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The impact of government targets on waiting times for elective surgery: new insights from time-to-event analysis.

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Introduction

Waiting lists for elective surgery, that is routine, non-emergency clinical procedures, are a common feature of collectively-financed health care systems where coverage is universal and consumers face zero price at the point of demand. Waiting lists function, in part, as a non-price rationing device to reconcile differences between supply and demand; the number waiting at any point in time being determined by the rate at which people leave the list, by being admitted for surgery, self-deferring; being removed due to clinical reasons or dying, relative to the rate at which people join the list, by the decision by a consultant to admit them (Boyle and Appleby, 2001). Recent work by Gravelle, Smith and Xavier (2003) has demonstrated that waiting times and waiting list sizes act as signals that have an impact upon both supply and demand.

Long waiting lists and extensive waiting times for elective surgery have been a persistent source of policy, political and popular concern in the UK and in some other OECD countries for many years (Siciliani and Hurst, 2003). Notwithstanding the considerable resources and effort that have been directed to reducing waiting lists and waiting times in England since the NHS Plan (Department of Health, 2000), the number waiting for inpatient treatment is currently around 900,000, 9% of whom have waited more than six months; a further two million are waiting for an outpatient appointment (Department of Health, 2004).

Policies to reduce waiting lists can include both supply-side responses, for example extra funding for elective surgery, tackling supply 'bottlenecks', provider monitoring and management of waiting lists; and demand management, for example promulgating guidelines for 'appropriate referral' and explicit methods for prioritising patients. Historically, NHS policy on waiting tended to reflect a view that waiting lists were a backlog of untreated patients, a problem that could be ameliorated by short-term increased activity (Hamblin, Harrison and Boyle, 1998).

More recently, the emphasis of policy has shifted from waiting *lists* to waiting *times*, on the grounds that patients are more concerned about the speed with which the queue moves - and thus the time they spent on the list - than the number of people waiting in front of them.

While current policy combines a number of the supply- and demand-side strategies noted above, the key aspect of the strategy has been the use of waiting times targets. These take the form of maximum waiting times for elective surgery that providers should meet - with associated rewards and penalties for successful and unsuccessful performance. The waiting time target for inpatient elective surgery to be achieved by 2005 is 6 months, with intermediate targets of 18 months by March 2000; 15 months by March 2002; 12 months by March 2003 and 9 months by March 2004 (Appleby *et al*, 2005).

Although there has been some success in reducing waiting lists and times, such as the significant reductions in long waits since 2000, there are a number of concerns specifically relating to the use and impacts of these targets. Principal among these is the extent to which targets distort clinical priorities, by changing the order, and thus speed, with which patients are treated, relative to a counterfactual of there not being a waiting time target. The National Audit Office reports that 20% of consultants surveyed in three specialties stated they had changed the order they had prioritised patients so as to meet the corresponding target (NAO, 2001).

In one respect, this changed order of priorities is not an unintended side effect, but indeed the entire point. Although there is evidence to suggest that the length of a patient's wait may have influenced clinical decisions to admit *even before* the introduction of targets (Appleby *et al*, 2005), presumably the targets reflect an explicit view that whatever clinical or social factors determined priority for treatment did not place sufficient weight on time waited.

However, if providers are meeting targets by substituting less urgent cases, with less ability to benefit, for more urgent cases, with higher ability to benefit, then this would be a potential cause for concern both on economic and ethical grounds.

The challenge in analysing the number, importance and effect of these changes in admission decisions arising from the targets is that the admission criteria in the counterfactual are neither clearly specified nor consistent. Individual clinicians assess patients' conditions according to their own personal judgements of clinical urgency. There are neither 'gold standard' admission criteria nor any systematic scoring system in widespread use in the UK to aid between-patient prioritisation. Culyer and Cullis (1976) advocated such an approach over 25 years ago, and there are examples of such systems from other countries (Siciliani and Hurst, 2003; Hadorn and Holmes, 1997).

More fundamentally, the way in which providers meet the targets, and what differentiates 'successful' from 'unsuccessful' trusts with respect to the targets, is not clear. For example, targets may be met principally by increasing surgical throughput - reducing waiting times for all patients - or by substituting the treatment of low wait patients with high wait patients, or a mix of both. The targets create incentives which might be expected to effect both manager and clinician behaviour.

Appleby *et al* (2005) provide some evidence on these issues for orthopaedic surgery. Waiting times distributions were compared before and after the introduction of targets, with differences in the distributions used to identify changes in admission patterns. The results appear to suggest that "...any reordering of cases had less to do with substituting very short wait (presumed urgent) cases with longer wait (presumed less urgent) cases but rather that the latter displaced some (less urgent) 'filler cases' – that is, those with short operating times which could be used to make best use of available theatre time". However, given the reliance on relatively crude before-and-after comparisons of waiting times distributions, this interpretation remains somewhat speculative.

This paper investigates similar issues, using the techniques of time-to-event (survival) analysis. Our aim is to address the following questions: how have behavioural responses to the targets effected the distribution of waiting times? How is the probability of admission for any given waiting time affected by the targets? To what extent are clinical distortions evident

in the pattern of admissions? Can variations between individuals' waiting times be explained by clinical, patient or provider-level characteristics? In addressing these questions, there is an additional aim, to assess whether or not time-to-event analysis does in practice provide the additional insights that it promises and therefore whether or not it should be more widely applied to waiting time data.

Applying time-to-event analysis to waiting list data

Time-to-event analysis has been widely used in social and economic sciences, and in biomedical sciences, where it is known as survival analysis and in engineering, where it is known as failure-time analysis. It consists of a set of parametric and non-parametric methods for estimating survivor and hazard functions, which are explained below, allowing the comparison of the survival of different groups and estimating the impact of explanatory variables on survival. (See, for example, Cox and Oakes, 1984; Collett, 1994). In the context of this paper, survival means remaining on a waiting list, and the time is that between entering the waiting list and receiving treatment.

Time-to-event analysis offers several advantages in analysing waiting time data. First, because the analysis is performed on individual record data, it may generate deeper insights than methods that focus on comparison of average waiting times. Secondly, survival analysis techniques are appropriate given that waiting times are not usually normally distributed. Thirdly, it addresses the problem of censored observations, which contain only partial information about waiting times, such as for patients who have been entered onto a waiting list but have not been admitted and patients who have been admitted, but for whom the date of entering the waiting list is not known. However, in this study the data set did not include censored observations.

Two key concepts in time-to-event analysis are *survival functions* and *hazard functions*. A survival function shows the conditional probability of a person surviving on the waiting list until a given time, which is a cumulative density function derived from the unconditional probability of survival. Such functions can be modelled parametrically, by assuming a particular distribution, but can also be estimated empirically usually through the application of the Kaplan-Meier or product limit estimator. In effect, this shows the rate at which people

leave the waiting list and the variations in this rate over time. It also provides an estimate of the average waiting time as the integral of the survival function, though for data that are not censored this is merely an alternative way of calculation to a straightforward mean. The advantage of this is that patterns of waiting list behaviour over time can be observed – the same average waiting time might be generated by very different means of managing lists over time. Survival functions can also be compared between different groups, defined for example by illness, treatment, doctor or patient characteristic, and differences can be tested statistically using the log-rank test. In addition, the impact of variables that affect waiting time patterns can be analysed.

The hazard function shows the probability of a person leaving the waiting list at a given time, conditioned by the probability that they remained on the waiting list until that time. The survival and hazard functions are mathematically related, and any given hazard function generates a particular survival function and *vice versa*. For example, if the hazard function is constant – the instantaneous conditional probability remains the same at all times – this generates an exponential survival function of the form $S(t) = e^{-\lambda t}$, where λ is the hazard rate. The advantage of this is that it may reveal patterns of waiting list behaviour that would not otherwise be apparent – for example, if management effort in clearing waiting lists varies over time, so that patients have a varying probability of being admitted that is not related to the length of time that they have already waited.

In the context of analysing the impact of other variables on waiting list patterns, parametric models have two flavours, which depend on assumptions about the hazard rate. *Proportional hazard* (PH) models assume that there is a “baseline” hazard function that depends on time but not on the other variables and is therefore common to all individuals. The other variables, which are usually assumed to be time-invariant, essentially “scale” the hazard function for each individual. A valuable technique in estimating PH models is the semi-parametric Cox regression, which does not require any assumption about the hazard rate, simply the impact on it of the other variables. *Accelerated failure time* (AFT) models allow scaling to vary over time. Although these are therefore more flexible, they are entirely reliant on assumptions about the underlying hazard function; there is no equivalent of Cox regression.

Data and Methods

Record-level Hospital Episode Statistics (HES) data were provided by the Department of Health for waiting times for elective surgery in three specialties - general surgery, trauma and orthopaedics and ophthalmology - for the financial years 2001/2 and 2002/3. The data included information on specialty, diagnosis, operation, HRG, admitting hospital, type of admission and patient characteristics such as age, sex, ethnicity and residence¹. However, because of confidentiality issues, we were not able to obtain data on individual referring GPs or admitting consultants, even at an anonymised level. Analysis of data that contained such information would obviously be very valuable, but our work only shows the potential of time-to-event analysis in such uses.

Analysis of waiting times included the following:

- Estimation of the survival and hazard functions of waiting times of patients admitted through waiting lists using the Kaplan-Meier estimator.
- Exploring differences in survival and hazard functions according to specialty, operation, HRG, provider level and admission type, by both graphical methods and by the log-rank test.
- Adjustment of survival and hazard rate functions for the effects of covariates which may impact on waiting times, using parametric Proportional Hazard and Accelerated Failure Time models under different distributional assumptions and Cox regression.

Results

Identifying variations in waiting times for elective surgery in different specialties

Figure 1 shows the survival curves for patients admitted in the three specialties during 2001/2. The results for 2002/3 are not shown because they are very similar. The curves show the proportion of patients on the waiting lists at each time. At time 0, all patients are on the list and the curve falls as they leave the list by being admitted. At around 600 days the proportion of people remaining on each list is very small. There are some patients who appear to wait for a very long time (~ 3500 days), but this is most likely the result of coding

¹ Of course, the data did not contain items that would enable an individual patient to be identified

problems. This figure would be more informative of patterns if it were truncated at around 600 days, and future drafts of this paper will remedy that.

The shortest waiting times are for general surgery, followed by ophthalmology with orthopaedics having the longest times. The log-rank test for equality of the survivor functions revealed that the differences between waiting times for the three specialties are statistically significant for both financial years. The shapes of the curves are quite different, and the curves for general surgery and ophthalmology cross, so that after the point of intersection ophthalmology patients have the shortest times.

Figure 1: Kaplan-Meier survival curves for three specialties

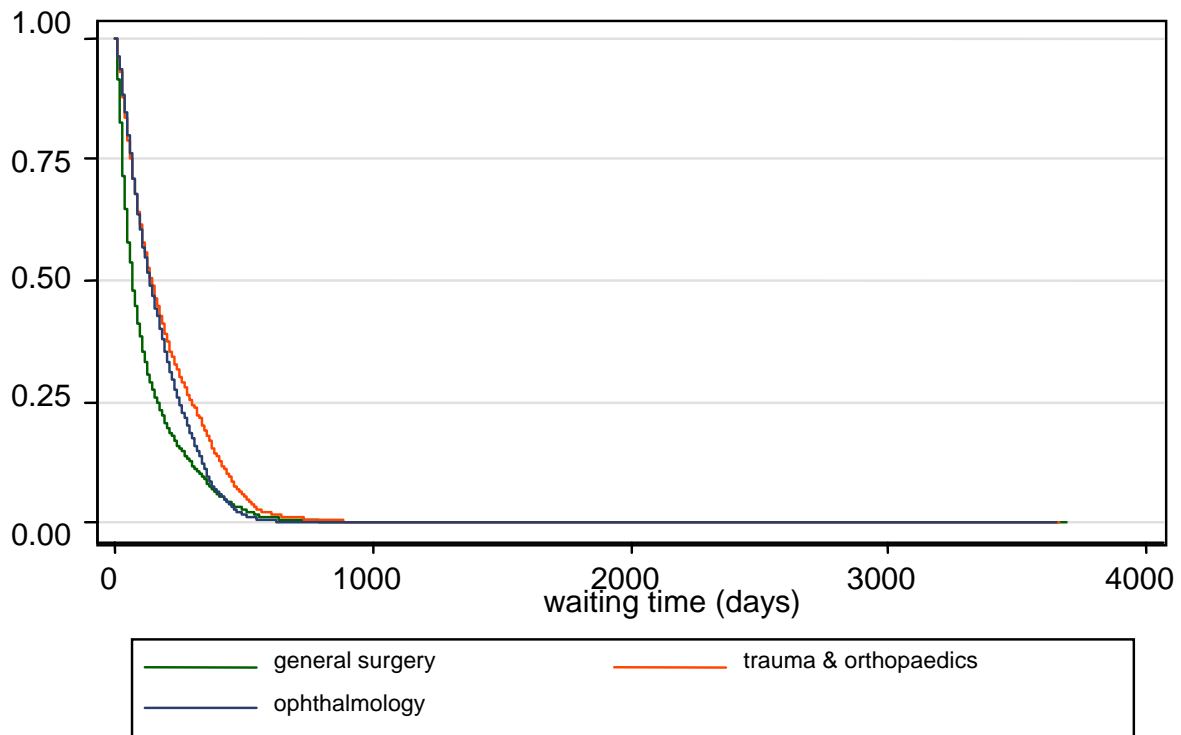


Figure 2: Hazard curves for three specialties

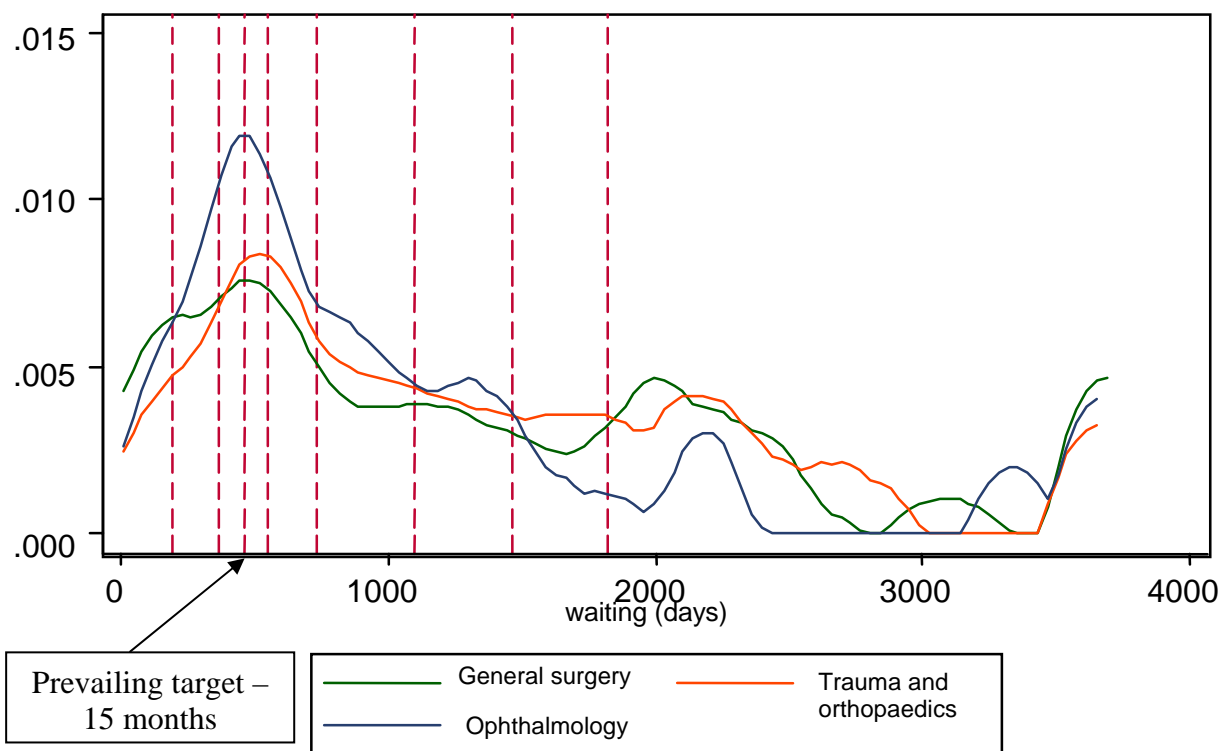


Figure 2 shows the estimated hazard functions for 2001/2, when the national maximum waiting time target was 15 months. They show the effects of waiting times targets clearly: the probability of admission for those whose wait approaches a target increases markedly and falls when their wait exceeds the target. The impact is, however, different in the different specialties. For general surgery, increased waiting list activity is observed as a peak in the curve for people waiting 6 and 15 months; for ophthalmology, at exactly 15 months; for orthopaedics between 15 and 18 months.

The hazard curves for 2002/3 are not shown. They demonstrate that as the targets become tougher, the peaks changed, in each case occurring at a lower waiting time. For general surgery, the main peak was at 12 months, which coincides with the waiting time target for that year; for orthopaedics between 12 and 15 months; for ophthalmology, around 14 months.

Identifying variations of waiting times for different operative procedures

Where waiting lists are maintained for particular operations, rather than specialties as a whole, waiting time patterns may differ. Waiting time were therefore analysed for the most frequently occurring operative procedures within each specialty:

General surgery

Excision of gall bladder (total cholecystectomy)

Ligation of varicose veins of leg

Excision of lesion of skin

Primary repair of inguinal hernia

Trauma & Orthopaedics

Release of entrapment of peripheral nerve at wrist

Total prosthetic replacement of hip joint using cement

Total prosthetic replacement of knee joint using cement

Endoscopic operations on semilunar cartilage

Ophthalmology

Extirpation of lesion of eyelid

Incision of capsule of lens

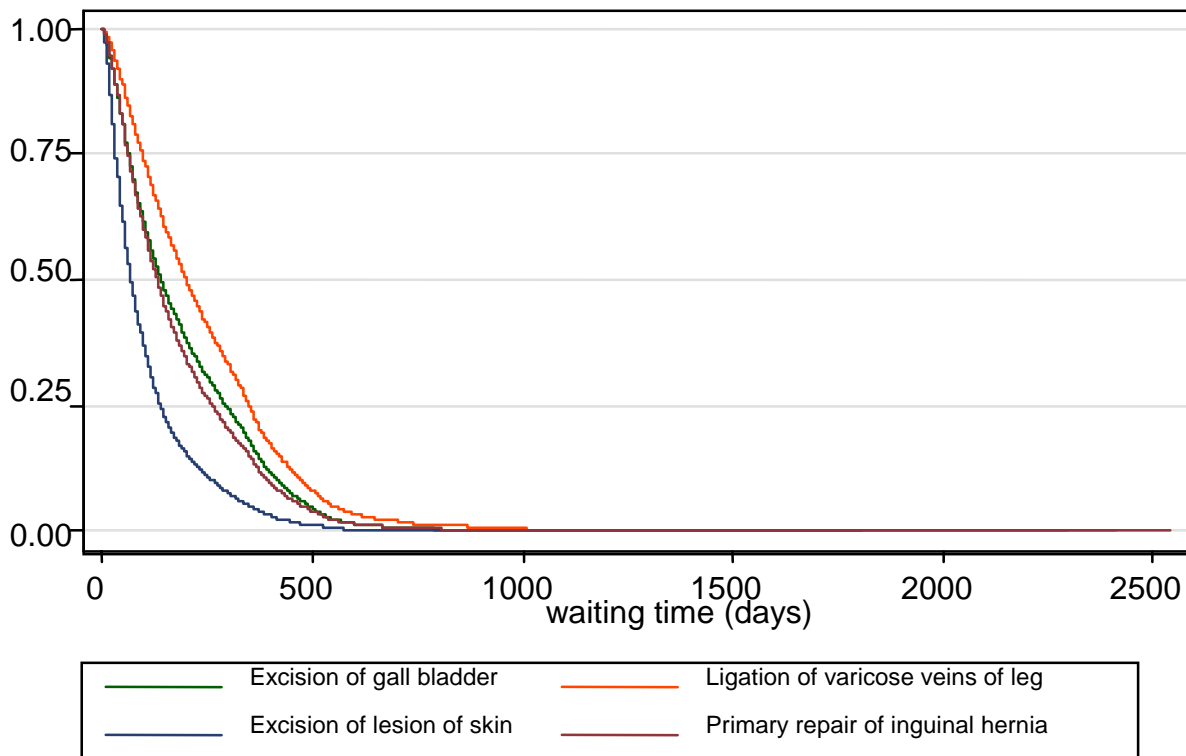
Prosthesis of lens

Cauterisation of lesion of retina

Analysis at the level of HRGs was also performed; it gave similar results to that at the operation level and is therefore not reported.

Figure 3 shows survival curves for procedures within general surgery for 2001/2. The shortest waiting times were for excision of lesion of skin, followed by inguinal hernia repair, then gall bladder excision, with varicose vein ligation having the longest times. These differences were statistically significant. They may be due to the urgency of the operation type, its difficulty and whether or not it can be performed as a day case.

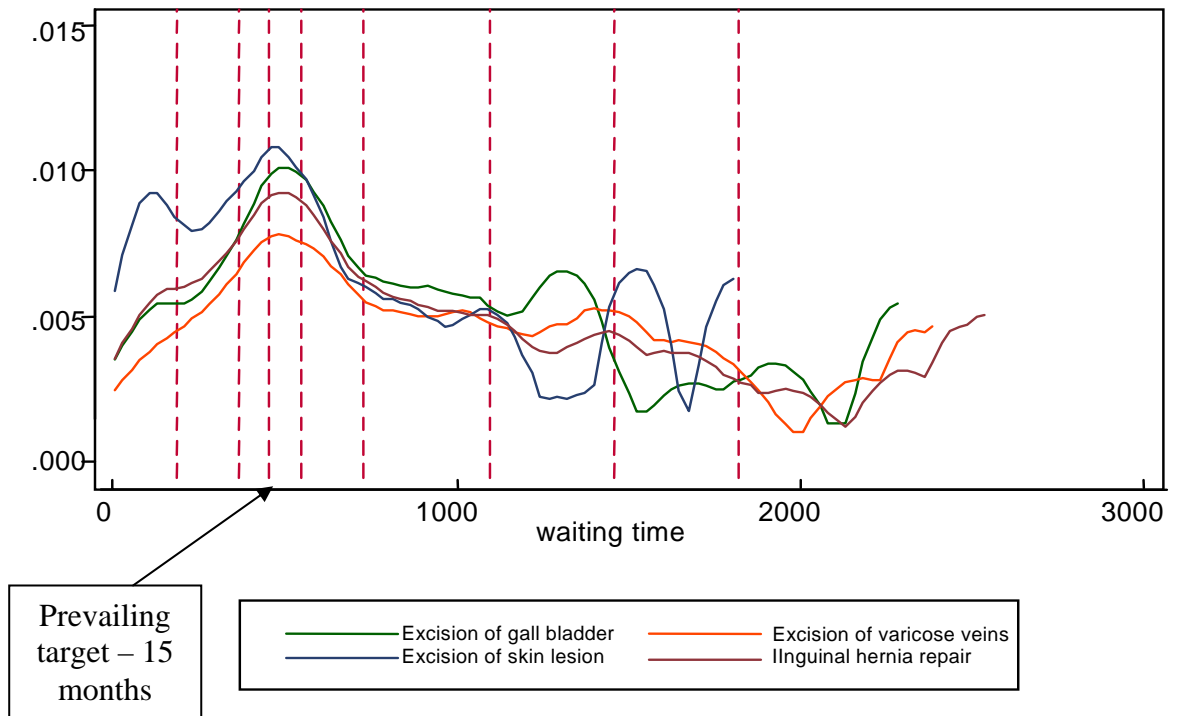
Figure 3: Survival curves for four operative procedures in general surgery



The survival curves for orthopaedic and ophthalmology procedures are not shown, but again there were significant differences between them. In orthopaedics, the order from shortest to longest waiting time was release of entrapment of peripheral nerve at wrist, endoscopic operations on semilunar cartilage, hip replacement and knee replacement. There is a particularly large difference between the curves of the first two procedures compared with the last two. Within ophthalmology, the order was cauterisation of lesion of retina, incision of capsule of lens, extirpation of lesion of eyelid and prosthesis of lens.

Figure 4 shows the hazard curves for general surgical operations for 2001/2. Observed peaks in hazard rates for excision of lesion of skin are a little less than 6 months and 15 months. For 2002/3, the first peak is unchanged, but the second peak reduces to almost 12 months; suggesting that increased activity due to shorter target times affects patient waits that are at or longer than the target, but not those that are shorter than the target. For the other procedures, peaks are observed at just after 15 months for 2001/2 and between 12 and 15 months for 2002/03, again suggesting a response to the shorter maximum waiting times targets over the two years.

Figure 4: Hazard curves for four general surgical operations



Hazard rates for orthopaedic and ophthalmologic procedures are not shown, but also show differences between procedures and responses to shorter targets. Within orthopaedic procedures, the main peaks for endoscopic operations on semilunar cartilage, hip replacement and knee replacement all reduced from 15 months in 2001/2 to between 12 and 15 months for 2002/3. However, the main peak for release of entrapment of peripheral nerve at wrist increased from between 6 and 12 months in 2001/2 to 12 months in 2002/3 – both of which are shorter than the prevailing target.

Within ophthalmologic procedures, the main peak for prosthesis of lens reduced from 15 months in 2001/2 to between 12-15 months for 2002/3. The other three procedures had far earlier peaks, at around 3 months, which were the same in both years. There were other peaks in 2001/2, between 12 and 15 months for extirpation of lesion of eyelid, a little less than 12 months and around 18 months for incision of capsule of lens, and a little more than 15 months for cauterisation of lesion of retina. In 2002/3, these secondary peaks were between 12-15 months for all three. Again, this suggests activity to achieve the targets was focussed on tackling longer waits.

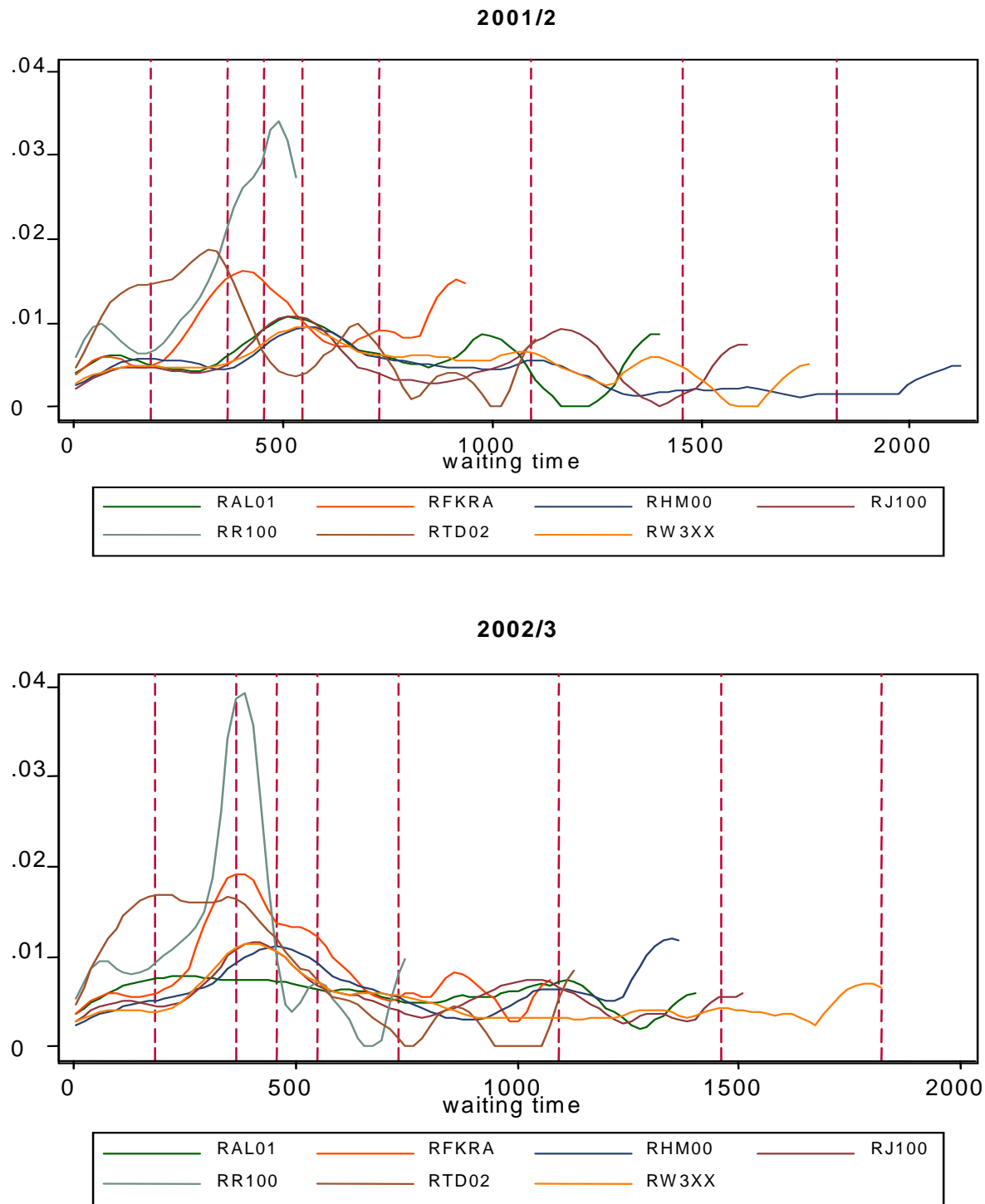
Identifying variations in waiting times for elective surgery between providers

Seven Trusts were chosen for analysis at the provider level:

- The Royal Free, Hampstead (RAL01)
- Queen's Medical Centre, Nottingham University Hospital (RFKRA)
- Southampton University Hospitals (RHM00)
- Guy's & St.Thomas (RJ100)
- Birmingham Heartlands & Solihull (RR100)
- The Newcastle Upon Tyne Hospitals (RTD02)
- Central Manchester and Manchester Children's University Hospitals (RW3XX)

Figure 5 shows hazard curves for these providers for both years. The patterns and peaks differ greatly between providers. Some do not have notable peaks; for these providers, the probability of admission did not vary much over waiting time, for example the hazard curve for the Royal Free Hospital is almost horizontal in both years. All of the peaks, for those providers that have them, change over time, although the extent of this differs. For example Newcastle Upon Tyne Hospitals has a main peak of between 6 and 12 months for both years, with only a small difference between them. Other providers' changes were much larger, for example, the main peak for Birmingham Heartlands & Solihull reduced from 12 months in 2001/2 to 6 months in 2002/3.

Figure 5: Hazard rates for seven Trusts in 2001/2 and 2002/3



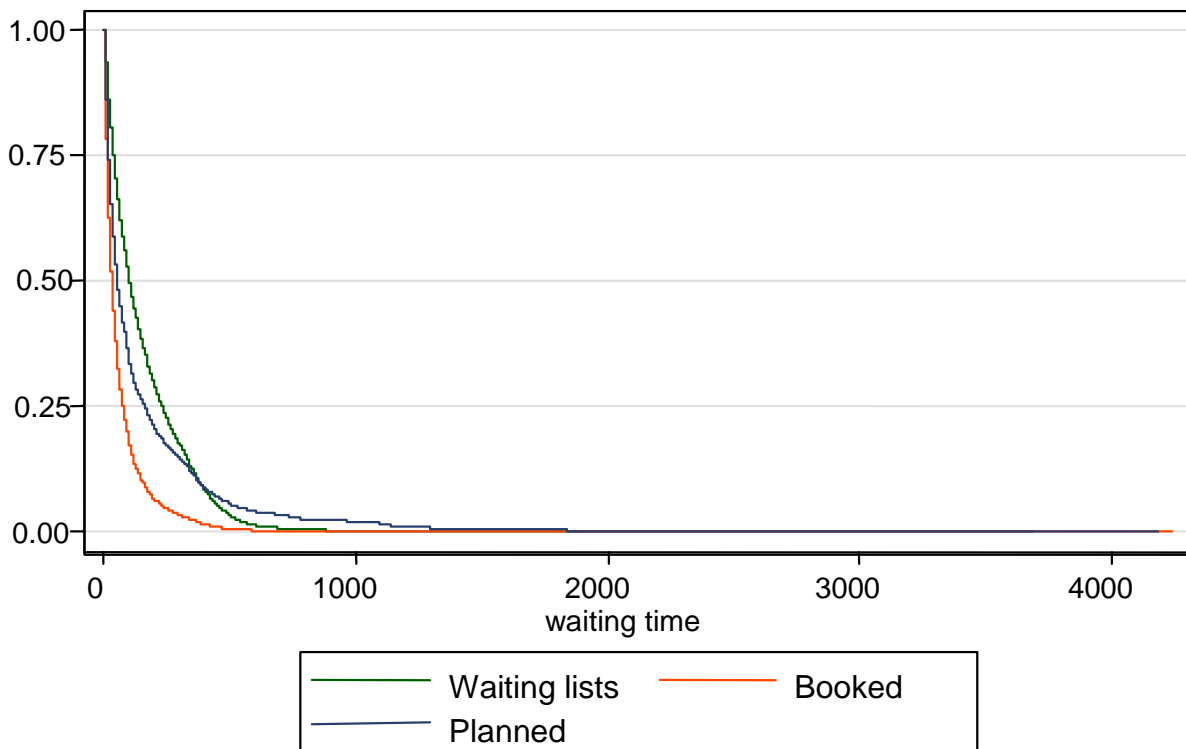
Identifying variations in probability of admission according to admission source

Patients can be admitted to hospital from a variety of sources. Three major routes are waiting lists, where there is no exact date of admission, booked admissions, where there is an exact date for admission and planned, where there is an exact date of admission for a course of

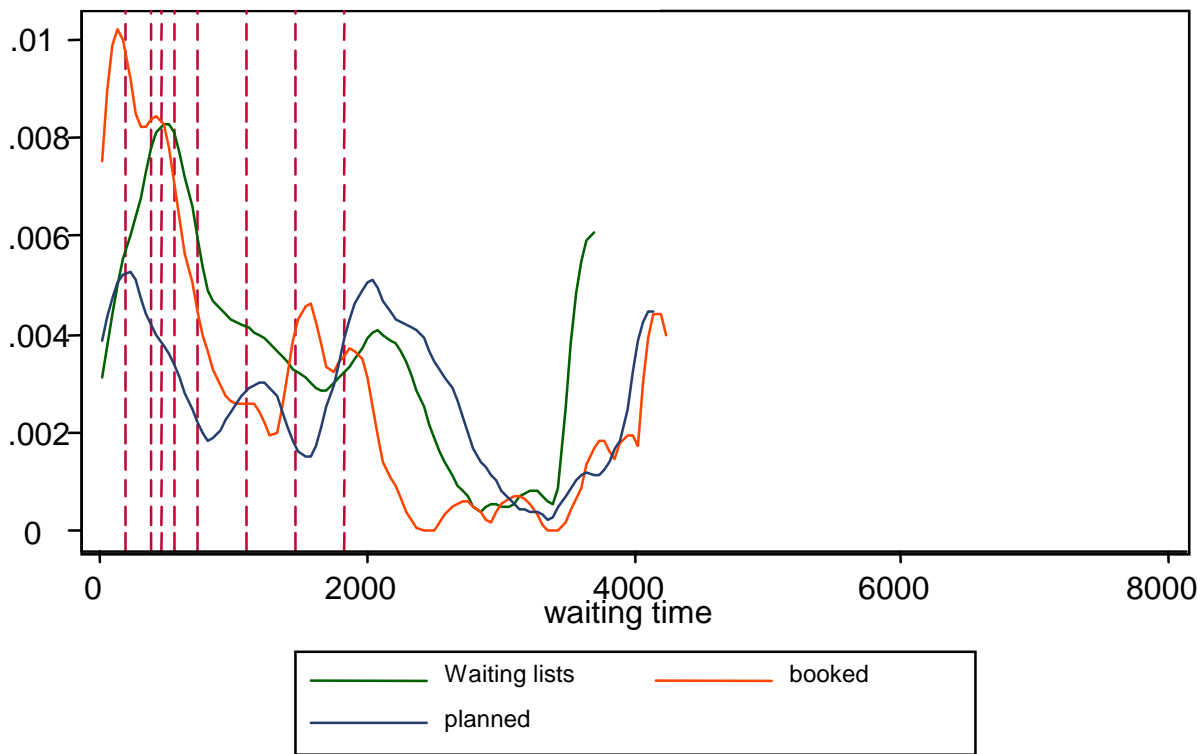
treatment over time or a second operation. Figure 6 shows survival curves for 2001/2 by admission method and Figure 7 shows corresponding hazard curves for both 2001/2 and 2002/3.

Booked admission patients are usually admitted fairly quickly, and survival curves show that the proportion of patients waiting for booked admission decreases more quickly over time than for planned or waiting list patients. The main peak in the hazard curves for booked admissions is 6 months for both years. Below 500 days, survival on the waiting list for planned admissions is below that for waiting list admissions; after that the reverse occurs. The patterns for the hazard rates do not change for planned admissions over the two years, but the main peak for waiting list admissions reduces from around 15 months in 2001/2 to between 12-15 months in 2002/3.

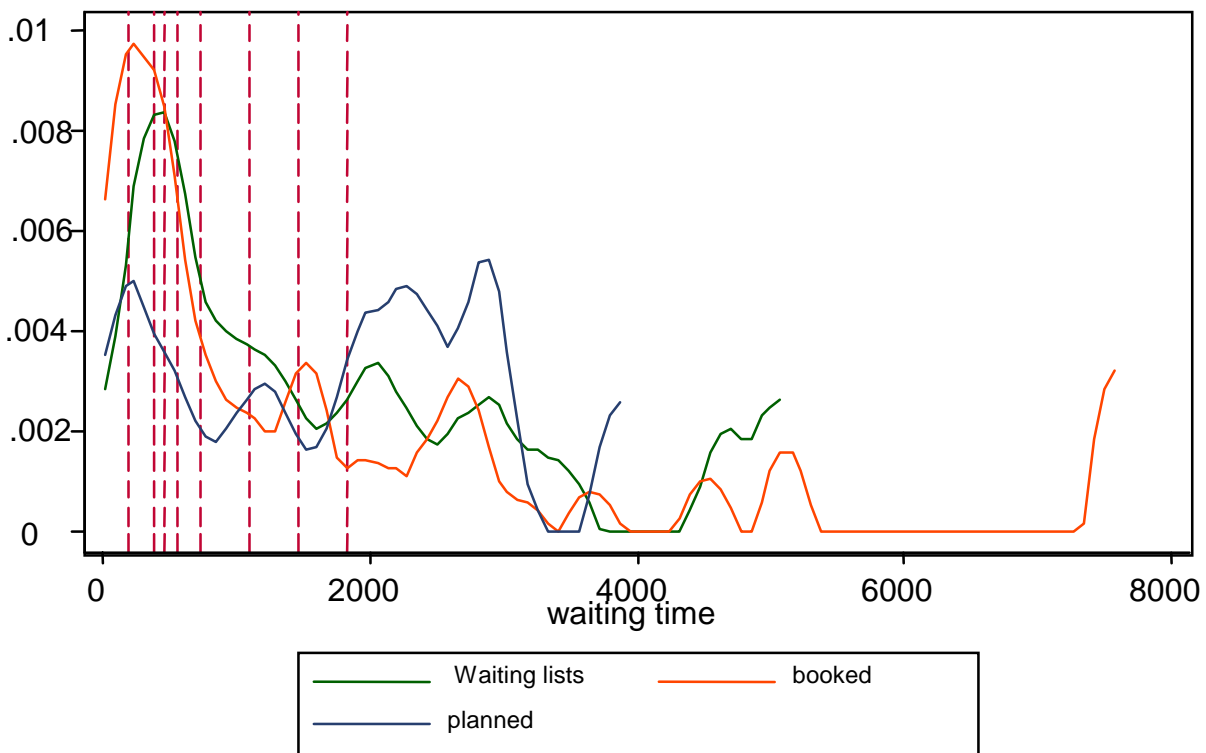
Figure 6: Survival curves by type of admission: 2001/2



**Figure 7: Hazard rates by type of admission
2001-2**



2002-3



Survival analysis with covariates

For the AFT models, the dependent variable is waiting time until admission; for the PH models it is the hazard rate. For both models, the independent variables are Age, which was calculated as age minus 50, the average for the sample, and a series of dummy variables representing sex, admission category, main specialty, patient classification and ethnicity. This defines a “reference group” of people that are male, 50 years old, NHS patients, admitted in general surgery, admitted to inpatients and white. The dummy variables are therefore Female; Private patient; Orthopaedics; Ophthalmology; Day case; Black; Indian; and Other ethnicity

Table 1: Accelerated Failure Time Models

T	<i>Exponential</i>		<i>Weibull</i>		<i>Log-normal</i>		<i>Log-logistic</i>	
	Coef.	P> z	Coef.	P> z	Coef.	P> z	Coef.	P> z
Age	.0005929	0.000	.0006069	0.000	.000834	0.000	.0005195	0.000
Female	.0076326	0.001	.0079359	0.001	.0026647	0.362	-.0064518	0.024
Private patient	-1.293627	0.000	-1.288302	0.000	-1.416566	0.000	-1.471763	0.000
Orthopaedics	.4333493	0.000	.4277083	0.000	.7011317	0.000	.748772	0.000
Ophthalmology	.4204603	0.000	.4141631	0.000	.6748901	0.000	.7456852	0.000
Day case	-.2501083	0.000	-.2502762	0.000	-.1594466	0.000	-.2244831	0.000
Black	-.0047612	0.633	-.0047061	0.629	-.0128596	0.291	-.0161637	0.176
Indian	-.0441387	0.000	-.0442778	0.000	-.0204272	0.026	-.0373673	0.000
Other ethnicity	-.2797464	0.000	-.2782713	0.000	-.3077501	0.000	-.3418351	0.000
Cons	4.916261	0.000	4.929258	0.000	4.16032	0.000	4.262388	0.000
ln_p			.0237477	0.000				
P			1.024032					
1/p			.976532					
ln_sig					.2005121	0.000		
Sigma					1.222028			
ln_gam							-.3788122	0.000
Gamma							.6846742	
Log likelihood	-1104677.4		-1104356.9		-1150796.2		-1147369	

Table 1 shows the results using four different AFT models. In interpreting these, it should be noted that the very large sample size means that the statistical significance of a variable’s coefficient is a poor guide to its practical significance. The only coefficients that are not statistically significant are those for the black ethnic group, in all specifications, and for females in the AFT Log-normal specification. The models as a whole are also statistically significant with high log-likelihood values.

Because the models produce similar results, we will discuss only the AFT-Exponential model. The antilog of the constant term is the average waiting time for the reference group as

defined above - $e^{4.91} = 136.5$ days. Although age has a significant coefficient, this translates into an increase of less than one day's waiting time for a one-year increase in age, other things being equal. The changes in waiting times due to being female or Indian are also less than one day. Such differences are obviously of no account, but other findings are of more interest. Other things being equal, private patients wait on average 99 fewer days; Orthopaedic and Ophthalmology patients wait on average 74 and 71 more days; day case patients wait on average 39 fewer days; "Other" ethnic groups wait on average 44 fewer days.

t	<i>Exponential</i>		<i>Weibull</i>		<i>Gompertz</i>		<i>Cox</i>	
	Haz. Ratio	P> z	Haz. Ratio	P> z	Haz. Ratio	P> z	Haz. Ratio	P> z
Age	.9994073	0.000	.9993787	0.000	.9993014	0.000	.9992734	0.000
Female	.9923965	0.001	.9919063	0.001	.9911281	0.000	.9875895	0.001
Private patient	3.645988	0.000	3.74066	0.000	3.751843	0.000	3.594825	0.000
Orthopaedics	.648334	0.000	.6453342	0.000	.6463513	0.000	.6437025	0.000
Ophthalmology	.6567444	0.000	.6543478	0.000	.6590856	0.000	.6672428	0.000
Day case	1.284164	0.000	1.292128	0.000	1.297126	0.000	1.319649	0.000
Black	1.004773	0.633	1.004831	0.629	1.005844	0.559	.9981193	0.850
Indian	1.045127	0.000	1.046385	0.000	1.048196	0.000	1.044269	0.000
Other ethnicity	1.322794	0.000	1.329707	0.000	1.328031	0.000	1.339732	0.000
ln_p			.0237477	0.000				
p			1.024032					
1/p			.976532					
gamma					.0003357	0.000		
Log likelihood	-1104677.4		-1104356.9		-1103564.3			

Table 2 shows the results from the PH models. All covariates are again statistically significant apart from the black ethnic group. The results from the parametric models are consistent statistically, functionally and quantitatively with those from the Cox regression.

Overall, there is very little to choose between these models, so the results presented above concerning the impact of the independent variables may be taken as representative. Some variables have no real impact on waiting times, such as age and sex; however, some, such as whether the patient is NHS or private, have an impact on waiting times that is significant in both statistical and practical terms.

Discussion

This preliminary study analysed waiting time data in a number of ways which did seem to confirm the potential usefulness of time-to-event analysis. The analyses that we report are limited, partly because of restrictions on the availability of data and partly because we have used broad aggregations of waiting list information. The next step, which is currently being undertaken, is to analyse the data at less aggregated levels – for example, at different procedures within different providers.

Looking at the aims of this study, the first question was: how have behavioural responses to the targets effected the distribution of waiting times? The survival curve analysis confirmed the findings from a simple comparison of waiting times, that more demanding targets were associated with reductions in average waiting times. The value added is that the analysis showed more clearly how these reductions were achieved in terms of alterations in the shape of the waiting time distribution, rather than simply the central tendency. Our further more detailed and refined analyses will demonstrate this more clearly – the results reported here do not give more than a flavour of this.

The second question was: How is the probability of admission for any given waiting time affected by the targets? The hazard curve analysis cast light on two aspects of this. First, that hazard rates are in general not constant over time. The reasons for the existence of differences over time might be due, for example to the characteristics of the operation or underlying disease, for example increasing severity and urgency due to delays might lead to a simple increasing probability over time. However, the existence of peaks, where probability rises then falls, suggests that other factors are taken into account. The fact that these in many cases coincide with target waiting times suggests that waiting list management is a major factor. Secondly, the peaks do change over time in line with changes in targets.

The third question was: To what extent are clinical distortions evident in the pattern of admissions? There is less evidence available on this. In general hazard rate peaks which were at or higher than target waiting times moved towards new targets over time, whilst those which were already shorter than targets did not move or in some cases appeared later in the distribution. This suggests that waiting list management does involve adjustment of relative

priorities. However, to address this question properly requires the less aggregated analyses mentioned earlier.

The fourth question was: Can variations between individuals' waiting times be explained by clinical, patient or provider-level characteristics? The preliminary answer is that they can, although again more analyses and further data are needed to answer this properly. From an equity point of view, it is useful to know that characteristics such as age and sex do not affect waiting times in any important way, and that we can be confident about those findings because of the very large sample size. Some findings suggest that more investigation is required, for example the difference in waiting times for “Other” ethnic groups. However, some large differences are of immediate interest. Particularly interesting is the very large difference between NHS and private patients – which in this context is private patients using NHS accommodation or services – suggesting that private patients have a considerable advantage in access compared to NHS patients, even though the two groups are competing users for exactly the same facilities and services.

A limitation of this study as a test of the potential advantages of time-to-event analysis is that data only included completed patient spells, with no censored observations. This is related to the way data were collected and reported by HES: Exits from the waiting list were restricted to admissions and excluded such reasons as dying, moving away, or no longer need treatment. A further limitation to the study is that some observations suggested extremely long waits, in some cases greater than three years; whilst this is possible, it is unlikely to be as widespread as the data suggest and is more likely to be due to problems with patient record coding. The ongoing further analyses will take account of such outliers, which will also have the merit of revealing more detail about the main part of the distribution, away from the long right-hand tail. Also, it is possible that Trusts may have to some extent met their targets by adjustments such as reclassifying patients that have been included on waiting lists as planned cases and reclassifying day-cases as outpatients (NAO, 2001). We have not yet explored this issue, but there is clearly potential to do so.

The final question concerned the methods themselves. As stated, we believe that we have demonstrated that time-to-event analysis does in practice provide the additional insights that it promises. It should therefore be more widely applied to waiting time data. Analysis at an even less aggregated level than our data can provide would be particularly useful, such as by

referring GP, PCT and admitting consultant. This has three potential uses. First, it may provide an additional set of variables which explain variations in the distribution of waiting times, and therefore waiting time management. Secondly, it might offer a tool by which these individuals and organisations can learn about the practical effects of their management policies². Thirdly, it might offer a tool for assessing performance, for example for hospitals in respect of consultants' admitting behaviour and PCTs in respect of hospitals' admitting behaviour and GPs' referring behaviour.

The policy implications of our findings are important. How physicians, consultants and managers respond to the implementation of waiting time targets is decisive for the success of policies to tackle long waiting. As noted, the observation that increased elective surgery activity for patients waiting the exact times as the prevailing targets supports the suggestion that clinical distortions might have taken place. As it is inappropriate to concentrate on less urgent routine cases in preference to those who require more urgent treatment so as to meet the targets, this phenomenon may have important clinical and policy implications. To assess the practical significance of this, it would be necessary to link the distribution of waiting times to quality of life information, such as urgency, severity of illness and rates of deterioration. In addition, future research that would relate specific HRGs with cost could establish whether there is any association between the cost of different type of surgeries and trends in waiting times of the relevant patients. Such analyses would help in deciding whether or not it is necessary to introduce a more standardised prioritisation system using explicit criteria, along the lines of the "admission index" suggested by Culyer and Cullis (1976), which would incorporate clinical, social and economic factors.

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² There is no evidence that we know of about this, but there is a single anecdote. Some years ago, one of the authors analysed the waiting list data for a consultant general surgeon using survival curves, showing considerable differences between procedures. The surgeon was surprised by the results and started to examine the causes of them. Whether or not this led to a change in practice is unknown.

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