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# BMJ Open

## Implementation of Medicinal Cannabis: Innovation or Upheaval? Perspectives from Physicians as Key Informants.

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3 **Implementation of Medicinal Cannabis: Innovation or Upheaval? Perspectives from Physicians**  
4 **as Key Informants.**  
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10 Dr Christine Mary Hallinan, Department of General Practice, Melbourne Medical School, Faculty of  
11 Medicine, Dentistry & Health Sciences of the University of Melbourne, Level 3, 780 Elizabeth Street,  
12 Carlton, Victoria, 3053  
13

14  
15 A/Prof Yvonne Ann Bonomo, St Vincent's Health - Department Of Addiction Medicine 38 Fitzroy  
16 Street, Fitzroy, Victoria, 3065  
17

18  
19 Prof Jane Maree Gunn, Department of General Practice, Melbourne Medical School, Faculty of  
20 Medicine, Dentistry and Health Sciences of the University of Melbourne, Level 3, 780 Elizabeth Street,  
21 Carlton, Victoria, 3053  
22  
23  
24

25  
26  
27  
28 Corresponding author at: Dr Christine Hallinan at the Department of General Practice, Melbourne  
29 Medical School, Faculty of Medicine, Dentistry & Health Sciences of the University of Melbourne,  
30 Level 3 780 Elizabeth Street, Building 220, Carlton Victoria, 3053. Telephone +61 438 811 595 Email  
31 address: [hallinan@unimelb.edu.au](mailto:hallinan@unimelb.edu.au)  
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39 MeSH Terms

40 Cannabinoids

41 Organization and administration

42 Therapeutic use

43 History

44 Standards  
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51 Word Count 4967

52 This qualitative research is placed within a theoretical framework, the Diffusions of Innovation Model.  
53 With this, our methods of data analysis were clearly described and theoretically justified. This  
54 contributed to the word count; and adds enhanced rigour to this research.  
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## Implementation of Medicinal Cannabis: Innovation or Upheaval? Perspectives from Physicians

### Abstract

#### Objective

We sought to explore physician perspectives of the prescribing of cannabinoids to patients to gain a deeper understanding of the issues faced by prescriber and policy makers in the rollout of Medicinal Cannabis (MC).

#### Design

A qualitative analysis of 21 in-depth Key Informants interviews was undertaken to explore the policy and practice of MC prescribing. The analysis used an adaptation of the Diffusion of Innovation (DoI) theoretical framework to model the conceptualisation of MC implementation in the Australian context.

#### Setting

Informants from the States of Victoria, New South Wales, Tasmania, Canberra, and Queensland in Australia were invited to participate in a interviews to explore the policy and practice of MC prescribing.

#### Participants

Participants included 21 prescribing and non-prescribing key informants working in specialty areas of neurology, rheumatology, oncology, pain medicine, psychiatry, public health, and general practice.

#### Results

There was agreement among many informants that MC is, indeed, a pharmaceutical innovation. From the analysis of the informant interviews, the factors which will facilitate the diffusion of MC include, the adoption of appropriate regulation, the use of data to evaluate safety and efficacy, the need for improved prescriber education, and the requirement to monitor quality and cost. Most informants asserted the widespread assimilation of MC into practice is impeded by lack of health system antecedents required to facilitate the safe, effective, and equitable access to MC as a therapeutic.

#### Conclusions

This research highlights the tensions that arise, and the factors that influence, the rollout of MC into mainstream clinical practice. Addressing these factors is essential for safe and effective MC prescribing in contemporary medical practice. The findings are not only currently relevant to MC, but to other potential novel therapeutics in the future, where there is already consumer and political pressure for their introduction into practice.

## Strengths and limitations of this study

- Fills an identified gap in the literature by reporting the perspectives of Australian health professionals about the rollout of MC into clinical practice in Australia.
- The research aligns with conventions for ‘quality’ in qualitative research with the use of open-ended interview techniques, an established and validated theoretical Diffusion of Innovations Framework and a sampling strategy has been explicitly described.
- Provides a valuable perspective for other countries to consider.
- Provides evidence around the prescribing of other novel therapeutics emerging in similar fashion to medicinal cannabis, for example the serotonergic psychedelics for mental health and addiction.
- Provides evidence around perspectives from Australian key informants only, and as a result the research may not be generalisable to policy and practice in other countries.

## Background

Cannabis was first used as a medicine as far back as 5,000 years ago,[1, 2]. Legislation enacted in 1961 in the U.S, U.K and Europe however re-classified cannabis from a therapeutic medicine to a prohibited drug,[1, 3-5]. This legislation not only criminalised the use of cannabis, including for medical purposes but also contributed to a lack of pursuit of evidence for its medicinal effects, as procurement of cannabis for scientific studies became restricted,[1, 5].

Since the nineties, there has been a re-emergence of interest in the use of cannabis as a medicinal product driven by multiple factors including developments in understanding about the endogenous cannabinoid system in the brain; the collateral effect of the harmful opioid epidemic in the Western world; increasing prevalence of use of cannabis in the community; community perceptions that cannabis is relatively inert; and the rapid expansion of the medicinal cannabis (MC) industry,[1, 6-8]. Worldwide, community demand for access to MC products has followed this burgeoning interest resulting, in global changes towards treating cannabis as a medicine,[9].

The Director General of the World Health Organization has recommended re-scheduling of MC in the international drug control framework to facilitate the use of cannabinoid substances for medicinal and scientific purposes,[10]. In the United States, an increasing number of states are legalising both medicinal and non-medicinal cannabis use,[10, 11] despite the opposing Federal Law. In the early 2000s, Israel (2001), the Netherlands (2003), and later other countries, including Switzerland (2011), Italy and Czechia (2013), Australia (2016) and Germany (2017) legislated to allow the use of MC under specified conditions,[10]. The Canada and United Kingdom legalised MC in October - November 2018, and other countries such as Luxembourg are following suit,[10, 12].

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3 Notwithstanding these actions, MC exemplifies one of a suite of therapies, that have been introduced  
4 with ambiguous understanding of their therapeutic benefit, and no clear clinical indication supported by  
5 accompanying evidence. Other agents in this category have included 'health supplements' such as  
6 probiotics,[13, 14], e-cigarettes as nicotine replacement therapy,[15], and other currently illicit  
7 substances predicted to be of broader therapeutic value in the future such as psychedelics,[16].  
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11 The implementation of MC should be underpinned by the synthesis of evidence. Hence, the collection  
12 of information specifically relating to physicians' knowledge, concerns, and experiences with MC is  
13 imperative. To date, the majority of studies in the area from a range of countries have highlighted  
14 remarkably consistent themes, which include health professionals' lack of confidence in prescribing MC,  
15 need for education about cannabinoid therapeutics, and their attitudes to cannabis as a therapeutic  
16 agent,[17, 18]. A systematic review undertaken by Gardiner, Singleton, Sheridan, Kyle, & Nissen in  
17 2019, reported on research from 26 studies found that in general, health professionals supported the use  
18 of medicinal cannabis in practice,[17]. This review also reported there was a unanimous lack of self-  
19 perceived knowledge surrounding all aspects of medicinal cannabis and indicated many health  
20 professionals were concerned about direct patient harms and indirect societal harms[17]. The majority  
21 of published evidence that provided a focus on physician perceptions has been collected via surveys and  
22 questionnaires,[19-25]. Of the evidence collected from interviews, were two studies that examined  
23 physician insights around use of MC as a therapeutic agent,[18, 20]. One study published by Braun et  
24 al., in 2018, conducted semi-structured interviews on oncology experts from the United States,[20]. This  
25 research had a specific focus around perceptions of the use of MC in oncology and cancer care. Zolotov  
26 et al., (2018) used narrative analysis of data collected from interviews with twenty-four Israeli physicians  
27 with specialities in pain medicine; oncology family and medicine physicians,[18]. While these  
28 qualitative data provided vital evidence to the current research landscape, neither examined key  
29 informant perspectives on the important broader systemic issues, such as how the 'diffusion' of  
30 medicinal cannabis into medical practice is occurring. Specifically, this research aimed to provide  
31 evidence around key informant perspectives of the role of the prescriber, the differences between  
32 licensed MC products such as *Sativex*® (the sole licenced product in Australia) and unlicensed products  
33 such as all other MC products that require TGA approval but can be prescribed, as well as illegally  
34 produced MC (sometimes referred to as artisanal MC<sup>1</sup>). Informant perspectives on the relevance of  
35 regulatory authorities in the prescribing of MC, and their views on the precedent that MC has set around  
36 consumer-lead medicine were also sought.  
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53 The theoretical model of the Diffusion of Innovation (DoI),[26] helps conceptualise the implementation  
54 of medicinal cannabis globally and the factors needed to facilitate safe and effective rollout. Originating  
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58 <sup>1</sup> Artisanal medicinal cannabis are unregistered herbal cannabinoid preparations produced by small-scale artisanal  
59 farms. Artisanal (bootleg) MC is complex in nature where the quality and quantity of MC compounds vary from  
60 one batch to the next (Sulak, Saneto, & Goldstein, 2017)

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3 in 1962, the framework explains how a product or idea can gain momentum and ‘diffuse’ through a  
4 social system, with the end result being that the product or idea is adopted and becomes a part of the  
5 social system [26]. This framework has previously been used in research relating to innovations in health  
6 care, medical sociology and physician practice including prescribing,[26-35]. MC has characteristics  
7 relevant to pharmaceutical innovations by virtue of its ‘medicinal’ name, the requirement for it to be  
8 prescribed by a medical professional for a health condition, and oversight occurring via regulatory  
9 authorities for pharmaceuticals and other therapeutics, the Food and Drug Administration (FDA) in the  
10 United States, European Medicines Agency (EMA) in Europe and equivalent bodies in other countries.  
11 Applying MC to the DoI framework, a key to its adoption lies in the perception of both prescribers and  
12 community that MC is innovative. Pharmaceutical marketing, drug characteristics, government policies  
13 and the behaviour of both medical professionals and patients are additional key factors in uptake of new  
14 therapeutic agents,[31]. The principle difference with MC, however, is that unlike other pharmaceutical  
15 innovations, it is not a single molecule or single compound, for use in a single, or small cluster of  
16 indications, and importantly it has not emerged from traditional pharmaceutical companies, which have  
17 standard research and development (R & D) and pharmacovigilance systems.

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27 Legislation authorising the compassionate use of MC was endorsed in Australia by State and Federal  
28 governments in October 2016,[36]. Cultivation and production (jointly), research and manufacture of  
29 MC in Australia was also de-criminalised at this time,[37]. On the 1st of November 2016, further  
30 amendments were made to the scheduling of MC products. These changes resulted in certain MC  
31 products (CBD) being down regulated from a Schedule 9 (S9) - Prohibited Substances category, to a  
32 Schedule 8 (S8) - Controlled Drug category by the Australian medicines regulatory body, the  
33 Therapeutic Goods Authority (TGA),[36]. To date, only one MC product is registered, or licensed, in  
34 Australia (*Sativex*®), meaning that all other MC products are therefore unapproved therapeutic goods,  
35 not having been assessed by the TGA for safety, quality or effectiveness,[36].

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43 To address increasing demand, in July 2018 an online system was introduced on to enable a more  
44 streamlined application process for the lodgement of Special Access Scheme Category B (SAS-B)  
45 applications for TGA approval to prescribe unlicensed MC preparations,[36]. Since then, from a baseline  
46 of 146 applications recorded in June 2018, applications have increase at an exponential rate with record  
47 of 6,682 applications in the month of March 2021,[36]. This represents a 4,477 percentage increase in  
48 the number of SAS B approvals, and amounts to a cumulative total of 109,288 approvals across the  
49 period (Figure 1),[36]. Notwithstanding this, there is still discord around those who are in favour of MC  
50 and those who are not, and this potentially drives a chasm between patients and their physicians, and  
51 between physicians and their colleagues.

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58 In terms of the global context, the Australian approach to MC beginning with adoption of legislative  
59 changes permitting its prescribing delivers a unique opportunity to gather important evidence for the  
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2 factors which impact on the rollout of MC. It also enables an examination not previously described of  
3 what influences the diffusion and dissemination of MC into contemporary clinical practice. Importantly,  
4 it provides an opportunity to investigate the health system and regulatory factors that are associated with  
5 the provision and monitoring of MC to patients. It is thus timely to examine *de novo*, the ‘diffusion’ of  
6 MC to gain a greater understanding of the facilitators and barriers to the safe and appropriate  
7 dissemination of MC to patients by their physicians.  
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13 Our aim was to gain a deeper understanding of the factors that are associated with the diffusion of an  
14 unlicensed therapeutic into medical practice for which strong consumer demand preceded the research  
15 evidence. This is essential to informing both the ‘rollout’ of MC and the way medicine is practised in  
16 the twenty-first century. Furthermore, it provides lessons that will be relevant for the future, with the  
17 other potential novel therapeutic agents, subject to the similar influences, being introduced into clinical  
18 practice. These findings are also highly relevant to the global context of medicinal cannabis,  
19 demonstrating to countries considering the introduction of MC the lessons learned through the Australian  
20 experience.  
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## 27 **Methods**

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30 A qualitative narrative analysis was used to investigate the phenomena around the prescribing of MC in  
31 the Australian context. Informants were invited to participate in an in-depth interview which was guided  
32 by some key questions (Table 1). The selection of the key informants invited to participate in this  
33 research was based on their involvement in the clinical practice where MC might be prescribed or in the  
34 development of policy for MC prescribing.  
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39 Both prescribing and non-prescribing key informants were interviewed as it was deemed important to  
40 understand not only the factors that influenced an individual to prescribe MC, but also the factors that  
41 influenced others to decide not to prescribe MC. The focus of the interviews was on MC products that  
42 can be prescribed via the TGA-SAS-B scheme. This included the registered MC product, *Sativex*® and  
43 non-registered MC formulations such as *Cannabidiol*®, *Capilano*® and *Tilray*®. It was anticipated that  
44 informants might raise the issue of non-prescribed artisanal MC products and how illegal access to  
45 artisanal MC impacts on patient care. This information was included in the analysis. Informants were  
46 advised that use of ‘recreational’ cannabis for medical or health reasons was considered out of scope for  
47 this study.  
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54 Key informants were selected using purposive and snowballing techniques. Initially informants were  
55 selected following an environmental scan and rapid review of the literature using the search term  
56 ‘medicinal cannabis’. Environmental scans are increasingly being viewed as a valuable tool in health  
57 care scoping,[38] and rapid reviews are a useful methodology for the collection of information in a  
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3 timely manner, [39, 40]. Other potential key informants were identified following interviews using peer  
4 snowballing. This involved invitation of the peers of interviewees following their suggestion to do so.  
5 The professional networks of the researchers were also used in the selection process. Classifying MC as  
6 an ‘innovation’, a priori thematic saturation was determined to be interviews from at least 20 key  
7 informants,[41]. Informants were sent an email and a postal invitation; this recruitment methodology  
8 has been shown to increase response rates,[42]. The informants who did not respond were followed up  
9 with either another email and/or a phone call of invitation to participate. All informants were provided  
10 a patient information leaflet statement (PLIS), which required their signature, this provided the research  
11 informed consent.  
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18 Semi-structured interviews, average duration of one hour, were conducted by two authors (CH,YB) face  
19 to face, via video conference, or telephone (Table 1). All informants were notified that the interview  
20 would be recorded and transcribed verbatim. Notes were taken during the interview. Reflexive notes  
21 were developed on completion of interview. This involved a critical analysis of the interview process  
22 by the interviewers (CH, YB). All interview data was de-identified and stored in a secure platform.  
23 Data was then managed in NVivo12,[43]. Inductive coding of the data was done by two authors (CH,  
24 YB). This duplication enabled the validity of the result to be assessed,[44].  
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### 30 **Patient and Public Involvement**

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33 Patients and members of the public were not involved in the design, conduct, reporting, or dissemination  
34 plans of this research.  
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### 37 **Results**

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40 A broad cross-section of the medical community who had an interest in MC was sought. Twenty-six  
41 individuals were approached, twenty-three accepted, of these one withdrew for personal reasons, and  
42 another withdrew because of time constraints. There were three potential informants who did not respond  
43 to any of the invitations, these individuals were not directly involved in the prescribing of MC. Of the  
44 informants who accepted, thirteen were active prescribers, four were non-prescribers, and four were  
45 policy makers. The 21 key informants included neurologists, rheumatologists, oncologists, pain  
46 specialists, psychiatrists, public health advisors and general practitioners. All informants were based in  
47 the Eastern States and Territories of Australia (Victoria, New South Wales, Tasmania, Canberra, and  
48 Queensland). There were no informants from other states of Australia (South Australia, Western  
49 Australia, and Northern Territory) because at the time of the interviews there was minimal MC  
50 prescribing in these jurisdictions. Interviews were conducted between November 2018 and January  
51 2019.  
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## FACTORS INFLUENCING THE DIFFUSION OF MEDICINAL CANNABIS IN AUSTRALIA

A number of components in the DoI framework were described by the informants in relation to medicinal cannabis (Figure 2).

### MEDICINAL CANNABIS AS AN INNOVATION

The information in this domain is depicted in the *Innovation* block (Figure 2).

#### *Relative advantage against other medicines*

Several key informants saw innovation in MC in its use for the treatment of several conditions where patients present with significant and debilitating refractory symptoms due to the lack of efficacy of current therapies. Examples of conditions cited by the informants included childhood epilepsy, chemotherapy related nausea and vomiting, pain management for patients in palliative care and chronic non-malignant pain, and young people with anxiety. Some informants perceived MC as relatively inert, and therefore advantageous, especially when comparing adverse events with other therapeutics that have been used to treat the above conditions.

Several individuals reported on the positive benefits from MC that were either observed in their clinical practice, or derived from the scientific literature. On the other hand, some found that not all patients benefited from MC, and in these situations prescribing of MC ceased.

Often, informants articulated vague benefits of MC. One individual described the effects of cannabis as ‘different’ and ‘special’. Several described that patients reported they ‘just felt better’. They were also vague about potential harms of MC. Some reported concern about its effects on the developing brain and risks associated with cognitive impairment in young people as well as risks more generally of impairment in relation to driving. Most asserted that MC should only be prescribed for the conditions recommended by the TGA, and highlighted the caveat that risks of harm needed to be considered relative to the severity of the indication for its use. For instance, prescribing MC to a young child posed more of a concern than prescribing to a patient with terminal cancer as part of a palliative care regime (Box 1).

#### *Box 1*

*it doesn't work for everybody and for some people it has no benefits whatsoever, for some people, it has terrible side effects, but I believe that users are best able to work with their doctors if they think it is a benefit to them. It kind of is one of those things that you kind of have to try.*

*I am not the fearful cannabis will kill you all and I am not [..convinced..] cannabis will cure all.*

### *Complexities with medicinal cannabis*

All informants referred to the prescribing of MC as being fraught with complexities associated with ambiguities around its effectiveness, the political process involved in its 'roll out', the patients and conditions in which it is prescribed and the prescribing process itself.

Some informants also referred to concerns around the purity, concentration, and consistency of MC products. For example, they queried the reliability of MC preparation or concentrations of THC and CBD that may not match the dosages they wished to prescribe. Issues relating to a naivety among some MC companies regarding regulations pertaining to storage of scheduled products, lack of solid data on product efficacy and lack of understanding about the imperative to report adverse events that are standard practice in mainstream pharmaceutical companies. A few informants also described ambiguities regarding where MC 'fits' in contemporary medical models of care, such that, some informants did not view MC as a medicine, rather an 'unregulated herb'. Many reported concerns around the lack of empirical evidence of efficacy and lack of data around adverse events. Several informants reported on concerns about the financial costs incurred by patients wanting cannabis medicines. Some described costs as prohibitive, especially in situations where patients had been enrolled in trials that had come to an end. Informants also recounted lag times, particularly early in the roll out, where a request for cannabis and patient access to the product could take several months (Box 2).

#### *Box 2*

*There's no reimbursement - no subsidy, I should say, and the companies are just taking advantage of the situation. I find it difficult to believe that it could actually cost \$650 a bottle for them to make it and sell it at a profit.*

*[Costs] to the order of a couple of grand a month. One to two and a half thousand per month. The one thousand is because it's an infant. It's prohibitively expensive. Broadly, if there's a family that are asking and meet that sort of criteria, severe and failed everything, I'm very happy to prescribe the private script. As long as they're properly informed and consented. It's a huge chunk of money for most people.*

The vast majority of informants reported on the great divide between the safety and quality of products that have been derived from an unregulated market, such as in MC production, and pharmaceuticals that

*Box 3*

*The question is if it's grown outdoors - so, the first thing is, it has to be organic, there can be no chemicals or anything else used, herbicides, because if you're using for medicine. The second thing is it has to be consistent.*

had been appropriately trialled and accordingly developed to a standard for approval by the TGA. Some mentioned concerns about toxicology of the product and the need to titrate the product slowly to ensure the patient was not receiving 'toxic' levels too quickly that impeded the patient's functioning. Others were concerned about the quality of the product because of uncertainty about the conditions of manufacturing (Box 3).

### ***Trialability of medicinal cannabis***

Many informants indicated they were involved in trialling the product, where they were invited to participate in open-labelled trials by governments and MC companies. In these trials, the prescriber was the conduit between the patient and the cannabis, which was provided to the patient by the MC companies. This provided an opportunity to their patients for cost free access to cannabis and also enabled them to understand more about how to prescribe MC and to monitor their patient's response, whether it be symptomatic relief or reports of adverse events (Box 4).

*Box 4*

*I'm a strong advocate for this being treated the same as any other medicine. In that way ideally cannabinoid trials would continue, just like any other medicine...*

*Most of us - people are generating trial data but really in very specific...[conditions]*

## **DIFFUSION OF MEDICINAL CANNABIS**

The information in this domain is depicted in the *Diffusion and Dissemination* block (Figure 2).

### ***Professional information and evidence about innovative pharmaceuticals***

All informants discussed the requisite for explicit knowledge to inform prescribers on the effects and outcomes of MC. Many informants reported they gained explicit knowledge through access to peer reviewed publications and through government websites such as the TGA. They also described gaining knowledge from information provided to them by their peers, although a few informants reported they

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3 were not confident of the knowledge base of colleagues. The gaining of implicit knowledge by  
4 undertaking open-label trials and monitoring their patients who are on the trials, was viewed as  
5 informing their own practice as well as contributing to the evidence base. Prescribing to patients  
6 provided further tacit knowledge. In this case informants reported unexpected effects, such as  
7 symptomatic relief in some patients who were prescribed only a very small amount of product and  
8 minimal effects of patients who were prescribed large doses of the same product. The potential for  
9 placebo effect was acknowledged, but did not deter from continuing to prescribe MC. Informants also  
10 discussed concerns around prescribing MC when the exact quantity of cannabidiol (CBD)<sup>2</sup> compared to  
11 (tetrahydrocannabinol) THC<sup>3</sup> is often not confirmed, as the manufacturing of the product is not  
12 controlled by any pharmaceutical regulatory body. Many mentioned that the paucity of validated  
13 evidence on the effects and adverse outcomes associated with MC use was a limitation in the 'roll out'  
14 of cannabis to patients.  
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22 Prescribers also reported they had minimal explicit knowledge on the prescribing process, especially  
23 regarding how to prescribe an unregulated medicine to a patient. Notwithstanding this, all reported much  
24 implicit and tacit knowledge was gained with each prescription that was prescribed (Box 5).  
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28 *Box 5*

29 *The problem - I think that people - general public will have their views about it being useful for x and*  
30 *y because that's already out there. I think the medical profession, hopefully if the data gets better,*  
31 *will have a better idea about what it actually is useful for and what combinations of different*  
32 *compounds are...*  
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39 **DISSEMINATION OF MEDICINAL CANNABIS**

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42 ***Marketing efforts by medicinal cannabis companies***

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45 The majority of informants perceived MC companies greatly facilitated the dissemination of medicinal  
46 product by actively pursuing doctors and inviting them to either trial their product, or prescribe to  
47 patients via newly established Cannabis Access Clinics. Several informants reported MC companies  
48 frequently cited overseas 'successes' relating to the roll out of MC. They also mentioned the  
49 entrepreneurial nature of the MC industry, and referred to the risks associated with the artisanal MC  
50 products as well as patients who can, or will, 'grow their own' particularly if cannabis becomes legalised.  
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57 <sup>2</sup> CBD – not psychoactive, exhibits no effects indicative of any abuse or dependence potential.

58 [https://www.who.int/medicines/access/controlled-substances/5.2\\_CBD.pdf](https://www.who.int/medicines/access/controlled-substances/5.2_CBD.pdf)

59 <sup>3</sup> THC - the major psychoactive constituent in found in cannabis

60 [https://www.who.int/substance\\_abuse/facts/cannabis/en/](https://www.who.int/substance_abuse/facts/cannabis/en/)

### ***Expert Opinion***

Some informants referred to individuals they perceived as MC ‘champions’ in Australia. These individuals viewed it as a therapeutic product that should be normalised and accessible through unrestricted prescribing pathways.

### **Policy drivers and the need for technical support**

Informants frequently reported the process for prescribing was quite technical, especially regarding the necessary requirements for a prescriber to gain an authorised prescriber status by the Therapeutic Goods Authority. Most reported that support was provided by the TGA around the process. Both the TGA and prescribers reported the technical process around prescribing were both labour intensive and burdensome, particularly initially.

### **HEALTH SYSTEM READINESS FOR MEDICINAL CANNABIS**

The information in this domain is depicted in the *Health System Readiness* block (Figure 2).

### ***Agency for Change***

The vast majority of informants reported that the agency for change leading to rapid evolution of cannabis from that of an herb to that of medicine was the political response to patient demand. Many also commented that this had caught much of the medical profession unawares. A striking number of informants referred, without prompting, to metaphors associated with ‘the bolting horse’ and a few referred to the Trojan horse, where they felt the medicalising of cannabis was a way for recreational users to access legalised cannabis under the guise of a medicine (Box 6).

#### ***Box 6***

*‘the horse has bolted’; ‘the horse has bolted and left the cart way behind’; ‘the horse has bolted so far it’s over the horizon’; ‘the horse has disappeared over the horizon’; ‘given that the horse has bolted’, ‘given that the horse is a government horse, the jockey has fallen off’; it was a rather opportunistic cart before the horse but good publicity move on behalf of the politicians’*

*there’s a bit of a Trojan horse dynamic here I think, where those who actually, really are dependent and need and want it because they’re dependent, have now got an easy way of communicating, give it to me because I’ve got a medical problem*

*With the current trend of course we’re going to end up with the legalisation of cannabis...That’s clearly the hidden - that’s the Trojan horse*

*They [politicians] were, in a way, pushed into this - I mean, it [medicinal cannabis] might act as a Trojan horse to some degree*



### ***Implementation of the 'roll out' of medicinal cannabis – preparedness for regulation***

Some informants argued for the need for new governmental arrangements between legislative structures and the 'content experts' to drive the medicinal strategy forward. Most were open to expansion of the program, yet all felt MC was unhinged by the rapid and under-resourced 'roll out' of the innovation, and lack of systemic monitoring (Box 7).

#### ***Box 7***

*That's our challenge now - to re-think our legislative structures and how we manage problems so that we can reduce the induced, indirect harm, which is the legal harms... without increasing access, availability, advertising, promotion, and cost incentives to increase consumption and thereby increase harm.*

### ***Power balance: medical professional and patient factors***

A number of individuals expressed their view that MC is compatible with the way they work, citing the doctor-patient relationship and a duty of care to their patients as reasons for considering prescribing medicinal cannabis. Some informants commented on the tenacity with which patients believed that cannabinoids would provide benefit, and remarked that this was an influential factor for them to take up prescribing.

Social influences were also cited by a number of informants. They noted that the families of children with chronic conditions, celebrities, advocacy groups and politicians have been strong social influencers to prescribe MC. This had been unprecedented compared to any other area of medical practice. It was felt that this had both benefits, in raising awareness and attracting philanthropic, and to a lesser extent, government funding, but also disadvantages. Informants cited that pressure, even coercion and a lack of acknowledgement by these social influences of the standard process for introduction of a new therapeutics has, to some extent, created a division between the community and health professionals.

### **IMPLEMENTATION OF MEDICINAL CANNABIS 'ROLLOUT'**

The information in this domain is depicted in the *Implementation* block (Figure 2).

### ***Policy and support from government agencies for the 'rollout' of MC***



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3 Many cited a lack of leadership and direction from the medical profession, governments, and  
4 government agencies in the initial stages of the rollout, although most of these informants reported this  
5 has improved with time. For example, the guidance documents published on the TGA website were  
6 described as beneficial and of those who had prescribed, all reported the streamlining of the application  
7 processes around the provision of medicinal cannabis to patients most beneficial. One informant felt the  
8 TGA had done a remarkably good job in navigating through the issues, especially considering the  
9 political pressure they were under and the clinical reality of prescribing an unlicensed product to a  
10 patient. Regarding access to formalised education, all informants stated this was greatly needed but that  
11 instead they had resorted to being 'self-taught'. They described this as burdensome, but most justified  
12 this by saying they were prepared to do this because they felt they had a duty of care towards their  
13 patients.  
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21 The majority of informants acknowledged the need for a robust and nimble pharmacovigilance system  
22 for reporting of adverse events so that they understood what to monitor during patient review as well as  
23 review what other health professionals were observing. Most considered that the systematic monitoring  
24 of prescribing outcomes was vital for the safety of future patients, and many raised concerns about  
25 potential harms associated with the provision of medicinal cannabis to children and young people. All  
26 considered the system currently in place for pharmacovigilance was inadequate and described the need  
27 for systematic and sustained research around medicinal cannabis and its effect on humans Box 8.  
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33 *Box 8*

34 *There is a dearth of knowledge. We need to have a prospective arrangement in order to supply*  
35 *pharmacovigilance that are also about outcomes - the profiles of people who are benefiting and not*  
36 *benefitting. So I think there's a bit of a direction of duty there.*  
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40 *...the idea of proper pharmacovigilance. And that's safe prescribing, and it's just a whole system that*  
41 *we just don't have in Australia...It would be good if we can make some changes because that'll have*  
42 *a benefit across the board.*  
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46 *The way we make advances in medicine is through research. If it just falls down to anecdotal stories*  
47 *and claims, then we're not going to know the right doses for children with epilepsy.*  
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51 *I think there's a high risk of a poorly regulated market, or limited regulation market, where patients,*  
52 *children, will be able to get maybe partially subsidised products that are probably manufactured well*  
53 *but don't have the trial backing.*  
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## Discussion

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3 MC has not rolled out into the Australian community smoothly as a potential therapeutic, confirmed by  
4 a report from a Senate Inquiry into *Current Barriers to Patient Access to Medicinal Cannabis in*  
5 *Australia* published in March 2020,[45]. This study of 21 key informants provides important details  
6 regarding what has been effective and why, as well as which factors are barriers that need to be addressed  
7 if safe and effective prescribing of MC is to be made available to the Australian community. The key  
8 informants overwhelmingly acknowledged the complexity of MC and highlighted the dynamic and  
9 contingent aspects to its implementation, as well as the continually shifting environmental context  
10 (including public and political attitudes, economic aspects to its implementation) and other complex  
11 service level considerations. Given this, the experience from diffusion of pharmaceuticals,[31] and other  
12 innovations,[26], is very helpful to understanding how MC has been implemented to date, as well as,  
13 moving forwards, what steps are needed for its rollout to continue to be as safe, appropriate and effective  
14 as possible.

### 22 23 **MC as an Innovation**

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25 The majority of informants viewed MC as an innovation for reasons articulated in the DoI model (Figure  
26 2). It was seen as a therapeutic with potential, albeit not conclusive, advantages over other medicines,  
27 especially when used as adjunct treatment. Informants who were prescribers described being able to trial  
28 using MC in patients without significant adverse effects. This added to the knowledge required, but as  
29 yet difficult to access, in relation to how to prescribe MC.

### 34 35 **Diffusion and Dissemination**

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37 Factors in the DoI model that facilitated diffusion and dissemination were described by the informants  
38 and these included peers and professional networks providing the information needed to take up  
39 prescribing (Figure 2). Dissemination via these channels, as well as via MC companies, was also  
40 highlighted as positive influences in MC rollout.

### 44 45 **MC System Antecedents**

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47 The DoI model categorises system antecedents into Structure (e. g. maturity, history, and MC) distributor  
48 resources, Knowledge (e.g. pre-existing understanding of the endocannabinoid system and the  
49 pharmacology of cannabinoids) and Context (e.g. medical leadership in the prescribing of MC) (Figure  
50 2). It was evident from the informant interviews that this domain in the DoI model had largely been  
51 deficient in the rollout of MC. This helps understand how lack of system readiness, reflected in the  
52 staggered legislative changes around the various jurisdictions of Australia, has impacted on MC  
53 diffusion and dissemination. System antecedents are clearly very important factors and this observation  
54 is useful learning for other countries considering the introduction of MC.

## Health System Readiness

Some aspects of health system readiness were described, such as agency for change, and system fit, e.g. preparedness for regulation, and the power balance between Supporters (largely patients and their advocates) and Opponents (largely medical professionals and regulatory authorities). Missing components of this domain, and factors that are needed moving forwards not only for Australia, but also other countries, relate predominantly to pharmacovigilance, especially time and resources to perform this monitoring and feedback to regulatory authorities, patients and MC suppliers and the sustainability of this in the longer term (Figure 2).

## Prescriber Adoption, Assimilation, and Practice

This remains a stark gap in the diffusion of MC into the Australian community (Figure 2). Understanding the needs, motivation, values, goals, skills and learning style of health professionals in relation to prescribing MC is an area that will need far greater attention for continued rollout of MC. While the most immediate needs such as prescribing guidance and streamlined regulatory approval have been important steps, there are other policy levers that have been shown to be important influences on the uptake of new practices in primary care,[46-50].

Levers used to promote the diffusion of a new therapeutic, often incorporate a blend of financial and non-financial incentives can include direct remuneration, performance feedback and the delivery of information technology systems. For example, financial incentives could incorporate the inclusion of a Medicare item number to report and monitor the prescribing of MC. Similarly, workflow tools, such as GP software for Electronic Medical Records (EMR) that prompt consideration of medicinal cannabinoids as a therapeutic, facilitate the reporting of effectiveness and adverse events are other important instruments that have the potential to leverage change.

## Implementation

While helpful, government and policy changes have been mentioned earlier, other notable factors in the DoI framework that will assist safe implementation of MC including training, dedicated resources and, importantly, feedback on progress. This is where pharmacovigilance and patient reported outcome measures (PROM) are vital.

## Consequences of MC

Rapid changes in today's world are challenging the traditional ways that authoritative bodies such as regulatory agencies and medical colleges authorise and endorse medical practices, and MC is no exception. Notwithstanding the steps that have been undertaken by these authorities to accommodate

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3 MC, their relevance is threatened, and they face substantial pressures to change how they operate, [51].  
4 Most importantly, ongoing dialogue is needed between regulatory authorities, health professionals and  
5 the community, both at the outset and throughout the process of rollout, to work through the issues  
6 highlighted by the informants in this study. In the first instance, acknowledgement is needed between  
7 patients and prescribers that there remains a paucity of knowledge about side effects and adverse events  
8 of medicinal cannabinoids and therefore a willingness to contribute to pharmacovigilance systems.  
9 Equally, as has been proposed by others, the voice and experience of consumers needs to be incorporated  
10 into the way health professionals prescribe, and regulatory authorities facilitate, provision of medicinal  
11 cannabis,[52]. This research design enables exploration of many issues and key themes, however  
12 ongoing research is needed to continue to explore and understand these, given the constantly changing  
13 clinical, economic, and political influences both in Australia and internationally.  
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## 21 **Conclusion**

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23 Medicinal cannabis marks a new era in the practice of medicine. Informants were, for the most part,  
24 comfortable with the increasing trend for consumer-lead advocacy and input into their healthcare, as has  
25 clearly been seen with MC. However, many expressed concern that this seemed to be at the expense of  
26 ‘tried and true’ methods in clinical practice. Especially highlighted was, the perception that clinical  
27 practice is moving away from the scientific paradigm and evidence-based medicine. Given this, an  
28 understanding of the multiple interacting factors known to influence the diffusion of pharmaceutical  
29 innovations is imperative to facilitate safe and effective implementation of medicinal cannabinoids into  
30 clinical practice. Incorporation of consumer experience into the way physicians prescribe, and regulatory  
31 authorities facilitate, provision of medicinal cannabis is needed. Consumers and prescribers also need to  
32 be willing to embrace innovative methods of pharmacovigilance to address the gaps in evidence for the  
33 wide range of indications for which MC is being prescribed. We have shown that the relationships  
34 between the different influencing factors are critical to innovation success. Substantial collaboration is  
35 therefore needed moving forwards with MC. Substantial collaboration, both at the outset and during the  
36 rollout, is therefore needed moving forwards with MC, including communication, consultation, and  
37 dialogue between key stakeholders - consumers, prescribers, regulatory authorities, and politicians. This  
38 is fundamental to proceeding safely and effectively with the dissemination of medicinal cannabis into  
39 clinical practice.  
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## 51 **Contributors**

52 Interviews were carried out by CH and YB. Analysis was led by CH and YB. CH and YB conceived of  
53 the study, and participated in its design. CH, YB and JG read and approved the final manuscript.  
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2  
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8 experiences to this research.  
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### 12 13 **Competing interests**

14 Yvonne Bonomo is a principal investigator for industry sponsored clinical trial of the pharmacokinetics  
15 of medicinal cannabis for Zelira Therapeutics Ltd.  
16  
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### 18 19 **Ethics Approval**

20 This study had University of Melbourne Human Research Ethics approval (HREC 181524.1).  
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### 23 24 **Data sharing statement**

25 No additional data are available.  
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### 28 29 **Twitter Follow**

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**Table 1. Interview Guide**

<b>Theme</b>	<b>Question</b>
Medicinal cannabis as an innovative medicine	<i>Before we start, do you view Medicinal Cannabis as a (pharmaceutical) medicine, or do you feel it should be defined as another type of product?</i>
Role for medicinal cannabis as a pharmaceutical	<i>What do you see currently as the role for medicinal cannabis?</i>
Experience with medicinal cannabis	<i>Can you tell us a bit about your experiences around medicinal cannabis?</i>
Rollout of medicinal cannabis in Australia	<i>Take us through the processes of prescribing medicinal cannabis from when a patient presents, to when they leave and when you review their progress?</i>
Overall attitude to medicinal cannabis in Australia	<i>Is there anything that we haven't discussed yet that you think is important for us to know about? Such as a take home or 'chestnut' message.</i>

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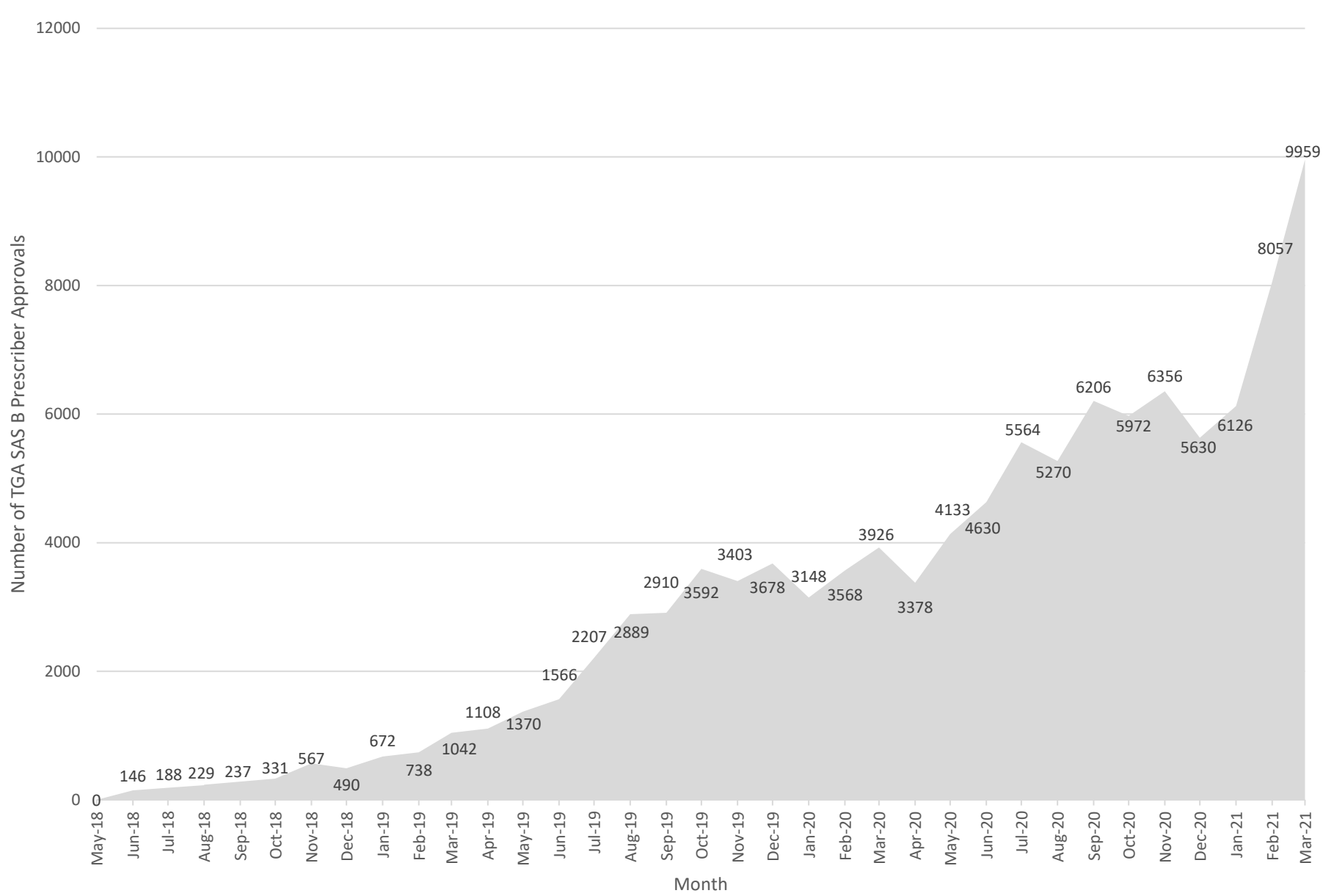


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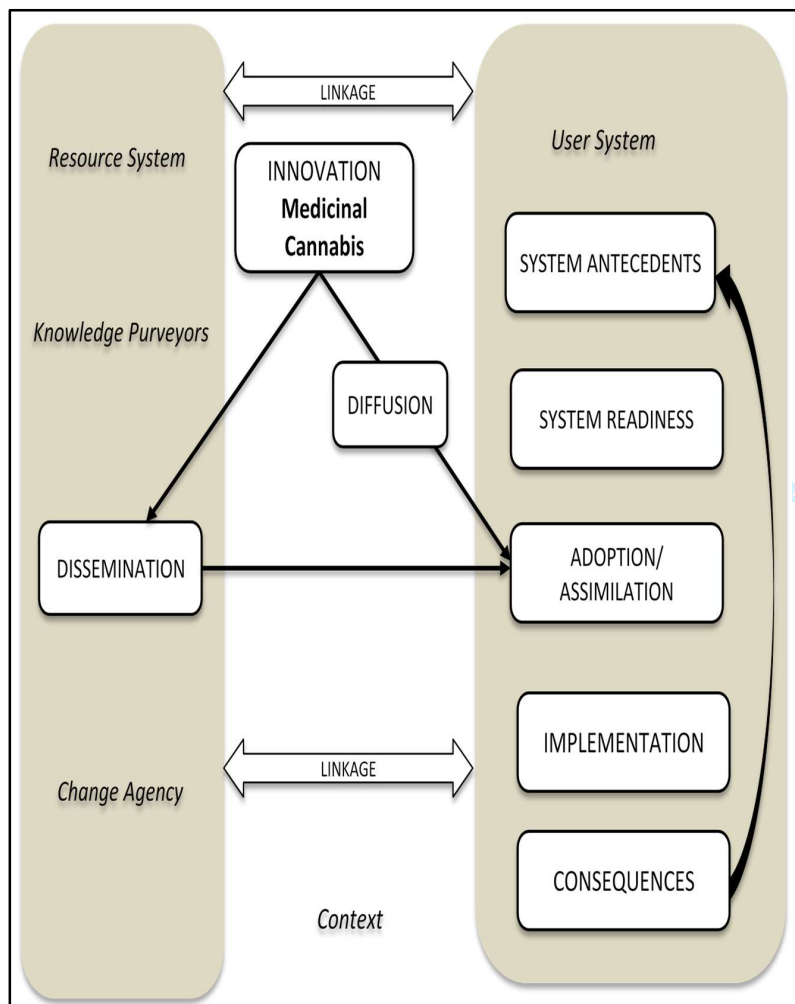
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CANNABIS AS A MEDICINE		
<b>INNOVATION</b>	<b>DIFFUSION &amp; DISSEMINATION</b>	
Relative advantage against other 'medicines' Compatibility with other treatments Complexity Trialability Risk Knowledge explicit/implicit Technical support	Informal or Formal/Planned or Unplanned	
	DIFFUSION Profession networks Peer opinion	DISEMINATION Marketing Expert opinion Champions Policy drivers
<b>MC SYSTEM ANTECEDENTS</b>	Structure	Maturity, history, knowledge MC Distributer Resources
	Knowledge	Developing Integrated
	Context	Leadership
<b>HEALTH SYSTEM READINESS</b>	Agency for change System fit – Preparedness for regulation Power balance - Supporters vs. Opponents Assessment - Pharmacovigilance Capacity-Time and resources for monitoring Sustainability – Ongoing monitoring and feedback	
<b>PRESCRIBER ADOPTION and ASSIMILATION into PRACTICE</b>	Needs, Motivation, Values, Goals, Skills, Learning Style	
<b>IMPLEMENTATION MC Prescribing 'rollout'</b>	Government and policy Support from Government agencies Training and dedicated resources Feedback on progress	
<b>CONSEQUENCES of MC Prescribing</b>	Outcomes-Positive, Neutral, Negative Un-intended events, Adverse events	

Adapted from Greenhalgh T et. al. (2004) Diffusion of innovations in service organizations: systematic review and recommendations. *Milbank Quarterly*, 82 (4), pp 581-629,[30]

# BMJ Open

## Implementation of Medicinal Cannabis in Australia: Innovation or Upheaval? Perspectives from Physicians as Key Informants, a Qualitative Analysis.

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## **Implementation of Medicinal Cannabis in Australia: Innovation or Upheaval? Perspectives from Physicians as Key Informants, a Qualitative Analysis.**

Dr Christine Mary Hallinan, Department of General Practice, Melbourne Medical School, Faculty of Medicine, Dentistry & Health Sciences of the University of Melbourne, Level 3, 780 Elizabeth Street, Carlton, Victoria, 3053

Prof Jane Maree Gunn, Department of General Practice, Melbourne Medical School, Faculty of Medicine, Dentistry and Health Sciences of the University of Melbourne, Level 3, 780 Elizabeth Street, Carlton, Victoria, 3053

A/Prof Yvonne Ann Bonomo, St Vincent's Health, Department Of Addiction Medicine 38 Fitzroy Street, Fitzroy, Victoria, 3065

Corresponding author at: Dr Christine Hallinan at the Department of General Practice, Melbourne Medical School, Faculty of Medicine, Dentistry & Health Sciences of the University of Melbourne, Level 3 780 Elizabeth Street, Building 220, Carlton Victoria, 3053. Telephone +61 438 811 595 Email address: [hallinan@unimelb.edu.au](mailto:hallinan@unimelb.edu.au)

MeSH Terms

Cannabinoids

Organisation and administration

Therapeutic use

History

Standards

Word Count 5327

This qualitative research is placed within a theoretical framework, the Diffusions of Innovation Model. With this, our methods of data analysis were clearly described and theoretically justified. This contributed to the word count; and adds enhanced rigour to this research.

# Implementation of Medicinal Cannabis in Australia: Innovation or Upheaval? Perspectives from Physicians as Key Informants, a Qualitative Analysis.

## ABSTRACT

### Objective

We sought to explore physician perspectives on the prescribing of cannabinoids to patients to gain a deeper understanding of the issues faced by prescriber and public health advisors in the rollout of medicinal cannabis.

### Design

A thematic qualitative analysis of 21 in-depth interviews was undertaken to explore the narrative on the policy and practice of medicinal cannabis prescribing. The analysis used the Diffusion of Innovation (DoI) theoretical framework to model the conceptualisation of medicinal cannabis implementation in the Australian context.

### Setting

Informants from the States of Victoria, New South Wales, Tasmania, Canberra, and Queensland in Australia were invited to participate in a interviews to explore the policy and practice of medicinal cannabis prescribing.

### Participants

Participants included 21 prescribing and non-prescribing key informants working in area of neurology, rheumatology, oncology, pain medicine, psychiatry, public health, and general practice.

### Results

There was agreement among many informants that medicinal cannabis is, indeed, a pharmaceutical innovation. From the analysis of the informant interviews, the factors which facilitate the diffusion of medicinal cannabis include, the adoption of appropriate regulation, the use of data to evaluate safety and efficacy, the need for improved prescriber education, and the requirement to monitor quality and cost. Most informants asserted the widespread assimilation of medicinal cannabis into practice is impeded by lack of health system antecedents required to facilitate the safe, effective, and equitable access to medicinal cannabis as a therapeutic.

### Conclusions

This research highlights the tensions that arise and the factors that influence the rollout of cannabis as an unregulated medicine. Addressing these factors is essential for the safe and effective prescribing in contemporary medical practice. The findings of this research provides important evidence on medicinal cannabis as a therapeutic, and also informs the rollout of potential novel therapeutics in the future.

## Strengths and limitations of this study

- Fills an identified gap in the literature by reporting physician perspectives of the rollout of medicinal cannabis in Australia.
- The research aligns with conventions for ‘quality’ in qualitative research as reported in the COREQ<sup>1</sup> checklist for the reporting of qualitative research.
- Research was guided by a validated theoretical framework, the Diffusion of Innovations model.
- Provides evidence around perspectives from Australian key informants only, and as a result the research may not be generalisable to policy and practice in other countries.
- The purposive and snowball sampling techniques are non-random, and may not be generalisable across population groups who do have experience of, and or interest in, medicinal cannabis prescribing.

## BACKGROUND

Cannabis was first used as a medicine as far back as 5,000 years ago,[1, 2]. Legislation enacted by the Single Convention on Narcotic Drugs in 1961, however re-classified cannabis from a therapeutic medicine to a prohibited drug,[1, 3-6]. This legislation not only criminalised the use of cannabis, including for medical purposes but also contributed to a lack of pursuit of evidence for its medicinal effects, as procurement of cannabis for scientific studies became restricted,[1, 6]. Hence during this time, the focus of cannabis research was around the recreational use of cannabis and associated drug policies rather than that of cannabis for medicinal purposes. It was not until research into the endocannabinoid system was established in the 1990’s that interest in cannabis as a medicine gained momentum,[1].

Since the nineties, there has been a re-emergence of interest in the use of cannabis as a medicinal product driven by multiple factors including developments in understanding about the endogenous cannabinoid system; the collateral effect of the harmful opioid epidemic in the Western world; increasing prevalence of use of cannabis in the community; community perceptions that cannabis is relatively inert; and the rapid expansion of the medicinal cannabis industry,[1, 6-8]. Worldwide, community demand for access to medicinal cannabis products has followed this burgeoning interest resulting, in global changes towards treating cannabis as a medicine,[9].

The Director General of the World Health Organization has recommended re-scheduling of medicinal cannabis in the international drug control framework to facilitate the use of cannabinoid substances for medicinal and scientific purposes,[7] This recommendation has followed legislative changes across the globe where in the early 2000s, Israel (2001), Canada (2001), the Netherlands (2003), and later other

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<sup>1</sup> Consolidated criteria for reporting qualitative research (COREQ): a 32-item checklist for interviews and focus groups. <https://doi.org/10.1093/intqhc/mzm042>

1 countries, including Switzerland (2011), Italy and Czechia (2013), Australia (2016) and Germany (2017)  
2 legislated the use of medicinal cannabis under specified conditions,[7]. An increasing number of states  
3 in the United States are also legalising both medicinal and non-medicinal cannabis use, despite opposing  
4 Federal Laws,[7, 8]. The United Kingdom legalised medicinal cannabis in late 2018, and other countries  
5 such as Luxembourg are following suit with the introduction of pilot programs for medicinal cannabis,[7,  
6 9].

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12 Legislation authorising the compassionate use of medicinal cannabis was endorsed in Australia by State  
13 and Federal governments in October 2016,[10]. Cultivation and production (jointly), research and  
14 manufacture of medicinal cannabis in Australia was also de-criminalised at this time,[11]. On the 1st of  
15 November 2016, further amendments were made to the scheduling of medicinal cannabis products.  
16 These changes resulted in certain medicinal cannabis products (CBD) being down regulated from a  
17 Schedule 9 (S9) - Prohibited Substances category, to a Schedule 8 (S8)-Controlled Drug category by the  
18 Australian medicines regulatory body, the Therapeutic Goods Authority (TGA),[10]. To date, only two  
19 medicinal cannabis product are registered, or licensed, in Australia (*Sativex*® and *Epidyolex*®), meaning  
20 that all other medicinal cannabis products are therefore unapproved therapeutic goods, not having been  
21 assessed by the TGA for safety, quality or effectiveness,[10].

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29 To address increasing demand of medicinal cannabis, in July 2018 an online system was introduced on  
30 to enable a more streamlined application process for the lodgement of Special Access Scheme Category  
31 B (SAS-B) applications for TGA approval to prescribe unlicensed medicinal cannabis preparations,[10].  
32 Since then, from a baseline of 146 applications recorded in June 2018, there has been a 7,291%  
33 percentage change<sup>2</sup> in the number of SAS-B approvals, with 10,791 applications approved in the month  
34 of September 2021 amounting to a cumulative total of 158,498 approvals across the period (Figure  
35 1),[10]. Notwithstanding this, there is still discord between those who are in favour of medicinal  
36 cannabis and those who are not, and this potentially drives a chasm between patients and their physicians,  
37 and between physicians and their colleagues.

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45 Medicinal cannabis exemplifies one of a suite of therapeutics, that have been introduced with an  
46 ambiguous understanding of their benefit, and no clear clinical indication supported by accompanying  
47 evidence. Other agents in this category include ‘health supplements’ such as probiotics,[12, 13], e-  
48 cigarettes as nicotine replacement therapy,[14], and other illicit substances predicted to be of broader  
49 therapeutic value in the future, such as psychedelics as a treatment for anxiety and addiction,[15].

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<sup>2</sup> The percentage change between two values in a time series is calculated by finding the difference between those two values then dividing that difference by the starting value and multiplying by 100.

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2 to physicians' knowledge, concerns, and experiences with medicinal cannabis is imperative. To date,  
3 the majority of studies in the area from a range of countries have highlighted remarkably consistent  
4 themes, which include health professionals lack of confidence in prescribing medicinal cannabis, need  
5 for education about cannabinoid therapeutics, and their attitudes to cannabis as a therapeutic agent,[16-  
6 18]. A systematic review undertaken by Gardiner, Singleton, Sheridan, Kyle, & Nissen in 2019, reported  
7 on research from 26 studies found that in general, health professionals supported the use of medicinal  
8 cannabis in practice,[16]. This review also reported there was a unanimous lack of self-perceived  
9 knowledge surrounding all aspects of medicinal cannabis and indicated many health professionals were  
10 concerned about direct patient harms and indirect societal harms,[16]. The majority of published  
11 evidence that provided a focus on physician perceptions has been collected via surveys and  
12 questionnaires,[19-25]. Of the evidence collected from interviews, were two studies that examined  
13 physician insights around use of medicinal cannabis as a therapeutic agent,[17, 20]. One study published  
14 by Braun et al., in 2018, conducted semi-structured interviews on oncology experts from the United  
15 States,[20]. This research had a specific focus around perceptions of the use of medicinal cannabis in  
16 oncology and cancer care. Zolotov et al., (2018) used narrative analysis of data collected from interviews  
17 with twenty-four Israeli physicians with specialities in pain medicine; oncology family and medicine  
18 physicians,[17]. While these qualitative data provided vital evidence to the current research landscape,  
19 neither examined key informant perspectives on the important broader systemic issues, such as how the  
20 'diffusion' of medicinal cannabis into medical practice is occurring.  
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33 In terms of the global context, the Australian approach to medicinal cannabis beginning with adoption  
34 of legislative changes permitting its prescribing delivers a unique opportunity to gather important  
35 evidence for the factors which impact on the rollout of medicinal cannabis. It also enables an  
36 examination not previously described of what influences the diffusion and dissemination of medicinal  
37 cannabis into contemporary clinical practice. Importantly, it provides an opportunity to investigate the  
38 health system and regulatory factors that are associated with the provision and monitoring of medicinal  
39 cannabis to patients. It is thus timely to examine *de novo*, the 'diffusion' of medicinal cannabis to gain  
40 a greater understanding of the facilitators and barriers to the safe and appropriate dissemination of  
41 medicinal cannabis to patients by their physicians.  
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49 The theoretical model of the Diffusion of Innovation (DoI),[26] helps conceptualise the implementation  
50 of medicinal cannabis globally and the factors needed to facilitate safe and effective rollout. Originating  
51 in 1962, the framework explains how a product or idea can gain momentum and 'diffuse' through a  
52 social system, with the end result being that the product or idea is adopted and becomes a part of the  
53 social system,[26]. This framework has previously been used in research relating to innovations in health  
54 care, medical sociology and physician practice including prescribing,[26-35]. medicinal cannabis has  
55 characteristics relevant to pharmaceutical innovations by virtue of its 'medicinal' name, the requirement  
56 for it to be prescribed by a medical professional for a health condition, and oversight occurring via  
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1 regulatory authorities for pharmaceuticals and other therapeutics, the Food and Drug Administration  
2 (FDA) in the United States, European Medicines Agency (EMA) in Europe and equivalent bodies in  
3 other countries. Applying medicinal cannabis to the DoI framework, a key to its adoption lies in the  
4 perception of both prescribers and community that medicinal cannabis is innovative. Pharmaceutical  
5 marketing, drug characteristics, government policies and the behaviour of both medical professionals  
6 and patients are additional key factors in uptake of new therapeutic agents,[31]. The principal difference  
7 with medicinal cannabis, however, is that unlike other pharmaceutical innovations, it is not a single  
8 molecule or single compound, for use in a single, or small cluster of indications, and importantly it has  
9 not emerged from traditional pharmaceutical companies, which have standard research and development  
10 (R & D) and pharmacovigilance systems.

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19 In this research, we aim to gain a deeper understanding of the factors that are associated with the  
20 diffusion of an unlicensed therapeutic into medical practice for which strong consumer demand preceded  
21 the research evidence. Specifically, this research aims to provide evidence from key informant  
22 perspectives on the role of the prescriber, the differences between licensed medicinal cannabis products  
23 such as *Sativex*® and *Epidyolex*® (the only licensed products in Australia) and unlicensed medicinal  
24 cannabis including as all other products that require TGA approval. Informant perspectives on the  
25 relevance of regulatory authorities in the prescribing of medicinal cannabis, and their views on the  
26 precedent that medicinal cannabis has set around consumer-lead medicine were also sought.  
27 Furthermore, we aim to provide lessons to inform future policy and practice, especially with the  
28 introduction of other potential novel therapeutic agents into clinical practice that are subject to the similar  
29 influences. This is essential to informing both the ‘rollout’ of medicinal cannabis and the way medicine  
30 is practised in the twenty-first century.

## 31 32 33 34 35 36 37 38 39 **METHOD**

### 40 41 42 **Study Design**

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45 A qualitative thematic analysis was used to investigate the narrative around medicinal cannabis  
46 prescribing in the Australian context. Informants were invited to participate in an in-depth interview  
47 which was guided by a small number of open-ended questions (Table 1). These questions were  
48 developed a ‘p priori, guided by DOI theory, and informed by conference presentations, webinars, grey  
49 literature and publications on medicinal cannabis that were authored by clinicians, representatives from  
50 peak professional bodies, policy advisors, and researchers,[17, 24, 36-40].

### 51 52 53 54 55 **Exclusion and Inclusion Criteria**

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58 Key informants were invited to participate in this research based on their: (i) involvement in the  
59 development of health policy, (ii) prescribing experiences in clinical practice, and (iii) advocacy roles  
60



1  
2 for and against medicinal cannabis. This provided evidence from both prescribing and non-prescribing  
3 key informants as it was deemed important to understand not only the factors that influenced an  
4 individual to prescribe medicinal cannabis, but also the factors that influenced others to decide or not to  
5 prescribe. The interview focus was on medicinal cannabis products that can be prescribed via the TGA-  
6 SAS-B scheme. Non-prescribed artisanal<sup>3</sup> products were included in the analysis as they are known to  
7 be accessed by individuals who cannot afford medicinal cannabis prescribed by clinicians,[41].  
8 Recreational cannabis use was excluded from the analysis because this refers to a very large and  
9 heterogenous cohort, many of whom have a prior history of cannabis use for non-medical purposes.  
10 Given it is difficult to differentiate between cannabis use for recreational purposes versus use for health  
11 reasons, the scope of the informant study focused on use of cannabis for medical purposes only.  
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## 19 **Recruitment**

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21 Key informants were selected using purposive and snowballing techniques. Initially informants were  
22 selected following an environmental scan,[42]. The approach involved the opportunistic identification  
23 of informants from already established contacts such as physicians and researchers, as well as more  
24 focused scoping, that involved the identification of individuals exposed to policy, prescribing, and  
25 advocacy for and against medicinal cannabis use. This included those from peak professional bodies,  
26 government departments and individuals who have contributed to the research evidence. Other potential  
27 key informants were identified following interviews using snowballing. This involved invitation of the  
28 peers of interviewees following their suggestion to do so. We excluded informants who were involved  
29 in the cannabis production industry and those who worked in or operated cannabis clinics. Informants  
30 were sent an email and a postal invitation; this recruitment methodology has been shown to increase  
31 response rates,[43]. The informants who did not respond were followed up with either another email  
32 and/or a phone call of invitation to participate. All informants were provided a patient leaflet information  
33 statement (PLIS) and a consent form prior to the interview. Consent was provided both verbally in the  
34 interview and as a signature on the consent form.  
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## 45 **Interviews and Analysis**

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47 Semi-structured interviews, of an average duration of one hour, were conducted by two authors (CH,  
48 YB) either face to face, via video conference, or by telephone (Table 1). All informants were notified  
49 that the interview would be recorded and transcribed verbatim. Notes were taken during the interview.  
50 Although the interviews were guided by open-ended questions, inductive probing was employed to  
51 facilitate response heterogeneity,[44]. Reflexive notes were developed on completion of interview, this  
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58 <sup>3</sup> Artisanal MC are unregistered herbal cannabinoid preparations produced by small-scale artisanal farms. Artisanal (bootleg)  
59 MC is complex in nature where the quality and quantity of MC compounds vary from one batch to the next (Sulak, Saneto, &  
60 Goldstein, 2017).

involved the critical analysis of the interview process by the interviewers (CH, YB). All interview data were de-identified and stored in a secure platform. Data was then managed in NVivo12,[45].

Given the use of DoI conceptual model, analysis included both inductive and deductive coding. Coding was undertaken by two authors (CH, YB). This duplication provided the analysis, perspectives from different researcher backgrounds, and opportunities to refine the coding system and discuss coding disagreements,[46]. Thematic saturation was ascertained after data collection, and based on saturation of new information threshold, where there was no evidence of the emergence of new themes beyond those already established.

### **Patient and Public Involvement**

The study involved researchers with clinical and research experience from the Department of General Practice and Melbourne Medical School at the University of Melbourne. These researchers designed and conducted the qualitative research that involved interviewing clinicians, public health advisors, and representatives from peak body organisations.

## **RESULTS**

A broad cross-section of the medical community who had an interest in medicinal cannabis was sought. Twenty-six individuals were approached, twenty-three accepted, of these one withdrew for personal reasons, and another withdrew because of time constraints. There were three potential informants who did not respond to any of the invitations, these individuals were not directly involved in the prescribing of medicinal cannabis. Of the informants who accepted, thirteen were active prescribers, four were non-prescribers, and four were public health advisors. The 21 key informants included neurologists, rheumatologists, oncologists, pain specialists, psychiatrists, public health advisors, and general practitioners. All informants were based in the Eastern States and Territories of Australia (Victoria, New South Wales, Tasmania, Canberra, and Queensland). There were no informants from other states of Australia (South Australia, Western Australia, and Northern Territory) because at the time of the interviews there was minimal medicinal cannabis prescribing in these jurisdictions. Interviews were conducted between November 2018 and January 2019.

### **Factors Influencing the Diffusion of Medicinal Cannabis in Australia**

A number of components in the DoI framework were described by the Key Informants in relation to Medicinal Cannabis (Figure 2).

#### *Medicinal Cannabis as an Innovation*

The information in this domain is depicted in the INNOVATION block (Figure 2).



1  
2 Several key informants saw innovation in medicinal cannabis in its use for the treatment of several  
3 conditions where patients present with significant and debilitating refractory symptoms due to the lack  
4 of efficacy of current therapies. Examples of conditions cited by the informants included childhood  
5 epilepsy, chemotherapy related nausea and vomiting, pain management for patients in palliative care  
6 and chronic non-malignant pain, and young people with anxiety. Some informants perceived medicinal  
7 cannabis as relatively inert, and therefore advantageous, especially when comparing adverse events with  
8 other therapeutics that have been used to treat the above conditions.  
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14 Several individuals reported on the positive benefits from medicinal cannabis that were either observed  
15 in their clinical practice, or derived from the scientific literature. Often articulation about the benefits was  
16 vague. One individual described the effects of cannabis as ‘different’ and ‘special’. Several described that  
17 patients reported they ‘just felt better’. On the other hand, some found that not all patients benefited from  
18 medicinal cannabis, and in these situations prescribing of medicinal cannabis ceased (Box 1).  
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24 *Box 1*

25  
26 *...it doesn't work for everybody and for some people it has no benefits whatsoever, for some people,*  
27 *it has terrible side effects, but I believe that users are best able to work with their doctors if they think*  
28 *it is a benefit to them. It kind of is one of those things that you kind of have to try. (I-013)*  
29

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31  
32 *I am not the fearful cannabis will kill you all and I am not [...convinced...] cannabis will cure all.*  
33  
34 *(I-015)*  
35

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39 All informants referred to the prescribing of medicinal cannabis as being fraught with complexities  
40 associated with ambiguities around its effectiveness, the political process involved in its ‘rollout’, the  
41 patients, and conditions in which it is prescribed and the prescribing process itself.  
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45 Some informants were vague about potential harms of medicinal cannabis. They reported concerns about  
46 its effects on the developing brain and risks associated with cognitive impairment in young people as  
47 well as risks more generally of impairment in relation to driving. Most asserted that medicinal cannabis  
48 should only be prescribed for the conditions recommended by the TGA, and highlighted the caveat that  
49 risks of harm needed to be considered relative to the severity of the indication for its use. For instance,  
50 prescribing medicinal cannabis to a young child posed more of a concern than prescribing to a patient  
51 with terminal cancer as part of a palliative care regime.  
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56  
57 Most informants referred to concerns around the purity, concentration, and consistency of medicinal  
58 cannabis products. For example, they queried the reliability of medicinal cannabis preparation or  
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1  
2 concentrations of THC and CBD that may not match the dosages they wished to prescribe. Issues relating  
3 to a naivety among some medicinal cannabis companies regarding regulations pertaining to storage of  
4 scheduled products, lack of solid data on product efficacy, and lack of understanding about the  
5 imperative to report adverse events that are standard practice in mainstream pharmaceutical companies.  
6  
7

8  
9 A few informants also described ambiguities regarding where medicinal cannabis ‘fits’ in contemporary  
10 medical models of care, such that, some informants viewed medicinal cannabis as an ‘unregulated herb’  
11 rather than that of a medicine. Many reported concerns around the lack of empirical evidence of efficacy  
12 and lack of data around adverse events. Several informants reported on concerns about the financial  
13 costs incurred by patients wanting cannabis medicines. Some described costs as prohibitive, especially  
14 in situations where patients had been enrolled in trials that had come to an end. Informants also recounted  
15 lag times, particularly early in the rollout, where a request for cannabis and patient access to the product  
16 could take several months (Box 2).  
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24 *Box 2*

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26 *There's no reimbursement - no subsidy, I should say, and the companies are just taking advantage*  
27 *of the situation. I find it difficult to believe that it could actually cost \$650 a bottle for them to make*  
28 *it and sell it at a profit. (I-009)*

29  
30  
31 *(Costs)... to the order of a couple of grand a month. One to two and a half thousand per month. The*  
32 *one thousand is because it's an infant. It's prohibitively expensive. Broadly, if there's a family that*  
33 *are asking and meet that sort of criteria, severe and failed everything, I'm very happy to prescribe*  
34 *the private script. As long as they're properly informed and consented. It's a huge chunk of money*  
35 *for most people. (I-001)*  
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2 The vast majority of informants reported on the great divide between the safety and quality of products  
3 that have been derived from an unregulated market, such as in medicinal cannabis production, and  
4 pharmaceuticals that had not been appropriately trialled and developed accordingly to a standard for  
5 approval by the TGA. Some mentioned concerns about toxicology of the product and the need to titrate  
6 the product slowly to ensure the patient was not receiving 'toxic' levels too quickly that impeded the  
7 patient's functioning. Others were concerned about the quality of the product because of uncertainty  
8 about the conditions of manufacturing (Box 3).  
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14  
15 *Box 3*

16 *The question is if it's grown outdoors - so, the first thing is, it has to be organic, there can be no*  
17 *chemicals or anything else used, herbicides, because if you're using for medicine. The second thing*  
18 *is it has to be consistent. (I-012)*  
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30 Many informants indicated they were involved in trialling the product, where they were invited to  
31 participate in open-labelled trials by governments and medicinal cannabis companies. In these trials, the  
32 prescriber was the conduit between the patient and the cannabis, which was provided to the patient by  
33 the medicinal cannabis companies. This provided an opportunity to their patients for cost free access to  
34 cannabis and also enabled them to understand more about how to prescribe medicinal cannabis and to  
35 monitor their patient's response, whether it be symptomatic relief or reports of adverse events (Box 4).  
36  
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40  
41 *Box 4*

42 *I'm a strong advocate for this being treated the same as any other medicine. In that way ideally*  
43 *cannabinoid trials would continue, just like any other medicine... (I-001)*  
44  
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46 *Most of us - people are generating trial data but really in very specific...(conditions). (I-009)*  
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### *Diffusion and Dissemination of Medicinal Cannabis*

The information in this domain is depicted in the **DIFFUSION & DISSEMINATION** block (Figure 2).

All informants discussed the requisite for explicit knowledge from professional and peer networks to inform prescribers on the effects and outcomes of medical cannabis. Many informants reported they gained explicit knowledge through access to peer reviewed publications and through government websites such as the TGA. They also described gaining knowledge from information provided to them by their peers, although a few informants reported they were not confident of the knowledge base of colleagues. The gaining of implicit knowledge by undertaking open-label trials and monitoring their patients who are on the trials, was viewed as informing their own practice as well as contributing to the evidence base. Prescribing to patients provided further tacit knowledge. In this case informants reported unexpected effects, such as symptomatic relief in some patients who were prescribed only a very small amount of product, and minimal effects of patients who were prescribed large doses of the same product. The potential for placebo effect was acknowledged, but did not deter from continuing to prescribe medicinal cannabis (Box 5). Informants also discussed concerns around prescribing medicinal cannabis when the *exact* quantity of cannabidiol (CBD)<sup>4</sup> compared to (tetrahydrocannabinol) THC<sup>5</sup> was often not guaranteed. Regarding this informants considered reported ratios between THC and CBD products not reliable, as the manufacturing of the product was not controlled by a pharmaceutical regulatory body. Many mentioned the paucity of validated evidence on the effects and adverse outcomes associated with medicinal cannabis use was a limitation in the 'rollout' of cannabis to patients.

Prescribers also reported they had minimal explicit knowledge on the special access scheme prescribing process, especially regarding how to prescribe an unregulated medicine to a patient. Notwithstanding this, all reported much implicit and tacit knowledge was gained with each subsequent prescription application that that was submitted and approved (Box 5).

#### *Box 5*

*The problem - I think that people - general public will have their views about it being useful for x and y because that's already out there. I think the medical profession, hopefully if the data gets better, will have a better idea about what it actually is useful for and what combinations of different compounds are...*

*(I-018)*

<sup>4</sup> CBD – CBD is psychoactive, but exhibits no effects indicative of euphoria or dependence potential. [https://www.who.int/medicines/access/controlled-substances/5.2\\_CBD.pdf](https://www.who.int/medicines/access/controlled-substances/5.2_CBD.pdf)

<sup>5</sup> THC - the major psychoactive constituent in found in cannabis [https://www.who.int/substance\\_abuse/facts/cannabis/en/](https://www.who.int/substance_abuse/facts/cannabis/en/)

1  
2 The majority of informants perceived medicinal cannabis companies greatly facilitated the  
3 dissemination of medicinal product by actively pursuing doctors and inviting them to either trial their  
4 product, or prescribe to patients via newly established Cannabis Access Clinics. Several informants  
5 reported medicinal cannabis companies frequently cited overseas ‘successes’ relating to the rollout of  
6 medicinal cannabis. They also mentioned the entrepreneurial nature of the medicinal cannabis industry,  
7 and referred to the risks associated with the artisanal medicinal cannabis products as well as patients  
8 who can, or will, ‘grow their own’ particularly if cannabis becomes legalised.  
9

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14 Some informants referred to individuals they perceived as medicinal cannabis ‘champions’ in Australia.  
15 These individuals viewed it as a therapeutic product that should be normalised and accessible through  
16 unrestricted prescribing pathways.  
17

18  
19  
20 Informants frequently reported the process for prescribing was quite technical, especially regarding the  
21 necessary requirements for a prescriber to gain an authorised prescriber status by the Therapeutic Goods  
22 Authority. Most reported that support was provided by the TGA around the process. Both the TGA and  
23 prescribers reported the technical process around prescribing were both labour intensive and  
24 burdensome, particularly initially (Box 6).  
25  
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29  
30 *Box 6*

31 *I think initially there were long processing times involved...It was very confusing to know what to*  
32 *do... I think it's much, much quicker than it used to be. (I-004)*

33  
34 *There used to be quite a complex application...that would typically be rejected multiple times.*  
35 *(I-010)*

36  
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38 *...initially there were long processing times involved. It was very confusing to know what to do.*  
39 *(I-005)*  
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2 *Health System Readiness*  
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4 The information in this domain is depicted in the **HEALTH SYSTEM READINESS** block (Figure 2).  
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7 The vast majority of informants reported that the agency for change leading to rapid evolution of  
8 cannabis from that of an herb to that of medicine was the political response to patient demand. Many  
9 also commented that this had caught much of the medical profession unawares. A striking number of  
10 informants referred, without prompting, to metaphors associated with 'the bolting horse' and a few  
11 referred to the Trojan horse, where they felt the medicalising of cannabis was a way for recreational  
12 users to access legalised cannabis under the guise of a medicine (Box 7).  
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18 *Box 7*

19  
20 *...the horse has bolted, in fact the horse has bolted so far it's over the horizon...given that the horse*  
21 *is a government horse, the jockey has fallen off'; 'the horse has bolted and left the cart way*  
22 *behind...the cart's sitting behind the barn at the moment'; 'after the horses have bolted, everyone's*  
23 *growing it and setting up'; 'I see a horse that's bolting...and a cart before the horse' 'a rather*  
24 *opportunistic cart before the horse, but good publicity move on behalf of the politicians.*  
25

26  
27  
28 *(1-002; 1-006; 1-008; 1-012; 1-015)*  
29

30  
31 *They (politicians)] were, in a way, pushed into this - I mean, it (medicinal cannabis) might act as a*  
32 *Trojan horse to some degree.*

33  
34 *(0-018)*  
35

36  
37 *...there's a bit of a Trojan horse dynamic here I think, where those who actually, really are dependent*  
38 *and need and want it because they're dependent, have now got an easy way of communicating, give*  
39 *it to me because I've got a medical problem.* *(0-018)*  
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41  
42 *With the current trend of course we're going to end up with the legalisation of cannabis...That's*  
43 *clearly the hidden - that's the Trojan horse'.* *(0-013)*  
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2 Some informants argued for the need for new governmental arrangements between legislative structures  
3 and the ‘content experts’ to drive the medicinal strategy forward. Most were open to expansion of the  
4 program, yet all felt it was unhinged by the rapid and under-resourced ‘rollout’ of the innovation, and  
5 lack of systemic monitoring (Box 8).  
6  
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10  
11 *Box 8*

12 *That's our challenge now - to re-think our legislative structures and how we manage problems so that*  
13 *we can reduce the induced, indirect harm, which is the legal harms... without increasing access,*  
14 *availability, advertising, promotion, and cost incentives to increase consumption and thereby increase*  
15 *harm.*  
16  
17 *(1-013)*  
18  
19

20  
21  
22 A number of individuals expressed their view that medicinal cannabis is compatible with the way they  
23 work, citing the doctor-patient relationship and a duty of care to their patients as reasons for considering  
24 prescribing medicinal cannabis. Some informants commented on the tenacity with which patients  
25 believed that cannabinoids would provide benefit, and remarked that this was an influential factor for  
26 them to take up prescribing.  
27  
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30  
31 Social influences were also cited by a number of informants. They noted that the families of children  
32 with chronic conditions, celebrities, advocacy groups and politicians have been strong social influencers  
33 to prescribe medicinal cannabis. This had been unprecedented compared to any other area of medical  
34 practice. It was felt that this had both benefits, in raising awareness and attracting philanthropic, and to  
35 a lesser extent, government funding, but also disadvantages. Informants cited that pressure, even  
36 coercion and a lack of acknowledgement by these social influences of the standard process for  
37 introduction of a new therapeutics has, to some extent, created a division between the community and  
38 health professionals.  
39  
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45 *Implementation of Medicinal Cannabis ‘Rollout’*

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47  
48 The information in this domain is depicted in the **IMPLEMENTATION OF MEDICINAL CANNABIS**  
49 **‘ROLLOUT’** block (Figure 2).  
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51  
52 Many cited a lack of leadership and direction from the medical profession, governments, and  
53 government agencies in the initial stages of the rollout, although most of these informants reported this  
54 has improved with time. For example, the guidance documents published on the TGA website were  
55 described as beneficial and of those who had prescribed, all reported the streamlining of the application  
56 processes around the provision of medicinal cannabis to patients most beneficial. One informant felt the  
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1  
2 TGA had done a remarkably good job in navigating through the issues, especially considering the  
3 political pressure they were under and the clinical reality of prescribing an unlicensed product to a  
4 patient. Regarding access to formalised education, all informants stated this was greatly needed but that  
5 instead they had resorted to being 'self-taught'. They described this as burdensome, but most justified  
6 this by saying they were prepared to do this because they felt they had a duty of care towards their  
7 patients.  
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12 Many informants acknowledged the need for a robust and nimble pharmacovigilance system for  
13 reporting of adverse events so that they understood what to monitor during patient review as well as  
14 review what other health professionals were observing. Most considered that the systematic monitoring  
15 of prescribing outcomes was vital for the safety of future patients, and many raised concerns about  
16 potential harms associated with the provision of medicinal cannabis to children and young people. All  
17 considered the system currently in place for pharmacovigilance was inadequate and described the need  
18 for systematic and sustained research around medicinal cannabis and its effect on humans Box 9.  
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27 *Box 9*

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30 *...the idea of proper pharmacovigilance. And that's safe prescribing, and it's just a whole system that*  
31 *we just don't have in Australia...It would be good if we can make some changes because that'll have*  
32 *a benefit across the board. (I-001)*

33  
34  
35 *There is a dearth of knowledge. We need to have a prospective arrangement in order to supply*  
36 *pharmacovigilance that are also about outcomes - the profiles of people who are benefiting and not*  
37 *benefiting. So I think there's a bit of a direction of duty there. (I-018)*

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41 *I think there's a high risk of a poorly regulated market, or limited regulation market, where patients,*  
42 *will be able to get maybe partially subsidised products that are probably manufactured well but don't*  
43 *have the trial backing. The way we make advances in medicine is through research. If it just falls down*  
44 *to anecdotal stories and claims, then we're not going to know the right doses... (I-001)*  
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## DISCUSSION

The 'rollout' of medicinal cannabis as a therapeutic into the Australian community has not been streamlined, as has been confirmed by the Senate Inquiry into *Current Barriers to Patient Access to medicinal cannabis in Australia* published in March 2020,[47]. This study of 21 key informants, provides important evidence on the factors that have facilitated patient access to medicinal cannabis and the barriers that need to be addressed to support safe and effective access in the future. The key informants overwhelmingly acknowledged the complexity and shifting context of medicinal cannabis prescribing and also highlighted the need to incorporate a breath of considerations into future policy that include public, political, economic, and health service level perspectives.

The majority of informants viewed medicinal cannabis as an *Innovation*. Several saw medicinal cannabis as a therapeutic that had advantages over other medicines, especially when used as adjunctive therapeutic. Informants who were prescribers, described being able to trial it in patients without evidence of significant adverse effects. *System Antecedents* in the context of medicinal cannabis were categorised in the DoI model as *Structure, Knowledge, and Context*. *Structure* includes medicinal cannabis maturity, history, and distributor resources, and relates to the preparedness of medicinal cannabis companies to supply the market a quality product without prohibitive cost to the consumer. *Knowledge* relates to stakeholders pre-existing understanding of the endocannabinoid system and the pharmacology of cannabinoids and *Context* relates to medical leadership in the prescribing of medicinal cannabis. It was evident from the informant interviews that these *System Antecedents* had largely been deficient in the rollout of medicinal cannabis. The aspects of *Health System Readiness* reported by informants included evidence of agency for change which arose from multiple voices, with divergent interests. Voices included that of consumers who advocated for access; politicians who responded to the public voice; regulators who advised, cannabis companies who supplied the product and medical professionals who cared for their patients irrespective of their own stance on medical cannabis prescribing. Missing components of the *Health System Readiness* related to lack of resources required to perform monitoring and feedback, and the staggered legislative changes around the various jurisdictions of Australia, that impacted on the diffusion and dissemination of medicinal cannabis prescribing in clinical practice.

*Prescriber Adoption and Assimilation* into practice remains a stark gap in the diffusion of medicinal cannabis into the Australian community. Understanding the needs, motivation, values, goals, skills and learning style of health professionals in relation to prescribing medicinal cannabis is an area that will need far greater attention for continued rollout of medicinal cannabis. While the most immediate needs such as prescribing guidance and streamlined regulatory approval have been important steps, there are other policy levers that are understood to impact on the uptake of an innovative therapeutic,[48-52]. Levers used to promote the safe diffusion of a therapeutic into clinical practice, often incorporate a blend of financial and non-financial incentives that include direct remuneration, performance feedback and the

1  
2 delivery of information technology systems. For example, financial incentives could incorporate the  
3 inclusion of a general practice (GP) remuneration for the reporting and monitoring of medicinal cannabis  
4 prescribing. Similarly, workflow tools, such as GP software for Electronic Medical Records (EMR) that  
5 facilitate the reporting of effectiveness and adverse events of medicinal cannabis (such as automatic  
6 prompts) are other important instruments that have the potential to promote safe monitoring of medicinal  
7 cannabis access. Other notable factors in the DoI framework that will assist safe implementation of  
8 medicinal cannabis include training, dedicated resources and, importantly, feedback on progress. This  
9 is where pharmacovigilance and the use of patient reported outcome measures (PROMs) is vital.

15  
16 Rapid changes in today's world are challenging the traditional ways that bodies such as regulatory  
17 agencies and medical colleges authorise and endorse medical practice, and medicinal cannabis is no  
18 exception. Notwithstanding the steps that have already been undertaken by these authorities to  
19 accommodate medicinal cannabis to date, the increasing demand for medical cannabis has exerted  
20 substantial pressures on these organisations to continually adapt and change how they operate,[53].  
21 Importantly, ongoing dialogue is needed between regulatory authorities, health professionals and the  
22 community, both at the outset and throughout the process of rollout, to work through the issues  
23 highlighted by the informants in this study. In the first instance, acknowledgement is needed between  
24 patients and prescribers that there remains a paucity of knowledge about side effects and adverse events  
25 of medicinal cannabinoids and therefore a willingness to contribute to pharmacovigilance systems.  
26 Equally, as has been proposed by others, the voice and experience of consumers needs to be incorporated  
27 into the way health professionals prescribe, and regulatory authorities facilitate, provision of medicinal  
28 cannabis,[54]. Addressing these factors is essential for safe and effective prescribing in contemporary  
29 medical practice.

## 38 39 **STRENGTHS and LIMITATIONS**

41  
42 The strength of this research, is that it fills an identified gap in the literature by reporting physician  
43 perspectives of the rollout of medicinal cannabis in Australia. The research aligns with conventions for  
44 'quality' in qualitative research as reported in the COREQ<sup>6</sup> checklist for the reporting of qualitative  
45 research and was also guided by a validated theoretical framework, the Diffusion of Innovations model.  
46 Limitations include the analysis of perspectives from Australian key informants only, and as a result the  
47 research may not be generalisable to policy and practice in other countries. Although the purposive and  
48 snowball sampling techniques provides qualitative data around informant experience in policy,  
49 prescribing, advocacy for and against medicinal cannabis, this strategy is a non-random technique, and  
50 may not be generalisable across population groups which do not have experience of, and or interest in,  
51 medicinal cannabis prescribing. Notwithstanding this, the themes from this research *are* valuable across

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59 <sup>6</sup> Consolidated criteria for reporting qualitative research (COREQ) : a 32-item checklist for interviews and focus groups  
60 <https://doi.org/10.1093/intqhc/mzm042>

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2 all contexts, as they provide an understanding of the dynamics at play, when access to an unapproved  
3 therapeutic *precedes* the establishment of scientific evidence from rigorous studies such as randomised  
4 controlled efficacy trials.  
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## 7 8 **CONCLUSION** 9

10 Medicinal cannabis marks a new era in the practice of medicine. Several, but not all, informants were  
11 comfortable with the increasing trend for consumer-lead health advocacy in the medicinal cannabis space.  
12 Yet, many expressed concern that this practice seemed to be at the expense of ‘tried and true’ methods in  
13 clinical care. They emphasised the prescribing of medicinal cannabis had the potential to move clinical  
14 practice away from a scientific paradigm, to that of demand driven care. Given this, an understanding of  
15 the multiple interacting factors known to influence the diffusion of pharmaceutical innovations is  
16 imperative to facilitate the safe and effective implementation of medicinal cannabinoids into practice.  
17 Incorporation of consumer experience into the way physicians prescribe, and the way regulatory  
18 authorities facilitate the provision of medicinal cannabis, is needed. Consumers and prescribers also need  
19 to be willing to embrace innovative methods of pharmacovigilance to address the gaps in evidence for  
20 the indications for which medicinal cannabis is prescribed. We have shown that the relationships between  
21 the different influencing factors are critical to innovation success. Collaboration includes active  
22 communication, consultation, and dialogue between key stakeholders including consumers, prescribers,  
23 regulatory authorities, and politicians. This research highlights the tensions that arise and the factors that  
24 influence the rollout of cannabis as an unregulated medicine. Addressing these factors, is essential for the  
25 safe and effective prescribing in contemporary medical practice. The findings of this research provides  
26 important evidence on medicinal cannabis as a therapeutic, and also informs the rollout of potential novel  
27 therapeutics in the future.  
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### 39 40 **Contribution statement**

41 CH made substantial contribution to the conception and design of the work; CH and YB substantially  
42 contributed to the acquisition of the data. CH and YB made substantial contribution to the analysis  
43 interpretation of data. CH and YB drafted the work. JG provided oversight of the manuscript. YB and  
44 CH revised the manuscript critically for important intellectual content. CH contributed substantially to  
45 the final version to be published. Final approval was gained from CH, JG and YB, and agreement to be  
46 accountable for all aspects of the work in ensuring that questions related to the accuracy or integrity of  
47 any part of the work were appropriately investigated and resolved.  
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58 gathering evidence to develop a national research and policy framework that ensures quality and safety  
59  
60

1  
2 in the implementation of medicinal cannabis use in the community. The authors also wish to thank all  
3 Physicians, Prescribers and Experts who generously contributed their time, expertise, and personal  
4 experiences to this research.  
5

### 6 7 **Competing interests**

8  
9 Yvonne Bonomo is a Principal Investigator on an open label study to evaluate the safety, tolerability,  
10 and pharmacokinetics of a medicinal cannabinoid oil formulation in chronic non-cancer pain patients  
11 for Zelira Therapeutics ACTRN12619001013156.  
12  
13

### 14 15 **Ethics statement**

16 Ethics project approval was granted by the University of Melbourne and registered with the University  
17 of Melbourne Human Research Ethics Committee (Ethics ID: 181524.1).  
18  
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### 20 21 **Data sharing statement**

22 No additional data are available.  
23  
24

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28 the National Health and Medical Research Council (NHMRC) Centre of Research Excellence scheme.  
29 It draws together over twenty Australian research leaders and clinicians from major national universities  
30 and research institutions to establish a research evidence base to inform safe clinical use of medicinal  
31 cannabinoids and to guide policy as cannabinoids are introduced into therapeutic practice in Australia.  
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### 35 36 **Twitter Follow**

37 Follow Christine Hallinan at @Cmhallinan  
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41 **Figure 1 Number of TGA Special Access Scheme Category B approvals of Medicinal Cannabis in**  
42 **Australia May 2018-August 2021**  
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46 **Figure 2 The Application of Diffusion of Innovation theory to the rollout of Medicinal Cannabis**  
47 **in Australia**  
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**Table 1. Interview Guide**

<b>Theme</b>	<b>Question</b>
Medicinal cannabis as an innovative medicine	<i>Before we start, do you view medicinal cannabis as a (pharmaceutical) medicine, or do you feel it should be defined as another type of product?</i>
Role for medicinal cannabis as a pharmaceutical	<i>What do you see currently as the role for medicinal cannabis?</i>
Experience with medicinal cannabis	<i>Can you tell us a bit about your experiences around medicinal cannabis?</i>
Rollout of medicinal cannabis in Australia	<i>Take us through the processes of prescribing medicinal cannabis from when a patient presents, to when they leave and when you review their progress?</i>
Overall attitude to medicinal cannabis in Australia	<i>Is there anything that we haven't discussed yet that you think is important for us to know about? Such as a take home or 'chestnut' message.</i>

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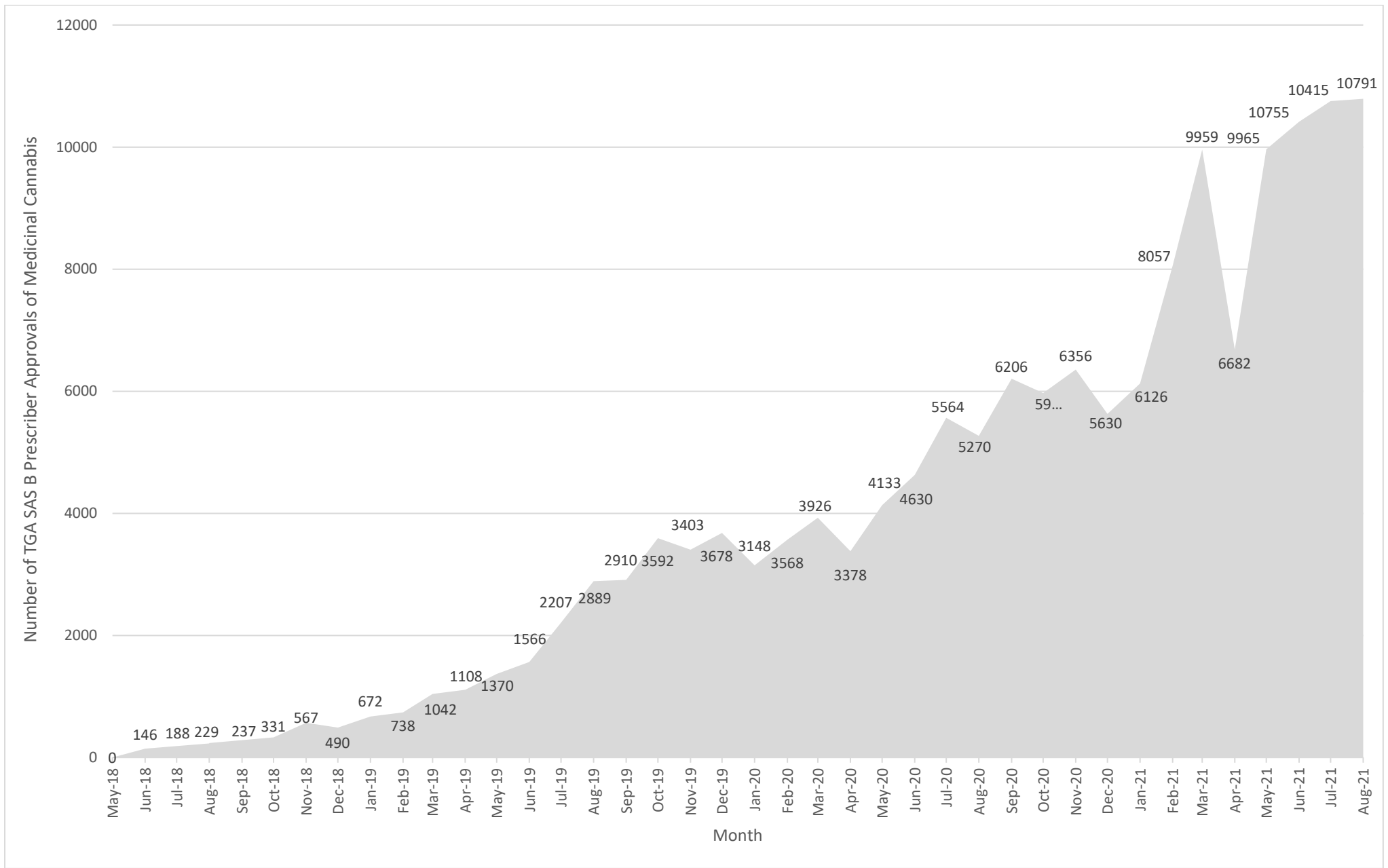
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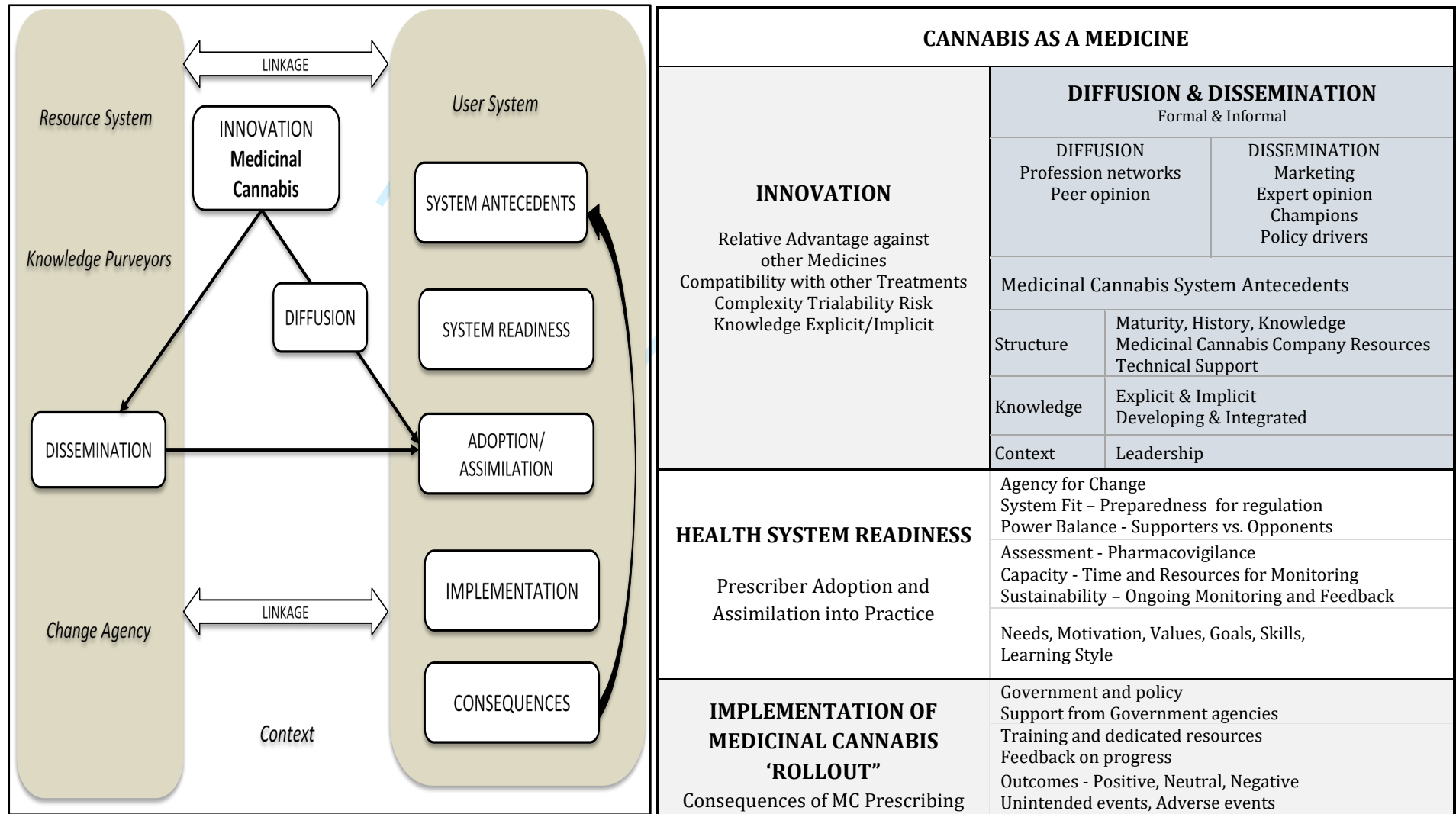
Figure 1 Number of TGA Special Access Scheme Category B approvals of Medicinal Cannabis in Australia May 2018 - August 2021



Source: TGA (2021). Access to medicinal cannabis products. TGA Department of Health Australian Government. Canberra, Australia: Therapeutic Goods Administration . Retrieved September 10, 2021, from <https://www.tga.gov.au/access-medicinal-cannabis-products-1>

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**Figure 2 The Application of Diffusion of Innovation theory to the rollout of Medicinal Cannabis in Australia**



Adapted from Greenhalgh T et. al. (2004) Diffusion of innovations in service organizations: systematic review and recommendations. *Milbank Quarterly*, 82 (4), pp 581-629.

Consolidated criteria for reporting qualitative studies (COREQ): 32-item checklist					
No Item	Guide Question/Description		Page #	Paragraph	
<b>Domain 1: Research team and reflexivity Personal Characteristics</b>					
1	Interviewer/facilitator	Which author/s conducted the interview or focus group?	CH & YB	8	1
2	Credentials	What were the researcher's credentials?	CH-AppSc(Registerd nurse), MPH, PhD, Master Biostats(currently undertaking) YB-Addiction Medicine Physician, FRACP,FACHAM PhD		
3	Occupation	What was their occupation at the time of the study?	CH-Research Fellow YB-Physician		
4	Gender	Was the researcher male or female?	CH-Female		
5	Experience and training Relationship with participants	What experience or training did the researcher have?	CH-Department of General Practice Melbourne University		
6	Relationship established	Was a relationship established prior to study commencement?	No prior relationship between CH and YB		
7	Participant knowledge of the interviewer	What did the participants know about the researcher? e.g. personal goals, reasons for doing the research	Participants did not have prior knowledge of CH.  YB-professional relationships with three of the interviewees.		
8	Interviewer characteristics	What characteristics were reported about the interviewer/facilitator? e.g. Bias, assumptions, reasons and interests in the research topic	We reported work was funded and supported by the Australian Centre for Cannabinoid Clinical and Research Excellence and we are involved in gathering evidence to develop a national research and policy framework that ensures quality and safety in the implementation of medicinal cannabis use in the community.		
<b>Domain 2: study design Theoretical framework</b>					
	Methodological orientation and Theory Participant selection	What methodological orientation was stated to underpin the study? e.g. grounded theory, discourse analysis, ethnography, phenomenology, content analysis	Inductive and Deductive analysis using Diffusion of Innovation Theory	8	1,2
10	Sampling	How were participants selected? e.g. purposive, convenience, consecutive, snowball	Purposive and snowball selection	7	2
11	Method of approach	How were participants approached? e.g. face-to-face, telephone, mail, email	An email and a postal invitation. The informants who did not respond were followed up with either another email and/or a phone call of invitation to participate	8	1
12	Sample size	How many participants were in the study?	21	8	4
13	Non-participation setting	How many people refused to participate or dropped out? Reasons?	26 individuals were approached, 23 accepted, of these 1 withdrew for personal reasons, and 1 withdrew because of time constraints.	8	4
14	Setting of data collection	Where was the data collected? e.g. home, clinic, workplace	Two interviews were undertaken in meeting room at YB's place of work, the interviewees office, via zoom and on the phone	8	1
15	Presence of non-participants	Was anyone else present besides the participants and researchers?	No	8	1
16	Description of sample Data collection	What are the important characteristics of the sample? e.g. demographic data, date	Of the informants who accepted, thirteen were active prescribers, four were non-prescribers, and four were public health advisors. The 21 key informants included neurologists, rheumatologists, oncologists, pain specialists, psychiatrists, public health advisors, and general practitioners. All informants were based in the Eastern States and Territories of Australia (Victoria, New South Wales, Tasmania, Canberra, and Queensland). Interviews were conducted between November 2018 and January 2019.	8	4
17	Interview guide	Were questions, prompts, guides provided by the authors? Was it pilot tested?	Interview guide attached. It was not pilot tested.	21	
18	Repeat interviews	Were repeat interviews carried out? If yes, how many?	No		
19	Audio/visual recording	Did the research use audio or visual recording to collect the data?	Interviews were audio recorded	8	1
20	Field notes	Were field notes made during and/or after the interview or focus group?	Yes		
21	Duration	What was the duration of the interviews or focus group?	Between 21-99 minutes (average 57 minutes). Median 60 minutes.	8	1
22	Data saturation	e	Thematic saturation was ascertained after data collection, and based on saturation of new information threshold, where there was no evidence of the emergence of new themes beyond those already established.	8	2
23	Transcripts returned	Were transcripts returned to participants for comment and/or correction?	No		
<b>Domain 3: analysis and findings Data analysis</b>					
24	Number of data coders	How many data coders coded the data?	Two YB and CH	8	2
25	Description of the coding tree	Did authors provide a description of the coding tree?	Not in manuscript-but coding tree was developed		
26	Derivation of themes	Were themes identified in advance or derived from the data?	Derived from the data		
27	Software	What software, if applicable, was used to manage the data?	Nvivo		
28	Participant checking Reporting	Did participants provide feedback on the findings?	No		
29	Quotations presented	Were participant quotations presented to illustrate the themes / findings? Was each quotation identified? e.g. participant number	Yes-participant quotations presented to illustrate the themes / findings Yes placed in identified participant ID	9-15	All
30	Data and findings consistent	Was there consistency between the data presented and the findings?	Yes	9-15	All
31	Clarity of major themes	Were major themes clearly presented by the findings?	Yes	9-15	All
32	Clarity of minor themes	Is there a description of diverse cases or discussion of minor themes?	Yes	16-18	All