitants)
Calgary	1,392,609	2616	1.88
Edmonton	1,321,426	3301	2.50
Halifax	403,390	1199	2.97
Kitchener–Cambridge–Waterloo	523,894	804	1.53
London	494,069	1715	3.47
Toronto–Hamilton	7,055,433	14670	2.08
Vancouver	2,463,431	6967	2.83
Winnipeg	778,489	2623	3.37

5 Sources: CIHI, 2018 hospital inventory (40); Statistics Canada Census 2016 (42)

6  
 7 Public transport schedules across the eight metropolitan regions were downloaded in the *General*  
 8 *Transit Feed Specification* (GTFS) format from their respective transport agencies. All schedules were  
 9 obtained for May 2017 where available, or as close to this date as possible depending on the release date  
 10 of the GTFS data from the different agencies. If multiple agencies served a single metropolitan area, the  
 11 schedules from all agencies were obtained with overlapping schedule dates. Public transport schedules were  
 12 digitized into a geographic information system through the *Add GTFS to a network dataset* add-on for  
 13 ArcGIS. To calculate accessibility to healthcare services, a travel time matrix was generated, providing the  
 14 travel time from every census tract (CT) to each other CT in the region. The travel times were obtained by  
 15 calculating the fastest route between CT centroids within each metropolitan area at 10 AM on a regular  
 16 Tuesday. The fastest route algorithm incorporated walking time from the CT centroid (origin) to the public  
 17 transport station, waiting time, in-vehicle time (as determined by the transit schedule), any transfer time,  
 18 and walking time from the last stop to the CT centroid (destination). The 10 AM leaving time was chosen  
 19 to account for an off-peak public transport service level.

20 A two-step floating catchment area method was subsequently used to calculate spatial accessibility.  
 21 First, a service-to-population ratio  $V_j$  was calculated for each hospital, taking into account the total  
 22 population that can reach the service within 45 minutes by public transport:

23

$$24 \quad V_j = \frac{S_j}{\sum_k P_k f(t_{kj})} \text{ and } f(t_{kj}) = \begin{cases} 1 & \text{if } t_{kj} \leq 45 \text{ minutes} \\ 0 & \text{if } t_{kj} > 45 \text{ minutes} \end{cases}$$

25  
 26 where  $j$  denotes a healthcare service,  $S_j$  represents the capacity of this service (number of beds),  $P_k$  is the  
 27 population in census tract  $k$  and  $t_{kj}$  is the travel time between census tract  $k$  and healthcare service  $j$ .  
 28  $P_k f(t_{kj})$  can therefore be interpreted as the population at location  $k$  that can reach the service within 45  
 29 minutes by transit. Second, accessibility for each census tract was computed by summing the service-to-  
 30 population ratios for the services that can be reached from each census tract centroid within 45 minutes:  
 31

$$A_i = \sum_j V_j f(t_{ji}) \text{ and } f(t_{ji}) = \begin{cases} 1 & \text{if } t_{ji} \leq 45 \text{ minutes} \\ 0 & \text{if } t_{ji} > 45 \text{ minutes} \end{cases}$$

where  $i$  denotes a census tract,  $V_j$  is the service-to-population ratio for service  $j$ , and  $t_{ji}$  is the travel time between  $j$  and  $i$  via public transport. The accessibility measure thus counts the number of beds available within 45 minutes, and adds the service-to-population ratio for each service. As specialized healthcare is typically provided at the metropolitan level, rather than the neighborhood level, the threshold was selected to reflect metropolitan accessibility. Accordingly, a 45-minute threshold was selected, as is commonly used in transport planning to measure regional accessibility (14).

To assess the socio-spatial distribution of accessibility levels, a vulnerability index was computed representing the vulnerability of a census tract based on the characteristics of its population. Four variables were used to measure vulnerability, based on Foth, Manaugh and El-Geneidy (32): (i) median household income (I), (ii) unemployment rate (U), (iii) the percentage of the population that has immigrated within the last 5 years (IM), and (iv) the percentage of households that spend more than 30% of their total income on housing rent (R). All variables were obtained from the 2016 Census of Canada and were then standardized through z-scores. The final vulnerability index is given by:

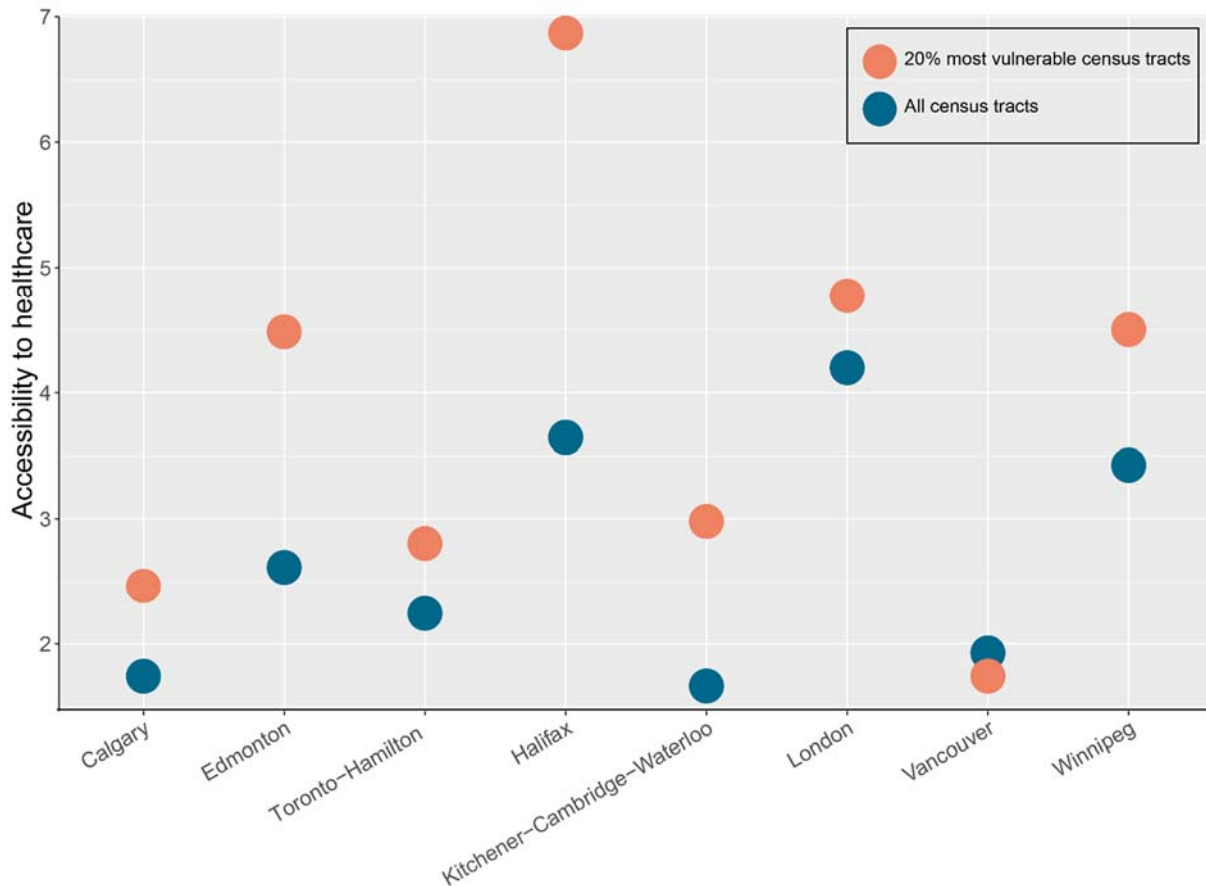
$$Vulnerability = -I + U + IM + R$$

Vertical equity was then calculated for each metropolitan region to assess the distribution of accessibility to health services (number of beds in a hospital that are reachable within 45 minutes of travel time weighted by the population that can reach the service within 45 minutes) based on the vulnerability indicator. The correlation between the vulnerability index and accessibility levels was generated through a Spearman's rank correlation index, as done in previous research (39). This approach assigns an accessibility rank and a vulnerability rank to each census tract and assesses whether census tracts ranking high in terms of accessibility also rank high in terms of vulnerability index. A coefficient of 1 would mean that the accessibility ranking is exactly the same as the vulnerability ranking, where the census tract with the highest accessibility also has the highest vulnerability index, and the census tract with the lowest accessibility has the lowest vulnerability index. Accordingly, the Spearman rank correlation coefficient indicates whether census tracts with high vulnerability (and accordingly high potential needs in terms of transport and health) also have the highest accessibility, which is desirable from a vertical equity perspective.

## RESULTS

A comparison between average accessibility to healthcare for all residents in a metropolitan area and the average accessibility experienced by the residents in the 20% most vulnerable census tracts is shown in Figure 2. Looking first at the average accessibility to healthcare for all residents, we see that Halifax, London and Winnipeg have the highest average accessibility to healthcare for all residents, likely due to the large number of beds relative to the population (respectively 2.97, 3.47 and 3.37 beds per 1,000 inhabitants). In contrast, Kitchener–Cambridge–Waterloo and Calgary have the lowest bed to population ratios (1.53 and 1.88 respectively), which results in the lowest levels of accessibility among Canadian cities. Interestingly, Vancouver exhibits a high ratio (2.83), similar to Halifax, but is characterized by a low average accessibility to healthcare. This suggests that, while the quantity of supply is an important determinant of accessibility, other factors come into play when examining accessibility to healthcare services, namely the spatial distribution of hospitals and the performance of the public transport network, two themes explored in the next section.

1 In terms of equity, vulnerable census tracts are characterized by higher accessibility to health  
 2 services than the average of the region. In Halifax, this difference is most profound: residents in vulnerable  
 3 census tracts can access 88% more services than average (accessibility values of 6.87 and 3.64,  
 4 respectively). Those residents also experience the highest accessibility value across all regions, although the  
 5 highest average accessibility (including all census tracts) is found in London. In contrast, Vancouver has  
 6 the lowest accessibility levels of all metropolitan areas with respect to the 20% most vulnerable census  
 7 tracts, almost 4 times less than the average for the 20% vulnerable census tracts in Halifax (accessibility  
 8 values of 1.74 and 6.87, respectively). Most notably, in Vancouver, vulnerable census tracts exhibit a lower  
 9 accessibility to healthcare services compared to the average of the metropolitan region. This reflects an  
 10 inequitable distribution of accessibility from a vertical equity standpoint, as vulnerable populations, which  
 11 are more likely to depend on public transport to access healthcare services, experience lower accessibility  
 12 than average.



13  
 14 **Figure 2 Comparison of accessibility levels across the eight metropolitan areas**

16 To further explore the socio-spatial distribution of accessibility across metropolitan regions, a  
 17 vertical equity indicator was calculated for each metropolitan region, using the Spearman’s rank correlation  
 18 index. Figure 3 compares the eight metropolitan areas based on average accessibility to healthcare (x-axis)  
 19 and vertical equity of accessibility to healthcare (y-axis). The size of the circles corresponds to the size of  
 20 the metropolitan population. A city at the top right corner would represent the ideal situation: a region with  
 21 high levels of access to hospital beds overall, and where this access is equitably distributed across different  
 22 socio-economic groups, i.e., where the individuals residing in vulnerable census tracts typically experience  
 23 higher accessibility. Not surprisingly, Vancouver is amongst the metropolitan regions with the lowest  
 24 vertical equity indicator, given that the accessibility of vulnerable census tracts in Vancouver is lower than



1 the average of the region. Conversely, Halifax is characterized by a high vertical equity indicator as  
2 vulnerable census tracts have a much higher accessibility than the average of the region. More generally,  
3 metropolitan regions where the vulnerable census tracts exhibit the highest levels of accessibility across  
4 Canada (Edmonton, Winnipeg, Halifax and London) perform well on both indicators. Conversely, in regions  
5 with low average accessibility and low vertical equity (Calgary, Toronto–Hamilton and Vancouver),  
6 vulnerable census tracts exhibit the lowest levels of accessibility to healthcare across Canada. This  
7 highlights the difficulty to serve vulnerable census tracts when the average accessibility to healthcare is  
8 already low.

9         Also, as a general trend, it appears that larger metropolitan regions tend to perform worse in terms  
10 of vertical equity, with Calgary, Toronto–Hamilton, and Vancouver having the lowest vertical equity  
11 indicators. One possible reason explaining this is the suburbanization of poverty, combined with the  
12 concentration of healthcare services in the center. In contrast, smaller cities such as Halifax, London and  
13 Kitchener–Cambridge–Waterloo and Winnipeg, are characterized by a high level of vertical equity. This is  
14 likely explained by the fact that most of the vulnerable census tracts in these cities are located in or near the  
15 downtown area, where several hospitals are located. Vulnerable census tracts in these cities therefore have  
16 a high accessibility to healthcare relative to the rest of the region, resulting in a high vertical equity indicator.

17         Overall, the results demonstrate a higher performance among smaller metropolitan regions (with  
18 the exception of Kitchener–Cambridge–Waterloo explained by the low bed-population ratio) both in terms  
19 of vertical equity and average accessibility to healthcare services. Conversely, larger metropolitan areas  
20 exhibit low vertical equity and low average accessibility, which results in low accessibility in the vulnerable  
21 census tracts. This is potentially due to low bed-population ratio (in Calgary and Toronto–Hamilton) but  
22 also to the difficulty to serve a population that is spatially dispersed. Accordingly, the results suggest that  
23 more efforts are needed in larger metropolitan regions to increase accessibility to healthcare, especially for  
24 vulnerable census tracts.

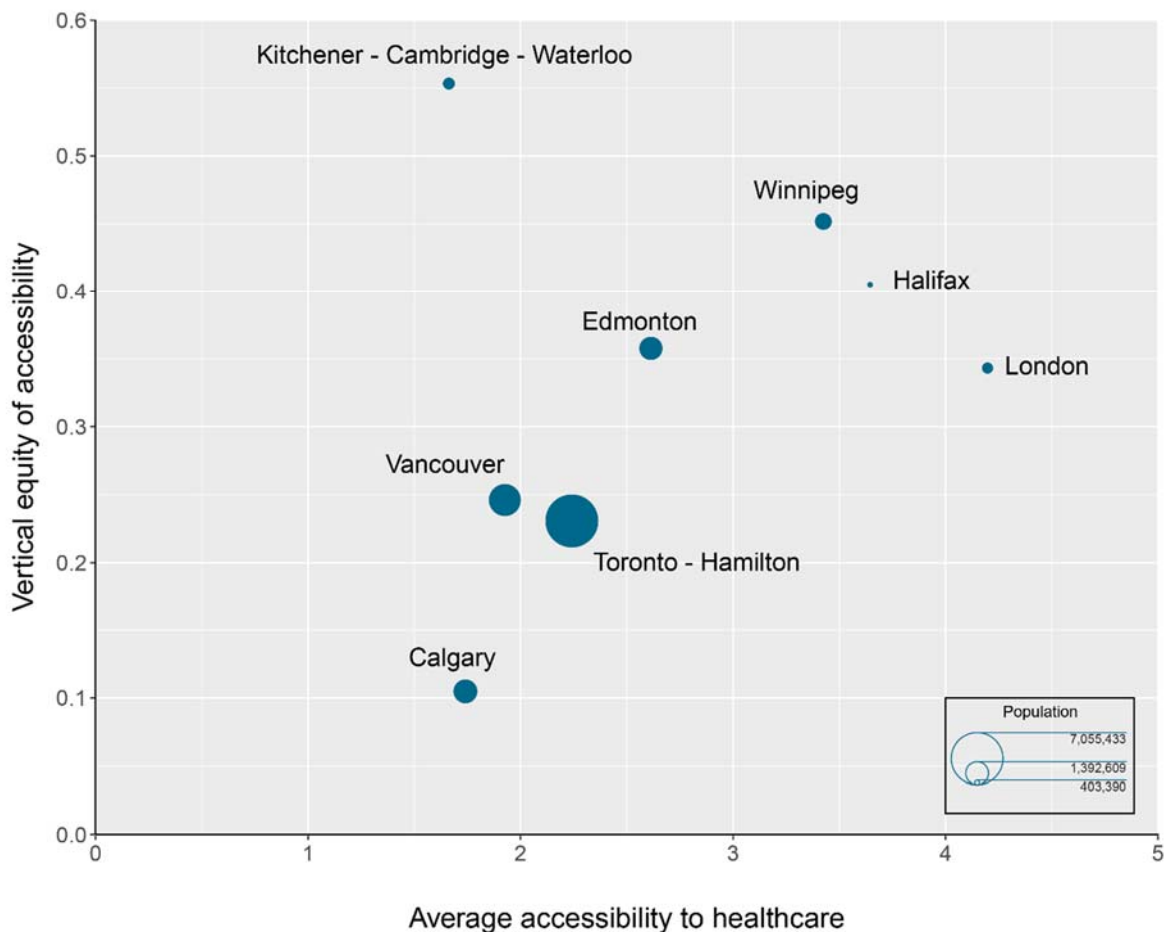


Figure 3 Accessibility and vertical equity across the eight metropolitan areas

## DISCUSSION

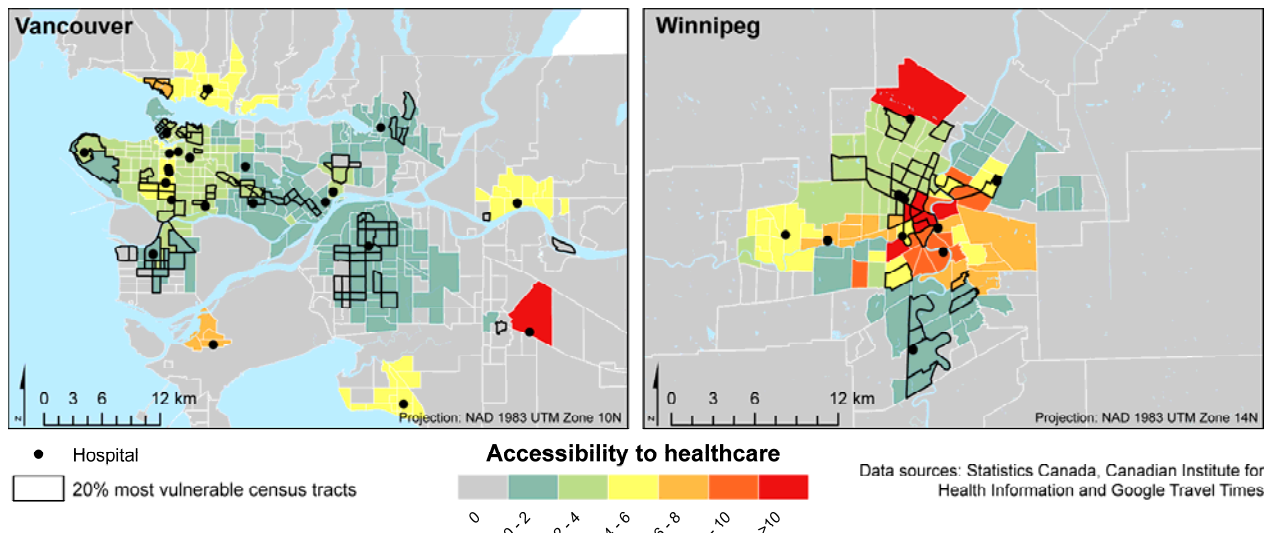
To better understand how metropolitan regions can support a greater and more equitable access to healthcare services, this section explores the key land use and transport factors that lead to low accessibility to healthcare in some of the regions, especially for vulnerable populations, as observed earlier in the results. Figure 4 maps the accessibility to healthcare in Vancouver and Edmonton, with the 20% most vulnerable census tracts identified with a black outline. These two metropolitan regions were selected as they demonstrate the contrasts between large and small metropolitan regions, and highlight several of the issues that metropolitan regions are facing in terms of accessibility to healthcare.

With respect to the average accessibility to healthcare, we see that, in both cases, the fringes of the metropolitan region experience low levels of accessibility, given the lack of hospitals and of public transport services. Most notably, we see important discrepancies in accessibility exist between the center and the periphery in Winnipeg: whereas several central census tracts have an accessibility level above 6, all census tract in the periphery are characterized by a null accessibility, largely due to the limited public transport service in peripheral areas. The detailed assessment of accessibility reveals an uneven distribution across the region, although the average accessibility of the region is high. This is also the case in smaller metropolitan regions such as London and Halifax. It is important to note that, while most vulnerable census tracts are located in central areas in these regions, resulting in a high vertical equity indicator, there are certainly vulnerable populations residing in the periphery. Smaller metropolitan regions should thus

1 concentrate on these populations and explore interventions that could support a high level of accessibility  
 2 by public transport to hospitals for these populations groups.

3 Turning now to the Vancouver metropolitan region, where average accessibility is low, we see that  
 4 very few census tracts have a high level of accessibility (above 6). Furthermore, most hospitals located in  
 5 the periphery of the region are only accessible to a limited number of census tracts in their surroundings,  
 6 which limits the level of accessibility by public transport experienced by residents outside the central areas  
 7 and not in the immediate surroundings of these hospitals. Improving public transport services to these  
 8 hospitals could lead to an increased accessibility in the periphery. In other words, the decentralization of  
 9 services in Vancouver should be accompanied by improved public transport services if one wishes to support  
 10 high levels of accessibility by public transport to healthcare in the suburban areas.

11 In terms of vertical equity, we see that most of the vulnerable census tracts are located away from  
 12 the city center, where there is a high concentration of hospitals. As a result, vulnerable census tracts  
 13 experience lower levels of accessibility. In order to support high accessibility in vulnerable census tracts  
 14 that are not located in the center, it is essential to support the decentralization of healthcare services,  
 15 considering where vulnerable census tracts are located, and to improve the provision of public transport  
 16 services to these hospitals. For example, there is a cluster of vulnerable census tracts in the south-east of the  
 17 region with an accessibility between 0 and 2. Accessibility from these census tracts could be improved by  
 18 providing more services in that region (opening new hospitals or adding more beds within the existing ones),  
 19 or by improving accessibility by public transport to the surrounding hospitals, especially those that are  
 20 currently characterized by a low competition (to the South for example). This would also contribute to  
 21 improving the level of accessibility by public transport to healthcare services in the region.  
 22



23  
 24 **Figure 4 Accessibility to healthcare in Vancouver and Winnipeg, Canada**

25 It is important to note that similar patterns, although not as pronounced, are present in Calgary and  
 26 in Toronto–Hamilton. More generally, research conducted in large Canadian metropolitan regions has  
 27 shown that a growing proportion of low-income households locate in the inner suburbs of these regions (43;  
 28 44). The suburbanization of poverty, in addition to the lack of efficient public transport services in the  
 29 suburbs, represents a significant challenge in providing adequate access to healthcare services in Canada.  
 30 The suburbanization of poverty is not unique to Canadian cities, but is present in medium- and high-income  
 31 countries around the world (45-48). The concentration of low-income households in the suburbs and urban  
 32 fringes is also a significant problem in several cities of the Global South, namely in Latin America, where  
 33 such spatial segregation has been around for many decades (49; 50). This study demonstrates that the

1 development of land use and public transport interventions in suburban areas would substantially contribute  
2 to higher levels of accessibility to healthcare overall, and more importantly for vulnerable populations.  
3 Furthermore, the methods applied in this paper can be applied in other areas around the world facing similar  
4 issues to help setting priority interventions to increase accessibility to healthcare services.

## 6 **CONCLUSION**

7 This study has examined spatial accessibility to general medical and surgical hospitals across eight  
8 metropolitan regions in Canada accounting for both the travel times by public transport and the service-to-  
9 population ratio, where the number of beds is used as proxy for the level of service. Results find that in all  
10 cities except for Vancouver, the socio-spatial distribution of accessibility to health services is vertically  
11 equitable: residents in the 20% most vulnerable neighbourhoods live in areas with higher accessibility than  
12 average for their cities. The groups with the highest needs thus tend to also experience the highest  
13 accessibility. This advantage is, however, less pronounced (or simply absent) in larger metropolitan regions  
14 (Calgary, Toronto-Hamilton and Vancouver), which also exhibit relatively low average accessibility overall.  
15 As a result, vulnerable census tracts in these large metropolitan regions exhibit the lowest levels of  
16 accessibility to healthcare services by public transport across Canada. This is largely explained by the lack  
17 of accessibility by public transport to the hospitals located in the peripheries, and the high proportion of  
18 vulnerable households in the inner suburbs of the regions, resulting from the suburbanization of poverty that  
19 many large cities around the world have been experiencing. Improving accessibility by public transport to  
20 healthcare services in the suburbs would contribute to improving the well-being of individuals, especially  
21 for vulnerable groups.

22 The study has demonstrated how different indicators can be used to assess access to healthcare in  
23 different regions. In metropolitan regions with low levels of accessibility and also low vertical equity,  
24 vulnerable census tracts typically experience lower levels of accessibility to healthcare. It is, however,  
25 necessary to go beyond these indicators, as demonstrated in the previous section, to better understand the  
26 socio-spatial distribution of accessibility to healthcare services and to provide context-specific  
27 recommendations. For example, in Vancouver, several peripheral hospitals have low competition and  
28 improving public transport to these hospitals would significantly help in increasing vertical equity and  
29 average accessibility. In the case of Winnipeg, the specific analysis of the metropolitan region depicts high  
30 regional inequities between the centre and the periphery, although the region as a whole has a high average  
31 accessibility. Improving public transport to reach hospitals from the periphery would contribute to a more  
32 even spatial distribution. Overall, while similar trends can be observed in different metropolitan regions,  
33 context-specific interventions are required to improve access to healthcare. In line with this, further studies  
34 are required to assess how access to healthcare is considered in public transport planning and health policies  
35 in the different regions.

36 It is important to acknowledge the limitations of this study. First, accessibility to hospitals was  
37 measured at the census tract level, using the centroid of the census tracts as the point of reference for  
38 calculating travel times. This does not reflect the exact location of healthcare services, especially when  
39 considering large census tracts (mostly located in the periphery of the region), and, as a result, travel times  
40 to the hospitals might be under- or over-estimated. In most cases, the impact on the calculated accessibility  
41 is minimal, as there is no or little difference in the travel time. In a few cases where the hospital is situated  
42 at the boundary of a large census tract, a more important difference can be found between the travel time  
43 calculated using the centroids of the census tract and the travel time that would result from using the exact  
44 location of the hospital. As large census tracts are typically located in the periphery where public transport  
45 services are limited, the impacts (overestimation or underestimation) on accessibility, if any, are limited to  
46 the few census tracts surrounding the hospital, the others being more than 45 minutes away no matter how  
47 travel time is calculated. The results presented in this study are nonetheless representative of the general

1 patterns of accessibility at the metropolitan level. Further studies could be conducted using a finer spatial  
2 resolution, to get a more detailed accessibility assessment for the peripheral areas. A second limitation is  
3 that we used travel time at 10 AM to account for off-peak public transport service level, although individuals  
4 may need to visit the hospital at any time of the day. In major public transport agencies, off-peak services  
5 are generally slower due to the reduced number of vehicles operating and increase in waiting and transfer  
6 times, while in-vehicle time is generally lower when compared to peak services. We expect that accessibility  
7 to healthcare services during the peak periods will be higher due to increase in the levels of services, yet we  
8 do not expect major variations in the spatial distribution of accessibility. It is also important to point out that  
9 while this study focused on accessibility to general medical and surgical hospitals - which represents a key  
10 component of the universal healthcare system in Canada - further studies could look more specifically at  
11 primary care. Yet, since the primary care systems function differently from one province to another,  
12 province-specific analyses should be conducted to take into account these differences. Further studies could  
13 also build on the present study to evaluate the impacts of differential levels of accessibility to specialized  
14 care on vulnerable individuals. This would contribute to a better understanding of what the accessibility  
15 metric presented in this study reflect in terms of actual healthcare services received.

16 Overall, this study provides a comprehensive view of accessibility to general medical and surgical  
17 hospitals across eight Canadian cities and demonstrates the growing challenges that Canadian metropolitan  
18 regions, and potentially many other cities around the world, are facing in terms of equity and accessibility  
19 to healthcare services. Urban policy-makers and public health professionals could build on this study to  
20 assess the levels of access to healthcare across various socio-economic groups in their cities, and to  
21 subsequently implement policies aimed at improving overall accessibility and accessibility for vulnerable  
22 populations to healthcare services by public transport.

## 26 ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

27 This study was conducted with the financial support of the Canadian Social Sciences and Humanities  
28 Research Council.

## 30 AUTHORS CONTRIBUTIONS

31 The authors confirm contribution to the paper as follows: study conception and design: Boisjoly, Deboosere,  
32 Wasfi, Orpana, Manaugh, Buliung, & El-Geneidy; data collection: Deboosere, Wasfi, Orpana, & El-  
33 Geneidy; analysis and interpretation of results: Boisjoly, Deboosere, Wasfi & El-Geneidy; draft manuscript  
34 preparation Boisjoly, Deboosere, Wasfi, Orpana, Manaugh, Buliung, & El-Geneidy. All authors reviewed  
35 the results and approved the final version of the manuscript.

## 37 REFERENCES

- 38 [1] Parliament of Canada. Canada Health Act. In, 1985.  
39 [2] Wilson, K., and M. W. Rosenberg. Accessibility and the Canadian health care system: Squaring  
40 perceptions and realities. *Health Policy*, Vol. 67, 2004, pp. 137 - 148.  
41 [3] Guagliardo, M. F. Spatial accessibility of primary care: concepts, methods and challenges. *International*  
42 *Journal of Health Geographics*, Vol. 3, No. 3, 2004.  
43 [4] Joseph, A. E., and D. R. Phillips. *Accessibility and utilization: Geographical perspectives on health care*  
44 *delivery*. Harper and Row Publishers, New York, 1984.  
45 [5] Health Canada. *Canada Health Act: 2015 - 2016 annual report*.  
46 [https://www.canada.ca/content/dam/hc-sc/documents/services/publications/health-system-  
services/canada-health-act-annual-report-2015-2016.pdf](https://www.canada.ca/content/dam/hc-sc/documents/services/publications/health-system-<br/>47 services/canada-health-act-annual-report-2015-2016.pdf). Accessed 22 January, 2018.

- 1 [6] Chihuri, S., T. Mielenz, C. DiMaggio, M. Betz, C. DiGuseppi, V. Jones, and G. Li. Driving cessation and  
2 health outcomes in older adults. *Journal of the American Geriatrics Society*, Vol. 64, No. 2, 2016, pp. 332-  
3 341.
- 4 [7] Mao, L., and D. Nekorchuk. Measuring spatial accessibility to healthcare for populations with multiple  
5 transportation modes. *Health & Place*, Vol. 24, 2013, pp. 115 - 122.
- 6 [8] Hiscock, R., J. Pearce, T. Blakely, and K. Witten. Is neighbourhood access to health care provision  
7 associated with individual-level utilization and satisfaction? *Health Services Research*, Vol. 43, 2008, pp.  
8 2183 - 2200.
- 9 [9] Haynes, R., A. Lovett, and G. Sunnenberg. Potential accessibility, travel time, and consumer choice:  
10 Geographical variations in general medical practice registration in Eastern England. *Environment and  
11 planning A*, Vol. 35, 2003, pp. 1733 - 1750.
- 12 [10] Guagliardo, M. F., C. R. Ronzio, I. Cheung, E. Chacko, and J. G. Joseph. Physician accessibility: an urban  
13 case study of pediatric providers. *Health & Place*, Vol. 10, No. 3, 2004, pp. 273 - 283.
- 14 [11] Korda, R. J., J. R. Butler, M. S. Clements, and S. J. Kunitz. Differential impacts of health care in Australia:  
15 Trend analysis of socioeconomic inequalities in avoidable mortality. *International Journal of Epidemiology*,  
16 Vol. 36, 2007, pp. 157 - 165.
- 17 [12] Geurs, K., and B. van Wee. Accessibility evaluation of land-use and transport strategies: Review and  
18 research directions. *Journal of Transport Geography*, Vol. 12, No. 2, 2004, pp. 127-140.
- 19 [13] Handy, S., and D. Niemeier. Measuring accessibility: an exploration of issues and alternatives.  
20 *Environment and planning A*, Vol. 29, No. 7, 1997, pp. 1175 - 1194.
- 21 [14] Boisjoly, G., and A. El-Geneidy. How to get there? A critical assessment of accessibility objectives and  
22 indicators in metropolitan transportation plans. *Transport Policy*, Vol. 55, 2017, pp. 38-50.
- 23 [15] Delmelle, E., and I. Casas. Evaluating spatial equity of bus rapid transit-based accessibility patterns in  
24 a developing country: The case of Cali, Colombia. *Transport Policy*, Vol. 20, 2012, pp. 36 - 46
- 25 [16] Hansen, W. How accessibility shapes land use. *Journal of the American Institute of Planners*, Vol. 25,  
26 No. 2, 1959, pp. 73-76.
- 27 [17] Wickstrom, G. Defining balanced transportation: A question of opportunity. *Traffic Quarterly*, Vol. 25,  
28 No. 3, 1971, pp. 337-349.
- 29 [18] Paez, A., R. Mercado, S. Farber, C. Morency, and M. Roorda. Accessibility to health care facilities in  
30 Montreal Island: an application of relative accessibility indicators from the perspective of senior and non-  
31 senior residents. *International Journal of Health Geographics*, Vol. 9, No. 52, 2010, pp. 1-15.
- 32 [19] El-Geneidy, A., and D. Levinson. Access to destinations: Development of accessibility measures. In,  
33 Department of civil engineering, University of Minnesota, St-Paul, Minnesota, U.S., 2006.
- 34 [20] Weibull, J. An axiomatic approach to the measurement of accessibility. *Regional Science and Urban  
35 Economics*, Vol. 6, 1976, pp. 357 - 379.
- 36 [21] Neutens, T. Accessibility, equity and health care: Review and research directions for transport  
37 geographers. *Journal of Transport Geography*, Vol. 43, 2015, pp. 14 - 27.
- 38 [22] Apparicio, P., M. Abdelmajid, M. Riva, and R. Shearmur. Comparing alternative approaches to  
39 measuring the geographical accessibility of urban health services: Distance types and aggregation-error  
40 issues. *International Journal of Health Geographics*, Vol. 7, No. 7, 2008.
- 41 [23] Luo, W., and F. Wang. Measures of spatial accessibility to health care in a GIS environment: synthesis  
42 and a case study in the Chicago region. *Environment and Planning B: Planning and Design*, Vol. 30, 2003,  
43 pp. 865 - 884.
- 44 [24] Love, D., and P. Lindquist. The geographical accessibility of hospitals to the aged: a geographic  
45 information systems analysis within Illinois. *Health Services Research*, Vol. 29, No. 6, 1995, pp. 629 - 651
- 46 [25] Joseph, A. E., and P. R. Bantock. Measuring potential physical accessibility to general practitioners in  
47 rural areas: A method and case study. *Social Science and Medicine*, Vol. 16, 1982, pp. 85 - 90.

- 1 [26] McGrail, M. R., and J. S. Humphreys. Measuring spatial accessibility to primary care in rural areas:  
2 Improving the effectiveness of the two-step floating catchment area method. *Applied Geography*, Vol. 29,  
3 2009, pp. 533 – 541.
- 4 [27] Tang, J., Y. Chiu, P. Chiang, M. Su, and T. Chan. A flow-based statistical model integrating spatial and  
5 nonspatial dimensions to measure healthcare access. *Health & Place*, Vol. 47, 2017, pp. 126 - 138.
- 6 [28] Shen, Q. Location characteristics of inner-city neighborhoods and employment accessibility of low-  
7 wage workers. *Environment and Planning B: Planning and Design*, Vol. 25, 1998, pp. 345 - 365.
- 8 [29] Andersson, F., J. Haltiwanger, M. Kutzbach, H. Pollakowski, and D. Weinberg. Job displacement and  
9 the duration of joblessness: The role of spatial mismatch. In, National Bureau of Economic Research,  
10 Cambridge, MA, 2014.
- 11 [30] Korsu, E., and S. Wenglenski. Job accessibility, residential segregation, and risk of long-term  
12 unemployment in the Paris region. *Urban Studies*, Vol. 47, No. 11, 2010, pp. 2279 - 2324.
- 13 [31] El-Geneidy, A., and D. Levinson. Place Rank: Valuing spatial interactions. *Networks and Spatial  
14 Economics (NETS)*, Vol. 11, No. 4, 2011, pp. 643-659.
- 15 [32] Foth, N., K. Manaugh, and A. El-Geneidy. Towards equitable transit: Examining transit accessibility and  
16 social need in Toronto, Canada 1996-2006. *Journal of Transport Geography*, Vol. 29, 2013, pp. 1 - 10.
- 17 [33] Lucas, K., B. van Wee, and K. Maat. A method to evaluate equitable accessibility: Combining ethical  
18 theories and accessibility-based approaches. *Transportation*, Vol. 43, No. 3, 2016, pp. 473-490.
- 19 [34] van Wee, B., and K. Geurs. Discussing equity and social exclusion in accessibility evaluations. *European  
20 Journal of Transport and Infrastructure Research*, Vol. 11, No. 4, 2011.
- 21 [35] Golub, A., and K. Martens. Using principles of justice to assess the modal equity of regional  
22 transportation plans. *Journal of Transport Geography*, Vol. 41, 2014, pp. 10-20.
- 23 [36] Grengs, J. Nonwork accessibility as a social equity indicator. *International Journal of Sustainable  
24 Transportation*, Vol. 9, No. 1, 2015, pp. 1 - 14.
- 25 [37] Guzman, L., D. Oviedo, and C. Rivera. Assessing equity in transport accessibility to work and study:  
26 The Bogotá region. *Journal of Transport Geography*, Vol. 58, 2017, pp. 236 - 246.
- 27 [38] Bissonnette, L., K. Wilson, S. Bell, and T. I. Shah. Neighbourhoods and potential access to health care:  
28 The role of spatial and aspatial factors. *Health & Place*, Vol. 18, 2012, pp. 841 - 853.
- 29 [39] Mortazavi, S., and M. Akbarzadeh. A framework for measuring the spatial equity in the distribution of  
30 public transportation benefits. *Journal of Public Transportation*, Vol. 20, No. 1, 2017, pp. 44 - 62.
- 31 [40] CIHI. Hospital beds staffed and in operation, 2016-2017. In, Ottawa, 2018.
- 32 [41] Law, M., A. Dijkstra, J. Douillard, and S. Morgan. Geographic accessibility of community pharmacies in  
33 Ontario. *Healthcare Policy*, Vol. 6, No. 3, 2011, p. 36.
- 34 [42] Statistics Canada. Statistics Canada Census 2016. In, Ottawa, 2016.
- 35 [43] Ades, J., P. Apparicio, and A. Séguin. Is poverty concentration expanding to the suburbs? Analyzing  
36 the intra-metropolitan poverty distribution and its change in Montreal, Toronto and Vancouver. *Canadian  
37 Journal of Regional Science/Revue canadienne des sciences régionales*, Vol. 39, No. 1/3, 2016, pp. 23-37.
- 38 [44] Pavlic, D., and Z. Qian. Declining inner suburbs? A longitudinal-spatial analysis of large metropolitan  
39 regions in Canada. *Urban Geography*, Vol. 35, No. 3, 2014, pp. 378-401.
- 40 [45] Kneebone, E. *The changing geography of US poverty*, Brookings Institution.  
41 <https://www.brookings.edu/testimonies/the-changing-geography-of-us-poverty/>. Accessed July 7th  
42 2018, 2018.
- 43 [46] Raphael, S., and R. Stoll. Job sprawl and the suburbanization of poverty. In *Metropolitan Policy  
44 Program at Brookings*, Washington DC, 2010.
- 45 [47] Hochstenbach, C., and S. Musterd. Gentrification and the suburbanization of poverty: Changing urban  
46 geographies through boom and bust periods. *Urban Geography*, Vol. 39, No. 1, 2017, pp. 26-53.
- 47 [48] Cooke, T., and C. Denton. The suburbanization of poverty? An alternative perspective. *Urban  
48 Geography*, Vol. 36, No. 2, 2015, pp. 300-313.

- 1 [49] Blanco, J., and R. Apaolaza. Socio-territorial inequality and differential mobility. Three key issues in
- 2 the Buenos Aires Metropolitan Region. *Journal of Transport Geography*, Vol. 67, 2018, pp. 76-84.
- 3 [50] Keeling, D. Latin America's transportation conundrum. *Journal of Latin American Geography*, 2008,
- 4 pp. 133-154.

5