

1 The quality of prison primary care

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22 The quality of prison primary care: cross- 23 sectional analyses of prison healthcare 24 data in England

25 Abstract

26 Background

27 Prisoners have significant health needs, are relatively high users of healthcare and often die
28 prematurely. Strong primary care systems are associated with better population health outcomes.
29 We investigated the quality of primary care delivered to prisoners.

30 Methods

31 We assessed achievement against 30 quality indicators spanning different domains of care in 13
32 prisons in the North of England. We conducted repeated cross-sectional analyses of routinely
33 recorded data from electronic health records over 2017-20. Multi-level mixed effects logistic
34 regression models explored associations between indicator achievement and prison and prisoner
35 characteristics.

36 Findings

37 We found marked variations in achievement between indicators and between prisons. Achievement
38 ranged from 0.2% of people with epilepsy coded as seizure-free to 93.8% of people with diabetes
39 having blood pressure checks over the preceding year. Achievement improved over three years for
40 11 indicators and worsened for six, including declining antipsychotic monitoring and rising opioid
41 prescribing. Achievement varied between prisons, e.g., 1.93-fold for gabapentinoid prescribing
42 without coded neuropathic pain (odds ratio [OR] range 0.67 to 1.29) and 169-fold for dried blood
43 spot testing (OR range 0.05 to 8.45). Shorter lengths of stay were frequently associated with lower
44 achievement. Ethnicity was associated with some indicators achievement, although the associations
45 differed with indicators.

46 Interpretation

47 We found substantial scope for improvement and marked variations in quality, which were largely
48 unaltered after adjustment for prison and prisoner characteristics.

49 Funding

50 National Institute for Health and Care Research Health Services and Delivery Research programme:
51 17/05/26

52

53 Research in context

54 Evidence before this study

55 We searched six databases (CINAHL, Criminal Justice Abstracts, MEDLINE, PsycInfo, Embase and
56 Scopus) from January 2004 to April 2021. We chose 2004 as the start date as it marked the
57 beginning of the prison healthcare governance transition from the Home Office to the National
58 Health Service in the UK. Search terms were constructed around three concepts: quality indicators or
59 performance measurement, primary care, and prison healthcare. We included research papers,
60 commentaries, editorials, and grey literature from international sources. We updated the search
61 using the same terms in PubMed in January 2023.

62 We found limited work on measurement of care quality, with nine studies describing indicator
63 development. One article described a managed care programme in a US state prison healthcare
64 system over 1994–2003, which summarised improvements in clinical performance for six long-term
65 conditions.

66 Added value of this study

67 We assessed the quality of primary care across a range of indicators for 13 prisons in the North of
68 England. There was substantial scope for improvement and marked variations in quality which were
69 largely unaltered after adjustment for prison and prisoner characteristics. Whilst we found
70 encouraging trends suggesting improvement over a three-year period for several indicators, such as
71 increasing hepatitis B vaccination and decreasing gabapentinoid prescribing, we identified areas of
72 concern, notably decreasing antipsychotic monitoring and increasing opioid prescribing. Shorter
73 lengths of stay were frequently associated with lower achievement. Ethnicity was associated with
74 some indicator achievement, but this differed with indicators. Unmatched comparisons in
75 achievement from community settings were unfavourable for 22 out of 24 relevant indicators.

76 Implications of all the available evidence

77 Prisoners generally receive worse primary care than that delivered in the community. Concerted
78 efforts are needed to move towards equivalence of healthcare and outcomes between incarcerated
79 and community populations, as well as tackle inequalities in healthcare delivery amongst prisons.
80 Our methods offer a foundation for scalable, data-driven improvement.

81

82 MEDLINE (Ovid) Search Strategy

83 1 exp Primary Health Care/
84 2 general practitioners/
85 3 physicians, primary care/
86 4 general practice/
87 5 Family Practice/
88 6 Community Health Services/
89 7 Community Health Nursing/
90 8 ((general or family) adj (practice* or practitioner* or physician* or doctor* or nurs* or
91 dentist*)).tw.
92 9 GP*.tw.
93 10 (primary adj4 (care or health* or service* or center* or centre* or practice*)).tw.
94 11 Nurse Clinicians/
95 12 Nurse Practitioners/
96 13 nurse*.tw.
97 14 Pharmacists/
98 15 pharmacist*.tw.
99 16 Physical Therapists/
100 17 physio*.tw.
101 18 (physical adj4 therapist*).tw.
102 19 or/1-18 [Primary care]
103 20 exp Quality Indicators, Health Care/
104 21 (quality adj4 (indicat* or measure* or criteria* or indicat* or assurance* or improv*)).tw.
105 22 ((clinical or performance or safety or process or outcome or prescribing or prevent*) adj4
106 indicator*).tw.
107 23 benchmarking.tw.
108 24 (performance adj4 (evaluat* or measur*)).tw.
109 25 (performance adj4 (evaluat* or measur* or criteria* or indicat*)).tw.
110 26 (incentive* adj4 (scheme* or assess* or measure* or outcome*)).tw.

111 27 "Standard of Care"/
112 28 (standard* adj2 (healthcare or care)).tw.
113 29 Quality Indicators, Health Care/
114 30 "Quality of Health Care"/
115 31 (quality adj2 (healthcare or care)).tw.
116 32 patient outcome assessment/
117 33 (patient adj3 outcome adj (measure* or assessment*)).tw.
118 34 proms.tw.
119 35 patient satisfaction/
120 36 patient preference/
121 37 (patient* adj3 (experience* or satisf* or preference*)).tw.
122 38 or/20-37 [Quality indicators]
123 39 Prisons/
124 40 Prisoners/
125 41 ((Secure or correctional) adj2 (unit or units or facility or institution* or facilities or centre* or
126 center*)).tw.
127 42 (Prison* or jail* or offender* or reoffend* or convict* or inmate* or detainee* or cellmate* or
128 incarcerat* or felon).tw.
129 43 (Penal or penitentiary or gaol or reformato*).tw.
130 44 or/39-43 [Prison]
131 45 19 and 38 and 44

132

133

134

135

136 Introduction

137 Over 10 million people are held in prisons worldwide.¹ Prisoners have significant health needs,
138 including high levels of long-term physical and mental illness, blood-borne virus infections and
139 substance misuse.^{2,3} Older people, often with more complex health needs, are the fastest-growing
140 group in the prison population in many countries; the number of prisoners aged 55 years or older in
141 the United States quadrupled between 1993 and 2013.⁴ Prisoners are relatively high users of both
142 primary care and inpatient healthcare,⁵ and face long waits for assessment and treatment.⁶ The
143 standardised mortality rate for prisoners in England is 50% higher than that of the general
144 population; the average age of death is 56 compared with almost 81 years in England.⁷

145 Strong primary care systems are associated with efficient and equitable population healthcare and
146 health.⁸ However, prison healthcare faces challenges in providing a standard of care at least
147 equivalent to that available in the wider community.² Concerns raised about access and quality of
148 prison healthcare suggest equivalence is not always achieved.⁷ Neglecting the health needs of
149 prisoners has negative consequences for both individuals and wider society.⁹

150 Previous research into prison healthcare has tended to focus on specific problems, such as substance
151 misuse,¹⁰ with less attention paid to the quality of 'routine' primary care. We examined the quality
152 of primary care for a broad range of indicators in a sample of English prisons.

153 Methods

154 Study design and setting

155 We conducted repeated cross-sectional analyses of anonymised routinely collected electronic
156 primary care data from 13 prisons in the North of England, measuring achievement against 30
157 quality indicators over a three-year period.

158 In England, prisoners are assigned to the lowest security category appropriate to manage their risks.
159 Adult males are typically categorised A–D; category A for those whose escape would be highly
160 dangerous, B for those who do not require maximum security but for whom escape needs to be
161 made very difficult, C for those who cannot be trusted in open conditions but who are unlikely to try
162 to escape, and category D open prisons for those who can be reasonably trusted not to attempt
163 escape.¹¹ Women are managed in open or closed conditions.¹² Young Offender Institutions (YOIs)
164 house prisoners aged 18–21 years. Of the 13 prisons we sampled, 10 housed adult males aged 21
165 years and over (two category A, three category B, three category C, and two category D open
166 prisons), two were closed prisons (females aged 18 years and over), and one a YOI for males.

167 Spectrum Community Health Community Interest Company (Spectrum) delivered primary care in all
168 prisons at the time of data extraction. The study population was determined by the provider and
169 included around 30% of all English prisoners in June 2020.¹³ We followed STROBE guidance in
170 reporting our results.¹⁴

171 Variables

172 We identified and defined 371 potential indicators to assess the quality of prison primary care from
173 existing guidance and literature.^{15–18} We excluded 217 indicators that had been retired or
174 superseded, were duplicates or were irrelevant to primary care. A stakeholder panel of eight
175 healthcare professionals and academics from a range of criminal justice, health, and mental health

176 backgrounds independently rated and re-rated the remaining indicators following feedback and
177 discussion. The panel prioritised 60 indicators according to relevance to primary care, scope for
178 measurement using routinely coded data, and potential for individual or population-level benefit
179 based on existing clinical guidance. Out of these, we selected 36 indicators with the highest potential
180 for patient or population benefit. Feasibility work demonstrated that six of these could not be
181 reliably operationalised. Our final set of 30 indicators comprised 15 on long-term physical
182 conditions, five on prevention and screening, four on mental illness, three on communicable disease,
183 one on opioid prescribing and two on prison-specific procedures. Three of the 30 indicators had
184 sub-indicators (one sub-indicator for hepatitis B vaccination and polypharmacy, and four for opioid
185 and gabapentinoid prescribing). Four indicators were composite (combined) indicators. We
186 pragmatically defined achievement for these: hepatitis B vaccination was achieved if at least one
187 vaccination was administered, and antipsychotic monitoring, dementia diagnoses and diabetes care
188 achieved if over 60% of recommended monitoring tests or care processes were completed.
189 Prison-level explanatory variables comprised prison name and category. Patient-level explanatory
190 variables included age of individual at study census date (in decades, to protect anonymity), gender
191 (as stated in the medical record), months of stay at census date (as categories) and Office for
192 National Statistics coded ethnicity.

193 Data Sources

194 All English prisons use the SystmOne electronic health record. This clinical system includes prisoner
195 demographic data via integration with the Prison National Offender Management Information
196 System (NOMIS), health screening data from reception assessments, and data related to ongoing
197 care including diagnoses (clinical codes), pathology results and prescribing.

198 We extracted these anonymised data remotely via Spectrum during April–November 2020, covering
199 1 April to 31 March across 2017–18, 2018–19 and 2019–20. We reviewed and iteratively refined
200 each search.

201 Statistical Analysis

202 Indicators generally comprised a defined eligible population (e.g., people with diabetes) and
203 whether they received a desired process of care or achieving a desired outcome within a given
204 timeframe (e.g., blood pressure 140/80mmHg or less within the preceding 12 months), in their
205 current prison, or during time spent in other prisons. Higher percentage achievement was generally
206 desirable for indicators. For indicators examining psychotropic, opioid and gabapentinoid
207 prescribing, there was no specific criterion to compare against; generally, lower prescribing levels
208 were desirable.

209 Multi-level mixed effects logistic regression models explored whether explanatory variables (both
210 prison and patient specific) were associated with indicator achievement, with each indicator
211 modelled separately¹⁹. The unit of analysis was the patient. Each indicator model included year as
212 both a random and fixed effect to account for the correlation between years and explore changes in
213 achievement over time. The models had two levels (person identifier and year), as there are
214 repeated measures for people across and within years (e.g., someone could have attended multiple
215 prisons in the same year and over years). Each explanatory variable was included as fixed effects
216 individually in each indicator model to explore association with achievement of that indicator.

217 Modelling was not feasible for seven indicators where prisoner numbers were too small for ORs to
218 be estimated.

219 We included the explanatory variables in multivariable multi-level mixed effects logistic regression
220 models for each indicator as fixed effect covariates to explore whether variation in indicator
221 achievement altered after adjustment for other factors. We present both the univariate and
222 multivariable model results as ORs with 95% confidence intervals (CIs) and probability of
223 achievement of the indicator (and 95% CI) for the multivariable models. All appropriate assumptions
224 were checked (multicollinearity, residual normality, and homoscedasticity) and met in each of the
225 multivariable indicator models; prison category was excluded from these models given the close
226 correlation between it and prison identity. Statistical analyses used Stata 16 software.²⁰

227 Ethical Approval

228 Ethical approval was granted by the University of Leeds (reference 18-093). HM Prison and Probation
229 Service National Research Committee confirmed that as we used remotely collected, anonymised
230 data the project did not require their approval.

231 Role of the funding source

232 The study funder had no role in study design, collection, analysis, and interpretation of data, the
233 writing of the report or the decision to submit the paper for publication

234 Results

235 Study Population

236 The total number of prisoners increased from 21,677 to 25,811 over 2017–20 (*Table 1*), 92% were
237 male and 43% were located in category B prisons, 65% were aged 20-40 years and 58% had prison
238 sentences of less than six months. Ethnicity data were missing for 18%; the majority of people
239 included were White (72%).

240 Results by quality indicator

241 Descriptive statistics and multi-level mixed effects logistic regression model results for each indicator
242 are provided in *supplementary sections 2 and 3 respectively*. *Supplementary section 1 (Tables 2a–f)*
243 summarise indicator achievement by domains of care, based upon a study population of 25,811
244 people in 2019–20 unless otherwise stated. These summarises collated variation in percentage
245 achievement of all indicators by domains of care and year, ORs trends and patterns by the
246 explanatory variables and domains of care (irrespective of ‘significance’) as well as those statistically
247 significant (at 5%) associations between achievement and the explanatory variables from the
248 multivariable multi-level mixed effects logistic regression models. Figures 1a-1f show the ORs with
249 95% CIs from the multivariable models for all indicators by domains of care.

250 Long-term Conditions (*Table 2a and Figure 1a*)

251 Indicator achievement ranged from 0% for secondary prevention of myocardial infarction (MI), to
252 83% for anticoagulation for atrial fibrillation. Achievement was below 50% for six of 15 indicators in
253 this clinical domain: secondary prevention of MI, epilepsy review and control, asthma review, blood
254 pressure control in diabetes, glycaemic control for diabetes, and blood pressure control in people 79
255 years or under with cardiovascular disease (CVD). We observed mixed trends over 2017–20.

256 Achievement improved for two indicators (processes of care for diabetes (OR 1.51; 95% CI 1.15,
257 1.99) and stroke assessment in atrial fibrillation (5.17; 1.02, 26.2)), and fell for three indicators
258 (asthma review (0.14; 0.11, 0.17), treatment of heart failure with an angiotensin-converting enzyme
259 (ACE) inhibitor or angiotensin receptor blocker (ARB)(0.32; 0.12, 0.82), and treatment of heart failure
260 with both an ACE-inhibitor or ARB and a beta-blocker (0.87; 0.27, 2.76)). Variations in achievement
261 amongst prisons ranged from over two-fold for treatment of coronary heart disease (ORs range 0.86
262 to 2.10) to 43-fold for secondary prevention of stroke (ORs range 0.03 to 1.29).

263 Achievement varied between prison categories, with no clear pattern by category or indicator.
264 Achievement generally increased with length of stay. Compared to people staying one to six months,
265 those with a stay of less than one month were less likely to have asthma reviews (0.36; 0.24, 0.53)
266 whilst those staying over 24 months were more likely to receive diabetes processes of care (3.41;
267 2.32, 5.03).

268 Achievement generally improved with increasing age. Compared to those aged 30–39 years, people
269 aged 50–59 years were more likely to receive diabetes processes of care (1.76; 1.23, 2.54) and
270 asthma reviews. Patterns varied by ethnicity; compared to White people, glycaemic control of
271 diabetes was more likely for Black or Black British people (3.08; 1.6, 5.91) whilst blood pressure
272 control in diabetes was less likely for Asian or Asian British people (0.58; 0.36, 0.95)

273 *Screening (Table 2b and Figure 1b)*

274 Indicator achievement ranged from 30% for CVD risk assessment to 63.8% for cervical screening for
275 ages 25–49 years. The likelihood of cervical screening increased over 2017–20 for those aged 25–49
276 years (1.61; 1.37, 1.89) and 50–64 years (1.5; 1.01, 2.24), but did not improve for other screening
277 programmes. The likelihood of abdominal aortic aneurysm screening (ORs 0.63 to 9.12) and CVD risk
278 assessment (ORs 0.69 to 10.04) varied over 14-fold between prisons.

279 Achievement generally increased with length of stay. People staying more than 24 months (8.04;
280 4.53, 14.26) were almost 30 times more likely to undergo abdominal aortic aneurysm screening
281 (0.27; 0.14, 0.54), than people staying less than a month. Compared to White women, Chinese or
282 Other women aged 25–49 years were less likely to have an adequate cervical screening test (0.6;
283 0.33, 0.95), and people of Mixed ethnicity were almost four times less likely to undergo abdominal
284 aortic aneurysm screening (0.26; 0.08, 0.81).

285 *Mental illness (Table 2c and Figure 1c)*

286 Indicator achievement ranged from 5% for antipsychotic monitoring to 46% for diagnosis of
287 dementia. The likelihood of mental state examination for people over 55 years increased 40-fold
288 over 2017–20 (40.5; 25.3, 64.6), whilst antipsychotic monitoring fell over 80% (0.13; 0.07, 0.24). We
289 found that 0.8% of prisoners were prescribed three or more and 0.4% prescribed four or more
290 psychotropic drugs over the preceding eight weeks, with around two-fold increases in the likelihood
291 of such prescribing over 2017–20 (OR for three or more 1.76; 1.37, 2.25 and OR for four or more
292 2.30; 1.56, 3.39). Variations in achievement amongst prisons ranged from 12-fold for antipsychotic
293 monitoring (ORs 0.68 to 8.55) to 169-fold for mental state examination (ORs 0.65 to 109.76).

294 Antipsychotic monitoring was less likely in category B, C and closed prisons compared to category A
295 prisons. Monitoring increased for people staying over 24 months (3.48; 1.66, 7.31). The likelihood of
296 being prescribed three or more and four or more psychotropic drugs rose with increasing length of

297 stay. Compared to people staying one to six months, those staying over 24 months were around
298 twice as likely to be prescribed four or more psychotropics (1.92; 1.07, 3.42).

299 We observed variations by age and ethnic group. Compared to those aged 30–39 years, people aged
300 20–29 years were less likely to be prescribed at least three or four psychotropics (ORs 0.51; 0.38,
301 0.69 and 0.56; 0.36, 0.87 respectively). Compared to White people, Asian or Asian British and Black
302 or Black British people were more likely to receive antipsychotic monitoring (ORs 5.67; 1.84, 17.46
303 and 4.04; 1.12, 14.54 respectively). Asian or Asian British people were also less likely to be
304 prescribed three or more psychotropic drugs (0.22; 0.07, 0.69).

305 Communicable disease (Table 2d and Figure 1d)

306 Indicator achievement ranged from 45% for dried blood spot testing (DBST) for hepatitis B, hepatitis
307 C and HIV to 50% for receipt of at least one hepatitis B vaccination for people with a history of illicit
308 drug use. The likelihood of achievement in this domain generally increased over 2017–20, ranging
309 from a 1.2-fold increase for influenza immunisation (OR 1.22; 1.02, 1.45) to 200-fold for DBST
310 (212.13; 170.37, 264.13). Variations in achievement between prisons ranged from four-fold for
311 hepatitis B vaccination (ORs 0.52 to 2.04) to 169-fold for DBST (ORs 0.05 to 8.45).

312 Compared to category A prisons, uptake of DBST was higher in all other categories. Achievement
313 generally increased with length of stay. Compared to people staying one to six months, those staying
314 less than one month were half as likely to accept DBST (0.53; 0.48, 0.58) and those staying over 24
315 months were 10 times as likely to accept testing (10.15; 6.73, 15.31). We observed variations by
316 ethnicity. Compared to White people, Chinese or Other people were less likely to receive one
317 hepatitis B vaccination (0.72; 0.57, 0.92).

318 Opioid and gabapentinoid prescribing (Table 2e and Figure 1e)

319 Of the total study population, 12% had been prescribed any opioid, 9% strong opioids, and 0.9%
320 gabapentinoids (with no coded diagnosis of neuropathic pain) in the preceding eight weeks. Opioids
321 were co-prescribed with benzodiazepines in 9%, and in 19% of people with a coded mental illness.
322 The likelihood of any opioid prescribing increased over 2017–20 (1.47; 1.38, 1.58). Variations in
323 prescribing between prisons ranged from two-fold for prescribing of gabapentinoids (ORs 0.67 to
324 1.29) to 12-fold for co-prescribed opioids and benzodiazepines (ORs 0.39 to 4.68).

325 Patterns of prescribing by age were broadly similar across all opioid and gabapentinoid sub-
326 indicators, with lower rates of prescribing for people aged under 30 years (e.g., OR for 20–29 years
327 prescribed any opioid 0.44; 0.41, 0.48) and generally higher for people over 40 years (e.g., OR for
328 40–49 years prescribed any opioid 1.38; 1.29, 1.48), compared to people aged 30–39 years.

329 Compared to White people, all other ethnic groups were less likely to be prescribed any opioid, any
330 strong opioid, or any opioid with benzodiazepines. Likelihoods of any opioid prescribing were lower
331 in people of Mixed ethnicity (0.55; 0.43, 0.71), Asian or Asian British people (0.32; 0.25, 0.4), Black or
332 Black British people (0.41; 0.31, 0.54) and Chinese or Other people (0.31; 0.2, 0.48).

333 Prison specific (Table 2f and Figure 1f)

334 Indicator achievement ranged from 38% for completion of medicines reconciliation and in-
335 possession risk assessment, to 70% for consent to transfer medical records from community general
336 practice to the prison healthcare service. The likelihood of consent to transfer medical records
337 increased four-fold over 2017–20 (4.28; 3.96, 4.62). Variations in achievement amongst prisons

338 ranged from 337-fold variation for consent to transfer medical records (ORs 0.007 to 2.36) to
339 21,600-fold in the likelihood of receiving medicines reconciliation assessments (ORs 0.45 to 9724.5).
340 Compared to those staying one to six months, people were more likely to receive medicines
341 reconciliation and in-possession risk assessment if they stayed less than a month (3.02; 1.86, 4.89),
342 six to 12 months (3.17; 2.26, 4.44), or over 24 months (1.54; 1.0, 2.33).
343 Men were ten times less likely to be asked for consent to transfer medical records than women (0.1;
344 0.02, 0.14). Compared to people aged 30–39 years, those aged 50–69 years were less likely to be
345 asked for consent to transfer medical records (e.g., OR for 60–69 years 0.72; 0.58, 0.89). Compared
346 to White people, all other ethnic groups were less likely to be asked for consent to transfer medical
347 records; Mixed ethnicity (0.80; 0.65, 0.99), Asian or Asian British people (0.80; 0.69, 0.92), Black or
348 Black British people (0.75; 0.61, 0.93) and Chinese or Other people (0.70; 0.52, 0.96).

349 Discussion

350 We found variations in the quality of primary care across a range of indicators in multiple prisons
351 and identified substantial scope for improvement. Gaps and variations in care reflected both broad
352 primary care needs (e.g., diabetes care) and recognised priorities in this population (e.g., mental
353 illness). Variations between prisons were largely unexplained by available population characteristics,
354 suggesting that, within the context of one provider system, they are likely to be attributable to local
355 differences in healthcare organisation and delivery.

356 We found encouraging trends suggesting improvement over time for several indicators, such as an
357 increase in hepatitis B vaccination and a reduction in gabapentinoid prescribing, and strengths in
358 performance, such as secondary prevention of stroke. However, we identified areas of concern
359 where overall achievement had declined over a three-year period, notably decreasing antipsychotic
360 monitoring, and increasing opioid prescribing, having excluded opioid substitutes specifically
361 prescribed for drug dependence.

362 Achievement varied widely across indicators, with no clear pattern by type of clinical activity.
363 Processes of care varied from 1% for annual epilepsy reviews to 94% for blood pressure checks in
364 diabetes. We observed similar variations in achievement of intermediate outcomes of care, where
365 0.2% of people with epilepsy were seizure free in the last 12 months and 34% with diabetes had
366 blood pressure in the target range.

367 Relatively short lengths of stay were frequently associated with lower achievement across prison
368 specific, long-term conditions, and screening domains. Shorter stays could represent missed
369 opportunities for health intervention and may accompany recidivism, reflecting the negative health
370 impact of repeated incarceration.²¹ Rapid population turnover significantly challenges healthcare
371 delivery to the many people passing through prisons each year, estimated to exceed 30 million
372 worldwide.²²

373 We observed no consistent patterns in achievement by gender, age, or prison category. Associations
374 between ethnic group and indicator attainment varied. For example, compared to White people,
375 those from other ethnic minorities were less likely to be vaccinated against hepatitis B, but also less
376 likely to be prescribed opioids or gabapentinoids. Asian or Asian British people were less likely to
377 achieve blood pressure control in diabetes, but more likely to achieve blood pressure control in
378 cardiovascular disease.

379 To contextualise our findings, we compared indicator achievement from community settings, albeit
380 without any adjustment for demographic differences. Comparisons were unfavourable for 22 out of
381 24 relevant indicators and one sub-indicator (*supplementary section 4*). For example, less than half
382 of eligible prisoners (45%) received influenza vaccination, compared with over 70% of eligible people
383 in the community during 2019–20. Strong opioid prescribing was much higher for prisoners,
384 although this may also be partly explained by demographic differences and the exclusion of people
385 with coded substance misuse from the community study.²³ Our work is consistent with the limited
386 international literature measuring inequities in prison settings, specifically in cancer screening and
387 cardiovascular risk assessment.²⁴

388 We highlight five study limitations. First, our analysis used data from only one prison healthcare
389 provider in Northern England. Our study population gender, age and length of stay were broadly
390 consistent with national profiles,^{25,26} except that percentages of coded Black and Minority Ethnic
391 groups were lower at around 7% compared to 27% from criminal justice statistics.²⁷ Second, clinical
392 coding is relatively poor in prison healthcare,²⁸ partly because of the absence of incentives that are
393 available to community primary care. We selected indicators where we considered coding
394 sufficiently reliable to enable comparisons. Third, whilst using routinely collected electronic data
395 allowed an efficient and scalable assessment of care, it cannot capture all important facets of
396 quality, such as prisoners' experiences. Fourth, with so many comparisons, some associations may
397 be spurious. Five, we could not assess the contributions of care delivered in community general
398 practice before or after incarceration given restrictions on data sharing. This is particularly relevant
399 for short lengths of stay, where we may have under-estimated care delivered within any given 12-
400 month period. Future research and initiatives to address continuity of care would be strengthened
401 by data sharing across prison and community systems.

402 Improvement in the quality of primary care in prisons is likely to require coordinated action across
403 system, organisational and team levels. At the system level, improved levels of healthcare staffing)
404 and linkage of community and prison records may enhance continuity and safety.^{2,29,30} Innovations
405 such as telemedicine may improve access to and cost-effectiveness of care.³¹ At organisational and
406 team levels, actions to mitigate the impact of short sentences and restrictions inherent in prison
407 regimes whilst tailored support specific to minority groups (e.g., for uptake of screening,
408 interpretation services) may help address inequalities in access to care. Overall, the gaps and
409 variations in quality of primary care we identified suggest that prisons be a key focus of public health
410 programmes to reduce health inequalities.

411 The next challenge is to move beyond description, to developing and evaluating improvement
412 strategies. Our demonstrated use of a suite of indicators spanning different domains of care could
413 represent foundational work for an evidence-based data-driven approach, such as cyclical audit and
414 feedback.³² Routine data capture and reporting may also enhance understanding of the health of
415 prison populations and inform policies for improvement at national and international levels.²

416 Funding

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418 17/05/26

419 Data sharing statement

420 The anonymised data was provided by Spectrum Community Health Community Interest Company
421 via a Data Sharing Agreement (DSA). As part of the DSA these data cannot be shared outside the DSA
422 signatories and so further access would have to be arranged directly with Spectrum after
423 appropriate ethical approval and signing of data sharing agreements. A data dictionary of the
424 anonymised data extracts is available on request from the corresponding author.

425 A study protocol including statistical plan is provided with publication.

426 Authors and contributors

427 TF, RF, NW and LS conceived the study. TF, LS, RF, NW, KM and NS designed the study and obtained
428 funding. KC, SB, PH, KM, MC, NW and RF contributed to indicator development and data collection.
429 TF and PH accessed and verified the data. TF was responsible for statistical analyses and all authors
430 were involved in data interpretation. KM, TF and RF drafted the manuscript. All authors commented
431 on further revisions and were responsible for the decision to submit the manuscript for publication.
432 TF is guarantor of the paper.

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438 Declaration of interests

439 PH is employed by Spectrum. NW was employed by Spectrum from 2015–22. KM was employed by
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22 The quality of prison primary care: cross- 23 sectional analyses of prison healthcare 24 data in England

25 Abstract

26 Background

27 Prisoners have significant health needs, are relatively high users of healthcare and often die
28 prematurely. Strong primary care systems are associated with better population health outcomes.
29 We investigated the quality of primary care delivered to prisoners.

30 Methods

31 We assessed achievement against 30 quality indicators spanning different domains of care in 13
32 prisons in the North of England. We conducted repeated cross-sectional analyses of routinely
33 recorded data from electronic health records over 2017-20. Multi-level mixed effects logistic
34 regression models explored associations between indicator achievement and prison and prisoner
35 characteristics.

36 Findings

37 We found marked variations in achievement between indicators and between prisons. Achievement
38 ranged from 0.2% of people with epilepsy coded as seizure-free to 93.8% of people with diabetes
39 having blood pressure checks over the preceding year. Achievement improved over three years for
40 11 indicators and worsened for six, including declining antipsychotic monitoring and rising opioid
41 prescribing. Achievement varied between prisons, e.g., 1.93-fold for gabapentinoid prescribing
42 without coded neuropathic pain (odds ratio [OR] range 0.67 to 1.29) and 169-fold for dried blood
43 spot testing (OR range 0.05 to 8.45). Shorter lengths of stay were frequently associated with lower
44 achievement. Ethnicity was associated with some indicators achievement, although the associations
45 differed with indicators.

46 Interpretation

47 We found substantial scope for improvement and marked variations in quality, which were largely
48 unaltered after adjustment for prison and prisoner characteristics.

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52

53 Research in context

54 Evidence before this study

55 We searched six databases (CINAHL, Criminal Justice Abstracts, MEDLINE, PsycInfo, Embase and
56 Scopus) from January 2004 to April 2021. We chose 2004 as the start date as it marked the
57 beginning of the prison healthcare governance transition from the Home Office to the National
58 Health Service in the UK. Search terms were constructed around three concepts: quality indicators or
59 performance measurement, primary care, and prison healthcare. We included research papers,
60 commentaries, editorials, and grey literature from international sources. We updated the search
61 using the same terms in PubMed in January 2023.

62 We found limited work on measurement of care quality, with nine studies describing indicator
63 development. One article described a managed care programme in a US state prison healthcare
64 system over 1994–2003, which summarised improvements in clinical performance for six long-term
65 conditions.

66 Added value of this study

67 We assessed the quality of primary care across a range of indicators for 13 prisons in the North of
68 England. There was substantial scope for improvement and marked variations in quality which were
69 largely unaltered after adjustment for prison and prisoner characteristics. Whilst we found
70 encouraging trends suggesting improvement over a three-year period for several indicators, such as
71 increasing hepatitis B vaccination and decreasing gabapentinoid prescribing, we identified areas of
72 concern, notably decreasing antipsychotic monitoring and increasing opioid prescribing. Shorter
73 lengths of stay were frequently associated with lower achievement. Ethnicity was associated with
74 some indicator achievement, but this differed with indicators. Unmatched comparisons in
75 achievement from community settings were unfavourable for 22 out of 24 relevant indicators.

76 Implications of all the available evidence

77 Prisoners generally receive worse primary care than that delivered in the community. Concerted
78 efforts are needed to move towards equivalence of healthcare and outcomes between incarcerated
79 and community populations, as well as tackle inequalities in healthcare delivery amongst prisons.
80 Our methods offer a foundation for scalable, data-driven improvement.

81

82 MEDLINE (Ovid) Search Strategy

83 1 exp Primary Health Care/
84 2 general practitioners/
85 3 physicians, primary care/
86 4 general practice/
87 5 Family Practice/
88 6 Community Health Services/
89 7 Community Health Nursing/
90 8 ((general or family) adj (practice* or practitioner* or physician* or doctor* or nurs* or
91 dentist*)).tw.
92 9 GP*.tw.
93 10 (primary adj4 (care or health* or service* or center* or centre* or practice*)).tw.
94 11 Nurse Clinicians/
95 12 Nurse Practitioners/
96 13 nurse*.tw.
97 14 Pharmacists/
98 15 pharmacist*.tw.
99 16 Physical Therapists/
100 17 physio*.tw.
101 18 (physical adj4 therapist*).tw.
102 19 or/1-18 [Primary care]
103 20 exp Quality Indicators, Health Care/
104 21 (quality adj4 (indicat* or measure* or criteria* or indicat* or assurance* or improv*)).tw.
105 22 ((clinical or performance or safety or process or outcome or prescribing or prevent*) adj4
106 indicator*).tw.
107 23 benchmarking.tw.
108 24 (performance adj4 (evaluat* or measur*)).tw.
109 25 (performance adj4 (evaluat* or measur* or criteria* or indicat*)).tw.
110 26 (incentive* adj4 (scheme* or assess* or measure* or outcome*)).tw.

111 27 "Standard of Care"/
112 28 (standard* adj2 (healthcare or care)).tw.
113 29 Quality Indicators, Health Care/
114 30 "Quality of Health Care"/
115 31 (quality adj2 (healthcare or care)).tw.
116 32 patient outcome assessment/
117 33 (patient adj3 outcome adj (measure* or assessment*)).tw.
118 34 proms.tw.
119 35 patient satisfaction/
120 36 patient preference/
121 37 (patient* adj3 (experience* or satisf* or preference*)).tw.
122 38 or/20-37 [Quality indicators]
123 39 Prisons/
124 40 Prisoners/
125 41 ((Secure or correctional) adj2 (unit or units or facility or institution* or facilities or centre* or
126 center*)).tw.
127 42 (Prison* or jail* or offender* or reoffend* or convict* or inmate* or detainee* or cellmate* or
128 incarcerat* or felon).tw.
129 43 (Penal or penitentiary or gaol or reformato*).tw.
130 44 or/39-43 [Prison]
131 45 19 and 38 and 44

132

133

134

135

136 Introduction

137 Over 10 million people are held in prisons worldwide.¹ Prisoners have significant health needs,
138 including high levels of long-term physical and mental illness, blood-borne virus infections and
139 substance misuse.^{2,3} Older people, often with more complex health needs, are the fastest-growing
140 group in the prison population in many countries; the number of prisoners aged 55 years or older in
141 the United States quadrupled between 1993 and 2013.⁴ Prisoners are relatively high users of both
142 primary care and inpatient healthcare,⁵ and face long waits for assessment and treatment.⁶ The
143 standardised mortality rate for prisoners in England is 50% higher than that of the general
144 population; the average age of death is 56 compared with almost 81 years in England.⁷

145 Strong primary care systems are associated with efficient and equitable population healthcare and
146 health.⁸ However, prison healthcare faces challenges in providing a standard of care at least
147 equivalent to that available in the wider community.² Concerns raised about access and quality of
148 prison healthcare suggest equivalence is not always achieved.⁷ Neglecting the health needs of
149 prisoners has negative consequences for both individuals and wider society.⁹

150 Previous research into prison healthcare has tended to focus on specific problems, such as substance
151 misuse,¹⁰ with less attention paid to the quality of 'routine' primary care. We examined the quality
152 of primary care for a broad range of indicators in a sample of English prisons.

153 Methods

154 Study design and setting

155 We conducted repeated cross-sectional analyses of anonymised routinely collected electronic
156 primary care data from 13 prisons in the North of England, measuring achievement against 30
157 quality indicators over a three-year period.

158 In England, prisoners are assigned to the lowest security category appropriate to manage their risks.
159 Adult males are typically categorised A–D; category A for those whose escape would be highly
160 dangerous, B for those who do not require maximum security but for whom escape needs to be
161 made very difficult, C for those who cannot be trusted in open conditions but who are unlikely to try
162 to escape, and category D open prisons for those who can be reasonably trusted not to attempt
163 escape.¹¹ Women are managed in open or closed conditions.¹² Young Offender Institutions (YOIs)
164 house prisoners aged 18–21 years. Of the 13 prisons we sampled, 10 housed adult males aged 21
165 years and over (two category A, three category B, three category C, and two category D open
166 prisons), two were closed prisons (females aged 18 years and over), and one a YOI for males.

167 Spectrum Community Health Community Interest Company (Spectrum) delivered primary care in all
168 prisons at the time of data extraction. The study population was determined by the provider and
169 included around 30% of all English prisoners in June 2020.¹³ We followed STROBE guidance in
170 reporting our results.¹⁴

171 Variables

172 We identified and defined 371 potential indicators to assess the quality of prison primary care from
173 existing guidance and literature.^{15–18} We excluded 217 indicators that had been retired or
174 superseded, were duplicates or were irrelevant to primary care. A stakeholder panel of eight
175 healthcare professionals and academics from a range of criminal justice, health, and mental health

176 backgrounds independently rated and re-rated the remaining indicators following feedback and
177 discussion. The panel prioritised 60 indicators according to relevance to primary care, scope for
178 measurement using routinely coded data, and potential for individual or population-level benefit
179 based on existing clinical guidance. Out of these, we selected 36 indicators with the highest potential
180 for patient or population benefit. Feasibility work demonstrated that six of these could not be
181 reliably operationalised. Our final set of 30 indicators comprised 15 on long-term physical
182 conditions, five on prevention and screening, four on mental illness, three on communicable disease,
183 one on opioid prescribing and two on prison-specific procedures. Three of the 30 indicators had
184 sub-indicators (one sub-indicator for hepatitis B vaccination and polypharmacy, and four for opioid
185 and gabapentinoid prescribing). Four indicators were composite (combined) indicators. We
186 pragmatically defined achievement for these: hepatitis B vaccination was achieved if at least one
187 vaccination was administered, and antipsychotic monitoring, dementia diagnoses and diabetes care
188 achieved if over 60% of recommended monitoring tests or care processes were completed.
189 Prison-level explanatory variables comprised prison name and category. Patient-level explanatory
190 variables included age of individual at study census date (in decades, to protect anonymity), gender
191 (as stated in the medical record), months of stay at census date (as categories) and Office for
192 National Statistics coded ethnicity.

193 Data Sources

194 All English prisons use the SystmOne electronic health record. This clinical system includes prisoner
195 demographic data via integration with the Prison National Offender Management Information
196 System (NOMIS), health screening data from reception assessments, and data related to ongoing
197 care including diagnoses (clinical codes), pathology results and prescribing.

198 We extracted these anonymised data remotely via Spectrum during April–November 2020, covering
199 1 April to 31 March across 2017–18, 2018–19 and 2019–20. We reviewed and iteratively refined
200 each search.

201 Statistical Analysis

202 Indicators generally comprised a defined eligible population (e.g., people with diabetes) and
203 whether they received a desired process of care or achieving a desired outcome within a given
204 timeframe (e.g., blood pressure 140/80mmHg or less within the preceding 12 months), in their
205 current prison, or during time spent in other prisons. Higher percentage achievement was generally
206 desirable for indicators. For indicators examining psychotropic, opioid and gabapentinoid
207 prescribing, there was no specific criterion to compare against; generally, lower prescribing levels
208 were desirable.

209 Multi-level mixed effects logistic regression models explored whether explanatory variables (both
210 prison and patient specific) were associated with indicator achievement, with each indicator
211 modelled separately¹⁹. The unit of analysis was the patient. Each indicator model included year as
212 both a random and fixed effect to account for the correlation between years and explore changes in
213 achievement over time. The models had two levels (person identifier and year), as there are
214 repeated measures for people across and within years (e.g., someone could have attended multiple
215 prisons in the same year and over years). Each explanatory variable was included as fixed effects
216 individually in each indicator model to explore association with achievement of that indicator.

217 Modelling was not feasible for seven indicators where prisoner numbers were too small for ORs to
218 be estimated.

219 We included the explanatory variables in multivariable multi-level mixed effects logistic regression
220 models for each indicator as fixed effect covariates to explore whether variation in indicator
221 achievement altered after adjustment for other factors. We present both the univariate and
222 multivariable model results as ORs with 95% confidence intervals (CIs) and probability of
223 achievement of the indicator (and 95% CI) for the multivariable models. All appropriate assumptions
224 were checked (multicollinearity, residual normality, and homoscedasticity) and met in each of the
225 multivariable indicator models; prison category was excluded from these models given the close
226 correlation between it and prison identity. Statistical analyses used Stata 16 software.²⁰

227 Ethical Approval

228 Ethical approval was granted by the University of Leeds (reference 18-093). HM Prison and Probation
229 Service National Research Committee confirmed that as we used remotely collected, anonymised
230 data the project did not require their approval.

231 Role of the funding source

232 The study funder had no role in study design, collection, analysis, and interpretation of data, the
233 writing of the report or the decision to submit the paper for publication

234 Results

235 Study Population

236 The total number of prisoners increased from 21,677 to 25,811 over 2017–20 (*Table 1*), 92% were
237 male and 43% were located in category B prisons, 65% were aged 20-40 years and 58% had prison
238 sentences of less than six months. Ethnicity data were missing for 18%; the majority of people
239 included were White (72%).

240 Results by quality indicator

241 Descriptive statistics and multi-level mixed effects logistic regression model results for each indicator
242 are provided in *supplementary sections 2 and 3 respectively. Supplementary section 1 (Tables 2a–f)*
243 summarise indicator achievement by domains of care, based upon a study population of 25,811
244 people in 2019–20 unless otherwise stated. These summarises collated variation in percentage
245 achievement of all indicators by domains of care and year, ORs trends and patterns by the
246 explanatory variables and domains of care (irrespective of ‘significance’) as well as those statistically
247 significant (at 5%) associations between achievement and the explanatory variables from the
248 multivariable multi-level mixed effects logistic regression models. Figures 1a-1f show the ORs with
249 95% CIs from the multivariable models for all indicators by domains of care.

250 Long-term Conditions (*Table 2a and Figure 1a*)

251 Indicator achievement ranged from 0% for secondary prevention of myocardial infarction (MI), to
252 83% for anticoagulation for atrial fibrillation. Achievement was below 50% for six of 15 indicators in
253 this clinical domain: secondary prevention of MI, epilepsy review and control, asthma review, blood
254 pressure control in diabetes, glycaemic control for diabetes, and blood pressure control in people 79
255 years or under with cardiovascular disease (CVD). We observed mixed trends over 2017–20.

256 Achievement improved for two indicators (processes of care for diabetes (OR 1.51; 95% CI 1.15,
257 1.99) and stroke assessment in atrial fibrillation (5.17; 1.02, 26.2)), and fell for three indicators
258 (asthma review (0.14; 0.11, 0.17), treatment of heart failure with an angiotensin-converting enzyme
259 (ACE) inhibitor or angiotensin receptor blocker (ARB)(0.32; 0.12, 0.82), and treatment of heart failure
260 with both an ACE-inhibitor or ARB and a beta-blocker (0.87; 0.27, 2.76)). Variations in achievement
261 amongst prisons ranged from over two-fold for treatment of coronary heart disease (ORs range 0.86
262 to 2.10) to 43-fold for secondary prevention of stroke (ORs range 0.03 to 1.29).

263 Achievement varied between prison categories, with no clear pattern by category or indicator.
264 Achievement generally increased with length of stay. Compared to people staying one to six months,
265 those with a stay of less than one month were less likely to have asthma reviews (0.36; 0.24, 0.53)
266 whilst those staying over 24 months were more likely to receive diabetes processes of care (3.41;
267 2.32, 5.03).

268 Achievement generally improved with increasing age. Compared to those aged 30–39 years, people
269 aged 50–59 years were more likely to receive diabetes processes of care (1.76; 1.23, 2.54) and
270 asthma reviews. Patterns varied by ethnicity; compared to White people, glycaemic control of
271 diabetes was more likely for Black or Black British people (3.08; 1.6, 5.91) whilst blood pressure
272 control in diabetes was less likely for Asian or Asian British people (0.58; 0.36, 0.95)

273 *Screening (Table 2b and Figure 1b)*

274 Indicator achievement ranged from 30% for CVD risk assessment to 63.8% for cervical screening for
275 ages 25–49 years. The likelihood of cervical screening increased over 2017–20 for those aged 25–49
276 years (1.61; 1.37, 1.89) and 50–64 years (1.5; 1.01, 2.24), but did not improve for other screening
277 programmes. The likelihood of abdominal aortic aneurysm screening (ORs 0.63 to 9.12) and CVD risk
278 assessment (ORs 0.69 to 10.04) varied over 14-fold between prisons.

279 Achievement generally increased with length of stay. People staying more than 24 months (8.04;
280 4.53, 14.26) were almost 30 times more likely to undergo abdominal aortic aneurysm screening
281 (0.27; 0.14, 0.54), than people staying less than a month. Compared to White women, Chinese or
282 Other women aged 25–49 years were less likely to have an adequate cervical screening test (0.6;
283 0.33, 0.95), and people of Mixed ethnicity were almost four times less likely to undergo abdominal
284 aortic aneurysm screening (0.26; 0.08, 0.81).

285 *Mental illness (Table 2c and Figure 1c)*

286 Indicator achievement ranged from 5% for antipsychotic monitoring to 46% for diagnosis of
287 dementia. The likelihood of mental state examination for people over 55 years increased 40-fold
288 over 2017–20 (40.5; 25.3, 64.6), whilst antipsychotic monitoring fell over 80% (0.13; 0.07, 0.24). We
289 found that 0.8% of prisoners were prescribed three or more and 0.4% prescribed four or more
290 psychotropic drugs over the preceding eight weeks, with around two-fold increases in the likelihood
291 of such prescribing over 2017–20 (OR for three or more 1.76; 1.37, 2.25 and OR for four or more
292 2.30; 1.56, 3.39). Variations in achievement amongst prisons ranged from 12-fold for antipsychotic
293 monitoring (ORs 0.68 to 8.55) to 169-fold for mental state examination (ORs 0.65 to 109.76).

294 Antipsychotic monitoring was less likely in category B, C and closed prisons compared to category A
295 prisons. Monitoring increased for people staying over 24 months (3.48; 1.66, 7.31). The likelihood of
296 being prescribed three or more and four or more psychotropic drugs rose with increasing length of

297 stay. Compared to people staying one to six months, those staying over 24 months were around
298 twice as likely to be prescribed four or more psychotropics (1.92; 1.07, 3.42).

299 We observed variations by age and ethnic group. Compared to those aged 30–39 years, people aged
300 20–29 years were less likely to be prescribed at least three or four psychotropics (ORs 0.51; 0.38,
301 0.69 and 0.56; 0.36, 0.87 respectively). Compared to White people, Asian or Asian British and Black
302 or Black British people were more likely to receive antipsychotic monitoring (ORs 5.67; 1.84, 17.46
303 and 4.04; 1.12, 14.54 respectively). Asian or Asian British people were also less likely to be
304 prescribed three or more psychotropic drugs (0.22; 0.07, 0.69).

305 Communicable disease (Table 2d and Figure 1d)

306 Indicator achievement ranged from 45% for dried blood spot testing (DBST) for hepatitis B, hepatitis
307 C and HIV to 50% for receipt of at least one hepatitis B vaccination for people with a history of illicit
308 drug use. The likelihood of achievement in this domain generally increased over 2017–20, ranging
309 from a 1.2-fold increase for influenza immunisation (OR 1.22; 1.02, 1.45) to 200-fold for DBST
310 (212.13; 170.37, 264.13). Variations in achievement between prisons ranged from four-fold for
311 hepatitis B vaccination (ORs 0.52 to 2.04) to 169-fold for DBST (ORs 0.05 to 8.45).

312 Compared to category A prisons, uptake of DBST was higher in all other categories. Achievement
313 generally increased with length of stay. Compared to people staying one to six months, those staying
314 less than one month were half as likely to accept DBST (0.53; 0.48, 0.58) and those staying over 24
315 months were 10 times as likely to accept testing (10.15; 6.73, 15.31). We observed variations by
316 ethnicity. Compared to White people, Chinese or Other people were less likely to receive one
317 hepatitis B vaccination (0.72; 0.57, 0.92).

318 Opioid and gabapentinoid prescribing (Table 2e and Figure 1e)

319 Of the total study population, 12% had been prescribed any opioid, 9% strong opioids, and 0.9%
320 gabapentinoids (with no coded diagnosis of neuropathic pain) in the preceding eight weeks. Opioids
321 were co-prescribed with benzodiazepines in 9%, and in 19% of people with a coded mental illness.
322 The likelihood of any opioid prescribing increased over 2017–20 (1.47; 1.38, 1.58). Variations in
323 prescribing between prisons ranged from two-fold for prescribing of gabapentinoids (ORs 0.67 to
324 1.29) to 12-fold for co-prescribed opioids and benzodiazepines (ORs 0.39 to 4.68).

325 Patterns of prescribing by age were broadly similar across all opioid and gabapentinoid sub-
326 indicators, with lower rates of prescribing for people aged under 30 years (e.g., OR for 20–29 years
327 prescribed any opioid 0.44; 0.41, 0.48) and generally higher for people over 40 years (e.g., OR for
328 40–49 years prescribed any opioid 1.38; 1.29, 1.48), compared to people aged 30–39 years.

329 Compared to White people, all other ethnic groups were less likely to be prescribed any opioid, any
330 strong opioid, or any opioid with benzodiazepines. Likelihoods of any opioid prescribing were lower
331 in people of Mixed ethnicity (0.55; 0.43, 0.71), Asian or Asian British people (0.32; 0.25, 0.4), Black or
332 Black British people (0.41; 0.31, 0.54) and Chinese or Other people (0.31; 0.2, 0.48).

333 Prison specific (Table 2f and Figure 1f)

334 Indicator achievement ranged from 38% for completion of medicines reconciliation and in-
335 possession risk assessment, to 70% for consent to transfer medical records from community general
336 practice to the prison healthcare service. The likelihood of consent to transfer medical records
337 increased four-fold over 2017–20 (4.28; 3.96, 4.62). Variations in achievement amongst prisons

338 ranged from 337-fold variation for consent to transfer medical records (ORs 0.007 to 2.36) to
339 21,600-fold in the likelihood of receiving medicines reconciliation assessments (ORs 0.45 to 9724.5).
340 Compared to those staying one to six months, people were more likely to receive medicines
341 reconciliation and in-possession risk assessment if they stayed less than a month (3.02; 1.86, 4.89),
342 six to 12 months (3.17; 2.26, 4.44), or over 24 months (1.54; 1.0, 2.33).
343 Men were ten times less likely to be asked for consent to transfer medical records than women (0.1;
344 0.02, 0.14). Compared to people aged 30–39 years, those aged 50–69 years were less likely to be
345 asked for consent to transfer medical records (e.g., OR for 60–69 years 0.72; 0.58, 0.89). Compared
346 to White people, all other ethnic groups were less likely to be asked for consent to transfer medical
347 records; Mixed ethnicity (0.80; 0.65, 0.99), Asian or Asian British people (0.80; 0.69, 0.92), Black or
348 Black British people (0.75; 0.61, 0.93) and Chinese or Other people (0.70; 0.52, 0.96).

349 Discussion

350 We found variations in the quality of primary care across a range of indicators in multiple prisons
351 and identified substantial scope for improvement. Gaps and variations in care reflected both broad
352 primary care needs (e.g., diabetes care) and recognised priorities in this population (e.g., mental
353 illness). Variations between prisons were largely unexplained by available population characteristics,
354 suggesting that, within the context of one provider system, they are likely to be attributable to local
355 differences in healthcare organisation and delivery.

356 We found encouraging trends suggesting improvement over time for several indicators, such as an
357 increase in hepatitis B vaccination and a reduction in gabapentinoid prescribing, and strengths in
358 performance, such as secondary prevention of stroke. However, we identified areas of concern
359 where overall achievement had declined over a three-year period, notably decreasing antipsychotic
360 monitoring, and increasing opioid prescribing, having excluded opioid substitutes specifically
361 prescribed for drug dependence.

362 Achievement varied widely across indicators, with no clear pattern by type of clinical activity.
363 Processes of care varied from 1% for annual epilepsy reviews to 94% for blood pressure checks in
364 diabetes. We observed similar variations in achievement of intermediate outcomes of care, where
365 0.2% of people with epilepsy were seizure free in the last 12 months and 34% with diabetes had
366 blood pressure in the target range.

367 Relatively short lengths of stay were frequently associated with lower achievement across prison
368 specific, long-term conditions, and screening domains. Shorter stays could represent missed
369 opportunities for health intervention and may accompany recidivism, reflecting the negative health
370 impact of repeated incarceration.²¹ Rapid population turnover significantly challenges healthcare
371 delivery to the many people passing through prisons each year, estimated to exceed 30 million
372 worldwide.²²

373 We observed no consistent patterns in achievement by gender, age, or prison category. Associations
374 between ethnic group and indicator attainment varied. For example, compared to White people,
375 those from other ethnic minorities were less likely to be vaccinated against hepatitis B, but also less
376 likely to be prescribed opioids or gabapentinoids. Asian or Asian British people were less likely to
377 achieve blood pressure control in diabetes, but more likely to achieve blood pressure control in
378 cardiovascular disease.

379 To contextualise our findings, we compared indicator achievement from community settings, albeit
380 without any adjustment for demographic differences. Comparisons were unfavourable for 22 out of
381 24 relevant indicators and one sub-indicator (*supplementary section 4*). For example, less than half
382 of eligible prisoners (45%) received influenza vaccination, compared with over 70% of eligible people
383 in the community during 2019–20. Strong opioid prescribing was much higher for prisoners,
384 although this may also be partly explained by demographic differences and the exclusion of people
385 with coded substance misuse from the community study.²³ Our work is consistent with the limited
386 international literature measuring inequities in prison settings, specifically in cancer screening and
387 cardiovascular risk assessment.²⁴

388 We highlight five study limitations. First, our analysis used data from only one prison healthcare
389 provider in Northern England. Our study population gender, age and length of stay were broadly
390 consistent with national profiles,^{25,26} except that percentages of coded Black and Minority Ethnic
391 groups were lower at around 7% compared to 27% from criminal justice statistics.²⁷ Second, clinical
392 coding is relatively poor in prison healthcare,²⁸ partly because of the absence of incentives that are
393 available to community primary care. We selected indicators where we considered coding
394 sufficiently reliable to enable comparisons. Third, whilst using routinely collected electronic data
395 allowed an efficient and scalable assessment of care, it cannot capture all important facets of
396 quality, such as prisoners' experiences. Fourth, with so many comparisons, some associations may
397 be spurious. Five, we could not assess the contributions of care delivered in community general
398 practice before or after incarceration given restrictions on data sharing. This is particularly relevant
399 for short lengths of stay, where we may have under-estimated care delivered within any given 12-
400 month period. Future research and initiatives to address continuity of care would be strengthened
401 by data sharing across prison and community systems.

402 Improvement in the quality of primary care in prisons is likely to require coordinated action across
403 system, organisational and team levels. At the system level, improved levels of healthcare staffing)
404 and linkage of community and prison records may enhance continuity and safety.^{2,29,30} Innovations
405 such as telemedicine may improve access to and cost-effectiveness of care.³¹ At organisational and
406 team levels, actions to mitigate the impact of short sentences and restrictions inherent in prison
407 regimes whilst tailored support specific to minority groups (e.g., for uptake of screening,
408 interpretation services) may help address inequalities in access to care. Overall, the gaps and
409 variations in quality of primary care we identified suggest that prisons be a key focus of public health
410 programmes to reduce health inequalities.

411 The next challenge is to move beyond description, to developing and evaluating improvement
412 strategies. Our demonstrated use of a suite of indicators spanning different domains of care could
413 represent foundational work for an evidence-based data-driven approach, such as cyclical audit and
414 feedback.³² Routine data capture and reporting may also enhance understanding of the health of
415 prison populations and inform policies for improvement at national and international levels.²

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419 Data sharing statement

420 The anonymised data was provided by Spectrum Community Health Community Interest Company
421 via a Data Sharing Agreement (DSA). As part of the DSA these data cannot be shared outside the DSA
422 signatories and so further access would have to be arranged directly with Spectrum after
423 appropriate ethical approval and signing of data sharing agreements. A data dictionary of the
424 anonymised data extracts is available on request from the corresponding author.

425 A study protocol including statistical plan is provided with publication.

426 Authors and contributors

427 TF, RF, NW and LS conceived the study. TF, LS, RF, NW, KM and NS designed the study and obtained
428 funding. KC, SB, PH, KM, MC, NW and RF contributed to indicator development and data collection.
429 TF and PH accessed and verified the data. TF was responsible for statistical analyses and all authors
430 were involved in data interpretation. KM, TF and RF drafted the manuscript. All authors commented
431 on further revisions and were responsible for the decision to submit the manuscript for publication.
432 TF is guarantor of the paper.

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438 Declaration of interests

439 PH is employed by Spectrum. NW was employed by Spectrum from 2015–22. KM was employed by
440 Spectrum from 2011–16 and 2019–21.

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Table 1. Study population characteristics

Explanatory variables		Year and study population (%) ¹		
		2017-18	2018-19	2019-20
Total study population		21,677	22,099	25,811
Gender	Male	19,977 (92.2%)	20,295 (91.8%)	23,570 (91.3%)
	Female	1,699 (7.8%)	1,802 (8.1%)	1,376 (5.3%)
	Missing	<10 (<0.05%) ²	<10 (<0.05%) ²	865 (3.4%)
Prison Category	A	1,664 (7.7%)	1,670 (7.6%)	1,838 (7.1%)
	B	9,254 (42.7%)	9,442 (42.7%)	11,904 (46.1%)
	C	6,035 (27.8%)	6,204 (28.1%)	6,870 (26.7%)
	Closed	1,720 (7.9%)	1,802 (8.2%)	2,245 (8.7%)
	D	2,189 (10.1%)	2,189 (9.9%)	2,149 (8.3%)
	Young Offenders Institution	815 (3.8%)	792 (3.6%)	805 (3.1%)
Age (years)	10-<20	468 (2.2%)	436 (2.0%)	404 (1.6%)
	20-<30	6,994 (32.3%)	7,163 (32.4%)	8,064 (31.2%)
	30-<40	7,051 (32.5%)	7,381 (33.4%)	9,125 (35.4%)
	40-<50	4,114 (19.0%)	4,180 (18.9%)	4,948 (19.2%)
	50-<60	2,107 (9.7%)	1,978 (9.0%)	2,224 (8.6%)
	60-<70	684 (3.2%)	701 (3.2%)	751 (2.9%)
	70-<80	213 (1.0%)	209 (1.0%)	238 (0.9%)
	80-<90	40 (0.2%)	45 (0.2%)	53 (0.2%)
	90-<100	<10 (<0.05%) ²	<10 (<0.05%) ²	<10 (<0.05%) ²
	100-<110	<10 (<0.05%) ²
Length of stay (months)	<1	4,474 (20.6%)	4,801 (21.7%)	6,764 (26.2%)
	1-<6	8,075 (37.3%)	7,742 (35.0%)	10,802 (41.9%)
	6-<12	3,672 (16.9%)	3,616 (16.4%)	3,893 (15.1%)
	12-<24	2,832 (13.1%)	3,752 (17.0%)	2,600 (10.1%)
	24+	2,624 (12.1%)	2,188 (9.9%)	1,752 (6.8%)
Ethnic group	White	15,638 (72.1%)	14,911 (67.5%)	16,606 (64.3%)
	Mixed	431 (2.0%)	371 (1.7%)	409 (1.6%)
	Asian/Asian British	813 (3.8%)	726 (3.3%)	755 (2.9%)
	Black/Black British	404 (2.0%)	364 (1.6%)	451 (1.7%)
	Chinese/Other	214 (1.0%)	167 (0.8%)	163 (0.6%)
	Unclassified	372 (1.7%)	409 (1.9%)	387 (1.5%)
	Missing	3805 (17.6%)	5151 (23.3%)	7040 (27.3%)

¹ Percentages may not total 100 due to rounding

² Very small numbers suppressed (<10) to avoid disclosure

.. No data available

Following pages

Figures 1a-f: Multi-level mixed effects logistic regression model results for each indicator by domains of care: Multivariable Odds Ratios (95% confidence intervals)¹

¹ Blank figures indicate insufficient data for OR estimates in multivariable models and where no year estimates then the indicator only available for 2019-20.

Figure 1a. Long-term conditions



Figure 1a. Long-term conditions (continued)

Processes of care for diabetes: proportion of the prison population with diabetes who have had \geq five of these measurements in the preceding 12 months: body mass index, blood pressure, record of smoking status, foot examination, urine albumin: creatinine ratio, blood tests for HbA1c, cholesterol, creatinine

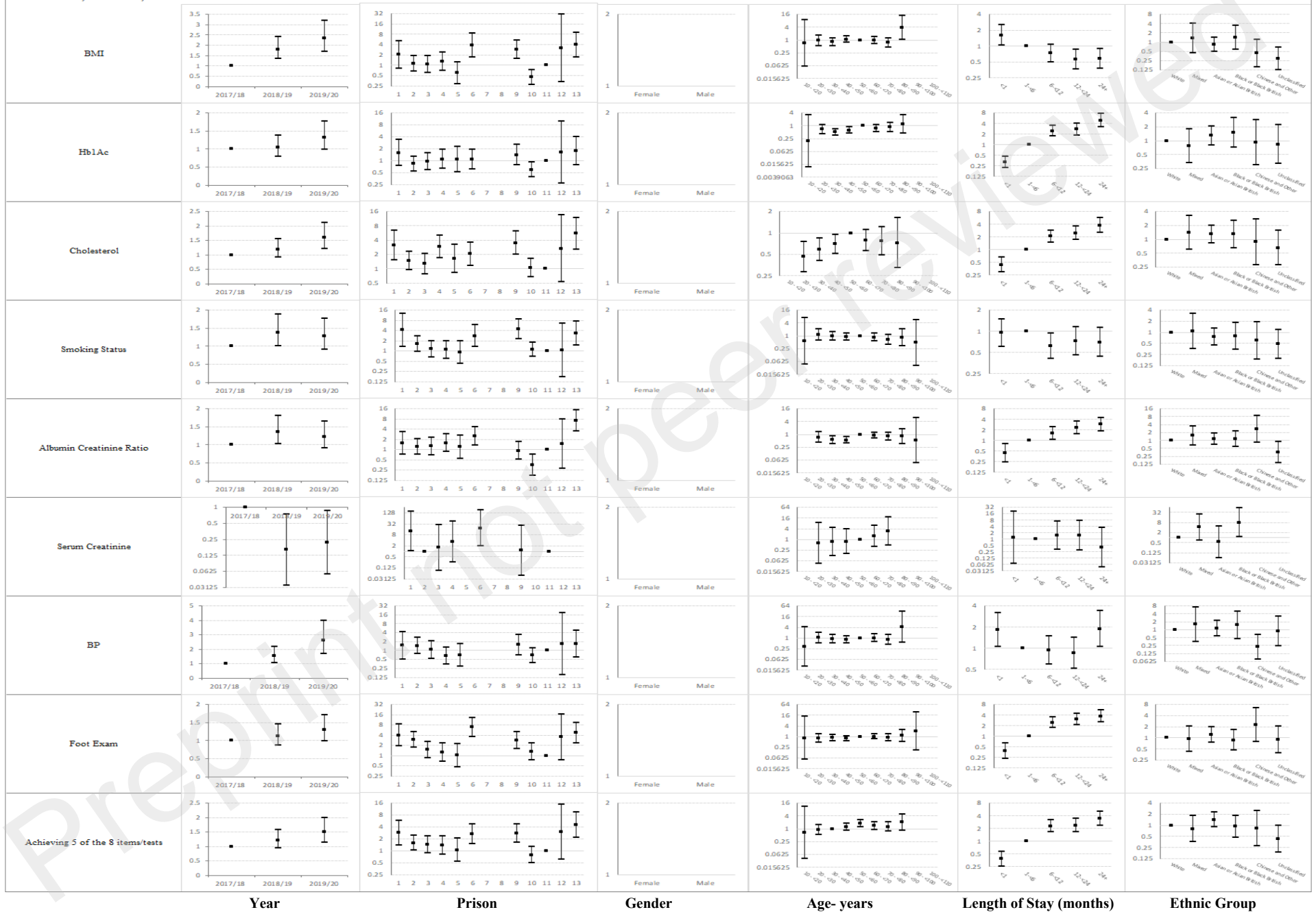


Figure 1a. Long-term conditions (continued)

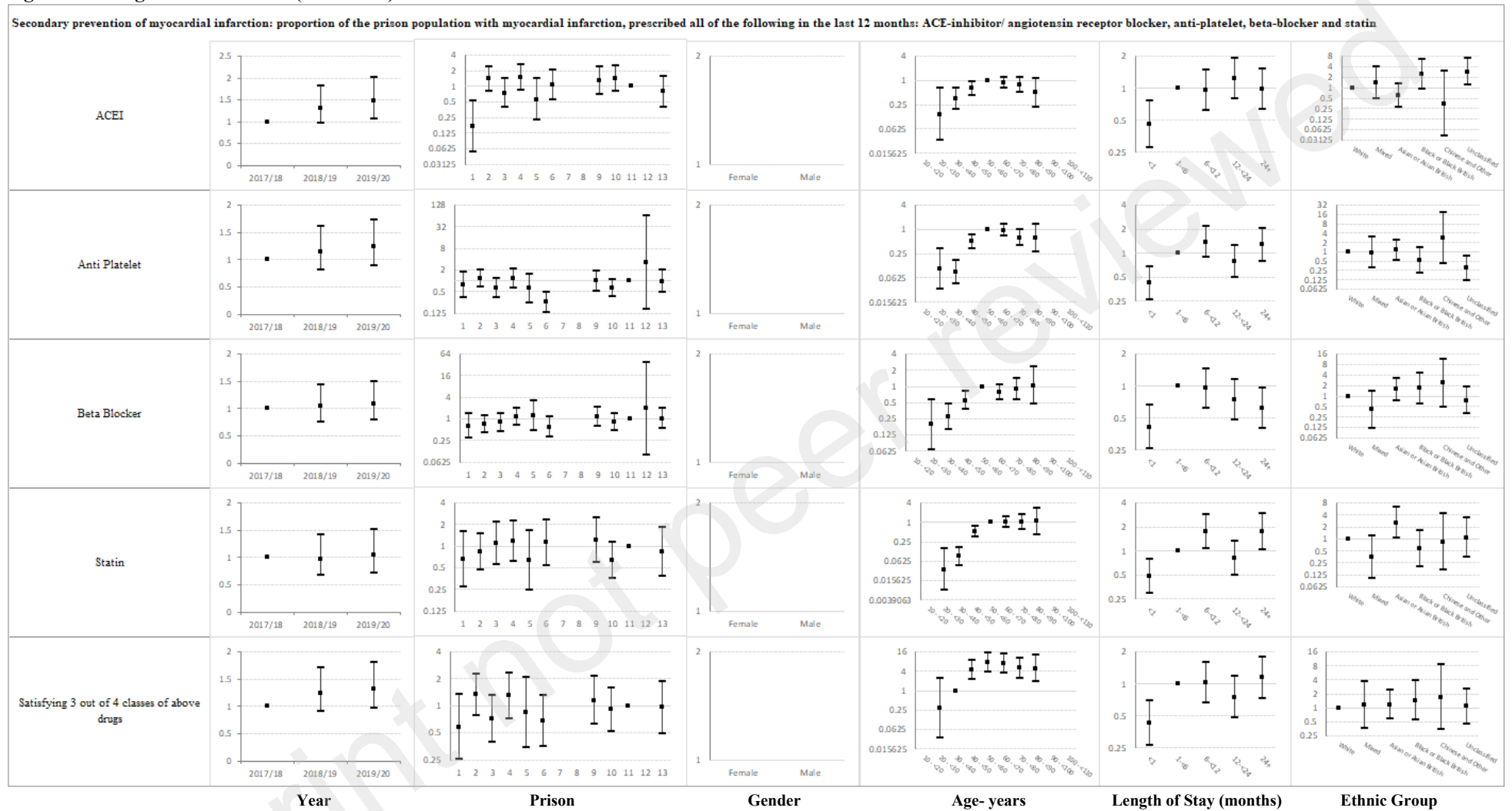
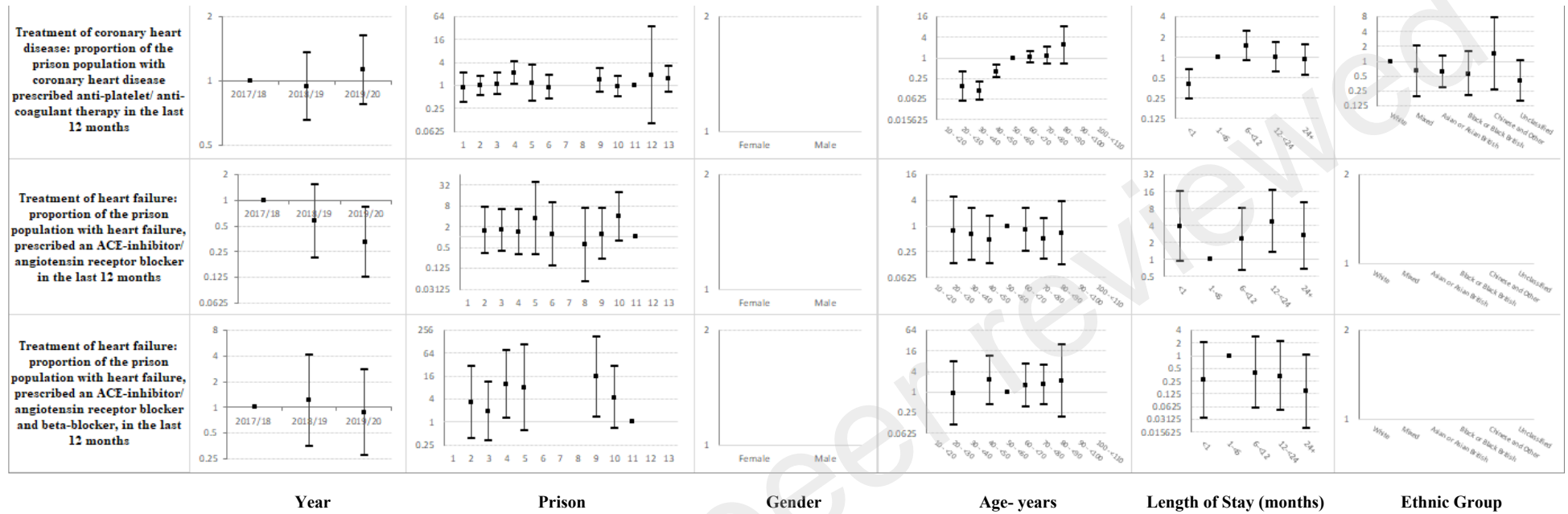
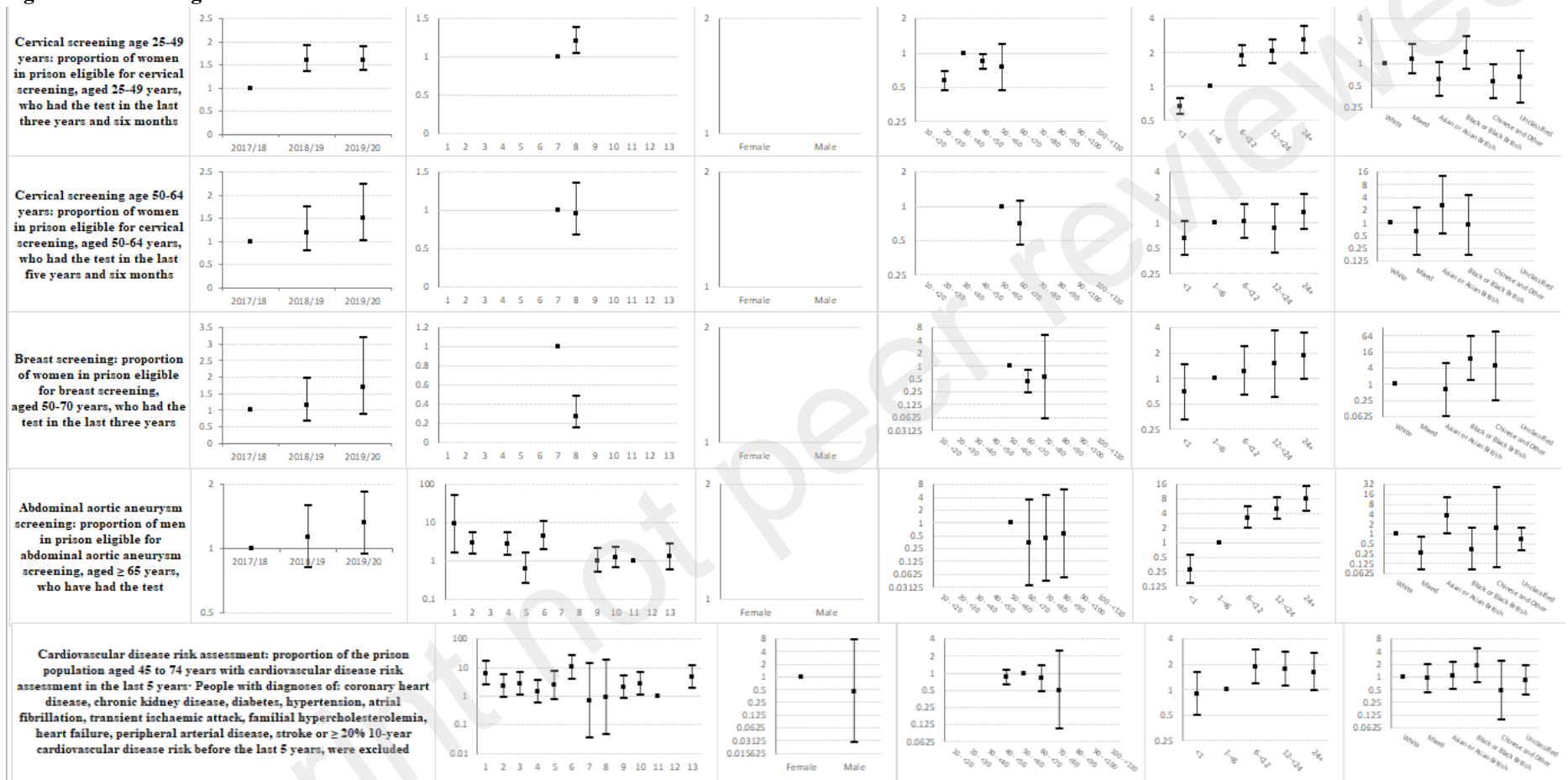


Figure 1a. Long-term conditions (continued)



Preprint not peer reviewed

Figure 1b. Screening



Year

Prison

Gender

Age- years

Length of Stay (months)

Ethnic Group

Figure 1c. Mental illness



Figure 1c. Mental illness (continued)

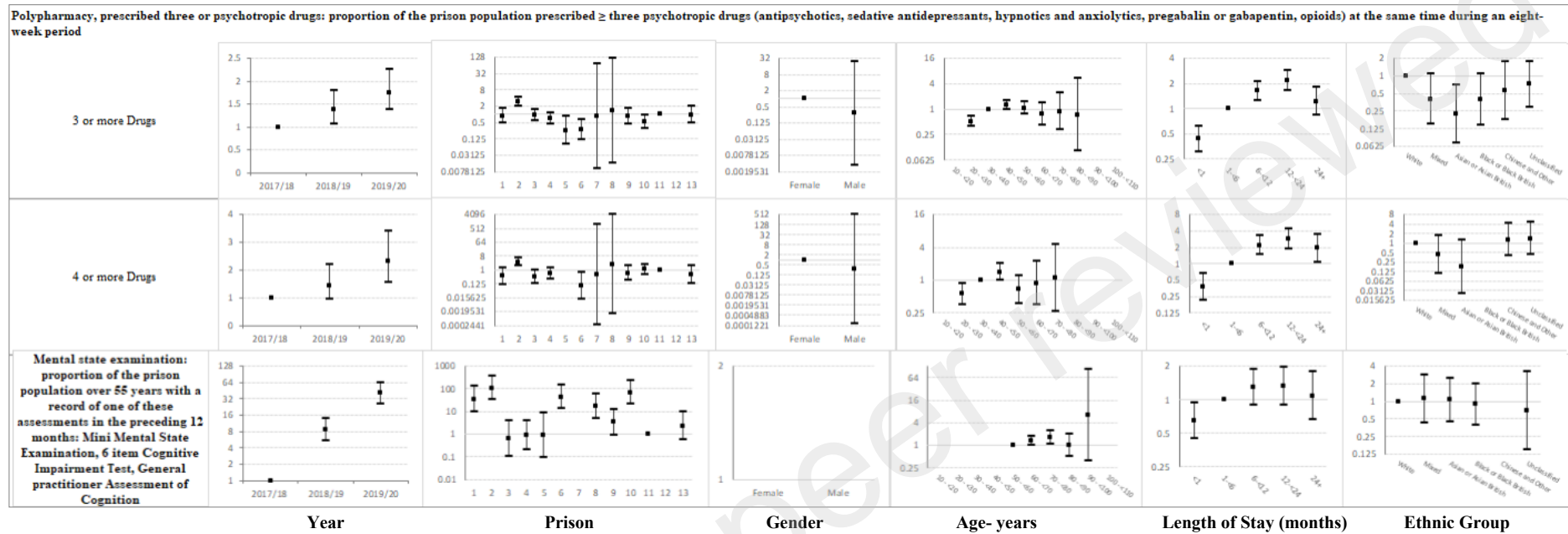


Figure 1d. Communicable disease

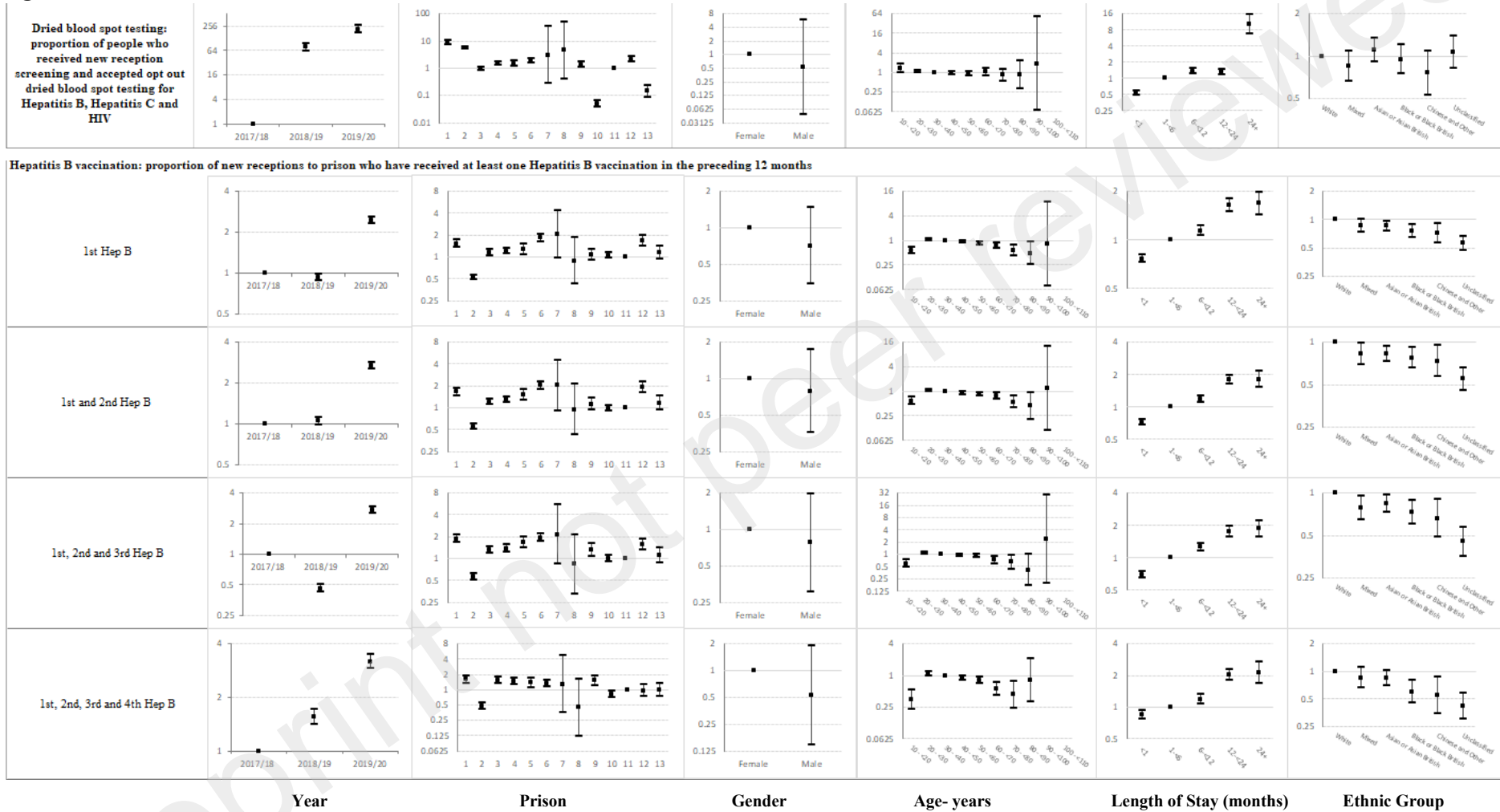
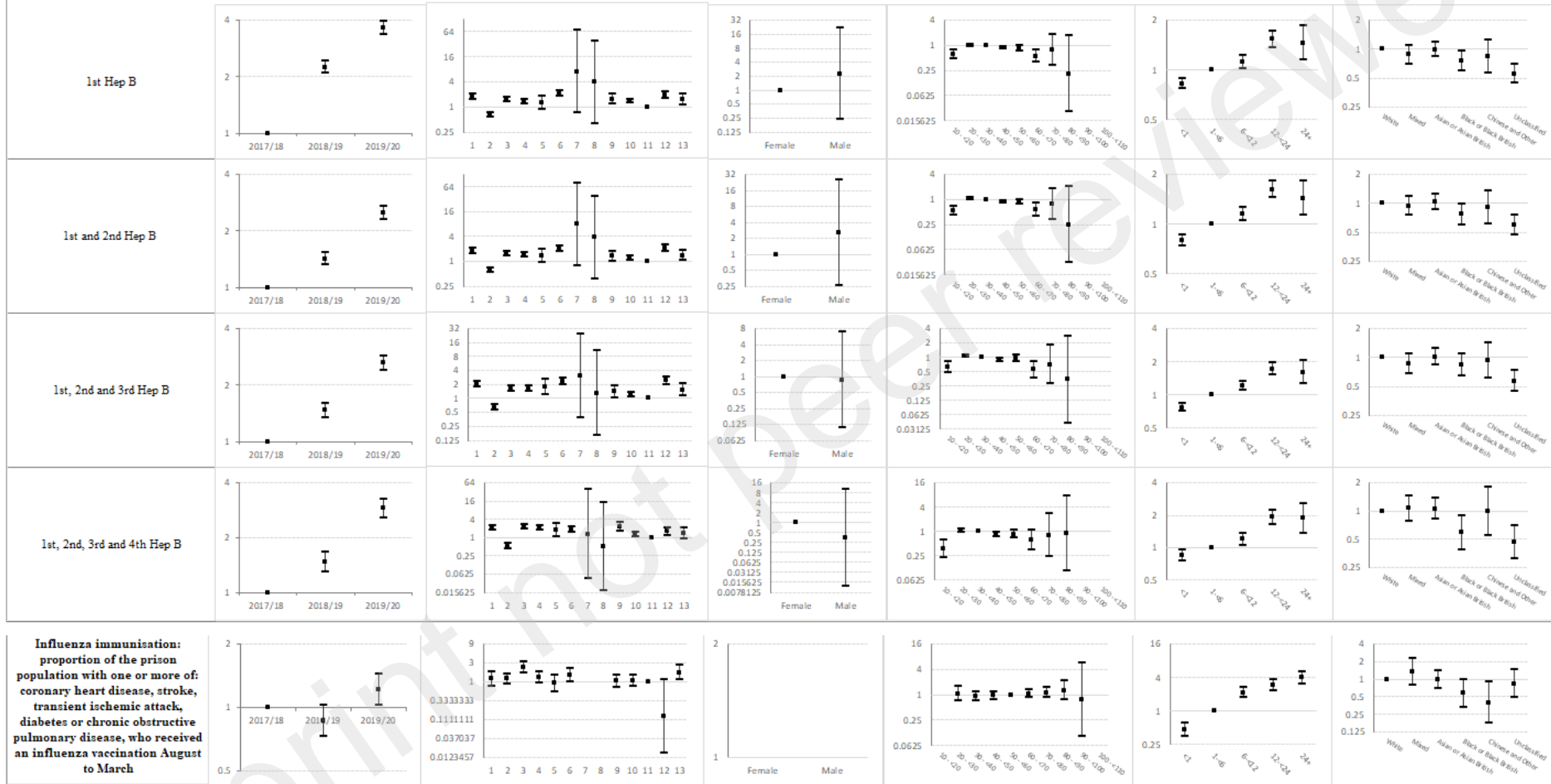


Figure 1d. Communicable disease (continued)

Hepatitis B vaccination: proportion of new receptions to prison who have received at least one Hepatitis B vaccination in the preceding 12 months
 (Patients resident in the study prison in the last 12 months with a clinical code added at any time indicating a history of any illicit drug use)



Year

Prison

Gender

Age- years

Length of Stay (months)

Ethnic Group

Figure 1e. Opioid and gabapentinoid prescribing

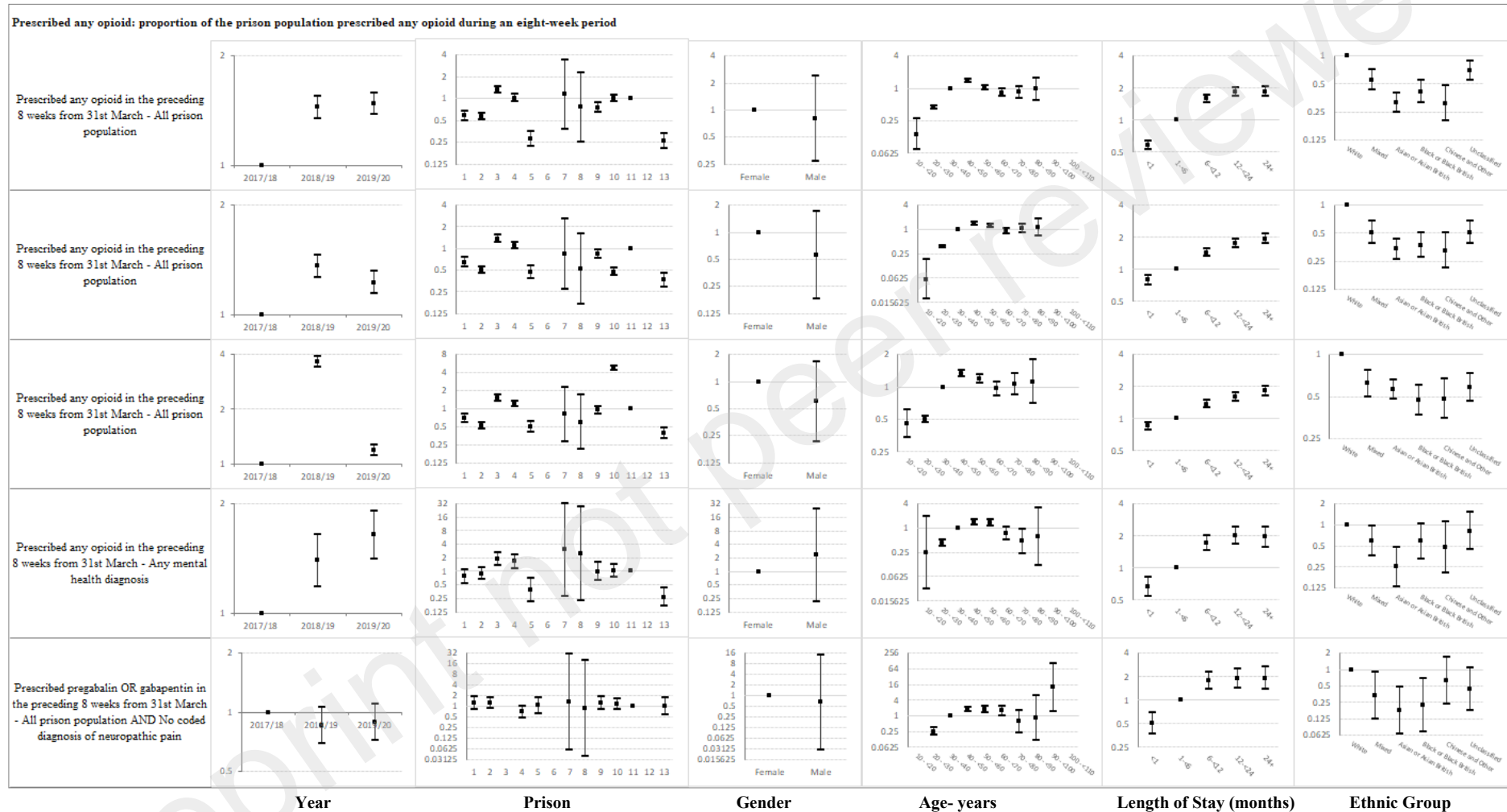


Figure 1f. Prison specific

