this week

RUNNY EGGS page 87 · GOLDEN HELLOS page 89 · VACCINE HESITANCY page 91



NHS loses 162000 more patient files

The loss of more than 700 000 items of NHS clinical correspondence, reported earlier this year, has been compounded after officials admitted that a further 162 000 patient files went missing over five years.

The scandal first emerged in March 2016, when it was discovered that since 2011 thousands of files, including test results and diagnoses, had been misplaced while being delivered to hospitals and GPs in England by NHS Shared Business Services, an agency co-owned by the Department of Health and the IT company Sopra Steria. This June, the National Audit Office identified around 1700 cases where patients could have been harmed and said the saga had cost the NHS at least £6.6m.

Appearing before the House of Commons Committee of Public Accounts on 16 October, NHS England's chief executive, Simon Stevens, said that an investigation had revealed the loss of an additional 12 000 items held by NHS Shared Business Services, and a further 150 000 items in failures in the NHS mail redirection service.

Stevens said that the investigation had found no evidence that any of the 1700 patients identified in the NAO report had suffered clinical harm, although 941 instances still needed to be checked.

He said the extra162000 items had been identified as a result of NHS England being "very rigorous in turning over every stone."

MPs on the committee turned up the heat on Stevens after the disclosure. Conservative Geoffrey Clifton-Brown, said, "You tell us the bombshell that while on a trawl of local trusts you find another 12 000 and then you found another 150 000 items.

"Until you have sifted through them, you don't know whether there is a serious case where somebody is dying because the notes haven't been transferred. So when are you going to get on top of this situation?"

Stevens said that all 162 000 items would be sent back to GPs for checking by the end of December but admitted that it would take until March 2018 to complete the process. He added that NHS England would release funding to practices on top of the £2.5m committed to check the correspondence.

Richard Vautrey, chair of the BMA's General Practitioners Committee, said, "It is simply unacceptable that even one piece of data is lost, let alone more than 800 000 letters and other information that NHS Shared Business Services has a responsibility to safeguard."

Gareth lacobucci, *The BMJ*Cite this as: *BMJ* 2017;359:j4822

Simon Stevens, chief executive of NHS England, was asked by MPs when he was "going to get on top of this situation"

LATEST ONLINE

- GP who had "wholly inappropriate relation" with patient is struck off
- Authors of US dermatology guidelines did not declare conflicts of interest
- NHS aims to expand emergency department workforce to combat pressures



SEVEN DAYS IN



Staff who refuse flu vaccine will need to explain

NHS staff who refuse to have the flu vaccine this winter will have to give reasons to their employer, as leaders toughen their approach to improve take-up rates.

Amid concerns of a surge in numbers of flu cases this winter, national NHS leaders are to write to all staff urging them to be vaccinated as soon as possible. The letter will make it clear that staff who refuse will have to give reasons to their employing NHS trust, which will then be recorded. Trusts are also being urged to make the flu vaccine "readily available" to staff.

The heads of NHS England, Public Health England, the Department of Health for England, and NHS Improvement said that they were writing to remind staff of their "professional duty to protect their patients."

The measures signal the level of concern among NHS bosses about the service's preparedness for flu this winter. Although last year saw record vaccine take-up among staff, more than a third did not take up the offer, with just a fifth being vaccinated in some trusts.

This winter the NHS will also be providing free flu vaccines to hundreds of thousands of care home staff, at a cost of up to £10m, and will increase the number of jabs for young children in schools and people in other vulnerable groups.

Gareth Jacobucci, The BMI Cite this as: BMI 2017:359:i4766

Public health

NHS targets supersized chocolate bars

NHS hospitals were instructed to remove supersize chocolate bars and any "grab bags" of sugary snacks from their shop shelves as the service stepped up its campaign against obesity, diabetes, and tooth decay. Services will receive financial incentives in 2018-19 if they meet new calorie reduction targets.

Unhealthy sandwiches and drinks are also targeted.

Simon Stevens, NHS England chief executive, said, "In place of calorie laden, sugary snacks we want to make healthier food an easy option for hospital staff, patients, and visitors."

Brexit

Health leaders warn of "worst case scenario"

A "worst case scenario" Brexit that ends reciprocal healthcare arrangements between the UK and the EU could have severe repercussions for patients, warned healthcare leaders. The Brexit Health Alliance said that travel insurance for visiting Europe could become unaffordable for British

citizens with existing health problems if they could no longer use the European Health Insurance Card. It added that, if British people travelling abroad lost reciprocal healthcare rights, it could cost the NHS £500m a year.

Minister promises "ambitious" EU science deal

The UK government sought to quell fears over Brexit's effect on

the science and research sector, saying that it was seeking an

"ambitious science and innovation agreement with the EU." In a written parliamentary statement, Robin Walker (below), minister at the Department for Exiting the European Union, said, "We recognise the importance

of a close cooperative relationship between the UK and EU in the field of medicines regulation and science and research collaboration and intend for this to form a key

part of our deep and special partnership with the EU."

Regulation

CQC is urged to speed up inspection reports

Inspectors take too long to publish their reports of health and social care inspections in England, the government's spending watchdog said. In its review of the Care Quality Commission's performance, the National Audit Office found that delays in publishing the reports "mean that information is not provided to the public in a timely way." During 2016-17 and the first quarter of 2017-18 the CQC consistently missed its own target for publishing reports, the NAO found.

Surgery

Hundreds of lives are saved by improving bowel surgery

Improvements in patient care before, during, and after

emergency bowel surgery
helped reduce the national
30 day mortality rate from
11.8% to 10.6% during
2013-16, representing
around 300 patients' lives
saved each year, a

national clinical audit showed. The Royal College of Anaesthetists' third annual



National Emergency Laparotomy Audit found that the average hospital stay for bowel surgery fell from 19.2 days in 2013 to 16.6 days in 2016, saving the NHS an estimated £30m a year.

Sexual health

PrEP rollout would be cost effective

Providing pre-exposure prophylaxis (PrEP) drugs to men who have sex with men who have a high risk of HIV infection in England would be cost effective and could help prevent one in four cases of HIV, a study in Lancet Infectious Diseases found. Providing PrEP to this group—equivalent to less than 5% of men who have sex with men at any point in time would be cost effective within 40 years of introduction, or sooner if large cost reductions arise from the emergence of generic drugs, the study found.

MEDICINE

Tuberculosis

Progress on TB reduction falters

Under half of the 10.4 million people who develop TB each year are successfully treated, found a report that tracked achievement against the "90-90-90" goals. No country has achieved both 90% treatment coverage and 90% treatment success, and no country with a high TB or drug resistance burden achieved 90% treatment coverage. Experts said that the lack of progress cast doubt on the goals and the World Health Organization's target to end the epidemic by 2035.

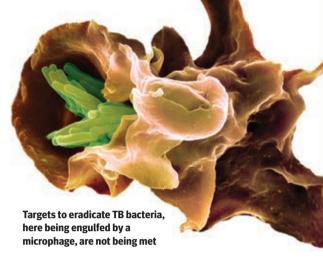
TB risk in diabetic patients with poor glycaemic control

Patients with diabetes who have poor glycaemic control are more than twice as likely as the general population to have latent TB infection, showed research presented at the World Conference on Lung Health, in Mexico. A US population based study found that patients with undiagnosed diabetes were 2.2 times more likely to have latent TB infection than those without diabetes. Diabetic patients with high levels of fasting plasma glucose (>130 mg/dL) were 2.6 times more likely to have latent TB infection than people without diabetes.

Primary care

Give GPs more time with patients, says college chair

GPs must be freed from bureaucracy to spend more time with patients, the chair of the Royal College of General Practitioners said. Speaking at the college's annual conference in Liverpool on 12 October, Helen Stokes-Lampard said, "GPs need the time to care: don't make us spend it ticking boxes, preparing for inspections, or worrying that we haven't followed guidelines for fear of repercussions."



GP clusters "over-reliant" on key individuals

Primary care clusters in Wales are overly reliant on enthusiastic individuals, and many GPs and staff cannot get involved because of work pressures, the National Assembly for Wales warned. Despite "impressive" examples of work at particular general practices, its report said that "much of this appears to

> be driven by the enthusiasm and commitment of staff working within them,

leading to a concern that the cluster model may be over-reliant on key individuals."

Sugar levy

Fall in sales is linked to 10p levy on sugary drinks

A 10p levy on sugar sweetened drinks at Jamie's Italian restaurants was linked with a fall in sales of 11% at 12 weeks and 9% at six months, a study in the Journal of Epidemiology and Community Health found. Susan Jebb, professor of population health at Oxford University, said the findings, although indicative rather than conclusive, were "encouraging ahead of the introduction of the soft drink industry levy next year."

A&E WAITS

Last year 263367 people in England spent more than 12 hours in A&E before being transferred. admitted. or discharged, up from 197111 in 2015-16, a rise of

[NHS Digital]

SIXTY SECONDS ON...



EXCUSE ME WHILE I RETCH

What's the problem? Runny eggs are safe for pregnant women, children, and elderly people to eat again, the UK Food Standards Agency has announced. The agency updated its advice after an expert committee found that the presence of salmonella in eggs bearing the British lion mark was now very low.

DIDN'T "EGGWINA" CURRIE SET OFF THIS SCARE?

For the benefit of younger readers, Edwina Currie was a Conservative health minister who, in 1988, said that most egg production in the UK was infected with salmonella. This caused a huge outcry among farmers, a collapse in the sale of eggs, and the slaughter of millions of chickens. Currie was forced to resign two weeks after making her comments.

BUT THE FARMERS WERE LEFT WITH EGG ON THEIR FACES?

Currie was eventually proved right, and the government advised against eating raw or runny eggs.

HOW HAS CURRIE REACTED TO THE **RUNNY EGG REPRIEVE?**

The situation at the time was serious, the former MP for South Derbyshire told BBC Radio Derby last week. "We had about 500 cases a week of people being so ill that they were taken to hospital... They had blood poisoning, they were being put onto kidney dialysis machines, and we were losing somebody every week. There were about 60 people who died that year, so what would you do? Do you hide your head and pretend it isn't happening? That wasn't what I thought I could do," she said.

SO HOW HAS THE EGG INDUSTRY **ELIMINATED SALMONELLA?**

Vaccinating hens, testing for salmonella, improved hygiene, rodent control, and keeping eggs cool in transit have

> all played their part. "The major reduction in the risk of salmonella in lion stamped eggs is testament to the work carried out by egg producers," said the Food

Standards Agency.

Anne Gulland, London

87

Cite this as: BMJ 2017;359:j4783

Cite this as: BMJ 2017;359:j4807

GPs' indemnity will be provided through state backed scheme, says Hunt

Ps in England will have access to a state backed indemnity scheme from 2019, the health secretary, Jeremy Hunt, has announced.

Speaking at the Royal College of General Practitioners' annual conference in Liverpool, on 11 October, Hunt said the Department of Health would create the scheme after warnings from the RCGP, the BMA, and defence unions that spiralling indemnity costs risked creating a crisis in general practice.

Hunt said, "A big issue has been the fluctuations, variability, and cost of indemnity, and we've seen that rise to around £8000 per GP. We need to introduce a state backed indemnity scheme for general practice.

"It will take us 18 months to negotiate with the medical defence organisations, and we also need to negotiate with the BMA, but we will introduce those discussions in this year's GP contract talks.

"The intention is to have a scheme that is more affordable, and more dependable and reliable for you. The great advantage is that we have control of a number of the variables that, in the current system, have caused the cost of indemnity to fluctuate and increase significantly."

Asked by RCGP chair Helen Stokes-Lampard whether the scheme would mean that GPs would no longer need their own indemnity cover, Hunt said that it would be similar to the existing scheme for hospital doctors. "It doesn't mean that there won't be any requirement for indemnity cover," he said. "But we want to match what we do in the hospital sector where we have better control of the costs and we can bring those costs down."

The health secretary also confirmed the scheme was open to "all doctors working in general practice, not just for partners."

The issue of indemnity costs came to a head this year after the lord chancellor, Elizabeth Truss, announced a legal change in February that critics said could add £1bn a year to the NHS's compensation bill. The reduction in the "discount rate"—the

"The intention is to have a more affordable and more dependable scheme"
Jeremy Hunt

receiving lump sums for personal injuries are expected to get if they invest the money—means that awards will have to be significantly higher to compensate. The change came into effect on 20 March.

Simon Kayll, chief executive of the Medical Protection Society, said the scheme would not solve the underlying issue of rising clinical negligence costs. "The cost of claims will always need to be paid for, and will continue to increase unless the root of the issue is tackled, through legal reform," he said. "It is important the government develops the detail as soon as possible. GPs need certainty that the small print is fair and meets their needs. We will push to ensure this happens swiftly."

Christine Tomkins, Medical Defence
Union chief executive, said, "To be
workable, the scheme will not only
need to pick up new GP claims,
but also claims costs which have
not already been paid for GPs
working under an NHS England
contract."

Abi Rimmer, The BMJ

Cite this as: BMJ 2017;359:j4755

Global "superdrug" project launched to tackle resistance

A project that aims to generate the largest dataset on antimicrobial resistance has been launched as part of a global effort to tackle drug resistant "superbugs."

The Global Burden of Disease AMR project is a collaboration between the UK government, the Wellcome Trust, the Bill and Melinda Gates Foundation, the

University of Oxford, and the Institute for Health Metrics

and Evaluation, an independent research centre at the University of Washington, Seattle.

rate that people

Over the next four years researchers will gather and publish data on the spread and effects of antimicrobial resistance around the world.

England's chief medical officer, Sally Davies, urged world leaders to tackle the growing threat of antibiotic resistance at a conference in Berlin last week. "Huge strides have been made—but tangible action has been far too slow. We need to up the ante,"she said. "If we are to target efforts effectively, we need to

know where the problems are so as not to undermine global progress. New approaches to convene global experts are crucial and provide some much needed direction."

By 2050, an estimated 10 million lives a year will be at risk from drug resistant infections, with economic costs reaching \$100 trn, according to the Review on Antimicrobial Resistance report published last year.

In 2016, the UN recognised drug resistant infections as one of the greatest threats facing humanity. And last month, the World Health Organization warned the world was running out of antibiotics, as drug development had failed to keep up with the rise of resistance.

The UK government has announced it will spend £117m

on research into antimicrobial resistance, and £2.7m to increase awareness of resistance and to reduce patients' expectations for antibiotics. Alistair Burt, minister for foreign and international development, said the UK had spent more than £615m on tackling drug resistant infections since 2013.

Jeremy Farrar, Wellcome Trust director, said, "Political and societal recognition of the threat superbugs pose has increased. But progress is fragile. There is no doubt that we can stop the superbugs. But the impact is now. The time to act is now."

Jacqui Wise, London

Cite this as: BMJ 2017;359:j4769

ASTIIDIO/BCGD



"Golden hello" of £20000 to be offered to 200 GPs

Trainee GPs will be offered £20000 "golden hellos" if they opt to work in parts of England that are struggling to recruit, the health secretary, Jeremy Hunt, has said.

Speaking at the Royal College of General Practitioners' annual conference in Liverpool on 12 October, Hunt said that the "salary supplements" would be available to 200 GPs from next year in areas of the country where training places had been unfilled for three or more years.

Similar schemes running in areas hard to recruit to had so far used "golden hellos" 126 times, with a success rate of 86%, said Hunt.

Hunt also reiterated his position on the 1500 new medical school places that will start next year, stating that he had asked Health Education England to make sure that many of these were located in priority areas, including rural and coastal communities.

The health secretary also announced that a new international recruitment office would open next month to help reach the target to recruit 2000 GPs from overseas by 2020. NHS England has been trying to increase recruitment from overseas since 2016, although figures sent to *The BMJ* in July showed that so far the scheme had recruited only 38 doctors into general practice in England.

In his speech to the conference Hunt said that 601 applications from doctors from European Economic Area countries had now been approved and that work was in progress to reduce the bureaucracy linked to recruiting doctors from further afield.

However, less encouraging, said Hunt, was the "disappointing" increase in the number of GPs who wanted to leave the profession, which "was at the highest level since 1998." More than 7000 GPs aged over 50 were planning to leave, which he said "was a great cause of concern."

Hunt also announced that NHS England would be consulting on regulating physician assistants, who are part of the 5000 extra support staff that were promised for general practice in NHS England's *General Practice Forward View* manifesto in 2015.

Hunt said, "A number of you have said that while you welcome the use of physician associates [PAs], what would make them even more valuable in your practices would be if they were able to do things like order x rays or prescribe from a limited list of medicines, and to do that they need to be regulated.

"And so, today I can announce that we will be consulting on the professional regulation of PAs. And that will mean that as we start to expand the number of PAs in the NHS, especially in general practice, they can be a lot more use and support to you.

"We need to be clear that they are not replacing the work done by GPs, and they are operating under the supervision of GPs. But we also need, as we expand the number of GPs, to leverage your time better."

Zosia Kmietowicz, *The BMJ*

Cite this as: BMJ 2017;359:j4759

FIVE MINUTES WITH...

Jeannie Watkins

The president of the Faculty of Physician Associates discusses the newly announced consultation on regulation of the profession

t's absolutely brilliant that the secretary of state has announced the consultation—it's been 10 years of hard work to get us to this point.

"Regulation will mean that PAs can work to the full scope of their practice.

We'll be able to prescribe drugs and request ionising radiation and x rays. Right now some of the barriers, particularly in general practice, are around people not being able to fulfil the potential of their roles.

"Part of our anxiety about not being regulated is the fact that we have no force of law. We have a managed voluntary register and if concerns are raised we can take PAs on the register through a fitness to practise process, should the complaint warrant it. Having a statutory regulator will be brilliant because it will mean that the profession

is here to stay—it gives us confidence and it demonstrates confidence in the profession.

"Obviously, we don't know who our regulator will be and part of the consultation will be around that. It would make sense for it to be a medical regulator because that's the area that we work in, but it's for the government to decide. Regulation will also mean that no one else can use the

MANY PEOPLE ARE STILL NOT QUITE CLEAR ABOUT WHAT

WE DO AND HOW

WE PRACTISE

PA title. We understand that getting there will be a two year process from when the consultation starts.

"There may be concerns and questions from doctors about PAs becoming regulated and those, I'm sure, are absolutely appropriate.

"With the rapid expansion of PAs, more people are aware that we are around but they are still not quite clear about who we are, what we do, and how we practise. I think those will be the concerns coming through, about how PAs fit in.

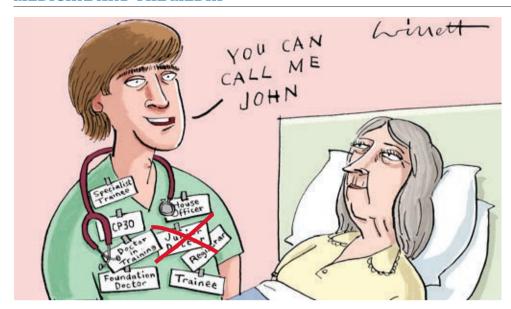
"We are clear that we are not here to take anyone's job. We are redistributing the workforce, not gap fillers. We should be an addition to what already exists in the service."

Abi Rimmer, The BMJ

Cite this as: BMJ 2017;359:j4801

www.consultations.dh.gov.uk

MEDICINE AND THE MEDIA



What's in a name?

England's chief medical officer's call to ban the title junior doctor made front page news—then the backlash began. **Robin Baddeley** reports

major sovereignty dispute is burning in Catalonia, a game of nuclear war "chicken" is being conducted over Twitter, and Ben Stokes is facing possible exclusion from the upcoming Ashes contest. Despite these pressing issues, last week the Times chose to carry the front page headline: "Top medic demands end to junior doctor job title."

England's chief medical officer, Sally Davies, had publicly voiced her support for the Oxford Health Alliance's campaign to end the use of the title junior doctor, a term the Oxford University academics considered "unjust, progressively inaccurate, detrimental to self-esteem, and widely misunderstood by the general public." The story, also covered in the Sun and the Daily Telegraph, publicised the CMO's call for job titles that give doctors "the respect they deserve."

What happened next could be seen as a microcosm of how highly charged media debate about the medical profession and the NHS has become, an example of emotions, politics, and frustrations running high.

The terminology debate is far from new and has been discussed in this journal on several occasions over

some years. But the general public's (mis)understanding of doctors' roles and responsibilities was brought into sharper focus during the 2016 dispute over the junior doctor contract, and campaigns such as this arose, in part, from doctors' frustration. You might therefore expect them to welcome medical leaders' public support for the Oxford campaign.

Health Education England's medical director, Wendy Reid, described the issue as a "very welcome debate... as current terminology could not only risk undermining [doctors] but also potentially lead to confusion for the public." However, she cautioned that HEE was "not in a position to change the name" though it was "willing to play our role in any future discussions around this issue."

The president of the Royal College of Anaesthetists, Liam Brennan, boasted in a letter to the Times that the college had "for some time abandoned using 'junior doctor'" and agreed that "a title that better reflects the experience and skills of this group of doctors would be a positive step forward." The consultant psychiatrist Agnes Ayton tweeted in agreement of abandoning the term: "It is easier to infantilise staff if they are called junior."

"A distraction tactic. What's the real NHS story today?"

Marie McVeigh, GP trainee

Hidden agenda

What happened next was more interesting. The media coverage prompted a backlash from doctors, including juniors, who suspected a hidden agenda. The Guardian columnist Rachel Clarke, a specialty doctor in palliative medicine. branded the issue a "distraction of a manufactured debate" that "serves a convenient purpose to have junior doctors bickering among themselves about what they would like to be known as."

She proposed that the chief medical officer should "campaign for meaningful action [on issues that threaten the NHS], not a conveniently cost-neutral name change."

The *Times* front page story on the CMO's comments trumped coverage of a report by the Care Quality Commission, released the same day, that warned that quality and safety in the NHS could deteriorate as a result of rising pressures. This did not go unnoticed, and doctors expressed their suspicion over the timing and prioritisation of the news.

GP trainee Marie McVeigh saw the story as "yet another example of a futile exercise missing the point entirely, possibly by design." She tweeted: "A distraction tactic-what's the real NHS story today?"

Hannah Barham-Brown, deputy chair of the BMA's Iunior Doctors Committee, also saw ulterior motives behind the headline coverage. "It's almost like they're making a loud noise implying they care, to cover

gargantuan issues that

directly affect the wellbeing of staff," she tweeted.

The campaign to

ban the junior doctor title raises more questions than it answers. How could it be banned? What should replace it? Do titles affect patient care?

But the prominent coverage prompted doctors to raise the more pressing point: is any of this the real priority right now?

Robin Baddeley, editorial registrar, The BMJ

Cite this as: BMJ 2017;359:j4797



Top medic demands end

headline last week

Europe steps up action against vaccine hesitancy as measles outbreaks continue

he goal of eliminating measles from Europe was dealt a blow last week after new data showed outbreaks continue to sweep the continent.

Nearly 19 000 cases were reported in the EU from January 2016 to October 2017, including 44 deaths, show figures collected by the European Centre for Disease Prevention and Control (ECDC).

The figures were released as the centre steps up initiatives in response to a rise in so called "vaccine hesitancy." Speaking to *The BMJ*, the centre's director, Andrea Ammon, said that governments and doctors needed to engage head on with parents over safety concerns. She praised Denmark, where rates of human papillomavirus (HPV) vaccination have plummeted, for taking its message to social media in a campaign that is showing early promise.

"Safety is the most important determinant in deciding whether to vaccinate or not," said Ammon. "People's perception of risk is affected because they don't see diseases like measles routinely anymore. Doctors are an important and trusted source for patients but are not always as informed as they should be."

Mandatory vaccination

Recent measles outbreaks have occurred in several European countries, with the highest numbers of cases in Romania (7570), Italy (4617), and Germany (891), and are linked to inadequate vaccination coverage.

As many as 87% of cases involved unvaccinated people, of whom nearly half (47%) were over 20 years old.

The outbreaks have seen an increase in compulsory vaccination policies across Europe, with Italy passing a law to enforce mandatory childhood vaccinations this year, and France due to pass similar legislation in early 2018.

Waning vaccine confidence is not just confined to measles. In Denmark, rates of HPV vaccination among 12 year

old girls have dropped sharply in recent years. Latest figures (2016) show that only 22% of girls in this age group received both HPV vaccine doses, down from a peak of 80% in 2012. In Ireland, where a group called REGRET campaigns against HPV vaccination, rates fell by 15% in two years.

Prepare to be creative

Ammon said that mandatory vaccination policies were not necessarily the answer. "People are watching what happens in France very closely. These changes have to be done in the context of the country, and it won't suit everyone." Instead, she said, health authorities had to be prepared to be creative.

"We have to get out of our comfort zone and do something new. We may have to change our approach—we have so far focused on evidence in a transparent way, but we may have to think about how to add an emotional component," she said.

Denmark has drawn praise for responding dynamically to HPV vaccination concerns. Working with the Danish Medical Association and the Danish Cancer Society, the national health authority has signed up a network of doctors to a Facebook campaign, to respond individually to parents who post concerns on the platform.

Bolette Søborg, national manager of the authority's childhood vaccination programme, said that a rise in adverse event reporting about the HPV vaccine had led to the sharp drop in coverage. A popular 2015 documentary, *The Vaccinated Girls*, featured three girls who reportedly experienced postural orthostatic tachycardia syndrome after vaccination. The film's reach was widened by a social media campaign led by parent organisations.

"We suspected that a lot of concern

was driven by people communicating on Facebook," said Søborg. "Parents were looking to their own networks for information and not coming to our website. So we were dealing with passive information on social media."

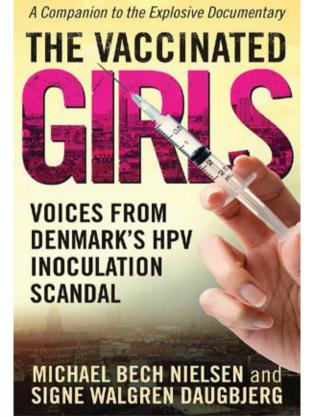
The health authority surveyed parents to find out who made decisions about vaccinations, what questions they were asking, and where they sought advice. The resulting Facebook campaign, "Stop HPV, Stop Cervical Cancer," targets vaccine hesitant mothers with personal stories of women with cervical cancer.

Since May, Denmark's HPV vaccinations have risen to 4200 a month, up from 2200 a month in 2016.

Rebecca Coombes, The BMJ

Cite this as: BMJ 2017;359:j4803

A 2015 TV documentary preceded a sharp drop in HPV vaccination rates in Denmark



 $IN IRELAND, where a group called REGRET campaigns against \\ HPV vaccination, rates fell by 15\% in two years$

THE BIG PICTURE

Blood lines

It is a life force and can be life taking, if infected, and as a new London exhibition proves, blood is a powerful inspiration for artists around the world.

"BLOOD: Life Uncut" is part of an autumn series of performances, events, and workshops across the capital, organised by Science Gallery, part of King's College, London.

Among the exhibits at the Copeland Gallery is the installation *The Body is a Big Place*, created by Helen Pynor and Peta Clancy, featuring blood animated by a perfusion system, which explores the processes of blood transfusion and transplantation.

Other artists tackle issues such as menstruation, Ebola, sickle cell anaemia, and blood donation, in a variety of media.

Daniel Glaser, Science Gallery director, said, "Blood is the thing that unites us, that allows a blood donor to save the life of another human. But it can also transmit infection and is attacked by multiple diseases. Our exhibition and events show how blood is a powerful trigger of memory and emotional response."

The exhibition runs until 1 November at the Copeland Gallery, Peckham, London.

Alison Shepherd, *The BMJ*Cite this as: *BMJ* 2017;359;J4826





IN AMERIC **PIOIDS**

Drug poisoning is now the leading cause of death in Americans under 50 years.

Rises in illicit opioid use have followed rises in licit use: in 2013 US doctors wrote 250 million prescriptions for the painkillers—enough for a bottle of pills for everyone.

On these pages Michael McCarthy reports from small town America, at the heart of the epidemic, while on p 97 Bob Roehr pleads against the "hysterical" opiophobia that could leave patients like him in avoidable pain.

On p 98, editorialists
Martin Makary and
colleagues call on
surgeons in particular to
prescribe better, and on
p 99 Evan Wood and M
Eugenia Socías explain
the illicit role of the
synthetic opioid fentanyl,
implicated in huge
numbers of deaths, in the
overdose epidemic.

DRUG DEPENDENCY

hen Angie
Gooding returned
to Port Angeles,
a town of
20 000 people
in Washington state at the base of
the Olympic mountains, she found
that her home town had changed
from the one she left 20 years ago.
Gooding, who teaches language,
arts, and history to 14-15 year olds
in Port Angeles's middle school, was
not expecting quite so many troubled
students.

"Maybe it's because it's a small town and people know each other's business, but I started asking my students questions," Gooding recalls. "I asked: why are you always late for class? Why are you so tired?" The children told her of parents having drug parties on school nights, of syringes in their homes, and of incidents of sexual abuse. "They just opened up and told me what was going on," Gooding tells *The BMJ*.

Like many small towns in rural America, Port Angeles and other communities in surrounding Clallam County have been hard hit by an epidemic of drug misuse that, according to the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention (CDC), led to more than 52 000 deaths in the United States in 2015, 33 000 of which followed an overdose of a prescription or an illicit opioid. The CDC estimates that more than 300 000 Americans have died from overdoses of prescription opioids since 2000.

This prompted US President Donald Trump to declare the epidemic a national emergency in August, but the administration has yet to publish its plans as *The BMJ* went to press.

In a draft report, a commission appointed by the president recommended a public health approach. This included: better access to medication assisted treatment; ensuring the availability of the overdose rescue drug naloxone; enforcing existing legislation that requires insurers to cover substance use disorders



The drug addiction ravaging rural USA

The small town of Port Angeles has the highest rate of opioid overdose deaths in Washington state. **Michael McCarthy** reports from Clallam County



as they do physical disorders; and expanding access for inpatient mental healthcare for poor and disabled Americans through Medicaid.

But the US attorney general, Jeff Sessions, has been pushing for federal prosecutors to get tough on drug offenders, seemingly endorsing an approach reminiscent of the law and order "war on drugs" strategy adopted by the US in the 1970s but largely rejected by the Obama administration in favour of policies that put the emphasis on prevention and treatment.

According to latest statistics from Washington state's department of health, 694 people in Washington died from opioid overdoses in 2016, 435 of whom used prescription opioids. The age adjusted opioid related overdose death rate for the state, which now has a population of just over seven million, was 9.3 per 100 000 people. In Clallam

County, which has a population of roughly 72 000, 54 died, giving a rate of 16.5/100 000—the worst in the state.

Rise in opioid prescribing

Chris Frank, a family doctor at the community clinic in Port Angeles and the Clallam County health officer, says that although the county's rate is nowhere near that in hard hit regions in the east, such as West Virginia, where in 2015 the opioid overdose death rate was 41/100000, the root causes are the same: economic decline, social fragmentation, and the rise in opioid prescribing.

Until the 1960s, the rural economy relied heavily on the logging and fishing industries. When

"The number of opioid prescriptions has gone up threefold to fourfold over the past 15 to 20 years"

CHRIS FRANK, family doctor

Hundreds protest in Port Angeles: President Donald Trump declared the epidemic a national emergency but the administration has yet to publish its plans for response 694 people in
Washington died from opioid
overdoses in 2016,

435 of whom used prescription opioids

thriving, these industries provided good jobs, says Frank, but the work was associated with injuries. As a result, many people were living with chronic pain in the 1990s, when US physicians, at the drug industry's urging, began to prescribe more opioids for non-cancer pain.

"We saw the same increase in opioid prescribing that other parts of the country saw," Frank tells *The BMJ*. "The number of opioid prescriptions has gone up threefold to fourfold over the past 15 to 20 years." Those increases, he says, were closely linked with an increase in the negative outcomes associated with opioid addiction: broken families, crime, overdoses, and drug related deaths.

Unlike some of the other counties on the peninsula, Clallam County already had programmes and policies that emphasised harm reduction and treatment. It started a syringe exchange programme in 2006, used a special sales tax to fund mental health and drug treatment, and, rather than adding capacity to its jail, had expanded a drug court programme that offers offenders the option of entering treatment instead of serving time.

The community has chosen to stick to that approach, says middle school teacher Gooding, who in 2015 helped found the Port Angeles Citizen Action Network (PA Can) to tackle the town's addiction problems. The network focuses on school interventions, housing for people in recovery, and diverting people from jail to treatment (see box, p96).

One intervention is Clallam public health department's syringe exchange programme, which provides sterile injecting equipment to about 640 drug users and, since

the **bmj** | 21 October 2017 **95**

2015, also supplies the opioid agonist naloxone. The exchange, run by David Daran, a community health nurse, maintains an anonymised database for the health department's epidemiological surveillance programme. Kristin Rowland, a co-occurring disorders clinician, joins during clients' visits.

"People come here to get needles. They're not coming to talk to a chemical dependency professional," Daran tells *The BMJ*. "So, it's kind of like a dance, I'll ask them a question about their health and then Kristin will ask them a question about what services they might need."

If they're interested, Rowland can connect them to help with housing or medication assisted treatment. "I'm the Suboxone Jesus," Rowland says, referring to the buprenorphine and naloxone combination used in many opioid treatment programmes. People often need time to accept help after Rowland plants the seed of the idea of treatment, and she gives them a number they can message.

Medication assisted treatment has also become a major focus of the drug treatment efforts at the Clallam County Correctional Facility,

Misuse and deaths have followed prescribing

According to the US Centers for Disease Control and Prevention (CDC), deaths from overdose of prescription opioids or heroin have quadrupled in the country since 1999, corresponding with the quadrupling of prescription opioid sales from 1999 to 2010. "We now know that overdoses from prescription opioids are a driving factor in the 15-year increase in opioid overdose deaths," the CDC says on its website.

In 2013, US healthcare professionals wrote nearly a quarter of a billion opioid prescriptions, the agency notes, "enough for every American adult to have their own bottle of pills."

The rise in opioid prescription volume began to flatten in 2010 but overdoses related to heroin, which had been rising since 2006, began to accelerate in late 2010, data from the National Poison Data System show. The increase in heroin

use may have been prompted by a reformulation of oxycodone to deter misuse and greater availability of potent, cheap heroin. Data from the National Survey on Drug Use and Health show that four in five people who recently started taking heroin reported having previously taken prescription opioids.

In the past few years in Washington state, overdose deaths from prescription opioids have plateaued but deaths from heroin overdose have been on the rise. Last month, it joined more than two dozen states, counties, and cities that have filed lawsuits against drug makers to recoup costs related to opioid misuse, alleging that their marketing to physicians downplayed the risks and overplayed the benefits of opioids for chronic noncancer pain, contributing to the nation's opioid crisis. The companies deny wrongdoing.

where Julia Keegan, a nurse, works as the medical department's health services administrator. Most of the department's work involves treating common chronic diseases such as hypertension and diabetes, but drug addiction is common among the inmates. Most started with prescription opioids, Keegan says: "You can read through their charts and see how they went from prescriptions to heroin."

About three years ago, the medical staff and administration decided they had to act to reduce the number of prisoners who were overdosing after they were released because they had lost tolerance to opioids while in jail. "We'd discharge them, and the next day they'd be dead from an overdose," Keegan says. The jail began offering enrolment in a medication assisted treatment programme at

How police involvement helps people in Port Angeles affected by drug use disorders

One of the Port Angeles Citizen Action Network's (PA Can) main activities has been getting the police more involved in efforts to divert people from jail to treatment.

Drug offenders were responsible for a lot of property crime, such as home and car break-ins, says founder and middle school teacher Angie Gooding: "there were a lot of people who were very angry. But there were also people who wanted to address the underlying issues."

The chief of the Port Angeles Police Department, Brian Smith, said he was ready to work with PA Can and other community groups on this approach. Many of the problems his officers saw every day stemmed from drug use.

"I can't think of a single case of property crime since I've been here for nine years that didn't have a nexus to substance abuse," Smith says. "That's the crime people feel around here: burglaries, thefts, identity theft. It's a pretty big quality of life issue." Before this role, Smith was a special agent for the National Park Service in California. There, the solution to crime was relatively easy: arrest offenders and remove them from the park. "You could arrest your way out of the problem," Smith says—but that's not possible in a community like Port Angeles. "We were literally dealing with the same people over and over again," he says.

Smith says that, working with PA Can and other groups, he came to realise that there was already a wide variety of services—for drug treatment, mental health counselling,

and housing—in Port Angeles that could help the police get people with drug and alcohol problems, who may be committing minor offences, off the street and into treatment. What's more, the police were in a good position to

help connect this population with these services, says Smith: "We know a lot of the people with these problems. We have rapport with them."



Little town blues: drugs fuel property crime

discharge. Since the programme started early in 2016, about 70 inmates have taken up the offer.

Changing attitudes

Although it's too soon to say whether the town and county's initiatives have significantly reduced overdoses and deaths, Frank, the county health officer, is cautiously optimistic. Access to naloxone and medication assisted treatment is improving, he says.

And Clallam County's medical community is improving prescribing practices. A new state mandated monitoring programme allows doctors to compare their prescribing. The county has no so called "pill mills," run by "sociopathic" doctors who provide opioids for profit, Frank says.

"In a lot of small towns, however, there are doctors who have been there for a long time and haven't had a lot of peer engagement," Frank says. "They may have drifted" into prescribing opioids freely "or they trained during a time when the message was, 'If you undertreat pain you're doing a disservice to your patients."

It wasn't so long ago, Frank notes, that you might refer a patient with difficult to control chronic pain on a high dose regimen to a pain specialist and he or she would come back with an even higher dose regimen. "Now we realise that is totally unsafe," he says.

Nevertheless, ending the epidemic will be difficult, Frank adds.
When someone becomes addicted to opioids, it becomes the most important thing in their life, he says. But in the Clallam County jail, Keegan says that you can't give up on people using opioids. "They're going to relapse, relapse, relapse, and you're going to see them again and again—but then one day you stop seeing them, and a few months later you see them at the grocery store, with their kid on their hip, living their lives."

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 Read more about the harms of illicit drug use and policy worldwide at bmj.com/war-on-drugs

PATIENT VIEW Bob Roehr

Don't demonise prescription opioids

I use an opioid drug, hydrocodone, every six hours, and have done so for about a decade. I have a lot of company. The latest research, a large government survey with over 50 000 respondents, shows that 92 million Americans used a prescription opioid in 2015, that's 38% of the adult population, few of whom were being treated for terminal cancer. A tiny proportion, just 0.8%, had a drug use disorder.

The paper received scant attention because it did not fit the current framing of the US's overdose problem as a "crisis," with its hysteria redolent of "reefer madness." It has been blown out of proportion by those promoting a war on drugs mentality.

I have chronic pain associated with knee replacement and spinal surgeries. A drug seldom works equally well with all patients. I have been fortunate that, when dealing with chronic pain, hydrocodone works for me with few side effects.

I am as dependent on hydrocodone as I am on the drugs that help manage my blood pressure, or as a patient with diabetes would be on insulin to regulate blood sugar. Hydrocodone has allowed me to remain productive.

That there are few long term data on the effectiveness of opioids at controlling pain does not concern me greatly. Nor has it concerned others to the point that they have procured funding to fully answer the question—it is simply an argument used to oppose the use of opioids.

Fuelled by fentanyl

The surge in opioid related deaths in the US is troubling. But it is important to remember that it is fuelled by street drugs and by fentanyl and its analogues, either alone or laced into a variety of illicit drugs. The argument that prescription opioid use leads to addiction is the old "gateway effect" that has been trotted out and debunked before—marijuana use leads to heroin use, a beer leads to chronic alcoholism. It is no more valid for prescription opioids than it was in those earlier examples.

There are serious methodological problems with the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention report on opioid deaths.³ It combined deaths from (illegal) heroin with deaths from

(legal) prescription opioids. But its data clearly show that deaths from only prescription drugs have tailed off over the past few years. The increase in deaths is from heroin and street drugs laced with fentanyl.

Opioid policy has been driven by an attempt to control the supply—through legal prosecution of physicians running "pill mills"; by tightening prescribing criteria and the auditing of prescriptions; by limiting prescriptions to 30 days; and through the introduction of tamper resistant formulations that make misuse more difficult. All of these measures were put in place before the recent surge in opioid associated deaths. Little has been done to reduce demand by improving the availability and quality of addiction treatment.

The framing of the epidemic as a "crisis," has hysteria redolent of "reefer madness"

People who have lost access to prescription opioids have turned to cheaper, more accessible, and more potent black market options, according to experts, and the death toll has soared. That pattern is the same one seen in alcohol prohibition in the US a century ago.

Our preoccupation with opioid misuse could blind us to the good that these drugs can do, and may mean that more people will unnecessarily endure suffering that might otherwise be alleviated.

Yes, some people misuse prescription drugs, just as they would likely misuse another drug if opioids were not available. But fear of dependence will lead physicians to deprive responsible patients of access to opioids and drive them to seek relief through drugs on the streets, where unregulated products often contain fentanyl and the spectre of death. Demonising prescription opioids can come to no good end.

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the **bmj** | 21 October 2017 **97**

DRUG DEPENDENCY EDITORIAL

Overprescribing is major contributor to opioid crisis

The epidemic is a self-inflicted wound that we will not be able to cure unless surgeons and other physicians change their behaviour

ublic health crises come in two forms—those resulting from naturally occurring diseases and those that are the byproduct of medical care itself. The opioid crisis is the latest self inflicted wound in public health. In the US alone, there were 240 million opioid prescriptions dispensed in 2015, nearly one for every adult in the country. To tackle the opioid epidemic, we must first tackle a major contributor—overprescribing. 2

Too many people leave hospital with bottles of opioid tablets they don't need. Consider a standard elective laparoscopic cholecystectomy. Some doctors prescribe opioids judiciously after the procedure—providing only non-opioid alternatives or up to five opioid tablets in combination with non-opioid



alternatives. Other doctors routinely overprescribe—giving every patient 30-60 highly addictive tablets. Most commonly this is oxycodone written with instructions to take 5-10 mg as needed every 4-6 hours for pain. But if patients follow these instructions, they will be taking up to 90 MME (morphine mg equivalents) a day—nearly double the threshold above which the US Centers for Disease Prevention and Control cautions a twofold increased risk of overdose (≥50 MME/day *v* <20 MME/day).³

Unfortunately, electronic health records further engrained this pattern as it was set as a default in e-prescribing. For example, when a user types oxycodone in the prescribing section of the electronic medical record, 30 tablets appears as the default even though most



patients need fewer than 10 or can be comfortable with non-narcotic options. ⁴ Changing the default is one easy step all medical centres should adopt to address the opioid epidemic.

Using 2016 US Medicare data, our Johns Hopkins team analysed the average number of opioids a doctor prescribes after a routine laparoscopic cholecystectomy, excluding patients with pre-existing opioid use or pain syndromes. Prescribing patterns ranged from 0 to more than 50, with only about a fifth averaging what

EDITORIAL

Epidemic of deaths from fentanyl overdose

Another serious side effect of the war on drugs

trategies to tackle the harms of substance misuse and addiction remain among the most controversial areas in public policy.12 Although new ways of thinking are emerging, the overwhelming model in the past century has involved the criminalisation of production, sale, and possession of illicit drugs. 12 This is despite a large body of research showing that this approach has not only been unsuccessful in decreasing the availability and use of drugs, but has also had numerous severe unintended negative public health consequences, including increased health harms, incarceration rates, and violence in the drug market.12

History has also shown repeatedly that the emphasis on criminalisation



Deaths in the US from fentanyl overdose rose from 2628 to 20 145 in four years

often results in the emergence of more potent and potentially toxic drugs.³ Such behaviour was observed in the US during alcohol prohibition and with the criminalisation of opium, which prompted a shift from smoking to more potent forms of opioids and riskier use, including injection.³ To make matters worse, it is impossible in unregulated markets to control the potency and composition, or prevent contamination of the drugs.

The latest example of the failure of a law enforcement approach is the emergence of highly potent synthetic opioids (illicitly manufactured fentanyl and analogues such as carfentanyl). Overdose deaths involving fentanyl have risen alarmingly: in the US from 2012 to 2016, the number of deaths



Over the past few decades, opioid prescribing has been driven little by science and mostly by tradition and dogma Johns Hopkins' pain specialists call the best practice range (≤10 tablets).

We have replicated the analysis for many common procedures, including those that can be managed with non-opioids alone. Consistent with current literature, the physician distribution graphs keep showing wide variation in opioid prescribing. Physicians who are outside of the data boundaries of reasonable variation for standardised procedures, as set by our hospital's pain specialists, are easily identifiable.

Changing behaviour

Now that we can identify outlier overprescribing clinicians, what do we do about it? Using the Improving Wisely model of sharing data reports with doctors, showing them where they stand relative to their peers, we can identify doctors who need guidance to prescribe more wisely and reduce unwarranted clinical variation in opioid prescribing. ⁶

In healthcare, there is science, tradition, and dogma. Over the past few decades, opioid prescribing has been driven little by science and mostly by tradition and dogma. The trend to overprescribe is based on an experiential "that's how I like to do

it" model passed from generation to generation of trainees. This dogma was solidified by a 1980 *New England Journal of Medicine* letter, ⁷ long since discredited, ⁸ which stated that only 1% of people become addicted to narcotic pain medication. Aggressive advertising of opioids quickly ensued. ⁹

Another iatrogenic factor driving overprescribing is the notion that pain is the fifth vital sign of medicine. This concept was dominant in the mid-1990s, and it became an indicator of patient satisfaction and hospital performance in the mid-2000s. 10-12

The many doctors who prescribe opioids judiciously recognise the drugs' addictive potential and reserve them for their true indications: terminal cancer, second degree burns, and major surgery, for example. Sadly, a consumerist mentality of patient satisfaction and pain-free expectations has resulted in opioids being prescribed for soft indications such as simple procedures, back pain, and chronic joint pain rather than reserving them for persistent pain, despite non-narcotic treatments.

Improved education is needed for both physicians and patients on the proper role of opioids. ¹³ ¹⁴ We need to

return to sound medicine and employ wise prescribing strategies. Feeling zero pain is an unrealistic expectation during recovery. Multimodal postoperative pain management should be the standard of care, with opioid medications used adjunctively.¹⁵

In the past, we surgeons were taught that opioids were not addictive. But today, science has taught us that the opposite is true. 16 17 In fact, one in 16 surgery patients becomes a chronic opioid user. 18 After chronic pain specialists, surgeons have the highest rate of opioid prescribing in the US, and recent data show that 70-80% of prescribed opioids go unused after common surgical procedures. 5 19 This can lead to stockpiling and use for non-prescribed indications by the patient or others. While better access to opioid addiction treatment is essential. we should remember that the most effective treatment is still prevention.

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associated with synthetic opioids rose from 2628 to 20145. Large increases have also occurred in Europe, including the UK.

The epidemic of fentanyl related overdoses could be argued to be a predictable consequence of efforts to cut the supply of opioid analgesics and heroin without also addressing the needs of those who are dependent, or the many social drivers of the crisis.³ Likewise, continued over-reliance on law enforcement approaches is unlikely to curb the epidemic and could shift the market towards more potent synthetic analogues.³⁷

Public health solutions

To tackle the crisis, innovative, science driven public health solutions are urgently needed. An accessible and evidence based addiction treatment system that supports individuals along a continuum of care is vital. ⁸ Treatment

Policy makers must tackle the social determinants that fuel the marginalisation of drug users type and intensity (ranging from oral to injectable medications) should be adjusted to match individuals' needs over time. ⁹ Few jurisdictions currently have such a system in place.

Since many people at risk of overdose are recreational users rather than dependent users in need of treatment, another potential strategy is drug testing services. These allow people who use drugs or are otherwise involved in the drug economy to test illicit drugs and change their practices based on the results (by reducing the amount, for example). Although some experience supports the role of drug checking for recreational users of stimulants and MDMA (ecstasy),10 its role in opioid use requires urgent evaluation. Involving the affected community in the planning and implementation phases of any strategy will also be key to reaching those most at risk. Past work has shown that peers can extend the reach of conventional harm reduction strategies. 11

However, the rapid growth of the crisis related to fentanyl is likely to continue unless policy makers also tackle the many social determinants that fuel the legal and socioeconomic marginalisation of drug users and create barriers to evidence based interventions. Most importantly, policy makers must understand the crisis is a consequence of prohibition and that long overdue out of the box thinking can improve public safety and public health by treating substance use as a health problem rather than a criminal or moral issue. 912

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EDITORIAL

State of health and care in England

Services are at full stretch and struggling to maintain standards

he annual assessment of health and social care by the Care Ouality Commission (COC) provides a veritable treasure trove of information about the state of services in England.1 Based on inspections of 21 256 adult social care services, 152 NHS acute trusts, 197 independent acute hospitals, 18 NHS community health trusts, 54 NHS mental health trusts, 226 independent mental health locations, 10 NHS ambulance trusts, and 7028 primary care services over three years, the assessment offers grounds for concern and reassurance in equal measure.

The CQC's headline finding is that most services are good and many providers have improved the quality and safety of care since inspections. Behind this headline lies a much more nuanced assessment, with variations between and within services and evidence of growing pressures on staff and deterioration of quality in some services. Adult social care is identified as a particular concern, with a reduction in nursing home beds, providers of domiciliary care handing back contracts to dozens of local authorities, and an estimated 48% increase in the number of older people not receiving the help they need since 2010.

The CQC argues that health and care services are working at full stretch and that staff resilience is not inexhaustible. It is hard to escape the conclusion that standards in many services are likely to fall in future as a result of continuing financial pressures. Support for this view can be found in evidence by Simon Stevens, chief executive of NHS England, to the House of Commons Health Committee on the day the report was published. Stevens warned that low levels of funding growth for the NHS in the next two years would result in



deteriorations in care, a reminder if one were needed of the dangers that lie ahead.²

The challenge for the NHS arising from COC's assessment is to learn lessons from the experience of NHS trusts that are performing well even in the face of financial and operational pressures. According to the CQC, the characteristics of acute hospital trusts that have improved care include strong leadership, engaged staff, cultures that empower staff to improve care, a shared vision, and an outward looking approach. There is more work to do to embed these characteristics in all NHS providers to ensure that patients receive the best possible care.

A sustainable future

The challenge for the government is to find a sustainable solution for the future funding of adult social care, described by the CQC as "one of the greatest unresolved public policy issues of our time." The promised green paper on adult social care provides an opportunity to tackle this problem if the will exists within the government to examine all the options and to move beyond the sticking plaster solutions like the Better Care Fund that have so far failed to deliver. A good starting point is the report of the Barker

Adult social care "one of the greatest unresolved public policy issues of our time."

Commission, which laid out the hard choices on tax and spending that need to be confronted in securing sustainable funding for the future.⁴

The challenge for CQC is to use the intelligence and understanding it has acquired to support improvements in care and not just to hold up a mirror to how services perform now. It also has more work to do to assess the performance of local systems of care as well

as the organisations providing care. Its observation that high quality care is delivered when services are joined up around the needs of people reinforces the importance of work to integrate care through implementing the NHS five year forward and sustainability and transformation plans.⁵

Continuing to give priority to the development of these new care models will not be easy when so much management and clinical time is focused on reducing financial deficits and meeting waiting time targets. The CQC's warnings about the perilous state of some services could have the unintended effect of strengthening the focus on these operational matters at the expense of work to transform care. Securing the future of health and social care depends on doing things differently, not doing more of the same a bit better, and leaders at all levels have a responsibility to make sure this happens. This must include providing additional funding to sustain services while options for the longer term are explored in work on the green paper.

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