

# **Inequalities in bariatric surgery in Australia: findings from 49,364 obese participants in a prospective cohort study**

**Authors: Rosemary J. Korda, Grace Joshy, Louisa R Jorm, James R.G. Butler, Emily Banks**

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## **Abstract**

**Objectives:** To investigate variation, and quantify socioeconomic inequalities, in receipt of primary bariatric surgery in an obese population.

**Design, setting and participants:** Prospective population-based cohort study of 49,364 individuals aged 45-74 with body mass index (BMI)  $\geq 30 \text{ kg/m}^2$ , with questionnaire (2006-09) linked to hospital and death data to July 2010. Sample drawn from the 45 and Up Study (~10% of NSW population aged  $\geq 45$  included, response rate ~18%).

**Main outcome measures:** Rates of bariatric surgery and adjusted rate ratios (RR) in relation to health and sociodemographic characteristics.

**Results:** Over 111,757 person-years (py) of follow-up, 312 participants underwent bariatric surgery, a rate of 27.92/10,000 py (95%CI: 24.91-31.19). Rates were highest in women, people living in major cities and those with diabetes, and increased significantly with increasing body-mass-index and number of chronic health conditions. Adjusted RRs were: 5.27 (3.18-8.73) for annual household-income  $\geq \$70,000$  versus  $< \$20,000$ ; and 4.01 (2.41-6.67) for those living in areas in the least- versus most-disadvantaged quintile. Private health insurance (PHI) coverage (age-sex adjusted RR: 9.25; 5.70-15.00) partially explained the observed socioeconomic inequalities.

**Conclusions:** Bariatric surgery has been shown to be cost-effective in treating severe obesity and associated illnesses. While bariatric surgery rates in Australia are higher in those with health problems, large socioeconomic inequalities are apparent. Our findings suggest these procedures are largely available to those who can afford PHI and associated out-of-pocket costs, with poor access in populations who are most in need. Continuing inequalities in access are likely to exacerbate existing inequalities in obesity and related health problems.

Submitted Version

## Background

Obesity is a major public health challenge for Australia. In the 2007-08 National Health Survey, 24% of Australian adults were obese and a further 37% overweight.<sup>1</sup> Obesity rates are growing<sup>2</sup> and the continuing increase in severe obesity<sup>3</sup> is of particular concern. It is a major risk factor for type 2 diabetes and a range of other chronic diseases, including cardiovascular, digestive and musculoskeletal disorders,<sup>4</sup> as well as overall mortality.<sup>5</sup>

Clinical guidelines recommend bariatric surgery for those with a body mass index (BMI)  $>40\text{kg/m}^2$ , or BMI  $>35\text{kg/m}^2$  and comorbidities, after non-surgical options have failed.<sup>6,7</sup> This surgery is more effective than non-surgical interventions for the treatment of severe obesity and is cost-effective. In addition to substantial weight loss, bariatric surgery can lead to improvements in comorbidities including lipid abnormality, obstructive sleep apnoea and joint disease.<sup>8-11</sup> Of particular note is its effectiveness in treating type 2 diabetes,<sup>12,13</sup> with one recent trial showing remission rates of 75-95% within 2 years following surgery.<sup>13</sup>

Bariatric surgery procedures have been listed on the Medicare Benefits Schedule (MBS) since 1992. Admissions for this surgery rose from 535 to around 17,000 between 1998-99 and 2007-08.<sup>14</sup> Notably, most of this surgery is carried out in private hospitals and incurs substantial out-of-pocket costs,<sup>14</sup> while obesity is concentrated among those of lower socioeconomic status (SES).<sup>15</sup> This suggests that groups that are most likely to need surgery are the least likely to receive it. Despite equity concerns however,<sup>16</sup> there are no published data to date in Australia on the extent of variation in bariatric surgery by health status, SES and other key factors, among those potentially eligible for the procedure. In this study, we investigate variation in primary bariatric surgery rates in an obese population, quantify socioeconomic inequalities in rates of surgery and examine the extent to which holding private health insurance explains these inequalities.

## Methods

We used data from the 45 and Up Study, a cohort study involving 266,848 men and women aged 45 years and over from New South Wales (NSW). Study participants were randomly sampled from the Medicare enrolment database. More than 10% of the NSW population aged  $\geq 45$  years is included in the cohort (response rate  $\sim 18\%$ ).<sup>17</sup> Participants completed a baseline questionnaire (Jan 2006 – April 2009) at recruitment and gave signed consent for follow-up, including linkage to routine health databases. The Study is described in detail elsewhere,<sup>17</sup> and questionnaires can be viewed at <http://www.45andup.org.au>.

Questionnaire data were linked to death data from the NSW Registry of Births, Deaths and Marriages (to Jun 2010) and to hospital data from the NSW Admitted Patient Data Collection (APDC, Jul 2000 – Jun 2010). The NSW APDC includes records of all hospitalisations in NSW, including reasons for admission (coded using ICD-10-AM) and procedures received (coded using the Australian Classification of Health Interventions).<sup>18</sup> Data were linked probabilistically by the Centre for Health Record Linkage (<http://www.cherel.org.au>).

The current study included only participants who were obese ( $\text{BMI} \geq 30 \text{ kg/m}^2$ ), with BMI calculated from weight and height as self-reported on the questionnaire. We excluded anyone who had had previous bariatric surgery recorded in the APDC (i.e. between July 2000 and recruitment). The outcome was incident primary bariatric surgery for obesity, defined as the first bariatric surgery procedure recorded after recruitment, identified from the procedure fields in the APDC. Procedures included adjustable gastric banding or gastroplasty [procedure code 30511] or gastric bypass [30512]. Partial gastrectomy [30518] may also be used for the treatment of obesity, but we did not include this as it is mostly used for other indications and our sample included only two such procedures. Participants were followed from the date recruitment to either the date of the bariatric surgery admission, death, or June 30 2010, whichever occurred first.

Data on participant characteristics were based on self-reported data from the questionnaire. Variables were categorised as shown in Table 1. Socioeconomic variables included annual pre-tax household income, education and area-level disadvantage. Area-level disadvantage was based on the Socio-Economic Indexes for Areas (SEIFA) Index of Relative Socioeconomic Disadvantage (IRSD),<sup>19</sup> derived from postcode of residence and categorised into quintiles using cut-off scores from the 2006 Australian census. Other variables included: PHI (including holders of a Department of Veteran Affairs (DVA) cards), BMI, sex, age group, area of residence (based on the Accessibility/Remoteness Index of Australia Plus,<sup>20</sup> derived from postcode), marital status, country of birth, self-rated health, diabetes (ever diagnosed by a doctor), number of other doctor-diagnosed chronic conditions, smoking, tertile of physical activity (based on number of weekly sessions of walking, moderate and vigorous activity, weighted for intensity) and alcohol intake.

Negative binomial regression was used to estimate bariatric surgery rates according to baseline characteristics and to model inequality estimates. We used separate multivariable regression models for the two main SES variables of interest—household income and area-level disadvantage. We calculated rate ratios (RR) for each socioeconomic level using the lowest level as the reference group, adjusting for all other non-SES variables (Model 1). In Model 2 we added PHI. We then quantified the extent to which PHI explained any socioeconomic variation in bariatric surgery rates by testing for equality of the SES coefficients across Models 1 and 2. Stata version 12.1 was used for all analyses.

Ethics approval for this project was obtained from the NSW Population and Health Services Research Ethics Committee and the Australian National University Human Research Ethics Committee.

## Results

Survey and linked hospital and death data were available for 266,724 of the 266,848 current participants in the 45 and Up Study. After excluding those who had BMI data missing (n=20,262, 7.60%) and those who had had bariatric surgery prior to baseline (n=17), there were 55,038 (22.33%) with BMI  $\geq 30\text{kg/m}^2$  who were eligible for this study. As no-one over the age of 74 in this sample underwent bariatric surgery in the follow-up period, we confined our analysis to those aged  $<75$  years (n=49,364).

A total of 312 participants underwent surgery over 111,757 person-years (py) of follow-up (mean=2.26, SD=0.86), a rate of 27.92 (95% CI: 24.91-31.19) per 10,000 py. Of these, only one was treated as a public patient and four as DVA patients, with the remainder private patients. The mean BMI (at baseline) of those undergoing surgery was  $39.15\text{kg/m}^2$ . The principal diagnosis was recorded as obesity (ICD-10 code E66) in 261 cases (84%) and as diabetes (E10 or E11) in 45 (14%). Only 6/312 procedures were bypass procedures, the remaining 98% being for gastric banding or gastroplasty.

Descriptive data showing bariatric surgery rates in relation to participant baseline characteristics are shown in Table 1. Rates of surgery increased with increasing BMI, ranging from 3.72 per 10,000 py (BMI 30-<32.5  $\text{kg/m}^2$ ) to 227.77 per 10,000 py (BMI 45-50  $\text{kg/m}^2$ ). Rates varied significantly in relation to the all participant characteristics, except country of birth and marital status ( $p>0.05$ ). Higher rates were associated with being female, younger, a resident in a major city, in poorer health, a non-smoker, a non-drinker, and in the lowest tertile of physical activity.

With regard to SES, unadjusted rates (Table 1 and Figure 1) and age-sex adjusted RRs (Table 1) show rates were higher among those who were relatively advantaged. There was a clear socioeconomic gradient with household income; for IRSD, the most notable difference was

between the top quintile (low disadvantage) and the other quintiles; with education, rates were highest amongst those with post-school (non-trade) qualifications and lowest in those with no qualifications; and rates were much higher among those with PHI than among those without.

The degree of socioeconomic inequality in bariatric surgery rates, after adjusting for all variables except PHI (Model 1), was substantial (Table 2). The adjusted RRs for household income show a clear gradient, with those in the highest bracket ( $\geq \$70,000$ ) 5 times more likely (RR=5.27; 3.18-8.73) to undergo surgery compared to those in the lowest bracket ( $< \$20,000$ ). After adjusting for PHI (Model 2), the RRs fell 35 to 62% ( $p < 0.001$  for all income levels), confirming that PHI explained a substantial proportion of income-related inequality. Nevertheless, significant inequality remained, with those in the highest income bracket still being almost twice as likely to receive bariatric surgery as those in the lowest bracket (RR=1.98; 1.15-3.41). When income and education were jointly modelled, this made virtually no difference to the income inequality estimates while education inequality estimates were not significant in either Model 1 or 2 (results not shown).

Rates of surgery by IRSD quintile show those living in areas of least disadvantage were 4 times more likely to undergo surgery than those in living in the most disadvantaged areas (RR: 4.01; 2.41-6.67), after taking into account potential confounding factors. After adjusting for PHI, the RR for each quintile of disadvantage decreased 12 to 40% ( $p < 0.001$  for all quintiles). However significant inequality remained, with those in the least disadvantaged areas still being over twice as likely to receive bariatric surgery than those in the most disadvantaged areas (RR: 2.41; 1.48-3.93).

## Discussion

There is significant inequality in the receipt of bariatric surgery among obese people in Australia, with the likelihood of surgery increasing with increasing SES. Even when measured using an area-level measure of disadvantage, and adjusting for remoteness and other factors, the magnitude of inequality is substantial. Of particular note is the five-fold higher surgery rates in those with household incomes  $\geq \$70,000$  compared to those with household incomes of  $< \$20,000$ . Private health insurance accounted for some, but not all, of the observed SES inequalities. While people with higher education qualifications were twice as likely to receive surgery as those with no qualifications, much of this was due to the association between education and income.

Our inequality findings differ from a previous report, which showed bariatric surgery rates in the middle SES quintile of area disadvantage were more than double those of any other SES quintile;<sup>14</sup> however this report was based on the whole population, not the obese population, and hence did not take into account 'need' for surgery. Our findings that bariatric surgery is more common amongst women, mid-age rather than older people, and amongst those living in major cities are consistent with previous reports.<sup>14</sup> In addition, the variation in rates we found in relation to health characteristics was in keeping with the indications for surgery,<sup>7</sup> i.e. the likelihood of surgery increased with increasing BMI, and was greater among those with poor health, diabetes and other chronic conditions. We also found current smokers were less likely to undergo surgery than non-smokers.

Strengths of this study include: its grounding in a very large population-based cohort, allowing a relatively rare event to be examined; investigation of a large range of factors not recorded in routine data; and use of linked administrative records, allowing virtually complete, and objective, ascertainment of surgery. A limitation is that BMI was based on self-reported weight and height. However, a validation study involving participants in the 45 and Up Study found that the mean difference between self-reported and measured BMI was not



large (on average  $-0.74\text{kg/m}^2$ ), with sensitivity for classifying obesity of 79%, and importantly, specificity of 99%.<sup>21</sup> Although the relatively low response rate and the potential for a ‘healthy cohort effect’ mean that the estimates of surgery rates in our sample may be different to those of the general population, relative comparisons of surgery rates among groups within the cohort remain valid.<sup>22, 23</sup> Some caution must be applied, however, in generalising the size of the inequality estimates to younger ages, and beyond NSW, which has the highest proportion of private hospital weight-loss procedures of all Australian jurisdictions.<sup>14</sup>

There are many potential barriers to bariatric surgery, apart from cost, that may underlie variations in receipt of surgery. These include patients’ preferences and clinical decisions regarding the suitability of patients for surgery, and possibly views by some that bariatric surgery is largely cosmetic. However, the observed SES-related inequality in rates of surgery is also likely to reflect system-wide issues, including the mix of public and private care, out-of-pocket costs, limited resources and cost-sharing between state and federal governments. Moreover, the current situation is that there is very limited availability of bariatric surgery in public hospitals, while Medicare subsidises bariatric surgery and post-surgical care for private patients, effectively restricting access to people with PHI and who can afford to pay what are usually large associated out-of-pocket costs.

## **Conclusion**

The House of Representatives Standing Committee on Health and Ageing inquiry into obesity recommended in 2009 that equity in access be ensured by publicly funding bariatric surgery.<sup>24</sup>

Our findings suggest that bariatric surgery, an MBS-listed procedure, is currently largely available only to those who can afford PHI and the associated out-of-pocket costs, with poor access to these cost-effective procedures in the section of the population who are most in need. Continuing inequity in access is likely to exacerbate existing inequalities in obesity and related health problems. However, if bariatric surgery came to be less discretionary over time,

particularly for the treatment of type 2 diabetes,<sup>25</sup> such inequalities could decline. While resource issues may limit the total number of patients that can undergo bariatric surgery, there is scope to consider how the distribution of limited supply can be improved, and the potential savings from increasing supply and improving health outcomes.

Submitted Version

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**Table 1. Number of participants (n) and primary bariatric procedures (events) /person years (py) of follow-up, surgery rates (per 10,000 py) and rate ratios adjusted for age and sex, according to participant characteristics at baseline**

| Characteristics                 | n      | Events/py   | Rate   | Rate ratio<br>(95% CI) |
|---------------------------------|--------|-------------|--------|------------------------|
| <b>Total sample</b>             | 49,364 | 312/111,757 | 27.92  | —                      |
| <b>BMI</b>                      |        |             |        |                        |
| 30-<32.5                        | 22,389 | 19/51,094   | 3.72   | 1.00                   |
| 32.5-<35                        | 12,356 | 51/27,932   | 18.26  | 4.78 (2.80-8.16)       |
| 35-<37.5                        | 6,830  | 62/15,371   | 40.34  | 10.3 (6.11-17.5)       |
| 37.5-<40                        | 3,554  | 53/7,998    | 66.27  | 16.6 (9.58-28.7)       |
| 40-<42.5                        | 2,119  | 47/4,695    | 100.11 | 25.7 (14.3-46.0)       |
| 42.5-<45                        | 1,133  | 31/2,517    | 123.18 | 31.3 (16.6-59.1)       |
| 45-50                           | 983    | 49/2,152    | 227.77 | 64.3 (33.4-123.)       |
| <b>Sex</b>                      |        |             |        |                        |
| Male                            | 22,254 | 71/50,597   | 14.03  | 1.00                   |
| Female                          | 27,110 | 241/61,160  | 39.41  | 2.72 (2.04-3.62)       |
| <b>Age group</b>                |        |             |        |                        |
| 45-49                           | 7,390  | 69/16,701   | 41.32  | 1.00                   |
| 50-54                           | 9,493  | 105/21,653  | 48.49  | 1.18 (0.87-1.61)       |
| 55-59                           | 10,753 | 60/24,483   | 24.51  | 0.60 (0.43-0.86)       |
| 60-64                           | 9,529  | 56/21,501   | 26.05  | 0.66 (0.46-0.94)       |
| 65-69                           | 7,503  | 17/16,847   | 10.09  | 0.25 (0.15-0.44)       |
| 70-74                           | 4,696  | 5/10,575    | 4.73   | 0.12 (0.05-0.30)       |
| <b>Area of Residence</b>        |        |             |        |                        |
| Major city                      | 19,628 | 157/44,208  | 35.51  | 1.00                   |
| Inner regional                  | 18,639 | 108/42,122  | 25.46  | 0.72 (0.56-0.92)       |
| More remote                     | 11,058 | 46/25,342   | 18.15  | 0.50 (0.36-0.70)       |
| <b>Country of birth</b>         |        |             |        |                        |
| Australia/NZ                    | 40,296 | 263/91,127  | 28.86  | 1.00                   |
| Other                           | 8,656  | 48/19,628   | 24.46  | 0.95 (0.69-1.30)       |
| <b>Marital status</b>           |        |             |        |                        |
| Not married                     | 11,444 | 61/25,899   | 23.55  | 1.00                   |
| Married/defacto                 | 37,625 | 251/85,288  | 29.43  | 1.33 (0.99-1.78)       |
| <b>Self-rated health</b>        |        |             |        |                        |
| Excellent/V.Good/Good           | 37,619 | 205/85,548  | 23.96  | 1.00                   |
| Fair/Poor                       | 10,172 | 101/22,726  | 44.44  | 2.08 (1.58-2.74)       |
| <b>Diabetes</b>                 |        |             |        |                        |
| No                              | 41,603 | 229/94,277  | 24.29  | 1.00                   |
| Yes                             | 7,761  | 83/17,481   | 47.48  | 2.88 (2.04-4.06)       |
| <b>Other chronic conditions</b> |        |             |        |                        |

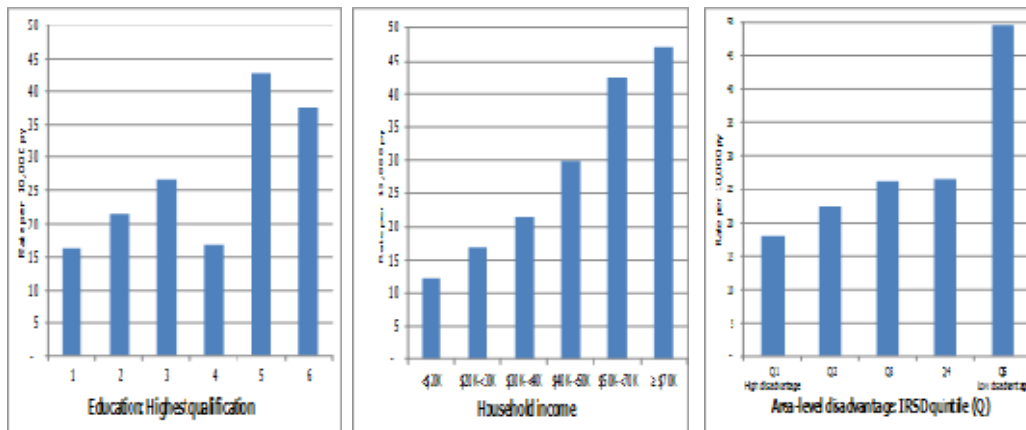
|                                                   |        |            |       |                   |
|---------------------------------------------------|--------|------------|-------|-------------------|
| None                                              | 14,553 | 75/33,373  | 22.47 | 1.00              |
| One                                               | 19,583 | 134/44,518 | 30.10 | 1.55 (1.16-2.06)  |
| Two                                               | 10,347 | 69/23,236  | 29.70 | 1.66 (1.17-2.36)  |
| Three or more                                     | 4,881  | 34/10,631  | 31.98 | 1.91 (1.26-2.91)  |
| <b>Smoking</b>                                    |        |            |       |                   |
| Current smoker                                    | 3,722  | 12/8,530   | 14.07 | 1.00              |
| Past smoker                                       | 20,290 | 135/45,999 | 29.35 | 2.82 (1.53-5.20)  |
| Never smoker                                      | 25,212 | 165/56,895 | 29.00 | 2.30 (1.25-4.21)  |
| <b>Physical activity</b>                          |        |            |       |                   |
| 1 <sup>st</sup> tertile (low)                     | 19,077 | 155/42,837 | 36.18 | 1.00              |
| 2 <sup>nd</sup> tertile                           | 15,988 | 85/36,426  | 23.34 | 0.60 (0.44-0.81)  |
| 3 <sup>rd</sup> tertile (high)                    | 13,454 | 69/30,694  | 22.48 | 0.61 (0.44-0.84)  |
| <b>Alcohol (drinks per week)</b>                  |        |            |       |                   |
| None                                              | 18,469 | 153/41,612 | 36.77 | 1.00              |
| >0-<15                                            | 22,688 | 130/51,303 | 25.34 | 0.74 (0.57-0.96)  |
| 15 plus                                           | 7,308  | 25/16,653  | 15.01 | 0.61 (0.38-0.97)  |
| <b>Socioeconomic variables</b>                    |        |            |       |                   |
| <b>Household Income</b>                           |        |            |       |                   |
| <\$20,000                                         | 9,636  | 27/22,142  | 12.19 | 1.00              |
| \$20,000-<30,000                                  | 4,619  | 18/10,641  | 16.92 | 1.31 (0.72-2.39)  |
| \$30,000-<40,000                                  | 3,894  | 19/8,831   | 21.52 | 1.58 (0.87-2.85)  |
| \$40,000-<50,000                                  | 3,701  | 25/8,352   | 29.94 | 2.09 (1.20-3.62)  |
| \$50,000-<70,000                                  | 5,753  | 55/12,998  | 42.32 | 2.86 (1.78-4.58)  |
| ≥ \$70,000                                        | 11,904 | 123/26,134 | 47.07 | 3.25 (2.11-5.03)  |
| Declined to answer/missing                        | 9,857  | 45/22,662  | 19.9  | 1.37 (0.85-2.22)  |
| <b>Education</b>                                  |        |            |       |                   |
| No qualifications                                 | 6,653  | 25/15,293  | 16.35 | 1.00              |
| Intermediate certificate                          | 11,792 | 58/26,916  | 21.55 | 1.14 (0.71-1.82)  |
| Higher school certificate                         | 4,640  | 28/10,470  | 26.74 | 1.42 (0.82-2.44)  |
| Trade/apprenticeship                              | 5,794  | 22/13,113  | 16.78 | 1.41 (0.79-2.53)  |
| Certificate/diploma                               | 10,436 | 100/23,414 | 42.71 | 2.11 (1.36-3.28)  |
| University degree                                 | 9,411  | 79/21,079  | 37.48 | 1.89 (1.20-2.97)  |
| <b>Area-level disadvantage (IRSD quintile, Q)</b> |        |            |       |                   |
| Q1 (high disadvantage)                            | 8,558  | 35/19,503  | 17.95 | 1.00              |
| Q2                                                | 14,128 | 72/32,055  | 22.46 | 1.28 (0.85-1.94)  |
| Q3                                                | 12,163 | 73/27,704  | 26.35 | 1.47 (0.97-2.23)  |
| Q4                                                | 5,858  | 35/13,163  | 26.59 | 1.45 (0.89-2.37)  |
| Q5 (low disadvantage)                             | 8,615  | 95/19,242  | 49.37 | 2.88 (1.89-4.39)  |
| <b>Private health insurance</b>                   |        |            |       |                   |
| No                                                | 18,590 | 19/42,528  | 4.47  | 1.00              |
| Yes                                               | 30,774 | 293/69,229 | 42.32 | 9.25 (5.70-15.00) |

**Table 2. Adjusted rate ratios (RR) for bariatric surgery in relation household income and area-level disadvantage, without (Model 1) and with (Model 2) adjustment for private health insurance (PHI).**

|                                                      | <b>Model 1</b>     | <b>Model 2</b>     |
|------------------------------------------------------|--------------------|--------------------|
|                                                      | <b>RR (95% CI)</b> | <b>RR (95% CI)</b> |
| <b>Household income</b>                              |                    |                    |
| <\$20,000                                            | 1.00               | 1.00               |
| \$20,000-<30,000                                     | 1.72 (0.92-3.25)   | 1.12 (0.58-2.19)   |
| \$30,000-<40,000                                     | 2.42 (1.28-4.60)   | 1.25 (0.65-2.44)   |
| \$40,000-<50,000                                     | 3.06 (1.69-5.55)   | 1.61 (0.85-3.05)   |
| \$50,000-<70,000                                     | 4.49 (2.59-7.79)   | 1.98 (1.12-3.51)   |
| ≥ \$70,000                                           | 5.27 (3.18-8.73)   | 1.98 (1.15-3.41)   |
| <b>PHI</b>                                           |                    |                    |
| No                                                   | –                  | 1.00               |
| Yes                                                  | –                  | 9.53 (5.08-17.89)  |
| <b>Area-level disadvantage, by IRSD quintile (Q)</b> |                    |                    |
| Q1<br>(high disadvantage)                            | 1.00               | 1.00               |
| Q2                                                   | 1.47 (0.93-2.32)   | 1.29 (0.82-2.03)   |
| Q3                                                   | 1.56 (0.98-2.50)   | 1.22 (0.77-1.93)   |
| Q4                                                   | 1.60 (0.89-2.86)   | 1.10 (0.62-1.95)   |
| Q5<br>(low disadvantage)                             | 4.01 (2.41-6.67)   | 2.41(1.48-3.93)    |
| <b>PHI</b>                                           |                    |                    |
| No                                                   | –                  | 1.00               |
| Yes                                                  | –                  | 13.24 (7.78-22.52) |

Notes. 1. Household income and area-level disadvantage are modelled separately. All models adjusted for BMI, sex, age, region of residence, country of birth, marital status self-rated health, diabetes, other chronic conditions, smoking, alcohol consumption and physical activity. 2. Test for heterogeneity between RRs in Model 1 and Model 2:  $p < 0.001$  at every SES level.





**Figure 1. Rates of bariatric surgery in relation to household income, education and area-level disadvantage**

Notes: 1. Highest qualification: 1=No qualifications; 2= Intermediate certificate; 3= Higher school certificate; 4=Trade/apprenticeship; 5=Certificate/diploma; 6= University degree. 2. IRSD is the Index of Relative Socioeconomic Disadvantage.