

Prescriptive variability of drugs by general practitioners

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1 **Abstract**

2 Prescription drug spending is growing faster than any other sector of healthcare.
3 However, very little is known about patterns of prescribing and cost of prescribing
4 between general practices. In this study, we examined variation in prescription rates
5 and prescription costs through time for 55 GP surgeries in Northern Ireland Western
6 Health and Social Care Trust. Temporal changes in variability of prescribing rates and
7 costs were assessed using the Mann–Kendall test. Outlier practices contributing to
8 between practice variation in prescribing rates were identified with the interquartile
9 range outlier detection method. The relationship between rates and cost of prescribing
10 was explored with Spearman's statistics. The differences in variability and mean
11 number of prescribing rates associated with the practice setting and socioeconomic
12 deprivation were tested using t-test and *F*-test, respectively. The largest between-
13 practice difference in prescribing rates was observed for Apr-Jun 2015, with the
14 number of prescriptions ranging from 3.34 to 8.36 per patient. We showed that
15 practices with outlier prescribing rates greatly contributed to between-practice
16 variability. The largest difference in prescribing costs was reported for Apr-Jun 2014,
17 with the prescription cost per patient ranging from £26.4 to £64.5. In addition, the
18 temporal changes in variability of prescribing rates and costs were shown to undergo
19 an upward trend. We demonstrated that practice setting and socio-economic
20 deprivation accounted for some of the between-practice variation in prescribing. Rural
21 practices had higher between practice variability than urban practices at all time points.
22 Practices situated in more deprived areas had higher prescribing rates but lower
23 variability than those located in less deprived areas. Further analysis is recommended
24 to assess if variation in prescribing can be explained by demographic characteristics
25 of patient population and practice features. Identification of other factors contributing

26 to prescribing variability can help us better address potential inappropriateness of
27 prescribing.

28 **Introduction**

29 In recent years, NHS spending on drugs has substantially risen, from £13.0 billion in
30 2010/11 to £16.8 billion in 2015/16 [1]. Most of the expenditure on prescribed
31 medicines is incurred in primary care and closely related to the steadily growing
32 workload of general practitioners (GPs) [1]. In England, patient consultations with GPs
33 increased by 16% in the period 2007-14 [2] whereas in Northern Ireland, the GPs
34 workload grew by 22% over the same period [3]. In addition, there has been an
35 approximately 60% increase in prescription items dispensed from 2005 to 2014 in
36 Northern Ireland [3] and a corresponding 50.4% rise in the number of prescriptions
37 dispensed in England [4].

38 The National Audit Office report found that substantial savings for the NHS could be
39 achieved by improving the overall quality and cost-effectiveness of prescribing [5].
40 Accordingly, a lot of interest has been focused on variation in prescribing practice as
41 a potential source to save money [5,6]. Despite a wealth of literature on prescribing
42 patterns [5,7,8,9], there is a lack of full understanding of factors that contribute to
43 between-practice differences in prescribing. Among key influences upon prescribing
44 variation, the demographic and socio-economic characteristics of patient population
45 (e.g. age, ethnicity, deprivation) are most often acknowledged by researchers [10,11].
46 GP practices with a greater proportion of people in older age groups were more likely
47 to prescribe minor tranquilisers [10], sex hormones, anticoagulants and protamine,
48 and treatments for glaucoma [12]. Significant differences in prescribing were also

49 associated with the level of deprivation [13]. Several studies have shown that extent
50 of local deprivation influences antidepressant and lipid-lowering medication
51 prescribing [14,15,16]. On the other hand, lower volume of prescribing was observed
52 in practices with higher proportions of patients from ethnic minority populations [17].
53 Practice features were also among factors contributing to the variation in prescribing
54 behaviour. Examples of that include higher prescription rates issued by practices
55 located in urban areas with a greater proportion of female GPs [18]. Lower prescribing
56 was found for single-handed practices, practices in rural areas, with a higher average
57 age of general practitioners, and with GPs born outside the UK [15,19,20].

58 Differences in characteristics of GP practices or a patient population do not always
59 explain GPs prescribing behaviour. In many cases, the variability in prescribing rates
60 is associated with inefficient or inappropriate prescribing [5,21]. It has been estimated
61 that the prescription costs could be reduced by as much as £1bn if unwarranted
62 variations in prescribing levels were eliminated and the drugs were prescribed with the
63 same standard [21]. Better efficiency and appropriateness in prescribing practice could
64 be achieved by addressing the over- or under-utilisation of drugs. It was shown that
65 prescribed medications are often taken for long periods beyond the point when they
66 are needed and around 30% of drugs are abandoned by patients [22,23,24,25]. Major
67 NHS savings could also be generated by using treatments that are most cost-effective.
68 Moon et al. [26] showed that a large number of GPs are still prescribing brand name
69 medications, even though the cheaper, equally safe and effective alternatives are
70 available.

71 The aim of this study was to investigate temporal changes in rates and costs of
72 prescribing as well as between-practice variation in prescribing. In addition, we

73 examined if prescribing rates of GPs were related to the practice setting and
74 socioeconomic deprivation.

75 **Methods**

76 **Data and pre-processing**

77 We analysed the number and actual cost of prescription items issued by 55 general
78 practices within the Northern Ireland Western Health and Social Care Trust (WHSCT)
79 during twelve consecutive periods of 3 months, starting from Apr 2013 to Mar 2016.
80 The actual cost of prescriptions was defined as the estimated cost to the NHS
81 calculated by subtracting the discount per item from the gross cost which is the basic
82 price of a drug.

83 The GP prescribing data was obtained from the Business Services Organisation's
84 (BSO) prescribing and dispensing information systems [27]. It includes prescribing for
85 all GPs and other non-medical prescribers who are attached to GP practices i.e.
86 nurses, pharmacists, optometrists, chiropodists, and radiographers. To allow temporal
87 comparison of prescribing data, the number of drug prescriptions and their total cost
88 calculated for each general practice was adjusted for the total number of patients in
89 each practice and expressed as prescriptions/cost (£) per patient.

90 Given data from the Census Office of the Northern Ireland Statistics and Research
91 Agency [28], a practice was designated as urban if its postal address was situated in
92 a settlement of more than 10,000 residents. Under this definition, 31 practices were
93 categorised as urban and 24 as rural.

94 In addition, practices were categorised based on the Northern Ireland Multiple
95 Deprivation Measure (NIMDM) at the level of Super Output Area (SOA) [29]. The

96 NIMDM consists of seven domains i.e. Income; Employment; Health, Deprivation, and
97 Disability; Education, Skills and Training; Proximity to Services; Living Environment;
98 and Crime and Disorder. On this overall measure, the SOA with a NIMDM rank of 1 is
99 considered the most deprived, and 890 the least deprived. Accordingly, a practice
100 situated in SOA with the NIMDM rank larger than 445 was designated as 'located in a
101 less deprived area' while a practice situated in SOA with a NIMDM rank smaller than
102 445 was designated as 'located in a more deprived area'. Under this definition, we
103 identified 11 practices 'located in less deprived areas' and 44 practices 'located in
104 more deprived areas'.

105 **Statistical analysis**

106 The variation in the number and cost of prescriptions per patient was assessed by
107 calculating the variance (σ^2) for each of the 12 considered time points [30]. In addition,
108 we analysed changes in mean (μ) and range of the rate and cost of prescriptions.

109 The outlier GP practices were identified for all time points using the interquartile range
110 (IQR) method for outlier detection [31]. Accordingly, a practice with the prescribing rate
111 that fell outside either 1.5 times the IQR below the first quartile or 1.5 times
112 the IQR above the third quartile, was considered to be an 'outlier'. We however
113 acknowledge that a statistical outlier in terms of prescribing rate is not necessarily an
114 example of inappropriate practice.

115 The differences in the mean number of prescribing rates, for the rural and urban
116 practices as well as practices located in areas of different levels of socioeconomic
117 deprivation, were assessed using an unpaired t-test [31]. The equality of variances of
118 prescribing rates for above-mentioned practice categories was evaluated using F-test
119 [30]. The normality of prescribing data was confirmed with Shapiro-Wilks test [32].

120 To determine if temporal changes in variability of rates and costs of prescribing
121 underwent a statistically significant upward or downward trend over the study period,
122 we used the Mann–Kendall test which has been commonly employed to detect trends
123 in series of data [33,34].

124 The relationship between rates and cost of prescribing was explored with Spearman's
125 rank correlation (*rho*) [35]. We chose the Spearman correlation measure due to it
126 insensitivity to individual contribution of outliers. The strength of correlation was
127 defined as very weak for $|rho| = 0.2$ to 0.39 , moderate for $|rho| = 0.4$ to 0.59 , strong for
128 $|rho| = 0.6$ to 0.79 , and very strong for $|rho| = 0.8$ to 1 [35].

129 **Results**

130 The total number of patients registered at 55 general practices providing services
131 throughout 2013–16 increased from 318,057 in 2013-14 to 326,429 in 2015-16. Over
132 this time, the total actual prescription cost continued to rise from £58,669,971 in 2013-
133 14 to £63,803,168 in 2015-16.

134 Fig 1 shows the magnitude and temporal changes in variability of the number of
135 prescriptions per patient. We observed large differences in drug prescribing rates
136 among individual practices. The largest between-practice difference in prescribing
137 rates was observed for the quarter of Apr-Jun 2015, with the number of prescriptions
138 ranging from 3.34 to 8.36 per patient. During this period, the prescription rate for the
139 practice with the largest number of prescriptions per patient was ~ 60% higher than
140 the average prescribing rate for all the practices ($\mu = 5.20$, 95%CI = [4.96,5.44]
141 prescriptions per patient). The smallest between-practice difference in prescribing
142 rates was observed in the period Apr-Jun 2013, with the number of prescriptions

143 ranging from 3.21 to 7.60 per patient. At that time, the practice with the highest
144 prescribing rate issued ~ 49% more prescriptions per patient compared to the average
145 prescribing rate of $\mu = 5.11$, 95%CI = [4.89, 5.33]. The high inter-practice variability in
146 drug prescribing behaviour was caused by: 1.8% (Oct-Dec 2013), 3.6% (Apr-Jun
147 2013, Oct 2014 -Mar 2016), 5.5% (Jan-Sep 2014), and 7.3% (Jul-Sep 2013) of GP
148 practices with outlier prescribing rates. By eliminating the effect of these outliers (i.e.
149 practices with higher or lower prescribing rates than the calculated outlier cut-off
150 values), we were able to reduce the between-practice variability in prescribing rates
151 from 21% (σ^2 reduced from 0.71 to 0.59 in Oct-Dec 2013) up to 70% (σ^2 reduced from
152 0.67 to 0.39 in Jul-Sep 2013) (S1 Table). It is worth highlighting that despite varying
153 number of outliers identified in each quarterly period, they were mostly the same
154 practices: one practice (with substantially higher prescribing rate than outlier cut-off
155 values) was identified as an 'outlier' throughout the studied period while two other
156 practices (one with higher and the other with lower prescribing rate than outlier cut-off
157 values) were labelled as 'outliers' at 11 and 4 considered time periods respectively.

158 **Fig 1.** Temporal variability in the standardized number of prescriptions. Each data
159 point (dot): a single practice. Solid, horizontal line inside the box: median of data.
160 Green diamond: mean. Lower and upper "hinges" of the boxplots: 1st and 3rd quartiles,
161 respectively. Red, green, and blue lines: trend lines for maximum, average, and
162 minimum values of prescription rates respectively. Lower and upper extremes of
163 whiskers: interval boundaries of the non-outliers (black dots). Data outside interval
164 (red dots): outliers.

165 Temporal variability in the actual cost of prescribed medications per patient is shown
166 in Figure 2. The largest between-practice difference in prescribing costs was observed

167 for the quarter of Apr-Jun 2014, with the prescription cost per patient ranging from
168 £26.4 to £64.5. During this time period, the highest actual cost of prescribed
169 medications per patient for the individual practice was ~40% higher than the average
170 prescribing cost of $\mu = £46.1$, 95%CI = [£45.2, £47.0]. In addition, the average cost
171 of prescribing per person was observed to increase by 11.3%, 95%CI =
172 [10.4%,12.2%] over the period of investigation; from £45, 95%CI = [£43.2, £46.8] in
173 the first quarter (Apr-Jun 2013) to £48.6, 95%CI = [£46.7, £50.6] in the last quarter
174 (Jan-Mar 2016) of the study.

175 **Fig 2.** Temporal variability in the actual cost of prescribed medications per patient.
176 Each data point (dot): a single practice. Solid, horizontal line inside the box: median of
177 data. Green diamond: mean. Lower and upper "hinges" of the boxplots: 1st and 3rd
178 quartiles, respectively. Red, green, and blue lines: trend lines for maximum, average,
179 and minimum values of prescription costs respectively.

180 The distribution of costs through time appeared to show a similar trend to the
181 prescribing rates. The moderate to strong association between prescription rates and
182 actual costs of prescribed medications was reflected in the value of the Spearman's
183 coefficient (Fig 3 A). The *rho* was found to increase from 0.547 in Apr 2013 – Mar 2014
184 to 0.609 in Apr 2015 – Mar 2016. We also looked at the relationship between
185 prescribing rates and the actual cost per prescription. We found those two measures
186 to be moderately correlated (Fig 3 B); the cost per prescription was shown to be lower
187 for practices with higher rates of prescribing.

188 **Fig 3.** The relationship between standardized number of prescriptions and: A) the
189 actual cost of prescribed medications per patient; B) the actual cost per prescription.

190 Our trend analysis showed that temporal changes in variability of prescribing rates and
191 costs underwent an upward trend. Despite some temporal fluctuations in variance, the
192 best fit line indicates that the value of σ^2 for prescribing rates increased from £0.70 in
193 Apr-Jun 2013 to £0.77 in Jan-Mar 2016 (Fig 4). At the same time, the between-practice
194 variability in prescribing costs increased from $\sigma^2 = £45.6$ in Apr-Jun 2013 to $\sigma^2 = £53.4$
195 in Jan-Mar 2016. The Mann–Kendall test confirmed a statistically significant upward
196 trend in variability of GPs prescribing rates ($p = 0.011$) over the study duration.

197 **Fig 4.** Temporal changes in variance calculated for: A) the number of prescriptions per
198 patient; B) the actual prescription cost per patient for 55 investigated general practices.
199 Black line represents the best-fit trend line for rates (A) and cost (B) of prescribing.

200 Rural practices had a lower average number of prescriptions per patient than urban
201 practices at all time points (Table 1). Over the period of investigation, the mean number
202 of prescriptions per patient for rural practices rose by ~3.3 % from 5.07, 95CI =
203 [4.70,5.44] in Apr-Jun 2013 to 5.24, 95CI = [4.83,5.64] in Jan-Mar 2016 while urban
204 practices reported a ~6.7% increase in average prescribing rate from 5.14, 95CI =
205 [4.86,5.41] in Apr-Jun 2013 to 5.48, 95CI = [5.22,5.75] in Jan-Mar 2016. In all quarterly
206 periods, the difference in the mean number of prescribed medications per patient
207 between urban and rural practices was found statistically insignificant.

208 Rural practices had a higher between practice variability than urban practices at all
209 time points (Table 1). The variance for practices designated as rural grew from $\sigma^2 =$
210 0.84 in Apr-Jun 2013 to $\sigma^2 = 1.02$ in Jan-Mar 2016. This upward trend in variability
211 was found statistically significant with $p = 0.0032$. Conversely, the variance for urban
212 practices decreased from $\sigma^2 = 0.62$ in Apr-Jun 2013 to $\sigma^2 = 0.58$ in Jan-Mar 2016;

213 however, this change was statistically insignificant ($p = 0.54$). At all studied time
214 periods, F-test p -value showed no significant differences in variance in prescribing
215 rates between rural and urban practices.

216 **Table 1.** Prescribing rates for rural and urban practices. T-test p -value refers to the
217 significance level of differences in the mean number of prescribing rates between rural
218 and urban practices for all considered time period. The p -value of F-test assesses the
219 difference in variances in prescribing rates between rural and urban practices.

220 Practices situated in more deprived areas were found to have higher prescribing rates
221 than those located in less deprived areas although this difference was not statistically
222 significant in any of the considered quarterly periods (Table 2). The average number
223 of prescriptions per patient in less deprived areas grew by ~7.5% from 5.0, 95CI =
224 [4.38,5.61] in Apr-Jun 2013 to 5.37, 95CI = [4.76,5.98] in Jan-Mar 2016 while practices
225 situated in more deprived areas reported a ~4.6% increase in mean prescribing rate
226 from 5.14, 95CI = [4.92,5.38] in Apr-Jun 2013 to 5.38, 95CI = [5.13,5.62] in Jan-Mar
227 2016. The variability in prescribing rates for practices in less deprived areas was
228 substantially higher than for practices in more deprived areas and this difference in
229 variances was shown to be statistically significant for 8 quarterly periods (Apr 2013-
230 Mar 2015) (Table 2).

231 **Table 2.** Prescribing rates for practices located in areas of different levels of socio-
232 economic deprivation. T-test p -value refers to the significance level of differences in
233 mean number of prescribing rates between practices from less and more deprived
234 areas. The p -value of F-test assesses the difference in variances in prescribing rates
235 between practices from less and more deprived areas. Asterisk: Statistically significant
236 difference ($p < 0.05$) in variability in prescribing rates.

237 Discussion

238 Over the period of investigation, the average between-practice variation in rates of
239 prescribing was $\sigma^2 = 0.74$, 95%CI = [0.71, 0.77]. The prescribing rates of individual
240 practices ranged, on average, from 3.34, 95%CI = [3.26,3.42] to 8, 95%CI =
241 [7.86,8.14] prescriptions per patient. At the same time, the average variance of
242 prescribing costs was $\sigma^2 = \text{£}47.6$, 95%CI = [£44.4, £50.8] with actual cost of prescribed
243 medications per patient ranging, on average, from £27.2, 95%CI = [£26.1, £28.3] to
244 £67.9, 95%CI = [£66.5, £69.3]. While it may be challenging to define what represents
245 an appropriate rate or cost of prescribing, it is certainly difficult to justify large
246 differences in prescribing between individual practices providing care to broadly similar
247 groups of patients within a single healthcare system.

248 It is worth highlighting that both rates and costs of prescribing observed in Northern
249 Ireland Western Health and Social Care Trust were found to be higher than the rates
250 and costs recorded in England. In 2015, an average of 18.6 items was dispensed in
251 primary care for each patient registered with a GP practice in England [36] compared
252 to 21.2 items per head issued in WHSCT. In England, the cost of prescribed items was
253 roughly £157 per patient, £5 per patient higher than in 2014. In comparison, the
254 average prescription cost per patient in WHSCT was £189.8, 95%CI = [182.9,196.7],
255 ~£7.6 higher than in 2014. Despite higher average rates of prescribing per patient, the
256 variation across England in the number of prescribed medications was higher than in
257 WHSCT with the prescribing rates ranging from 9.5 to 33.3 items per head in 2015. At
258 the same time, the number of items per patient issued in WHSCT ranged from 13.7 to
259 31.7 [36].

260 Since no demographic data was published alongside the GP prescribing data for

261 WHSCT, we could not estimate the effect of demographics of patient population on
262 variation in prescribing rates. Previous studies however showed that demographic
263 characteristics of patient population did not fully explain prescribing behaviour of GPs
264 [21]. Among the factors related to the varying prescription activity, age of patients was
265 most often factored into analyses of variation [37], although age alone did not account
266 for enough variation to develop an accurate model for predicting prescribing rates [38].
267 It was shown that age and gender accounted for approximately 25% of variation
268 [39,40] and additional demographic characteristics (e.g. mortality rates) up to 51%
269 [41].

270 Our study shows differences in both prescribing rates and between practice variation
271 in prescribing between rural and urban practices. The mean number of prescribed
272 items was higher in urban practices than in rural practices. The reasons for this are
273 unclear and were beyond the scope of the present study. However, possible
274 explanations include differing patient populations in rural and urban areas, differences
275 in practice organisation and workflow, as well as differences in characteristics of
276 general practitioners such as training, background, and age. Our results appear
277 consistent with previous studies. In Scotland, lower levels of prescribing of
278 antidepressants were found for practices in rural areas while higher rates were
279 observed for urban practices [18]. In addition, lower rates of prescribing of
280 psychotropic drugs were reported by rural/small town practices in Denmark [19].

281 Our results indicate higher levels of prescribing for practices located in more deprived
282 areas of Western Health and Social Care Trust and lower levels for practices from less
283 deprived areas. Furthermore, the differences in variances of prescribing rates given
284 different levels of local deprivation were found statistically significant for 8 quarterly

285 periods. So far, several studies have demonstrated that socio-economic deprivation
286 can influence prescription rates for some medications, such as antidepressants and
287 lipid-lowering drugs. In England, the difference in the number of prescriptions between
288 the bottom 1% and top 1% areas by deprivation was 20% [42,43].

289 In addition, we found that the variability in prescribing rates underwent a statistically
290 significant upward trend reflecting larger deviations of prescribing rates of individual
291 practices from the mean prescribing rate. This can be related to the changes in socio-
292 economic and demographic characteristics of patient populations but we also cannot
293 exclude possibility that these growing deviations may reflect growing differences in
294 quality of care leading to, in fact, avoidable increase in prescribing costs. However,
295 higher variability does not necessarily imply lower quality practice. It therefore requires
296 further inspection to determine if the patient populations associated with specific GP
297 practices are different and have different needs.

298 A moderate (Apr 2013-Mar 2015) to strong (Apr 2015-Mar 2016) relationship was
299 observed between prescription rates and actual costs of prescribing; a higher cost of
300 prescribed medications per patient was associated with a higher number of issued
301 items per patient. The differences in pharmaceutical costs observed for the practices
302 with similar prescription rates might be related to the type of prescribed drugs e.g. the
303 cost of one pack of Amiodarone (100mg tablets) is £2.21 whereas for a pack of
304 Allopurinol (100mg tablets), we have to pay over £35. The differences in prescription
305 costs in practices with similar prescribing rates may also be associated with the
306 medication choice i.e. a generic vs. brand name drug. There is evidence that inefficient
307 prescribing by GPs increases NHS costs by hundreds of millions of pounds every year
308 [21]. Of course, there can be legitimate reasons why patients require brand name

309 drugs. However, our data do not allow us to examine the appropriateness of such
310 decisions. We also found the number of items per patient to be negatively correlated
311 with the cost per item i.e. the cost per prescription was shown to be higher for practices
312 with lower rates of prescribing. It suggests that practices that prescribe more items per
313 head appear to prescribe cheaper drugs.

314 We believe that the identification of outlier practices i.e. practices with higher or lower
315 prescribing rates than the calculated outlier cut-off values may act as an important
316 consideration when deciding which practices may benefit from interventions to alter
317 prescribing behaviour of GPs [44]. That is, there might be greater merit in engaging
318 with individual practices where prescribing rates appeared significantly higher or lower
319 than average. The identification of such practices could reduce the time, effort, and
320 cost of any intervention. However, we are aware that a statistical outlier in terms of
321 prescribing rates is not equivalent to inappropriate practice and therefore, further
322 analysis would be required to assess if higher/lower rates than outlier cut off values
323 can be explained by characteristics of patient populations (e.g. age, ethnicity) or
324 practice features (e.g. age, training of general practitioners).

325 The main limitation of our study results from its design. Our analysis was conducted
326 to investigate the variability patterns and changes in prescribing rates and costs, but
327 due to data unavailability, we were not able to examine how the differences in patient
328 or provider factors may affect variation in prescribing. Business Services Organisation
329 in Northern Ireland does not provide free and open access to data sets related to
330 demographic characteristics of patient population and practice features at the level of
331 the GP practice. We believe that when such data becomes available, further
332 investigation of characteristics of practices and patient populations in Western Health

333 and Social Care Trust may shed more light on other factors contributing to variations
334 in GPs prescribing. This can help us to better address potential inappropriateness and
335 inefficiency of prescribing.

336 In conclusion, our study provided information on variability patterns and temporal
337 changes in rates and cost of prescribing in Western Health and Social Care Trust. We
338 showed that practice setting and socio-economic deprivation account for some of the
339 between-practice variation in prescribing. We suggest that optimisation of prescribing
340 could be enhanced by conducting appropriate clinical interventions when other factors
341 contributing to prescribing variation are identified. These interventions could include
342 educational initiatives and feedback during which GP practices would be informed
343 about their own frequency of prescribing relative to the mean prescribing of other
344 practices. The prescribing behaviour of GPs could also be altered by comparing their
345 past performance to clearly defined professional standards/targets. The quality
346 improvement initiatives including normative feedback proved to be effective in
347 decreasing variability in prescribing in the past [45].

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353 **Contributorship**

354 MB performed the analysis and interpretation of the results, and wrote the manuscript.
355 MJO edited the manuscript. KWL initiated the collaborative project, guided the data

356 analysis and interpretation of the results, and wrote the manuscript. SA monitored
357 the data collection. All the authors have accepted responsibility for the entire content
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363 **Competing interests**

364 The authors have declared that no competing interests exist.

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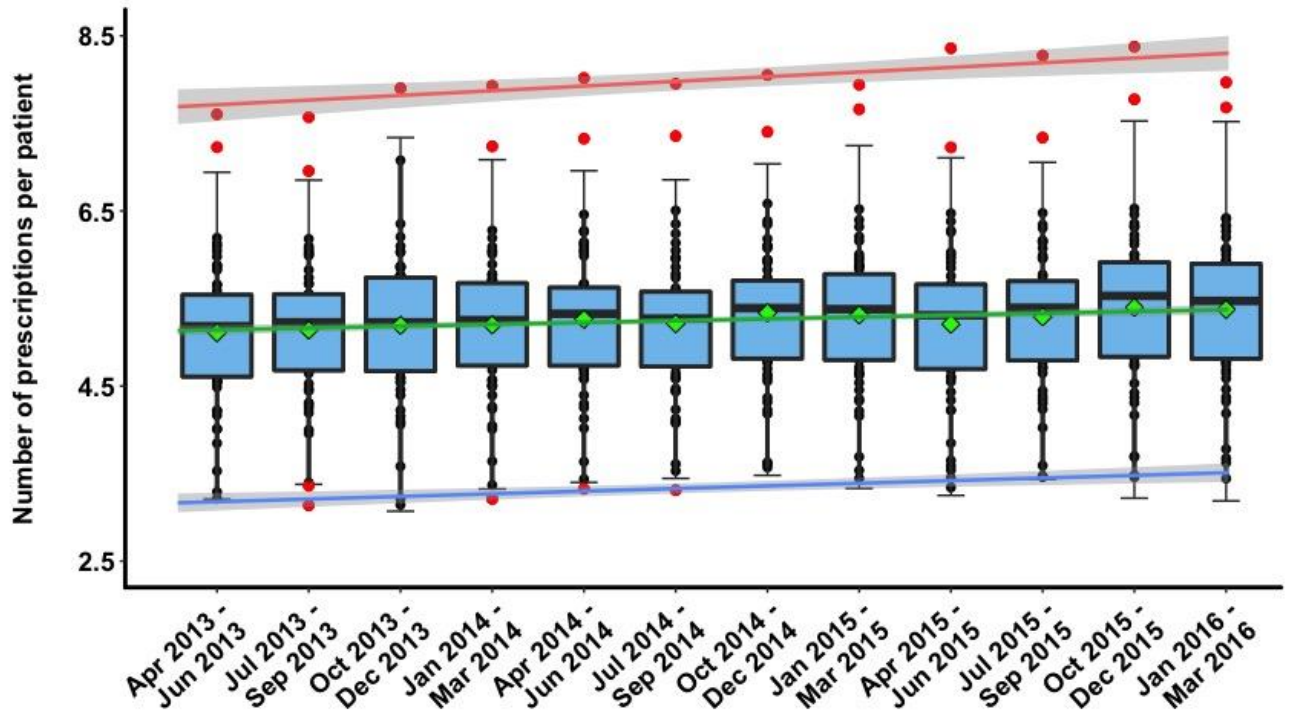
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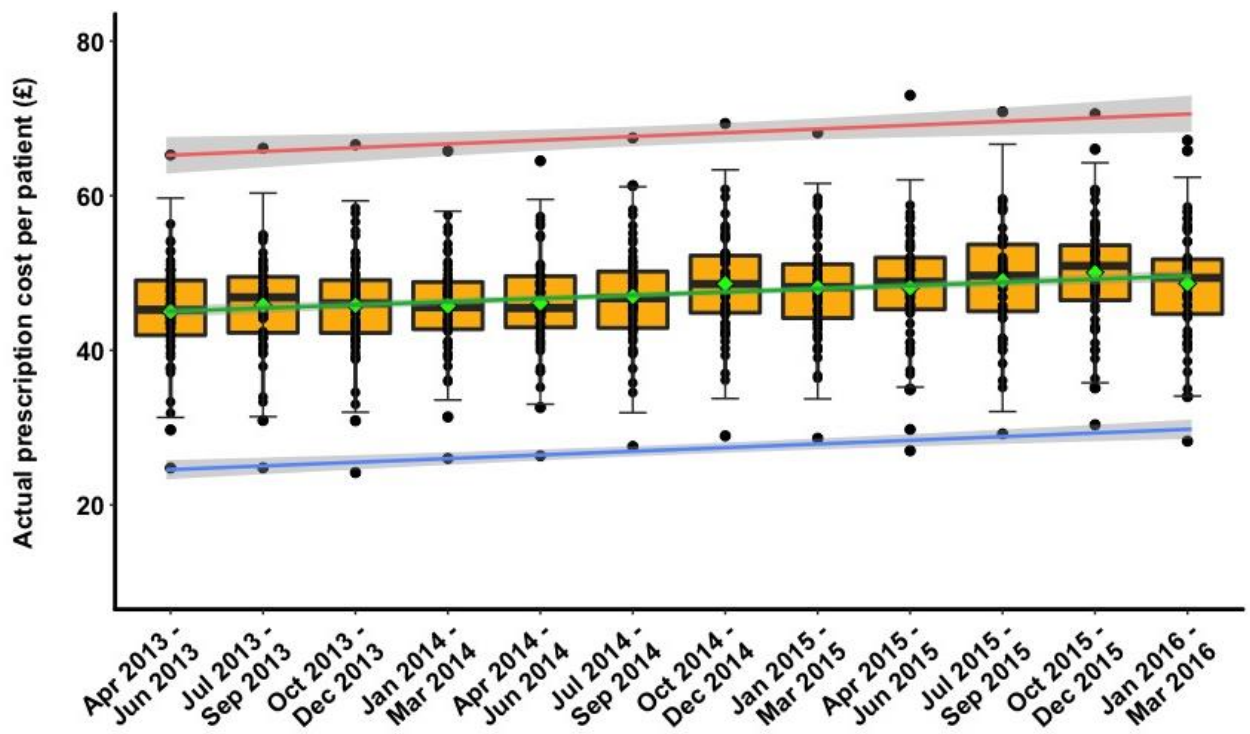
509 **Figure 1**



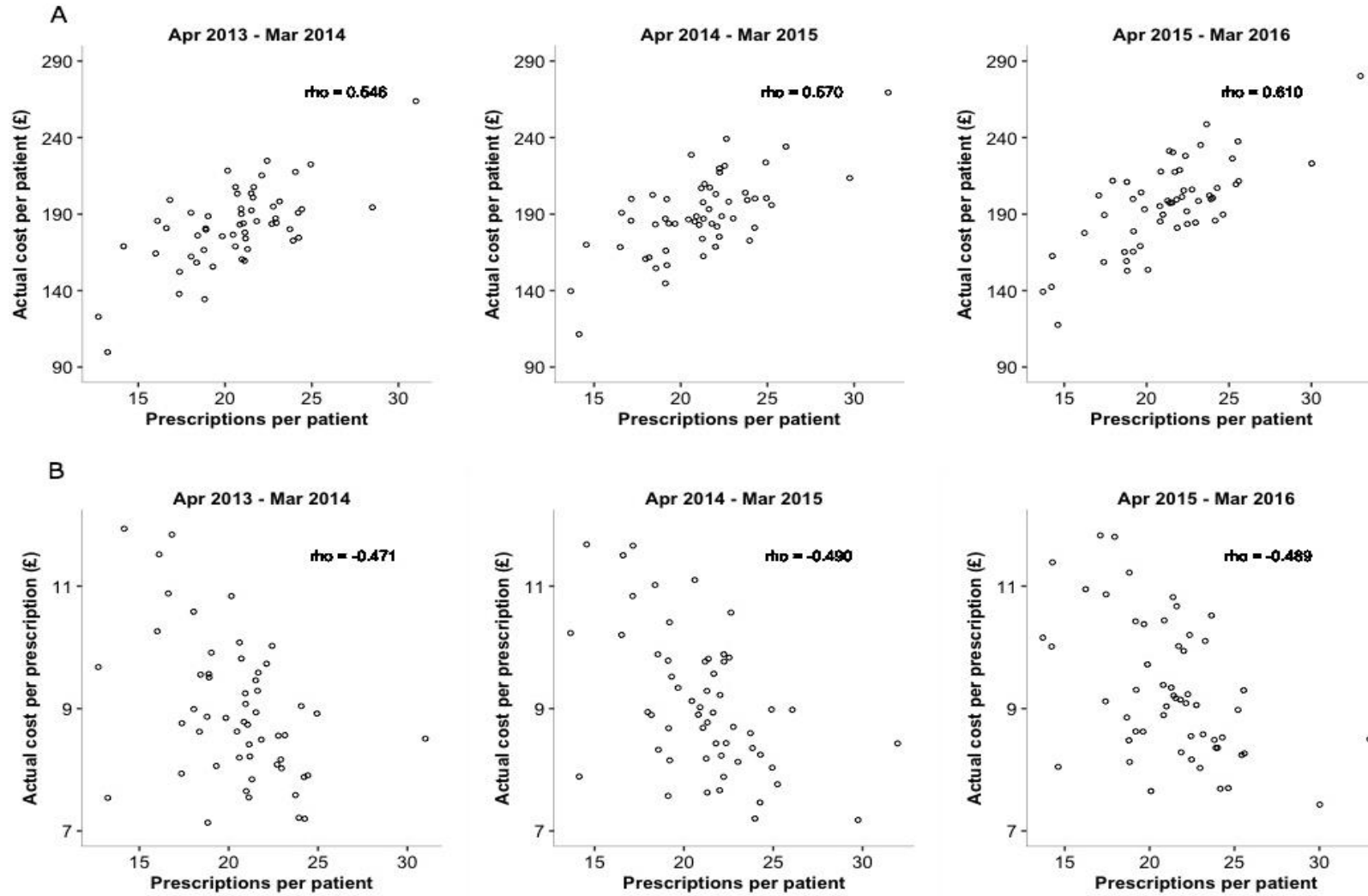
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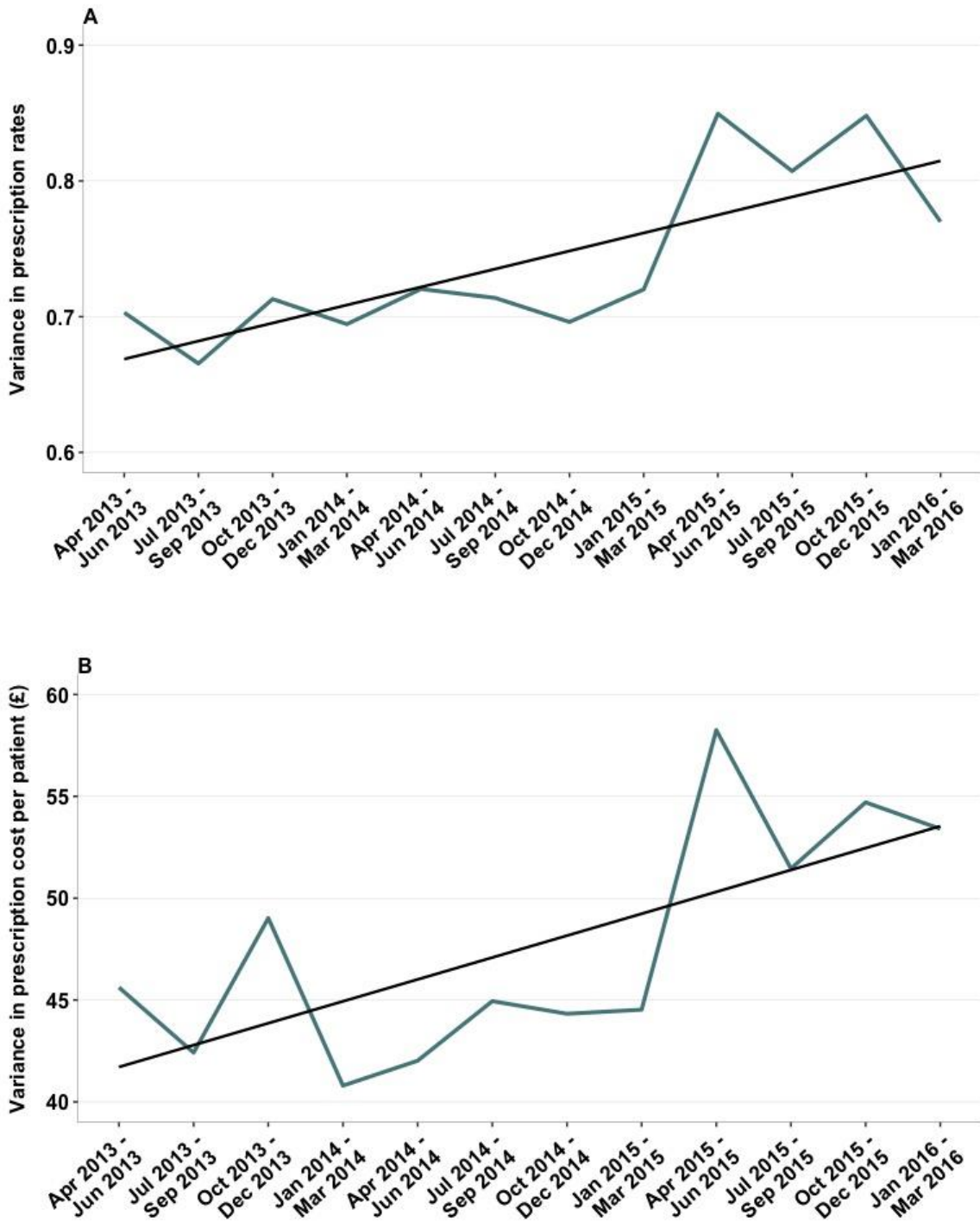
512 **Figure 2**



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516 Figure 4



517 **Table 1**

	Apr- Jun 2013	Jul- Sep 2013	Oct- Dec 2013	Jan- Mar 2014	Apr- Jun 2014	Jul- Sep 2014	Oct- Dec 2014	Jan- Mar 2015	Apr- Jun 2015	Jul- Sep 2015	Oct- Dec 2015	Jan- Mar 2016
<i>Rural</i>												
Mean	5.07	5.08	5.15	5.16	5.16	5.17	5.26	5.28	5.07	5.11	5.26	5.24
Variance	0.84	0.74	0.78	0.78	0.78	0.80	0.77	0.87	0.94	0.94	1.07	1.02
<i>Urban</i>												
Mean	5.14	5.19	5.23	5.23	5.34	5.24	5.39	5.33	5.31	5.43	5.50	5.48
Variance	0.62	0.62	0.68	0.65	0.68	0.67	0.65	0.62	0.79	0.69	0.68	0.58
<i>F-test p-value</i>	0.41	0.65	0.72	0.63	0.72	0.64	0.66	0.38	0.65	0.41	0.24	0.14
<i>T-test p-value</i>	0.77	0.64	0.72	0.78	0.44	0.77	0.58	0.83	0.35	0.21	0.36	0.32

519 **Table 2**

	Apr- Jun 2013	Jul- Sep 2013	Oct- Dec 2013	Jan- Mar 2014	Apr- Jun 2014	Jul- Sep 2014	Oct- Dec 2014	Jan- Mar 2015	Apr- Jun 2015	Jul- Sep 2015	Oct- Dec 2015	Jan- Mar 2016
<i>Less deprived areas</i>												
Mean	5.00	5.01	5.12	5.13	5.13	5.11	5.26	5.23	5.22	5.22	5.42	5.37
Variance	1.27	1.25	1.39	1.37	1.37	1.41	1.31	1.33	1.49	1.41	1.41	1.25
<i>More deprived areas</i>												
Mean	5.14	5.18	5.22	5.22	5.30	5.24	5.36	5.34	5.20	5.31	5.39	5.38
Variance	0.55	0.51	0.53	0.51	0.54	0.52	0.53	0.56	0.68	0.65	0.70	0.65
<i>F-test p-value</i>	0.046*	0.031*	0.022*	0.018*	0.027*	0.018*	0.032*	0.037*	0.065	0.066	0.096	0.117
<i>T-test p-value</i>	0.665	0.625	0.776	0.788	0.624	0.709	0.770	0.767	0.966	0.790	0.926	0.979

S1 Table. The variance in prescribing rates for the data set with and without outlier practices.

	Apr- Jun 2013	Jul- Sep 2013	Oct- Dec 2013	Jan- Mar 2014	Apr- Jun 2014	Jul- Sep 2014	Oct- Dec 2014	Jan- Mar 2015	Apr- Jun 2015	Jul- Sep 2015	Oct- Dec 2015	Jan- Mar 2016
<i>With outlier practices</i>												
σ^2 (£)	0.70	0.67	0.71	0.69	0.72	0.71	0.70	0.72	0.85	0.81	0.85	0.77
<i>Without outlier practices</i>												
σ^2 (£)	0.52	0.39	0.59	0.43	0.45	0.44	0.49	0.50	0.60	0.58	0.59	0.56