

1 **“I want to get better, but...”: Identifying the perceptions and**
2 **experiences of people who inject drugs with respect to**
3 **evolving hepatitis C virus treatments**

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ABSTRACT

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Background: The advent of highly tolerable and efficacious direct-acting antiviral (DAA) medications has transformed the hepatitis C virus (HCV) treatment landscape. Yet, people who inject drugs (PWID) – a population with inequitably high rates of HCV and who face significant socio-structural barriers to healthcare access – continue to have disproportionately low rates of DAA uptake. The objective of this study is to explore how PWID with lived experience of HCV perceive and experience DAA treatment, in a setting with universal coverage of these medications since 2018. **Methods:** Informed by a critical interpretive framework, we thematically analyze data from in-depth, semi-structured interviews conducted between January and June 2018 in Vancouver, Canada, with a purposive sample (n=56) of PWID at various stages (e.g., pre, peri, post) of DAA treatment. **Results:** The analysis yielded three key themes: (i) life with HCV, (ii) experiences with and perceptions of evolving HCV treatments, and (iii) substance use and the uptake of DAA treatments. First, participants described how health and healthcare conditions, such as the deprioritizing of HCV (e.g., due to being asymptomatic, healthcare provider inaction, gatekeeping) and catalysts to care (e.g., symptom onset, treatment for co-morbidities) shaped DAA treatment motivation and access. Second, participants described how individual and community-level accounts of evolving HCV treatments, including skepticism following negative experiences with interferon-based treatment and uncertainty regarding treatment eligibility negatively, influenced willingness and opportunities to access DAAs. Concurrently, participants described how peer and community endorsement of DAAs was positively associated with treatment uptake. Third, participants favoured HCV care that was

46 grounded in harm reduction, which included the integration of DAAs with other substance use-
47 related services (e.g., opioid agonist therapy, HIV care), and which was often contrasted against
48 abstinence-focused care wherein substance use is framed as a contraindication to HCV treatment
49 access. **Conclusions:** These findings underscore several equity-oriented healthcare service
50 delivery and clinician adaptations that are required to scale up DAAs among PWID living with
51 HCV, including the provision of harm reduction-focused, non-stigmatizing, integrated, and peer-
52 led care that responds to power differentials.

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54 **Keywords (3-10):** Hepatitis C, Direct-acting antivirals, Treatment, People who inject drugs,
55 Substance use, Harm reduction, Qualitative research, Equity, Ethics, Health services.

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67 **“I want to get better, but...”: Identifying the perceptions and**
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70 **Introduction**

71 Hepatitis C virus (HCV) infection remains a major contributor to worldwide morbidity and
72 mortality, as the vast majority (~80%) of individuals who acquire HCV go on to develop chronic
73 infection (1). Left untreated, HCV infection frequently leads to severe and potentially fatal
74 complications, including cirrhosis, hepatic encephalopathy, and hepatocellular carcinoma (2).
75 While potentially curative (i.e., to a point of sustained virologic response, wherein HCV is no
76 longer detected in the blood) regimens of HCV treatments have been available for nearly two
77 decades, the previous and longstanding generation of Interferon-based treatments demonstrated
78 limited effectiveness (~50% cured), had prolonged treatment durations of up to 48 weeks, and
79 were accompanied by a series of adverse side effects (e.g., flu-like symptoms, vomiting,
80 diarrhea, insomnia, impaired mood) (3). As such, rates of Interferon-based treatment uptake have
81 been as low as 15% among people living with HCV (4), and even lower within key populations
82 who are most marginalized with respect to treatment access, including people who inject drugs
83 (PWID) (5, 6). Within this context, the recent advent of all-oral direct-acting antiviral (DAA)
84 HCV treatments has renewed optimism for transforming and improving the global HCV
85 treatment landscape. Indeed, since DAAs have minimal side effects and contraindications and
86 are highly effective in achieving HCV cure, they are poised to significantly facilitate efforts to
87 treat and cure people living with HCV (7, 8). The scale-up of DAA treatments – with priority to
88 populations who face inequities related to HCV prevalence, incidence, and healthcare access – is

89 thus a critical component underlying the World Health Organization’s goal to eliminate HCV as
90 a major public health threat by 2030 (9).

91 To achieve global HCV elimination targets, it has been postulated that a concerted focus on
92 scaling up equitable DAA treatment provision to PWID is required – particularly in countries
93 and regions wherein HCV rates among this population remain high (10-13). Due, in part, to the
94 sharing of injection drug equipment (e.g., needles, syringes, filters, cookers) and the lack of high-
95 quality, effective, and accessible harm reduction services (e.g., supervised consumption sites,
96 needle and syringe distribution programs, opioid agonist therapy [OAT]) in various settings,
97 PWID are inequitably impacted by blood-borne infections, including HCV and human
98 immunodeficiency virus (HIV) (14, 15). Indeed, PWID are estimated to comprise 6.1 million
99 (8.5%) of the 71.1 million prevalent chronic HCV cases worldwide, with 25 countries (the
100 majority of which are in North America, Eastern Europe, and East and Southeast Asia) being
101 home to an estimated 82% of the global population of PWID living with HCV (10, 16). For
102 instance, as of 2015, in Canada, where injection drug use is the principal route of incident HCV
103 transmission (17), approximately 53% of PWID are estimated to be living with HCV (10).

104 While Interferon-free HCV therapies represent a “game changer” for PWID living with HCV, a
105 series of barriers to equitable access to HCV care remain. For instance, at a healthcare system
106 and provider level, recent studies have described key DAA implementation challenges related to
107 specialist-centered models of care, limited healthcare provider training in substance use and/or
108 HCV care, lack of on-site phlebotomy services, finite resources to develop a comprehensive
109 HCV cascade of care, and onerous diagnostic and prescription-related eligibility requirements for
110 accessing DAAs (18-20). A small but growing body of empirical evidence with PWID

111 participants also has identified the ways in which individual and socio-contextual factors
112 influence DAA treatment access and uptake. For example, previous qualitative studies – few of
113 which are from the current DAA treatment era – have examined how perceptions and knowledge
114 levels related to various aspects of HCV and its management (e.g., disease transmission and
115 progression, medication side effects, treatment eligibility and conditions, potential re-infection)
116 are important determinants of HCV treatment uptake (21-24). More generally, disinclination to
117 undergo DAA treatment among PWID can stem from being asymptomatic of HCV, poor vein
118 health (i.e., which inhibits testing and diagnosis), the prioritization of other health and social
119 issues (e.g., co-morbidities, housing, childcare), and experiences of stigma and discrimination
120 when accessing services (21, 25, 26). Of particular concern, available evidence indicates that
121 healthcare providers tend to view active substance use as a contraindication to DAA treatment
122 eligibility, including due to a presumed lack of stability and/or capacity for PWID to adhere to
123 treatment regimens, and the anticipated potential for sustained liver damage irrespective of HCV
124 cure (i.e., because of HCV re-infection and/or the potentially damaging and lasting hepatic
125 effects of excessive alcohol use) (27-29).

126 Taken as a whole, despite the potential promise granted by the advent of DAA therapies, PWID
127 continue to face a set of interconnected challenges that restrict access to HCV care. As a
128 consequence of these healthcare access inequities, PWID populations experience low rates of
129 DAA treatment uptake, despite paradoxically experiencing both a high prevalence of HCV and a
130 well-documented willingness to undergo treatment (9, 15, 30). To address this noteworthy gap in
131 equitable health and healthcare access among PWID living with HCV, there is a need for
132 knowledge about how PWID's experiences are unfolding within and influenced by evolving
133 HCV care landscapes. The objective of this study is therefore to explore how PWID with lived

134 experience of HCV perceive and experience DAA treatments, in a setting with universal
135 coverage of these medications since 2018.

136 **Methods**

137 *Study overview*

138 For the reader, it is helpful to consider our motivations for pursuing this research. The goal of
139 this qualitative study is to center and interpret the lived experiences of HCV among PWID, with
140 a view to inform decisions that have the potential to enhance the equitable provision of DAA
141 treatments and broader health services to this population. To do so, we draw on a critical
142 interpretive framework informed by values of health equity and social justice (31, 32), as well as
143 a thematic analysis approach within social constructivist epistemology (e.g., that includes:
144 participant-researcher co-construction of findings, attention to socio-contextual influences on
145 participant experiences and researcher interpretations, theoretically- and axiologically-driven
146 analysis) (33, 34). This study design facilitates the exploration of how DAA treatment needs,
147 experiences, and perceptions are embedded within the socio-structural conditions of PWID's
148 lives. Through this lens, we analyze the lived experiences of HCV among PWID to identify
149 strengths-based and contextually-informed strategies for promoting equitable outcomes with
150 respect to HCV and wellbeing more generally for this priority population.

151 *Study setting*

152 This research was conducted in Metro Vancouver, British Columbia (BC), Canada, a
153 metropolitan area with an approximate population of 2,463,431 people (35). In Canada, the

154 majority of healthcare services, including those under the umbrella of HCV care, are publicly
155 funded and universally offered. Importantly, however, Canada does not have a federal pharma-
156 care program, so publicly funded medication coverage, when available, is determined at the
157 provincial level. In 2018, the province of BC removed restrictions from the BC PharmaCare
158 program to DAA access and approved the universal coverage of several DAA treatment
159 formulations for all British Columbians living with HCV (36). This policy change expanded
160 treatment access to the 53,441 HCV-diagnosed-individuals living in BC in 2018, among whom
161 18,609 (34.8%) reported current or past injection drug use (37). However, also in 2018, only
162 5,200 (27.9%) individuals within this population of PWID living with HCV were able to access
163 and begin treatment (with either DAAs or Interferon-based therapies), signaling an ongoing gap
164 in the HCV cascade of care for this priority population (37).

165 Given the colonial context of Canada, it is important to understand the structurally-embedded
166 nature of the inequities experienced by Indigenous PWID living with HCV, broadly, as well as
167 the overrepresentation of Indigenous¹ Peoples within the current study, specifically. Across
168 Canada, Indigenous Peoples are inequitably impacted by substance use and HCV. As described
169 in detail elsewhere (e.g., 26, 38, 39), colonial policies and institutions in Canada (e.g., the Indian
170 Act, Indian Residential Schools and Hospitals, the current child welfare and criminal justice
171 systems, ongoing treaty violations) have disrupted the wellbeing, rights, and self-determination
172 of Indigenous Peoples. Concomitantly, these and other forms of structural violence have created
173 and sustained the conditions in which Indigenous Peoples in Canada face barriers to

¹ The term “Indigenous” refers to first peoples internationally. I use this term to broadly refer to the diverse First Nations, Métis, Inuit, and other Indigenous Peoples living in Canada.

174 determinants of good health, thereby contributing to significantly higher morbidity and mortality
175 rates among Indigenous Peoples relative to non-Indigenous people (40, 41). Within this context,
176 systemic racism – including in healthcare settings – has exacerbated the harms experienced by
177 Indigenous Peoples who use/inject drugs, as evidenced by inequitable rates of HCV, HIV,
178 overdoses, and criminalization related to drug offences (26, 42-45). As one example, recent
179 public health surveillance data from the Canadian provinces of Saskatchewan and Ontario
180 estimated that HCV rates are 6-11 times higher among First Nations Peoples relative to non-
181 Indigenous people (26, 46, 47). Further still, recent research has demonstrated that Indigenous
182 Peoples in Canada are up to 50% less likely than non-Indigenous people to be able to access and
183 begin HCV treatment (48, 49), and three times more likely to die without ever having accessed
184 HCV care (26, 50, 51). It is in this context of ongoing and systemic harms associated with
185 colonization that the current study is situated.

186 *Sampling and recruitment procedures*

187 Drawing on a stratified purposive sampling strategy (52), we led targeted recruitment of specific
188 participant subgroups (i.e., stratified by gender identity, HIV serostatus, and stage of HCV
189 treatment) from three large prospective cohort studies in Metro Vancouver: the Vancouver
190 Injection Drug Users Study (VIDUS), the AIDS Care Cohort to Evaluate access to Survival
191 Services (ACCESS) study, and the Preservation of Sustained Virologic Response (Per-SVR)
192 study. As described in detail elsewhere (53), VIDUS and ACCESS are open community-
193 recruited prospective cohort studies that, since 1996 and 2005, respectively, have conducted
194 research (e.g., through baseline and semi-annual interviewer-administered questionnaires, testing
195 for HCV and other blood-borne infections, and clinical monitoring) with HIV-negative (VIDUS)

196 and HIV-positive (ACCESS) people who use/inject drugs. Similarly, initiated in 2017, the Per-
197 SVR study (54) is a prospective longitudinal cohort of people with lived experience of HCV and
198 who have completed or who are currently undergoing treatment with DAAs.

199 VIDUS, ACCESS, and Per-SVR research staff identified prospective participants by querying
200 their respective cohort study databases. During baseline and follow-up visits for their respective
201 studies, research staff informed prospective participants about an additional qualitative study
202 related to how PWID with lived experience of HCV experience DAA treatment. After
203 participants contacted our research team, we provided additional study information, confirmed
204 eligibility, and scheduled interviews. Participants were eligible for inclusion if they lived within
205 Metro Vancouver, were 19 years of age or older, were fluent in English, reported past or current
206 injection drug use, and had lived experience with HCV and were either (1) considering DAA
207 treatment access, (2) presently receiving treatment with DAAs, or (3) had recently completed
208 DAA treatment. Participants provided written informed consent prior to data collection activities
209 and were remunerated with a CDN \$30 honorarium. Ethics approval was obtained from the
210 University of British Columbia Behavioural Research Ethics Board (#H16-02943).

211 *Data collection*

212 Between January and June of 2018, we conducted 56 in-depth, semi-structured interviews that
213 lasted 30-60 minutes. We held interviews at our research offices in Vancouver's Downtown
214 Eastside. We designed the interview guide to elicit comprehensive discussions about
215 participants' perceptions and experiences with DAA treatments, HCV care, and healthcare more
216 generally. Our interview questions related generally to how participants had become aware of

217 and informed about DAA treatments. In addition, we asked participants to describe the
218 circumstances and contexts in which they had accessed (or had not been able to access) DAA
219 treatments. At this point in time, we prompted participants to elaborate on how various
220 individual and relational (e.g., provider-patient dynamics; apprehensions related to previous
221 experiences with Interferon-based therapies and concerns about potential side effects) influenced
222 their experiences and perspectives related to DAA therapies. In addition, we encouraged
223 participants to discuss how broader contextual features of their lives influenced their experiences
224 with HCV and wellbeing more generally; in doing so, we sought to elicit discussion of how
225 socio-structural factors (e.g., features of healthcare delivery systems, peer and community
226 supports, treatment eligibility criteria, marginalization, stigma) influence opportunities to access,
227 adhere to, and complete DAA regimens. Participants also filled out an 8-item socio-demographic
228 questionnaire, which included items related to age, ethnicity, HIV serostatus, HCV treatment
229 status, and sexual and gender identity.

230 ***Data analysis***

231 Interviews were audio-recorded, transcribed verbatim, accuracy checked, anonymized, and
232 securely and digitally stored with identifying details removed. We uploaded the interview data to
233 NVivo 12 software, which we then used to manage the analysis. At early stages of the analysis,
234 we read and re-read the accounts of PWID in the study sample, and organized the data into
235 patterns, which we then assigned substantive open codes (e.g., related to: background participant
236 information, experiences living with HCV, experiences and perceptions of DAAs, barriers and
237 facilitators associated with DAA treatment access and uptake) (34). We then conducted axial
238 coding (33, 34), wherein we organized initial codes into “trees” that represented groups of

239 related concepts and categories, which provided a foundational schematic for the analysis. In
240 doing so, we used constant comparative techniques (33) to further distil the ways and contexts in
241 which emerging themes manifested. Throughout data analysis, we explored each key theme more
242 fully by asking pertinent analytic questions, including: (i) How do perceptions about HCV and
243 its treatments (i.e., both historical and current) shape PWID’s attitudes and experiences with
244 DAAs? (ii) What key considerations and socio-contextual factors influence opportunities to
245 access and complete DAA treatment? (iii) Under what conditions and in which contexts is
246 equitable access to DAAs and wellbeing more generally for PWID realized? As the analysis
247 proceeded, we addressed discrepancies between emergent themes through debriefing processes
248 at team meetings. In addition, we employed a series of additional inductive approaches (e.g.,
249 returning to the data for nuance and context, iteratively contrasting emerging themes against
250 what is already documented in related empirical and theoretical literature bases) to identify and
251 refine central themes, which we present below.

252 **Results**

253 For this study, we interviewed a total of 56 PWID with lived experience of HCV. Table 1
254 provides an overview of the socio-demographic characteristics of this sample. In addition,
255 although not explicitly asked in our socio-demographic questionnaire, our interviews surfaced
256 that many participants had experienced – and, in most cases, were still experiencing – significant
257 socio-economic hardship, including living on very low incomes and in inadequate housing
258 situations (e.g., couch surfing, shelters, outside). The social context of participants’ lives is
259 surfaced throughout the analysis below, where we offer the findings in three thematic sections:
260 (i) life with HCV, (ii) experiences with and perceptions of evolving HCV treatments, and (iii)

261 substance use and the uptake of DAA treatments. Each participant quotation is accompanied by a
 262 brief description of the participant’s socio-demographic profile and a researcher-assigned
 263 numerical identifier.

264 **Table 1: Characteristics of participants**

Participants	56
Age (average, range)	49 (31-66) Years
Ethnocultural identity	
<i>First Nations</i>	28 (50%)
<i>Métis</i>	3 (5.4%)
<i>Black</i>	1 (1.8%)
<i>White</i>	19 (33.9%)
<i>Declined to answer</i>	5 (8.9%)
HCV treatment status	
<i>Pre-treatment¹</i>	25 (44.6%)
<i>Peri-treatment</i>	12 (21.4%)
<i>Post-treatment</i>	19 (33.9%)
HIV serostatus	
<i>Positive</i>	27 (48.2%)
<i>Negative</i>	29 (51.8%)
Sexual identity	
<i>Heterosexual/straight</i>	42 (75%)

<i>Bisexual/bicurious</i>	4 (7.1%)
<i>Lesbian</i>	1 (1.8%)
<i>Gay</i>	1 (1.8%)
<i>Two-Spirit²</i>	2 (3.6%)
<i>Other³</i>	2 (3.6%)
<i>Declined to answer</i>	4 (7.1%)
Gender identity	
<i>Man⁴</i>	29 (51.8%)
<i>Woman⁵</i>	26 (55.4%)
<i>Two-Spirit²</i>	1 (1.8%)

¹This category includes one participant whose DAA treatment regimen was unsuccessful at achieving cure, one participant who prematurely ceased DAA treatment due to adverse side effects, and one participant who re-acquired HCV following successful treatment with Interferon-based therapies. All of these participants expressed intent to (re)access DAA treatment.

²“Two-Spirit” is an umbrella term intended to encapsulate a range of Indigenous gender diverse and non-normative sexual orientations (55). There is no singular definition of this term, as its use varies across and within Indigenous Peoples and communities. Two participants in this study described their sexual identities as Two-Spirit, whereas another participant used this term to refer to their gender identity.

³In this category, one participant identified as transgender and another participant identified as androgynous. Although we associate these terms with gender identity and expression, this table presents the sexual identities indicated by participants themselves.

⁴All men who participated in this study identified as cisgender.

⁵One woman who participated in this study identified as transgender, whereas the remaining women identified as cisgender.

265

266 ***Life with HCV: “We’re not really given all the information”***

267 As the interviews began, participants reported having variable and sometimes limited amounts of
268 clinical information related to HCV and its treatments. Among participants who had not yet
269 accessed DAA treatment, in particular, several described experiences in which they had not been
270 adequately informed by their healthcare providers about the meaning and potential impact of
271 HCV (e.g., symptoms, transmissibility, prognosis, treatment options). Indeed, some of these
272 participants even indicated that, through the interview questions and prompts regarding DAA
273 treatments for the present study, they were being informed of DAAs for the very first time. Here,
274 a subset of participants also described how the prevalent and often asymptomatic nature of HCV
275 within their communities had led to HCV care being conventionalized and deprioritized by some
276 healthcare providers. These participants further postulated that this “downplaying” of HCV had
277 inadvertently affected the amount of HCV-related information they had been given and the
278 extent to which they had been engaged by their healthcare providers in HCV care. One 53-year-
279 old woman who had not yet been able to access HCV treatment described this critical
280 information gap when outlining her experience of being diagnosed with HCV by her family
281 physician:

282 *Hep C is the least of the dangers [compared to other illnesses], but it doesn’t mean it’s not*
283 *dangerous. And we’re not really given all the information about what organ it [HCV]*

284 *hurts, what exemplifies it, or what could help on a daily basis to avoid it. Like, is it a*
285 *growth, is it a, you know, a virus, like a liquid, or is it hardening or, you know, I don't*
286 *know any of those things (Participant_17).*

287 Conversely, a subset of participants described healthcare interactions in which they had been
288 “overloaded” with information related to HCV and other aspects of their health, including, in
289 particular, substance use and HIV. These participants described instances in which they had been
290 unsatisfactorily supported by their healthcare providers and how, within this context, the shock
291 of being diagnosed with HCV – and, in many cases, also HIV – had caused them to “close
292 down” and not retain important information related to their illness and/or potential treatment
293 options. More generally, several participants described how their previous negative experiences
294 within clinical encounters had impacted their subsequent experiences and trajectories of care. For
295 example, participants described highly dehumanizing clinical encounters (i.e., that lacked
296 respect, empathy, and recognition of client choice) with healthcare providers, which they tended
297 to associate with their ongoing mistrust of some healthcare providers. As such, participants
298 emphasized that these previous negative experiences with healthcare providers were strongly tied
299 to a deep hesitancy they have around seeking follow-up HCV care, including DAA treatment.
300 One 55-year-old woman, who was receiving HCV treatment, recounted the context in which,
301 while in her 30s, she and her newborn son had both been tested for HCV and HIV:

302 *I found out about my hepatitis C when I found out I had HIV. [. . .] I went and seen him*
303 *[the physician], and he tested my son, he tested me. He said, “Come back in two weeks.”*
304 *And when that two weeks came by, I went and seen him [again]. He goes, “Well, I’ve got*
305 *some good news and I’ve got some bad news.” And I said, “What’s that?”. He says, “Well,*

306 *first of all, you have hep C.” I said, “Okay.” And he goes, “And your son’s gonna live, but*
307 *you, you’re gonna die.” I said, “What?” [laughs]. He goes, “Because you have HIV.” I*
308 *said, “Okay.” And then, when he said I was gonna die, I just closed right down. . . I didn’t*
309 *hear a word what he said (Participant_10).*

310 As participants’ stories further unfolded, a subset described how, despite having lived with HCV
311 for years or even for decades, they had largely been asymptomatic of HCV, and therefore had
312 tended to de-prioritize seeking HCV-related information and/or treatment. Some of these
313 participants described how they had nonetheless begun treatment after being approached to do so
314 by their healthcare providers during hospitalization or while accessing community-based
315 healthcare for other co-morbidities. In describing how she had lived with HCV for more than 20
316 years, one person reflected:

317 *“I wasn’t really worried about it [HCV] because I was young and still healthy”*
318 *(Participant_19; 46-year-old woman, also living with HIV, completed HCV treatment).*

319 Meanwhile, however, the majority of participants described how aging, the intensifying burden
320 of late-onset and chronic HCV symptoms (e.g., fatigue, insomnia, depression, pain, jaundice),
321 and, in many cases, the increasing toll and stress of living on a low income and/or in substandard
322 housing had shaped a set of conditions in which they felt they needed to access HCV treatment.
323 Here, one 45-year-old man, who had been living with HCV for more than 20 years prior and who
324 had not yet been able to access treatment, described the subtle but gradual and regressive nature
325 of HCV disease progression, which reinforced his motivation to seek medical attention:

326 *I just kind of [thought], like, “Oh, I’m young, you know. I’ll ignore it [HCV]. I’ll be alright*
327 *and I’ll fight it off. I’ll be alright, you know. Now, I’m kind of wanting to [learn more*
328 *about it], because I’m not getting frigging younger here, right? [Laughs]. So, it’s actually*
329 *kind of starting to kick in now. And it’s kind of frigging bothering me now*
330 *(Participant_04).*

331 In summary, participants described how their healthcare interactions and the timing and impact
332 of their symptoms while living with HCV impacted their knowledge, motivations, and
333 experiences with HCV care access, including DAAs. In considering participants’ portrayals of
334 life with HCV, we continue the analysis below by explicitly identifying participants’ perceptions
335 and experiences related to HCV treatments.

336 ***Experiences with and perceptions of evolving HCV treatments: “The new one is way better***
337 ***than the old one”***

338 The majority of participants described how, within the last 1-2 years (i.e., contemporaneously
339 with the introduction of universal access to DAAs in BC, in 2018), they had become aware of
340 DAA treatments through discussions with members of their peer and healthcare networks. Yet,
341 several participants described uncertainty as to whether or not they were eligible for DAA
342 treatments – particularly, if they had previously been denied Interferon- and/or DAA-based HCV
343 treatments. At the same time, several participants described a sense of ambiguity related to
344 where, when, and how they could access DAA treatment. Amidst these descriptions, many
345 participants’ stories chronicled the challenge of identifying and accessing healthcare services and

346 providers with whom they could potentially begin DAA treatment regimens. For example, the
347 above participant further explained:

348 *I don't know where to get it [DAAs], or if there's any out there, or if we're eligible for it,*
349 *or... There's not too much information about it, it seems like, you know? I want to get*
350 *better, but there's not too many places. And then you have to like wait so long before you*
351 *get any help from [healthcare providers], and it's kind of like, "My God, man. What will it*
352 *take?" (Participant_04).*

353 Similarly, several participants – namely, those who themselves had undergone Interferon-based
354 treatments but who continued to be living with HCV – expressed ongoing apprehension about
355 accessing DAA therapies, as they anticipated that the side effects would not be tolerable. During
356 these discussions, it became apparent that participants had not received accurate information
357 related to DAAs, as some were unaware that many of the side effects associated with Interferon-
358 based treatments did not apply to DAA regimens. One 41-year-old woman described her
359 deliberation about whether or not to access treatment with DAAs, which, at the time of the
360 interview, she was about to begin:

361 *"I was thinking about the side effects. Yeah, what with... like, I want to know what... if I*
362 *took it [DAAs], what's the side effects is, I guess. Yeah. I wouldn't know, because I don't*
363 *know what kind of side effects it would affect on me, right? About taking the [DAA] pill"*
364 *(Participant_03).*

365 In a subset of interviews, participants described a sense of mistrust and skepticism toward the
366 interests and motivations of HCV-related public-health and pharmaceutical-research officials. By
367 association, these participants expressed significant caution and hesitancy regarding the safety of
368 DAA treatments. Among these participants, some expressed skepticism that they might be
369 treated as “guinea pigs” for experimental HCV treatments, which, in some cases, contributed to
370 hesitancy to “take up” DAAs. For instance, while being prompted about DAAs by the
371 interviewer, one woman, who was receiving HCV treatment and who opted not to disclose her
372 sociodemographic data, described:

373 *[DAAs] cost so much money. Now, why is it 700 dollars a pill now? This is what I was*
374 *trying to find out, too: is this to cover the cost of the research before they can make the*
375 *generic pills? Or, how come it costs so much money right now? [. . .] Was it tested on*
376 *animals? [. . .] So, there was people that actually used this medication before people like*
377 *us got it? [. . .] I don't want to be a guinea pig. I mean, I know I am a guinea pig, kind of,*
378 *because...how long have people been taking this [DAA treatment] now? Two years?*
379 *(Participant_52).*

380 Nonetheless, amidst descriptions of learning about DAAs, several participants expressed
381 excitement and interest in novel HCV treatment regimens, which, as participants further
382 described, had often been presented to them (i.e., by peers, healthcare providers, and online
383 resources) as more tolerable and more effective than Interferon-based therapies. Often,
384 participants contrasted the perceived opportunities presented by DAA treatment regimens with
385 their previous experiences with and perceptions of Interferon-based therapies. In doing so,
386 participants frequently characterized negative attributes of Interferon-based therapies, including

387 their adverse side effects, prolonged treatment durations, and relative ineffectiveness when
388 compared to DAA treatments. For instance, one 47-year-old man, who had not yet been able to
389 access HCV treatment, described how:

390 *I know that there was a lot of side effects to it [Interferon-based treatments]. That's what I*
391 *heard about it. But the new one [DAAs] just kind of got me right off of it [referring to*
392 *symptoms of low energy]. A lot of people are finding themselves getting treated of it*
393 *[HCV], get cured of it, like, real quick. So yeah, the new one is way better than the old one,*
394 *as far as from what I hear (Participant_07).*

395 Concerns related to treatment side effects were further described by another participant who had
396 not yet been able to access HCV treatment:

397 *I was really scared because my friend did the [Interferon-based] treatment and he did not*
398 *look the same. I thought he was going to die. I thought, because he didn't look the same,*
399 *it looked really scary to me and I didn't even recognize him on the street. I thought he was*
400 *an old man. And he told me that the [Interferon-based] Hep C treatment wasn't very good.*
401 *[. . .] That scared me, and I said I wasn't going to do it [treatment], until now I heard*
402 *about the [DAA] treatments now, that they're a little bit... you don't get no side effects, so*
403 *I'm really looking forward to that, kind of thing (Participant _048; 42-year-old Two-Spirit*
404 *person).*

405 In considering participants' accounts of their histories with HCV and Interferon-based
406 treatments, the data highlighted how the implementation of DAAs represents both a pivotal

407 opportunity and a significant period of adjustment and uncertainty (e.g., related to treatment
408 eligibility, side effects, access, and potential outcomes) for PWID living with HCV. Specifically,
409 perceptions of DAA treatments and uptake of DAAs are deeply shaped by an array of
410 experiential factors, including individual, interpersonal (e.g., peer influences), and community
411 experiences with HCV and its treatments.

412 ***Substance use and the uptake of DAA treatments: “You don’t have to quit using now, but you***
413 ***can’t miss any doses once you start treatment”***

414 Almost all participants described the ways in which their substance use, including alcohol, and
415 related engagement with primary care and harm reduction services could be both a potential
416 barrier and/or facilitator to equitable DAA treatment access. For example, in recounting their
417 experiences across both Interferon- and DAA-based treatment eras, several participants
418 described instances in which their substance use had been characterized by health care providers
419 as a contraindication to HCV treatment eligibility, despite this not being a policy-mandated
420 contraindication. Indeed, the majority of participants described experiences wherein their
421 physicians had either explicitly withheld HCV treatment, or recommended that participants stop
422 or greatly reduce their substance use prior to accessing treatment. This denial of access to HCV
423 treatments was described by one participant:

424 *He [the physician] just wanted me to quit drinking [before I could start treatment], that’s*
425 *all. And I could see his point. Yeah, but to force me to quit drinking and then say you’ll*
426 *help me, that’s not right. I was living in squalor. I was couch surfing and everything and I*
427 *said I want to get my own place, and he wouldn’t help me. [. . .] Then I moved to [name of*

428 *another physician], and he got me right on it [DAA treatment], and then he cured me. So,*
429 *big difference of doctors, isn't it!?* (Participant_50; 52-year-old woman, completed HCV
430 *treatment*).

431 As illustrated above, several participants described how they responded to healthcare provider
432 gatekeeping of DAAs by seeking out more person-centered, equity-oriented, and power-balanced
433 sources of HCV care. Participants' accounts of navigating HCV services therefore highlighted
434 their resiliency and determination in finding service providers who did not reproduce systemic
435 barriers to safe, nonjudgmental, and high-quality healthcare. For example, participants described
436 how they valued healthcare providers whose approaches to HCV care were supportive and
437 grounded in harm reduction, as opposed to abstinence-based approaches. One 47-year-old man,
438 who had not yet been able to access HCV treatment, explained:

439 *[When I was diagnosed with HCV, six years ago], they [the healthcare providers] told me*
440 *that it is treatable, right? But you have to be willing to stop doing this and stop doing that.*
441 *I'm like, "I'm not willing to stop anything." Like, using heroin and crack and coke and all*
442 *of that B.S [bullshit]. But now that I cut myself down off of everything else, and I just stick*
443 *to one dope now, which is heroin, [my current physician] said, "You don't have to quit*
444 *using now. You could still take your pill while you're doing whatever it is you're doing.*
445 *But you can't miss any doses once you start," right?* (Participant_07).

446 Several participants postulated that being able to have transparent and supportive discussions
447 about their substance use facilitated open communication and the development of individualized
448 HCV treatment plans. Participants further described how they had planned and implemented

449 strategies for making HCV treatment more accessible and thereby more effective collaboratively
450 with their harm reduction-oriented healthcare providers. These plans frequently included the
451 integration of DAA treatments with other substance use-related services (e.g., OAT, HIV care,
452 outreach and in-reach harm reduction services). Here, while a subset of participants described
453 how their inclination to integrate DAAs with existing services stemmed from their concerns that
454 they might otherwise forget to take their doses (and thereby risk making the treatments
455 ineffective), the majority described how integrated services were simply a matter of convenience.
456 One participant described how DAAs were incorporated into her daily routine of acquiring OAT
457 (in her case, methadone) from her pharmacist:

458 *Well, you just give it [DAAs] to them at the pharmacy then. Mine [i.e., my treatment] was*
459 *taken every day at the pharmacy. It's what I asked of them [my physician], "When I go get*
460 *my methadone, just give it to me with that." You go and get your methadone every day,*
461 *right, if you're on methadone (Participant_24; 54-year-old woman, completed HCV*
462 *treatment).*

463 A subset of participants described how their treatment plans were made even more
464 comprehensive through the involvement of multiple supports and services, including peers,
465 partners, family, and housing and outreach workers. This support network was described as a
466 sort of "safety net," who, if needed, could remind participants to take their DAA doses.
467 Similarly, some participants described how logistical and organizational features of support
468 services (e.g., extended and weekend hours of operation, the potential to carry take-home doses
469 of DAAs from pharmacies) could serve to promote treatment accessibility and adherence. At

470 times when they were holistically supported, participants described feeling confident and
471 optimistic about their experiences with DAAs:

472 *I never forget [to take my DAAs], now. So, knock on wood. [Laughs]. Yeah. And, hopefully,*
473 *I will never forget, because forgetting is like a no-no. You cannot forget to take your*
474 *medication, because you have to take it every day. [. . .] That's what I've heard from my*
475 *doctor. So, I'm very vigilant now. I get up in the morning times, so I'm vigil[ant], so I*
476 *know what I'm doing. And I'm... I've already woken up. I've had my three cups of coffee,*
477 *and I'm open to go and see the pharmacist to get my medication. But forgetting, no, I can't*
478 *do that. And, plus, the pharmacy's aware of my situation, and knows that they have to*
479 *phone me at a certain time to remind me that I have to come in. And, I'm grateful for that.*
480 *Plus, I have the people at my apartment building [i.e., outreach workers] – they're aware*
481 *of my situation now, too. So, they come and do an eight o'clock wake-up call with me, to*
482 *remind me to take my medication. So, I've got it down (Participant_05; 53-year-old*
483 *woman, undergoing HCV treatment).*

484 Across these findings, participants described how various features of the healthcare system and
485 provider-patient interactions could reduce barriers and thereby promote opportunities for
486 equitable DAA access and uptake. In particular, participants described the diverging ways in
487 which their healthcare providers had framed their substance use as either a barrier or, through
488 harm reduction-oriented approaches, a potential avenue for engaging participants in HCV care,
489 including DAA treatments.

490 **Discussion**

491 The introduction of universal DAA coverage in many settings, including BC, Canada, has
492 transformed the HCV treatment landscape and has expanded opportunities to treat priority
493 populations, including PWID. Yet, as these findings highlight, significant social and structural
494 barriers to DAA treatments for PWID remain heretofore unaddressed. Drawing from
495 participants' extensive experiences with HCV and related healthcare system engagement,
496 findings from this study underscore how health and healthcare practices and policies, such as the
497 deprioritizing of HCV (e.g., due to being asymptomatic, healthcare provider gatekeeping) and
498 catalysts to care (e.g., symptom onset and burden, treatment for co-morbidities), shaped
499 experiences with and access to DAAs. More broadly, participants described how experiences
500 with evolving HCV treatments (e.g. [in]eligibility, side effects, skepticism) and overarching
501 approaches to care (e.g., abstinence-based, harm reduction-oriented, integrated) influenced
502 motivations and opportunities related to DAA treatment access.

503 Findings from this study indicate that HCV-related care trajectories and clinical encounters are
504 often fraught with uncertainty and misinformation. These findings identified how poor
505 healthcare-provider engagement and support can lead to gaps in people's knowledge about HCV,
506 particularly with regard to potential consequences (e.g., symptoms, impacts on quality of life), as
507 well as its treatment. Furthermore, these data underscore the extent to which stigmatizing and
508 dehumanizing approaches to care, characterized by a lack empathy and respect, also prevented
509 opportunities to acquire HCV-related information. The pronounced provider-client power
510 imbalances as the context within which information gaps are occurring represent significant
511 deterrents to the delivery of good care, as HCV illness- and treatment-related knowledge deficits

512 represent key barriers to DAA treatment uptake (25, 56). To strengthen access to equitable
513 healthcare information and treatment, it has been extensively argued that clinicians must
514 continuously attend to power differentials and meaningfully engage clients as active participatns
515 in care (57, 58). Findings from this study indicate that clinicians involved in HCV care must
516 adopt equity-oriented and history-informed approaches that recognize and address the common
517 concerns PWID may have related to HCV treatments (e.g., previous adverse experiences with
518 Interferon-based therapies, concerns about DAA treatment side effects, confusion related to
519 treatment eligibility). Unfortunately, however, previous research has indicated that specialist and
520 primary care providers often feel they are inadequately trained to provide care that aligns with
521 equity-oriented approaches, and are therefore insufficiently prepared to provide HCV and
522 substance use-related care (59, 60). To comprehensively address this provider- and patient-level
523 knowledge gap, we call for expanded advocacy and educational efforts to promote clinician
524 capacity to provide equitable and effective care to PWID living with HCV. Indeed, these
525 findings identify the extent to which healthcare providers need to better mitigate unequal
526 provider-client power relations and the corresponding impacts on health and healthcare access
527 for PWID.

528 Relatedly, these findings provide a critical glimpse into how structural barriers, including
529 substance use stigma, restrict opportunities for DAA treatment uptake among PWID. For
530 example, participants in the current study generally described how HCV care had tended to be
531 deprioritized by healthcare providers on the basis of active substance use. In addition, findings
532 from this study surfaced other clinical experiences in which guiding ethical principles of care
533 were not followed (e.g., clinicians coldly framing HCV/HIV as a “death sentence” at the time of
534 diagnosis). In considering these challenges, findings from this study further illustrate that the

535 remaining barriers to HCV care identified herein (e.g., misinformation, gatekeeping) are
536 entwined with stigmatization and mistreatment, which are well-documented determinants of
537 HCV-related and other health and social inequities among PWID (8, 27, 30, 61-64). These
538 findings are consistent with previous research suggesting that PWID, including those living with
539 HCV, tend to be treated as passive recipients of care, not meaningfully consulted in discussions
540 surrounding their health and wellbeing, and labelled and stigmatized within healthcare settings –
541 and that their living circumstances (e.g., related to: substance use, income, housing) are often
542 framed as contraindications to care, rather than carefully considered within person-centered care
543 strategies/plans (7, 65-68). Findings from this study therefore underscore the need for healthcare
544 providers – particularly, those with prescriptive authorities for DAAs (e.g., physicians, nurse
545 practitioners) – to treat PWID according to fundamental ethical principles (e.g., compassion,
546 dignity, respect for persons) underpinning clinician codes of ethics for socially just clinical
547 practice (e.g., 69, 70). Further, these findings highlight the importance of facilitating access to
548 HCV care while taking seriously the need for larger scale system-level and structural changes
549 and “upstream” policy responses (e.g., safe housing for everyone).

550 Acknowledging the colonial context in BC, the perspectives of Indigenous Peoples in this study
551 sample, and the harmful clinical encounters described herein, findings from this study also align
552 with a growing body of Canadian and international empirical evidence highlighting how HCV-
553 affected Indigenous Peoples are distinctly and inequitably mistreated within healthcare settings
554 (26, 71-73). For Indigenous Peoples, including those who use substances and who face substance
555 use stigma, historical and ongoing contexts of systemic racism and colonialism are known to
556 create barriers to safe, effective, and timely healthcare (57, 74). To mitigate ongoing health
557 inequities, including those stemming from structural barriers to clinical care, HCV treatment

558 providers must take meaningful action to create and maintain relationships that are safe and
559 trauma- and history-informed, and that promote equitable access to care, information, and
560 treatment for Indigenous and other PWID living with HCV. Here, there is a critical need for
561 culturally safe approaches that foreground social justice goals in HCV care provision and that
562 include clinician “critical self-reflection of biases, acknowledgement of power imbalances, and
563 conviction to uphold Indigenous [and non-Indigenous] patient self-determination at every step of
564 the HCV cascade of care” (26p60), along with structural interventions to redress inequities
565 related to HCV treatment, care and outcomes.

566 To further optimize DAA treatment experiences among PWID, these findings also indicate the
567 need for system-level changes, including the provision of low-barrier, integrated, and peer-led
568 services. For example, participants emphasized how their relationships with harm reduction-
569 oriented healthcare providers facilitated opportunities to develop comprehensive HCV treatment
570 plans, which included linking DAAs with existing services that many PWID already access – the
571 feasibility and effectiveness of which has documented elsewhere, such as in the contexts of HIV
572 care (75, 76) and OAT provision (18, 77-81). In addition, participants described how efforts from
573 community members and housing-support workers to facilitate and uphold DAA treatments
574 plans (e.g., through “check-ins” and reminders to take medications) further contributed to the
575 consistent and successful uptake of DAA treatments. The importance of peer and social supports
576 was further echoed in participants’ descriptions of community members as trusted sources of
577 knowledge who essentially vouched for DAAs, such as by alleviating potential concerns (e.g.,
578 related to side effects and eligibility) and by substantiating the safety and effectiveness of novel
579 treatments. These findings align with recent research underscoring the influence of peers (i.e.,
580 other PWID with lived experience of HCV) on health seeking behaviours and the spread of

581 health information, particularly in regard to DAA treatments (20, 82-84). To further promote
582 linkages to HCV care and the equitable scale-up of DAAs among PWID, additional public health
583 efforts to implement and optimize peer-driven and network-based interventions are warranted.

584 This study has several strengths and limitations. The large and diverse sample of PWID who
585 have lived experience with HCV yielded highly-contextualized descriptions of HCV care across
586 both Interferon- and DAA-based treatment eras. Nevertheless, we acknowledge that the
587 perspectives of other stakeholders in HCV care (e.g., peers, family members, clinicians,
588 policymakers) were beyond the scope of this research. In addition, given limitations in the study
589 design and the specificity of the research questions, we did not focus on investigating how
590 perceptions and experiences with DAAs vary across and within subpopulations of PWID (e.g.,
591 across axes of ethnocultural identity, sexuality, gender identity, and HIV serostatus; across
592 participants' "types" and contexts of substance use). While this study offered some critical
593 analysis into how features of healthcare and social environments shape DAA uptake for PWID,
594 further research is needed to explicate ways in which access to DAA treatment is embedded
595 within intersecting socio-structural contexts.

596 **Conclusion**

597 The introduction of novel DAA treatments and the subsequent removal of regulatory barriers to
598 access these medications in many settings, including BC, Canada, has renewed optimism for
599 expanding HCV treatment efforts. To further promote the equitable scale-up of DAAs among
600 PWID, comprehensive approaches that account for the socio-structural and historical factors that
601 have influenced HCV-related health and healthcare access for this population are required.

602 Findings from this study underscore several healthcare and service delivery transformations that
603 are required to meaningfully facilitate PWID’s access to DAA treatments, including the scale-up
604 of integrated services and peer- and community-based interventions and supports, alongside the
605 championing of equity-oriented clinician approaches to care that are attentive to power
606 differentials and the social contexts of people’s lives, culturally safe and non-stigmatizing, and
607 grounded in harm reduction.

608 **Declarations**

609 *Ethics approval and consent to participate*

610 Ethics approval for this study was obtained from the University of British Columbia Behavioural
611 Research Ethics Board (#H16-02943). Participants provided written informed consent.

612 *Consent for publication*

613 Not applicable.

614 *Availability of data and materials*

615 The data analyzed during the current study are not publicly available because they contain
616 information that could compromise research participant privacy and consent, but are available
617 from the corresponding author on reasonable request.

618 *Competing interests*

619 The authors declare that they have no competing interests.

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625 ***Authors' contributions***

626 TG led the analysis of data and conceptualized, wrote, and revised the manuscript. RK
627 conceptualized the study, obtained study funding, contributed to data collection and analysis, and
628 provided mentorship in writing this manuscript. HB and AJB contributed to data analysis and
629 provided mentorship in conceptualizing, writing, and revising the manuscript. PH led data
630 collection and contributed to data analysis and manuscript revision. LT contributed to data
631 analysis and offered critical revisions to the manuscript. All authors read and approved the final
632 manuscript.

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636 ***List of abbreviations***

637 BC: British Columbia; DAA: direct-acting antiviral; HCV: hepatitis C virus; HIV: human
638 immunodeficiency virus; PWID: people who inject drugs; OAT: opioid agonist therapy.

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