

PRACTICE OBSERVED

Practice Research

Identification of underprivileged areas

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The Royal Commission on the National Health Service, the Black report, the Royal College of General Practitioners' survey of primary health care in London, the Acheson reports, and several other publications have drawn attention to large geographical variations in problems dealt with by primary care services and also to variations in the characteristics of these services from area to area.¹⁻³ It has been suggested that in urban areas the problems to be dealt with are greater and the services to deal with them less adequate.

Both the report of the joint Department of Health and Social Security and General Medical Services Committee Working Party on Underdoctored Areas⁴ and the Acheson report suggested that there is a need to identify those areas where the difficulties are greatest (the underprivileged areas) with a view to improving services.

This initiative is analogous to the identification of priority areas in other topics such as housing and education (for rate support grant and educational priority areas) and work in deprived areas⁵ or those thought to be in need of higher than average levels of social services.⁶ In all of this work it is important to distinguish between the problems of the population served, however they are assessed (social factors), and those of the services provided (service factors) and to obtain independent measures of both, as they may not necessarily be strongly correlated, as is often assumed. It is often said that we know where the worst areas are and that it is a waste of time and resources trying to define them more accurately; and in any case attempts at quantitative analysis are bound to fail. If, however, it is eventually decided for instance that action will be taken which will have different financial consequences for those working inside and outside underprivileged areas it will

be necessary to justify the reason for choosing certain areas and to be able precisely to specify how each area was defined.

When considering factors that affect a general practitioner's workload or pressure on his services (referred to below simply as workload) and hence the appropriate deployment of general practitioner services several variables come to mind. For instance, consultation rates and times, or home visiting rates and times, prescribing rates,⁷ social conditions, morbidity⁸ and mortality rates, practice working conditions, and the amount of support available from others such as ancillary staff, community nurses, social services, and hospitals might all be thought to influence a general practitioner's workload. It would clearly be difficult to obtain a precise measure of workload based on all of these variables and to calculate its variation with any of them even if we had more knowledge of each of the factors mentioned.

In analysing the evidence submitted to the Acheson committee about primary care services in London, however, it soon became clear that there was a strong consensus of opinion among those submitting evidence that certain social characteristics of the population—for example, the proportion of elderly people living alone—were thought to be associated with greater pressure on primary care services. Medical conditions (except psychiatric illness) were mentioned less often. Deficiencies in services were also mentioned as being relevant but less so than the social conditions of the population. Bearing this in mind it was decided to analyse the evidence submitted and then send a questionnaire to a random selection of general practitioners in the United Kingdom to find out how universal these impressions were, to find the variation of opinion throughout the country, and to ask about any other factors that might not have been mentioned in the evidence submitted to the Acheson committee.

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Method

In 1980 Professor Donald Achison, chairman of the London Health Planning Consortium Primary Health Care Study Group,

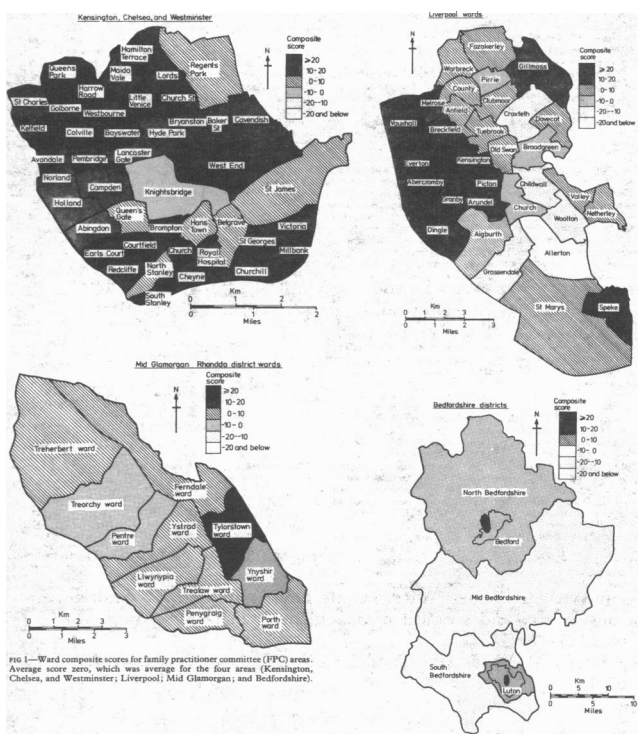


FIG 1—Ward composite scores for family practitioner committee (FPC) areas. Average score zero, which was average for the four areas (Kennington, Chelsea, and Westminster; Liverpool; Mid Glamorgan; and Bedfordshire).

responsible for providing health services, whereas service factors can be altered—for example, in areas where social factors show a high workload.

(b) Service factors are recorded on the basis of health authority districts, family practitioner committee areas, local authority areas and usually not for smaller areas, whereas social factors from the census are known down to the level of an enumeration district—the area covered by one enumerator at a time of the census, on average covering about 500 people.

(c) There was a tendency for some of the service factors to cancel one another out in some areas—for example, those with shorter

hospital waiting lists tended to have more elderly, singlehanded general practitioners.

Among the social factors it was decided not to use (a) proportion over 65, as this was already weighting for the elderly in general practitioners' remuneration, and also the proportion of elderly living alone was included; (b) crime rate, as this is not a census variable or known down to enumeration district level—also it was found in the Royal College of General Practitioners' survey⁹ to have a high correlation ($r = 0.84$) with overcrowding of households for the London boroughs, which was already included as a variable; and (c) difficulty in visiting, which is allowed for in general practitioners' remuneration

wrote to about 4000 general practitioners in the London area and a large number of organisations connected in some way or other with health services asking for their comments about primary care services in London. About 180 general practitioners and 190 organisations replied and some of them also gave verbal evidence. The written evidence was analysed and 1603 different mentions of various factors thought to be relevant were grouped into 21 categories; in this paper these are divided into 13 social factors and eight service factors (see table 1).

In January 1981 a questionnaire was sent to one in 10 sample of general practitioners by selecting every tenth doctor on a commercial mailing list of general practitioners. A prepaid addressed envelope was included with the questionnaire for the reply and one reminder was sent three weeks after the first letter. The results of replies received by four weeks after the reminder were analysed. The general practitioners were asked the following:

Below is a list of factors (that is, those given in table 1) which evidence suggests contribute to the pressure of work on general practitioners. Based on experience in your own practice, could you please score each factor on a scale from 0 (no problem) to 9 (very problematical), according to the degree to which it increases workload or contributes to the pressure of work when it is present. Those factors which you do not mark will not be included in our final calculations.

Four pages were left for other factors to be listed and respondents asked to specify these other factors mentioned, and these were also analysed.

A total of 2614 questionnaires were sent and 27 were found to be ineligible (for example, due to retirement of doctor), leaving 2587 eligible questionnaires sent. Within three months of the first mailing 1981 replies (77% of the total eligible) had been received. Of these, 1842 (71%) were received within the time limit, of which 40 were found to be unusable (for example, because the doctor did not understand or agree with the questionnaire or made some error. This left a total of 1802 (70% of those eligible) available for analysis.

Results

Table 1 gives the average score of each social and service factor and the total number of general practitioners entering a score for each factor. Other social and service factors mentioned were divided into 13 and 12 groups respectively, each of which received 10 (or more) mentions, plus a mixed group of the remainder (table 1). The most frequently mentioned of the social factors (trivial complaints, 68 mentions) and service factors (poor psychiatric services, 138 mentions) in addition to the ones on the list occurred much less frequently than the average number of general practitioners scoring the listed factors (1087).

There was considerable consistency in the average score for each

TABLE 1—Other factors mentioned in 1802 replies to general practitioner workload survey

Social factors*	No. of GPs scoring
(1) Trivial complaints, inappropriate use of NHS, unrealistic expectations and unrealistic about self treatment, etc.	68
(2) Problems of mobility, additional difficulties, long term	40
(3) Alcoholism, possibly with drugs or smoking	50
(4) Poor general health, possibly leading to unnecessary visits and/or need for branch surgery	39
(5) Long distance, unnecessary visits, late calls for visits, poorly marked numbers on estates, etc.	38
(6) Condition requests, housing funds, unnecessary paperwork, epidemiological questionnaires of this group, etc. (NHS certificates)	32
(7) Family problems, marital, divorce, remarriage, new comers	32
(8) Mental instability, absent husbands, (for example, in forces)	29
(9) Middle class aspirations, requests for private treatment, etc.	20
(10) Higher advanced morbidity, more of various physical complaints—for example, cerebral illness, respiratory illnesses, obstetrics	17
(11) Lack of health awareness, lack of preventive medicine	15
(12) Hazardous occupations, industrial illnesses, mining areas, etc.	11
(13) Lack of domestic service	10
(14) Poor psychiatric services, psychiatric services, or geriatric services	138
(15) Poor staff accommodation, poor local authority provision for the elderly, lack of residential housing, etc.	91
(16) Poor services, poor liaison with social services department, lack of social work co-ordinating	51
(17) Lack of beds, long waiting times for admissions	45
(18) Lack of health awareness, untrained staff, no night staff, too few community nurses, untrained nursing vacancies, no community psychiatric nurses, etc.	28
(19) Ambulance services, poor transport to hospital, long distance to hospital	26
(20) Lack of general health awareness, poor English of some staff, cottage community hospital	20
(21) Poor liaison between general practitioner and community hospital, hospital prescription or certificate writing to GPs	19
(22) Poor practice premises, high upstairs, etc.	18
(23) Lack of provision of physiotherapy	15
(24) Lack of opinion of an ophthalmologist, difficulty of transporting specimens to laboratory	12
(25) Lack of domestic service	10

*The following were mentioned fewer than 10 times: few telephones, pain, statements by media, high cost of housing, family planning needs, repeat prescriptions, severe mental illness, single homeless, particular needs of over 75s, violence of patients, declining mental standards, travelling people, gypsies, tinkers, working mothers, street diversion in Northern Ireland, higher percentage of female patients.

The following were mentioned fewer than 10 times: few locums, group practices, lack of changeover, poor auxiliary staff, poor administration, hospital, no local pharmacy, early discharge, and of staff for ethnic minorities, where the standard deviation of mean scores was 1.40. This is also illustrated in table 111, which gives the mean scores for each social factor for general practitioners in urban England, rural England, and rural Wales, Scotland, and Northern Ireland.

TABLE 111—Average scores of social factors for general practitioners in different parts of United Kingdom

Social factor	Average scores			
	Urban England	Rural England	Rural Wales	Scotland and Northern Ireland
1) Over 65s	6.23	6.20	6.06	6.06
2) Under 65s	4.63	4.63	4.63	4.63
3) Employment	3.32	3.35	3.68	3.68
4) Unemployment	4.22	4.20	3.84	3.84
5) Ethnic groups	3.09	3.11	2.78	2.78
6) Lone parent families	3.11	3.11	2.28	2.28
7) Elderly alone	3.17	2.81	2.78	2.78
8) Overcrowding	3.06	2.74	2.41	2.41
10) Morbidity	2.98	2.81	2.52	2.52
9) Lone parent families	2.98	2.81	2.52	2.52
11) Crime rate	2.98	1.97	2.46	2.46
12) Lack of domestic service	3.16	3.06	2.46	2.46

factor. The average standard deviation in average score for each of the 115 family practitioner committee areas in the United Kingdom was 0.95, the lowest being 0.60 for proportion of elderly living alone, and others being less than 1.12 except for ethnic minorities, where the standard deviation of mean scores was 1.40. This is also illustrated in table 111, which gives the mean scores for each social factor for general practitioners in urban England, rural England, and rural Wales, Scotland, and Northern Ireland.

It was decided that social factors alone would be used to measure workload according to the general practitioners' assessments. Service factors were not included for the following three reasons.

(a) Social factors are generally not amenable to alterations by those

in rural areas by means of rural practice payments. There is no allowance for the difficulties of travelling through traffic and parking in urban areas, and therefore omission of the variable means that workload is underestimated in urban areas.

Using the remaining 10 social variables and 1971 Census data, composite workload scores were calculated for each of the London boroughs by adding the standardised values of each variable for each borough, weighted by the weighting given by the scores for each variable in the United Kingdom general practitioner survey. The results showed that the boroughs with the highest composite scores for workload calculated by this quantitative method were those which were generally thought qualitatively to pose the greatest difficulties for primary care services. Hence it was decided to extend this methodology to data from the 1981 Census for the whole of England and Wales down to a ward or enumeration district basis.¹¹

The King's Fund agreed to support this project, the statistics and computing work being done at the London School of Economics by Doreen Irving. A full report of this will be published separately.

Four family practitioner committee areas were studied from different parts of England and Wales (Kennington, Chelsea, and Westminster; Liverpool; Mid Glamorgan, and Bedfordshire) and maps drawn on a ward basis for each area using the means and standard deviations of the variables for the four family practitioner committee areas in the calculations of standardised values (after a statistical transformation to make the variables more normally distributed). Figure 1 shows the scores for wards in these areas, and figure 2 the scores for enumeration districts in the Kennington, Chelsea, and Westminster family practitioner committee area, this time using the means and standard deviations of the variables for that area alone. The social class variable was not included in the calculations as it was not yet available from the 1981 Census.

This method of identifying underprivileged areas was relatively insensitive to the actual value of the weighting used for each of the 10 variables. For instance, for the London boroughs, using 1971 Census data, if the weightings of successive variables were changed by alternately $\times 50$ and $\div 50$, the boroughs' scores changed by an average of only 2.8%. Similarly, if the average weightings of social factors of urban England general practitioners were used, then the borough scores changed on average by only 1.5% from those found using weightings of all United Kingdom general practitioners (though the average change in weighting was 12.1%). If the weightings of general practitioners in rural England, Wales, Scotland, and Northern Ireland were used (a 5.7% change in average weighting from that of all of the United Kingdom) then the average score for the boroughs changed by only 0.8%. Preliminary analysis also showed that although the values of variables had changed between the 1971 and 1981 Censuses, the relative values of variables comparing boroughs with each other had not changed greatly, and hence there was not a great change in the areas which were identified as underprivileged.

Discussion

A method has been described whereby census data may be used to define areas that have higher than average concentrations of social factors that general practitioners nationally have weighted according to the degree to which they increase their workload or pressure on their services. If it is thought desirable to give extra support to general practitioners in areas where they are under the greatest pressure owing to the social characteristics of the community they serve, then this is a way of locating these areas. The method is very flexible, in that other census variables may be included if required, and it is applicable to areas as small as an enumeration district, or a combination of enumeration districts such as a ward, family practitioner committee area, local authority area, health authority area, social services area, regional health authority area, medical practices committee classification district, community nurses' visiting patch, etc. It is also robust, in that fairly large variations in the weightings have relatively small effects on the ultimate scores for each area.

A survey is in progress using the same questionnaire with community nurses in one health district. The weightings obtained from this survey will be used to modify the scores for each enumeration district obtained using the United Kingdom

general practitioners' weightings; preliminary results indicate that the change needed will be small. In principle it would be possible to include service factors by modifying the method but, for the reasons already stated, this has not been done. At present only areas in England and Wales have been studied, but the method could be applied to census data from Scotland and Northern Ireland. The cut off value of score which is taken for the definition of underprivileged areas is, to a certain extent, arbitrary and could be determined on the basis of population by arranging, for example, that 25% of the population fall in areas above the cut off value. Studying the London boroughs using 1971 Census data shows two natural cut off points, such that the boroughs are divided by their scores into three groups regardless of whether the weightings used for the social factors are those of urban, rural, or all of the United Kingdom general practitioners. The boroughs with the highest scores are the inner ones (Hammersmith, Kensington and



FIG 2—Enumeration district composite scores for the western half of Kennington, Chelsea, and Westminster family practitioner committee area. Average score zero (average for that committee area only).

