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Doctors' experiences of providing care in rural hospitals in Southern New Zealand – a qualitative study

Journal:	<i>BMJ Open</i>
Manuscript ID	bmjopen-2022-062968
Article Type:	Original research
Date Submitted by the Author:	17-Mar-2022
Complete List of Authors:	Hedman, Mante; Umeå Universitet, Public Health and Clinical Medicine Doolan-Noble, F; University of Otago, General Practice and Rural Health Stokes, Tim; Otago University, General Practice & Rural Health Brännström, Margareta ; Umea Universitet, Department of Nursing
Keywords:	Organisation of health services < HEALTH SERVICES ADMINISTRATION & MANAGEMENT, Health & safety < HEALTH SERVICES ADMINISTRATION & MANAGEMENT, Adult palliative care < PALLIATIVE CARE, GERIATRIC MEDICINE, QUALITATIVE RESEARCH

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3 **Doctors' experiences of providing care in rural hospitals in Southern**
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6 **New Zealand – a qualitative study**
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ABSTRACT

Objective: To explore rural hospital doctors' experiences of providing care in New Zealand rural hospitals.

Design: The study had a qualitative design, using qualitative content analysis.

Setting: The study was conducted in South Island, New Zealand, and included nine different rural hospitals.

Respondents: Semi-structured interviews were conducted with 16 rural hospital doctors.

Results: Three themes were identified: 'Applying a holistic perspective in the care', 'striving to maintain patient safety in sparsely populated areas', and 'cooperating in different teams around the patient'. Rural hospital care more than general hospital care was seen as promoting a holistic perspective on patients based on closeness to home and family and a generalist perspective of care and personal continuity. The presentation of acute life-threatening low-frequency conditions at rural hospitals were associated with feelings of concern due to limited access to ambulance transportation and lack of experience.

Overall, however, patient safety in rural hospitals was considered equal or better than in general hospitals. Doctors emphasized the central role of rural hospitals in the health care pathways of rural patients, and the advantages and disadvantages with small non-hierarchical multidisciplinary teams caring for patients. Collaboration with hospital specialists was generally perceived as good, although there was a sense that urban colleagues do not understand the additional medical and practical assessments needed in the rural compared to the urban context.

Conclusions:

This study provides an understanding of how rural hospital doctors value the holistic generalist perspective of rural hospital care, and of how they perceive the quality and safety of that care. The long distances to general hospital care for acute cases was considered concerning.

WORD COUNT: 267

Strengths and limitations of this study

- | |
|---|
| <ul style="list-style-type: none">• In this study, both interviewer and interviewees had professional knowledge of the topic studied, thereby taking advantage of the researcher as an instrument of the research. |
| <ul style="list-style-type: none">• The diversity of sizes and services in the rural hospitals visited reflected different aspects of rural hospital care. |
| <ul style="list-style-type: none">• Qualitative content analysis was considered suitable as it is a methodologically flexible approach enabling interactive changes to the interview schedule as new information is gathered. Furthermore, this approach enables findings relevant to a specific problem/issue to be documented |
| <ul style="list-style-type: none">• Male and female doctors of varying clinical experience and ethnic origin participated; however, no Māori doctors were interviewed. |

Introduction

In South Island, New Zealand (NZ), secondary and tertiary hospital care is provided to the population mainly by the general hospitals in Dunedin, Invercargill, and Christchurch. These hospitals also serve as supporting base hospitals for small rural hospitals (RHs) scattered in the sparsely populated surroundings. The NZ Doctors Workforce Survey 2015 (1) identified 26 RHs, 11 of which were situated in South Island. RHs have evolved in response to local needs and economic circumstances, explaining the variety in size, services and ownership models - a mix of public hospitals run by District Health Boards and Community Trusts (2,3). The medical and nursing care provided in RHs cover many vocational areas of clinical practice (1), as do rural community hospitals in other countries (4). The Otago Rural Hospitals Study found that RH patients were older than those admitted to larger hospitals (5). This is consistent with studies on similar models of rural hospital care in other countries (6–9). These studies indicate that some patient groups, mainly elderly patients with exacerbation of chronic diseases and infections, could be offered different levels of hospital care depending on the presence of a RH in their community. These patient groups take a considerable and growing part of hospital care provided in NZ and worldwide.

A recent NZ policy document emphasizes an estimated increase in hospital bed usage in the coming decades due to an ageing population, and states that the complexity of hospital cases will increase due to multimorbidity and frailty (10). Furthermore, new models of care are looking to provide more care in communities, closer to where people live, in addition, earlier discharges of patients from general hospitals to rural hospitals for step down care will add further pressure on rural healthcare systems (10,11).

1
2
3 One definition of RHs (and rural community hospitals in other countries) states that patients
4 are admitted and cared for by generalist doctors (12). The Cairns Consensus Statement (13)
5
6 defines Rural Generalist Medicine by the broad scope of medical care a rural doctor
7
8 provides, including primary care, hospital in-patient care, emergency care, a population
9
10 health approach relevant to the community and participation in multi-disciplinary teams
11
12 locally and at a distance to provide services responsive to community needs (12).

13
14 Traditionally RH medical care in NZ was provided by local rural general practitioners (GPs)
15
16 and MOSSs (Medical Officer of Specialist Scale, a non-training position for not yet specialised
17
18 doctors). Rural Hospital Medicine was recognized as a new scope of practice in 2008, and
19
20 speciality-training programmes adapted for the needs of RH doctors were implemented
21
22 (14,15)

23
24 RHs provide hospital care for patient groups elsewhere treated at general hospitals, and that
25
26 are predicted to constitute an increasing proportion of future rural hospitalizations. Rural
27
28 hospital medicine doctors will, therefore, be responsible for the care of an increasing
29
30 number of patients . It is, therefore, important to explore how these doctors experience
31
32 their own role and that of their RHs in the community in the context of the NZ health care
33
34 system.

35 36 37 38 39 40 41 42 43 44 45 46 47 48 **Aim**

49
50 The aim of this study was to explore rural hospital doctors' experiences of providing care in
51
52 rural hospitals in Southern NZ.
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59

60 **Methods**

Study setting

The study took place in rural parts of Otago, Canterbury, and West Coast regions in the South Island of NZ.

Design and sampling

The study employed a qualitative exploratory design (16). A purposive sampling approach was used to invite rural hospital doctors to the study, aiming to include men and women with different level of experience and of differing ethnic origin, representing a variety of RHs in South Island. Participants were recruited using e-mail lists provided by Managing Directors of the South Island RHs.

Data collection

Semi-structured, face to face interviews were conducted by the PhD student MH at the doctors' work or in another undisturbed place of their choosing between October - November 2018, using an interview guide (see supplementary file 1) previously piloted in Swedish. The interview technique included open-ended and probing questions, with more specified questions used to orient the discussion towards areas of interest for the study. Interviews lasted on average one hour. All interviews were digitally recorded, and transcripts were shared with participants for accuracy checking. No participant reported any disagreements on their transcribed interview.

Data analysis

The interviews were transcribed verbatim and analysed according to qualitative content analysis using an inductive approach (17,18). Transcripts were read through several times to get a sense of the whole. The analysis sought to identify meaning units, which were

condensed and labelled with descriptive codes. Codes were compared to identify similarities and differences and then sorted into categories according to content. During the analysis process the codes and categories were discussed in the research group to seek consensus and sub-themes and themes formulated (see table 1) (19). Descriptions of sub-themes including representative quotes from the doctors are presented in the results section.

Participant doctors were numbered 1-16.

We used the consolidated criteria for reporting qualitative research (COREQ) (20) to structure the report.

Table 1: Examples of meaning units, condensed meaning units, codes, categories, sub-themes, and theme.

Meaning unit	Condensed meaning unit	Code	Category	Sub-theme	Theme
"...delay in getting your lab results often affected your decision as to whether you're going to keep somebody here or send them to (base hospital)."	Long wait for lab results affect decision whether to keep or send a patient	Long wait for lab results affect decision for referral	Referral because of distance	Weighing distance issues, between to keep or to refer patients	Striving to maintain patient safety in sparsely populated areas.
"I've put chest drains in people before. I've intubated people before, but not often. Doing those sorts of procedures, I'll do it if my back is shoved against the wall, and I had to. It's gonna make me really uncomfortable."	I've put chest drains and endotracheal tubes in people, but not often, and only if I had to and it makes me uncomfortable	I do scary medical procedures, but not often, and only because I must.	Limited experience of or training in handling different conditions	Handling issues related to sparse population	

Patient and Public Involvement

No patients or the public were involved in the design of this study.

Results

Fifty rural hospital doctors were invited to participate in the study. Sixteen doctors agreed to participate and were all included in the study. They worked in 9 RHs, representing public and Community Trust ownership, spread over the South Island of NZ, located from 67 to 330 km to the nearest secondary/tertiary hospital (Dunedin, Christchurch, or Invercargill), and supporting populations from 663 – 33,000 inhabitants. RHs had 4 - 24 acute beds and variable numbers of long-term care beds. Participating doctors are characterised in Table 2. Doctors worked in a RH for a part of or all their work time.

Table 2 Participant characteristics (n=16)

Sex	
Male	13
Female	3
Age (years)	
30-39	4
40-49	2
50-59	8
60 +	2
Clinical experience (years)	
< 20	6
> 20	10
Postgraduate Qualifications	
General Practice only	4
Rural Hospital Medicine only	4
Dual qualified (General Practice and Rural Hospital Medicine)	6
Other medical speciality	1
No specialist postgraduate qualification	1
Ethnicity	
New Zealand European	6

European (British and Irish)	7
Other European	2
Asian	1

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The analysis identified three themes which are summarised in Table 3 along with their associated subthemes and categories.

Table 3 Presentation of categories, sub-themes, and themes.

Category	Sub-theme	Theme
Practical aspects of closeness	Providing care close to home and family	Applying a holistic perspective to care
Emotional aspects of closeness		
Spiritual aspects of closeness		
Medical generalist perspective	Seeing the whole patient	
Holistic perspective		
Continuity of care		
Ambulance access	Weighing distance issues, between to keep or to refer patients	Striving to maintain patient safety in sparsely populated rural areas.
Referral because of distance		
Limited experience of or training in handling infrequent acute conditions	Handling issues related to sparse population	
Limited medical resources		
Limited medical staff		
Rural practice for medical students		
Perceived patient safety		
Simplified collaboration	Working in small teams in flat organizations	Cooperating in different teams around the patient
Impact on patients		
Nurses' role		
Interdependency and mutual recognition	Consulting hospital specialists	
Varying collaboration with different hospital clinics		

Applying a holistic perspective to care

1
2
3 The first theme, “Applying a holistic perspective to care” encapsulates two subthemes
4
5 “Providing care close to home and family” and “Seeing the whole patient”.
6
7
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9

11 **Providing care close to home and family**

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13
14
15 Doctors discussed three aspects of providing hospital care close to home and family: the
16
17 “practical”, the “emotional” and the “spiritual”. The importance of these aspects made it an
18
19 ethical as much as a medical issue to keep a patient or refer them to the nearest base
20
21 hospital.
22
23

24
25 Practical aspects included the ease for patients with the care close to home as well as for
26
27 relatives to come and visit, compared to having to travel far to a base hospital. For relatives
28
29 on a low-income, travel costs could be an issue.
30
31

32
33 *“If your father gets admitted to Dunedin, what do you do? Do you take two weeks off work*
34
35 *and stay close to your father, or do you drive up and down twice each day before and after*
36
37 *work? (...) It is impractical for the family (...) But if it is here, they could just pop around for*
38
39 *five minutes and have a chat and go home, go back to work. Much better for the patients*
40
41 *who get to see their family members more.” (Doctor 13)*
42
43
44
45

46
47 Doctors described RH rooms for palliative end of life care, with the possibility for family
48
49 members to stay overnight, often with kitchenettes. Alternatively, these rooms could be
50
51 used for children and their parents in RHs that accept paediatric in-patient care.
52
53

54
55 Emotional aspects were highlighted. RH were regarded as essential for the local population’s
56
57 feelings of safety and wellbeing linked to the personal connection and homeliness of the
58
59
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1
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3 facilities. Doctors perceived feelings of pride over the service the hospital provides to the
4
5 local population.
6
7

8
9 *“And people also feel very proud of the hospital. Both the people that work here and the*
10
11 *people who live here because they know that it is a hospital that understands them and*
12
13 *understands the community they live in and provides the highest standard of care in a very*
14
15 *effective and efficient manner.” (Doctor 6)*
16
17

18
19 **Spiritual aspects** of RHs close to home was particularly prominent when discussing end-of-
20
21 life care for Māori patients (the indigenous people of NZ). Dying close to home was
22
23 described as a very important spiritual aspect for Māori patients. None of the participating
24
25 doctors were Māori, some of them admitted shortcomings in their understanding of Māori
26
27 tikanga (Māori customary practices), and they recognized that there was room for
28
29 improvement in the RH care of Māori patients.
30
31
32

33 34 **Seeing the whole patient**

35
36
37 Doctors described the importance of seeing the “whole patient”, particularly for patients
38
39 with multimorbidity or palliative needs. These aspects were brought out when discussing
40
41 “Medical generalist perspective”, “Holistic perspective” and “Continuity of care”.
42
43
44

45 46 **Medical generalist perspective**

47
48 All RH doctors claimed to have a generalist perspective in the care of their in-patients, i.e., a
49
50 medically wider role compared to that of base hospital specialists. It was stated to be
51
52 difficult for a generalist to turn down patients and say that the patients’ problems were not
53
54 within the scope of their competence, leading to a preparedness to do unfamiliar tasks in a
55
56 way other hospital specialist doctors would restrict themselves from doing, not being in their
57
58
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1
2
3 area of expertise. This aspect of the RH generalist role was described by the doctors, as “We
4
5 *specialize in everything that comes in through the door.*” (Doctor 6).
6
7

8
9 RH doctors problematised that deeper specialisation leads to the loss of a broad perspective,
10
11 claiming that hospital specialists more often need to consult with other specialists about
12
13 things outside their scope of practice. RH doctors who had experienced working in urban
14
15 hospitals expressed their frustration with this approach, which meant they had to deal only
16
17 with the problem the patients come for and nothing else.
18
19

20
21 *“...just deal with the problem and send them back out, even if sometimes their other*
22
23 *problems were actually contributing to the presentation.”* (Doctor 10)
24
25

26 27 **Holistic perspective** 28

29
30 RH doctors professed to having a broader mindset, that supported a more holistic, person-
31
32 centred approach.
33
34

35
36 *“I think the biggest difference here and the thing we do best compared to the bigger*
37
38 *hospitals, is that we treat people as individuals.”* (Doctor 9)
39
40

41
42 It was recognized that having a holistic perspective helped acknowledging the challenges
43
44 patients faced due to the context in which they lived.
45
46

47
48 *“... that's the advantage I have, and I like about working across primary care is you see the*
49
50 *context in which people live and realize how hard it is for somebody who doesn't have a car*
51
52 *... to even get to (Rural Hospital x) for an X-ray...”* (Doctor 1)
53
54

55
56 Doctors considered that RHs offer some aspects of palliative care better than bigger
57
58 hospitals. Such aspects were familiarity, continuity, and ability to avoid unnecessary
59
60 procedures and treatments when patients would not gain from the intervention. This was

1
2
3 expressed as an ability to 'let people die with dignity'. One doctor described a patient who
4
5 was terminally ill from heart failure. He experienced a small gastro-intestinal bleed and went
6
7 through many invasive investigations in a larger hospital, even though this would not lead to
8
9 either cure or symptom relief. Instead, it added to anxiety and confusion for the patient and
10
11 family. Finally, this rural doctor found out about what was happening and managed to stop
12
13 further (unethical) procedures. This holistic perspective was together with the practical
14
15 aspects described above considered important and many doctors compared RH palliative
16
17 care provision to that of a hospice.
18
19
20
21
22

23 *"The good deaths, people who are ... they've just reached the end of their time. They may be*
24 *well on in years, they may have been suffering their heart condition or their cancer or*
25 *whatever, and their family are here. They come into hospital and their symptoms are well*
26 *controlled, and everybody is happy and accepting. You know, it's ... if you can call any death*
27 *a good death. We do have plenty of those."* (Doctor 12)
28
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36 **Continuity of care**

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39 Another aspect of holism was relational continuity, typical for the GP – patient relationship.
40
41 A minority of participating doctors were working as GPs in parallel to their work as RH
42
43 doctors. These doctors witnessed the advantage of being familiar with the patients'
44
45 circumstances when making medical decisions. It could also be reassuring for patients in
46
47 difficult situations to know the doctor. One rural GP who had been working for decades
48
49 serving the local population exhibited his compassion and empathy for those individuals
50
51 with unfortunate fates that he had supported through the years.
52
53
54
55
56

57 *"I could have up to four generations of a family in my care at one time. So after ... excuse me*
58 *(sobbing) ... After nearly 30 years, I get very close to them... ...a kid I delivered who I then*
59
60

1
2
3 *picked up off the road, dead in a drunken car crash, 18 years later.” (Doctor 12)*
4
5
6
7

8
9 Doctors also described a continuity of care for patients associated with repeated hospital
10 admissions at RHs, including familiarity with the health care professionals working on the
11 ward. Continuity of the patient/doctor relationship throughout the hospital stay was
12
13
14
15
16 expressed as important for the patients.
17
18

21 22 **Striving to maintain patient safety**

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24
25 This second main theme, “Striving to maintain patient safety” summarizes subthemes
26
27
28 “Weighing distance issues, to keep or to refer patients?” and “Handling issues related to a
29
30 dispersed population”.
31
32

33 34 35 36 **Weighing distance issues, to keep or to refer patients**

37
38
39 Doctors considered that rural people deserve the same health care access as urban people.
40
41
42 They described how health care in RH areas struggle with patient safety issues related to
43
44 long distances to base hospitals, and the need for safe transportation of severely ill patients
45
46 requiring ambulance access. It was also discussed that even though many referred patients
47
48 need transfer to a larger hospital because of their condition - i.e., that they cannot be safely
49
50 treated in the RH - some patients are referred because of practical issues related to long
51
52
53
54 distances.
55
56
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58
59

60 **Ambulance access**

1
2
3 As an ambulance could be gone for hours when transporting a patient to the base hospital,
4
5 doctors described concern about what to do if another sick patient needed ambulance
6
7 transfer in the meantime¹:
8
9

10
11 *“But if I have got a sick patient who I need to transfer, that's where I'm worrying for where*
12
13 *the ambulance is (...) And if it's out of town doing a transfer, you're always aware that it's out*
14
15 *of town doing a transfer.” (Doctor 15)*
16
17

18
19 As there was limited access to the local ambulance, any patient that could go safely to base
20
21 hospital by any other transportation (e.g., friend or family member's care) would not be sent
22
23 by ambulance.
24
25

26 27 **Referral because of distance**

28
29

30
31 RH doctors reported local access to basic radiology and to laboratory facilities sufficient for
32
33 most, although not all, acute situations. Some patients need acute laboratory testing or
34
35 radiology examinations to guide further actions, that are not locally available. In such
36
37 situations the decision had to be made as to whether the patient needed referral to the base
38
39 hospital for these investigations.
40
41

42 43 44 45 **Perceived patient safety**

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47
48
49

50
51 Many doctors argued that RHs are as good as or better regarding patient safety than larger
52
53 hospitals, providing patients needing a higher level of hospital care are not retained.
54
55

56
57 ¹ Rural ambulances are crewed by dedicated volunteers, consequently most rural areas just have one active
58 ambulance at any one time.
59
60

1
2
3 Arguments for this are shorter decision paths in RHs and medical staff knowing the social
4 context of the patients. Furthermore, in RHs patients are often seen by an experienced
5 doctor sooner than in a big hospital.
6
7
8
9

10
11
12
13 *"I've been here nearly 10 years and I can't think of a specific example of somebody who I've*
14 *thought, "If that happened in central Auckland then they would be alive", so that must be*
15 *quite rare, I think it's safe" (Doctor 9)*
16
17
18
19

20 21 22 23 24 25 **Handling issues related to sparsely populated rural areas**

26
27 Among issues related to sparsely populated rural areas, "limited experience of or training in
28 handling different conditions", "limited medical resources" and "limited medical staff" were
29 discussed. Related to these were discussions regarding vacancies among medical staff and
30 recruitment initiatives like "rural practice for medical students".
31
32
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39 **Limited experience of handling different conditions**

40
41
42 Doctors described a sense of insecurity when severely ill patients arrive at the RH. Although
43 trained in emergency medicine, they do not often meet these patients in the clinic.
44
45
46
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48

49
50 *"I've put chest drains in people before. I've intubated people before, but not often. Doing*
51 *those sorts of procedures, I'll do it if my back is shoved against the wall, and I had to. It's*
52 *gonna make me really uncomfortable. Yeah. Some of that stuff is scary." (Doctor 10)*
53
54
55
56

57
58 It was discussed that, since midwives took responsibility over the obstetric care in the 1990s,
59 rural GPs have lost their competences to deal with obstetric complications. Only one RH
60

1
2
3 doctor was a trained obstetrician. Consequently, in some regions expectant mothers can
4
5 have a long way to go to give birth.
6
7

8
9 *"... if a midwife is looking after that woman, identifies she's in need of an emergency*
10
11 *caesarean she has to call an ambulance or a helicopter to get them to (a big hospital) for an*
12
13 *urgent operation, therefore the delay will be a minimum of probably an hour and a half.*
14
15 *Probably more likely two hours."* (Doctor 5)
16
17

18
19 Some patient groups are not admitted to all RHs, such as psychogeriatric patients and
20
21 children.
22
23

24 **Limited medical resources**

25
26
27 All RHs were reported to have access to plain x-ray, and many of the RH doctors do point-of-
28
29 care ultrasound examinations. However, with few exceptions, RHs do not have a CT scanner.
30
31 Therefore, for instance, patients with stroke symptoms would be referred to base hospital
32
33 for diagnostics, which could take hours.
34
35

36
37 Available point-of-care lab tests were also reported to differ between RHs, and additional
38
39 tests were wanted to improve patient safety.
40
41
42
43

44 **Limited medical staff**

45
46
47 The generalist rural health workforce across South Island was acknowledged as having high
48
49 turnover rates of doctors. Some doctors reported a lack of nurses, physiotherapists,
50
51 midwives, and dentists as well.
52
53
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1
2
3 *"Midwives, we had the one midwife who was ... you know, her only, 24 hours a day, 7 days a*
4 *week, 365 days a year. She was our only midwife here for years and finally she just had*
5 *enough and said, "I quit." (Doctor 12)*
6
7
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9

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11
12
13 Different reasons for this were discussed. Living and working in the countryside does not suit
14
15 everybody, *"GPs either hate it and they leave, or they love it, and they can't leave. "(Doctor*
16 *12). It could be frightening, especially for inexperienced doctors. And "if you work there as a*
17 *doctor, what does your partner do?" (Doctor 14).*
18
19
20
21

22 23 **Rural practice for medical students**

24
25
26 One problem described was that urban-centric training programs do not prepare a good
27
28 rural healthcare workforce. Doctors appreciated the Rural Medical Immersion Programme
29
30 run by the University of Otago (Dunedin), where medical students do part of their clinical
31
32 practice at RHs. Doctors stated that students get closer to the patient work and take more
33
34 responsibility when doing their practice rurally compared to in a university hospital.
35
36
37

38
39 *"It's very different if you're the first person to see the patient. And then you have to think*
40 *about the patient and the diagnosis and that's a bit. It's not... You can't just go and open the*
41 *notes and say, "ah yes the registrar say it was this" (Doctor 15)*
42
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50 51 **Cooperating in different teams around the patient**

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53 The third theme, "Cooperating in different teams around the patient" summarizes
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55 subthemes "Working in small teams in flat organizations around the patient" and
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57 "Consulting hospital specialists".
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Working in small teams in flat organizations around the patient

The RHs take a central position in the health care pathways of rural patients. Rural doctors report team-working when describing patient care together with doctors within the RH, with local GPs and with hospital specialists in base and tertiary hospitals. They are also part of multidisciplinary teams with nurses, physiotherapists, occupational therapists, social workers, and needs assessors within the RH and within the municipality. This does not differ from other hospitals, but rural doctors discussed how small team sizes promote *simplified collaboration* between team members. The *impact on patients* of varying numbers of staff involved in the hospital care was also discussed. Specifically, the RH *nurses' role* was highlighted as being central to the delivery of patient centred care and adaptive to various clinical situations.

Simplified collaboration

Doctors stated that the small size of RHs promotes non-hierarchical inter-professional teams, where personal acquaintances and deeper understanding of each other's roles simplify collaboration. In this sense, the small team size in RHs was expressed as an advantage compared to big hospitals.

"I think there's less hierarchy here than in the bigger hospitals. I think it's much more egalitarian." (Doctor 9)

Impact on patients

The limited number of medical staff in RHs was described as an advantage for the patient categories common in RHs, as they would not meet so many different medical staff.

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2
3 *“He's in his 80's. If he got a pneumonia and went to Wellington Hospital where he lives, he'd*
4 *be seen by an emergency nurse, an emergency doctor, and then he'd probably be admitted to*
5 *a ward and see a junior doctor on a ward. And then he might see a registrar on a ward, and*
6 *he'd probably have a whole other set of nursing staff see him and do some sort of care plan.*
7 *And then you'd have the specialists might see him for five minutes at some point. And he'd*
8 *probably have some imaging at some point. (...) But that's already, probably 15 different*
9 *people would have been involved in his care, whereas, if he came to (our RH) and got a*
10 *pneumonia, well, my colleague xx, who's on call tonight, would see him and put him in the*
11 *ward and organize his treatment and the nurses would, the nurses that are there would be*
12 *the ones that care for him.” (Doctor 7)*

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Conversely, small team size was also considered a weakness. Rural health professionals need broad clinical competencies, whereas urban areas have more specialized staff available. Access to limited staff numbers was mentioned as a vulnerability, for example if a staff member falls ill.

“ We're always one nurse short of a catastrophe down here. If one nurse goes on leave and another nurse gets sick, then all of a sudden we haven't got enough RNs (registered nurses) to man the roster.” (Doctor 12)

Nurses' role

Many doctors expressed their appreciation of the RH nurses, for their broad competence, their ability to adapt to different clinical situations, and their clinical judgements.

“Particularly the nursing care, I think that's probably the best thing about the ward (...) some of the nurses are really exceptional at adapting to a whole lot of roles” (Doctor 7)

Consulting hospital specialists

In different medical situations, rural doctors need to consult hospital specialists for advice on patient care. They emphasised *the interdependency* between rural doctors and hospital specialists, and the need for *mutual recognition* of each other's situation. They also reported *varying collaboration with different hospital clinics*.

Interdependency and mutual recognition

They reported mostly good cooperation with hospitals. This cooperation was improved by personal knowledge and mutual recognition of each other's circumstances.

"... I think we work alongside each other. I couldn't do my job without a cardiologist who I refer to, or a cardiac surgeon to refer to. They also couldn't do their jobs without me doing what I do and finding patients for them and treating them before and after..." (Doctor 10)

However, some doctors described limited understanding from urban hospital staff about the limited resources available in RHs and about contextual factors that influence the medical decisions that need to be taken in RHs. It was also discussed that some RHs were more trusted and listened to by hospital specialists than others.

Varying collaboration with different hospital clinics

It was recognized that some hospital clinics tend to collaborate better with RH doctors than others.

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3 *“Things like oncology and paediatrics. We have really good, easy access to the specialists.*
4
5 *And they are really personable, and you can ring them about anyone (...) Whereas,*
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7 *orthopaedics, oh my God, it's like a nightmare. You can never get the same person on the*
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9 *phone, and then you always have to talk to the junior staff, so you can't actually ask*
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11 *questions about people that might be quite sophisticated...” (Doctor 7)*
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19 **Discussion**

22 **Principal findings**

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26 Three themes were identified: ‘Applying a holistic perspective in the care’, ‘striving to
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28 maintain patient safety in sparsely populated areas’, and ‘cooperating in different teams
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30 around the patient’. Participating doctors considered RHs promoted a more holistic
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32 perspective on patients based on closeness to home and family; a generalist perspective of
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34 the care provided and greater relational continuity than hospitals in larger centres. Findings
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36 also demonstrate the different assessments RH doctors make, which urban doctors are not
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38 required to do. The central role of the RHs in the health care pathways of rural patients was
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40 discussed, as well as advantages and disadvantages with small non-hierarchical
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42 multidisciplinary teams for patients.
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48 **Comparison with existing literature**

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51 A holistic approach addresses patients' physical, emotional, social and spiritual needs,
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53 enables caregiver to deal with the patient's illnesses, and consequently improve their lives
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55 (21). The RH doctors appreciated providing a holistic perspective in the care they provided in
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57 contrast to the alleged narrow biomedical perspective of hospital specialists in larger
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3 hospitals. Rural hospitals were considered a suitable setting for the care of multimorbid
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5 elderly patients (6-9). Moffat et al. concluded that management of multimorbidity requires a
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7 holistic approach by a generalist (22), in agreement with our findings.
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10 “Close to home” is multifaceted as both “close” and “home” can have different definitions.

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12 In a geographical sense our findings are consistent with those from interview studies
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14 involving patients that describe having hospital care close to home as a great advantage (23).
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17 The emotional sense of “home” including homeliness and personal connections discussed in
18
19 our study are also described in patient interviews (17,18). It was obvious that RH doctors in
20
21 our study not only considered the patient’s treatment as important but also the patients’
22
23 ‘lived experience’ of their hospital stay as important, reflecting the social aspect of their
24
25 holistic perspective.
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29 “Home” means different for different individuals depending on their ethnicity and beliefs.

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31 Our study recognized that being near to their whānau (extended family) is particularly
32
33 important at end of life for Māori patients, as also reported in the study from the North
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35 Island by Blattner et al (25). A systematic review (26) concluded that home is the preferred
36
37 place of rural death, and that when symptom control cannot be catered for at home rural
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39 hospitals may act as substitute hospices. Compared to general hospitals, rural/community
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41 hospitals have been regarded as preferable places for end-of-life care (27).
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50 Continuity of care is often discussed in relation to primary care, with an established positive
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52 relationship between interpersonal (relational) continuity in the GP-patient relationship and
53
54 patient satisfaction (28). Our results show, that in the RH setting, relational continuity could
55
56 include interpersonal relationships within the community and, for patients with repeated
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58 hospitalisations, familiarity with health professional on the ward, as reported elsewhere
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3 (29). From the RH doctors' point of view, this continuity was helpful in medical decision-
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5 making. Particularly for RH doctors working as GPs in the community as well, strong
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7 overlapping personal and professional relationships with community members/patients can
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9 emerge over time (30), described as at times a burden for the small town doctor by
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McCarthy (31) and reported in our study as well.

Long distances to the nearest ED increase mortality risk for patients with specific emergency care-sensitive conditions: intracranial injury, acute myocardial infarction, other acute ischemic heart disease, fracture of the femur, and sepsis (32,33). In South Island long distances to EDs are the rule than the exception, due to the dispersed population. Many rural areas are serviced by only one ambulance crewed by volunteer St John staff, so when the ambulance is away transporting a patient, this could delay transportation of subsequent acute patients.

Some acute conditions present as "high-risk, low-frequency situations" to RH teams, and doctors may lack recent management experience of these, so such situations can be very stressful for the team and potentially dangerous for the patients as discussed by our participants and described elsewhere (34). To address this, rural-specific post-graduate training programs have been developed and implemented in NZ (4,27), including simulation-based training (36).

Patient safety is a wide subject to discuss. In this study, the expression was used without definition, and therefore discussed intuitively by the doctors. RH doctors stressed the importance of treating the right patients in RHs. This highlights the significance of the assessments made when deciding whether to keep a patient or to refer to a base hospital. This decision process has been studied elsewhere (37,38), and a common finding is that

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3 these decisions are not governed solely by the patient's medical condition, but by
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5 contemplations of the doctor about RH capacity regarding available beds and diagnostic
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7 investigations, staff competences, transferring capacity etc. Our study confirms the
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9 heterogeneity of assessments RH doctors perform when making these decisions.
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13 Most RH doctors asserted that the patient safety in their RH was high, even possibly higher
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15 than in a base hospital. Studies in NZ and internationally have not found any association
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17 between rural location and increased risk of hospital harm, but the risk was increased for
18
19 patients in need of inter-hospital transfer (39,40), as would be expected with patients with
20
21 emergency care-sensitive conditions.
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25 RH doctors considered that their small sized, informal, and egalitarian teams enhanced
26
27 holistic care, simplified collaboration, and reduced the impact on patients of fragmented
28
29 care driven by a high volume of health care professionals. This finding is similar to a Swedish
30
31 interview study on inter-disciplinary teamwork that identified a holistic care approach and
32
33 proactive non-hierarchical interaction as important factors for quality geriatric care (41).
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37 Small working teams need not formalize reporting mechanisms if their relations enable open
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39 disclosure and resolution of errors. However, due to the overlapping of professional and
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41 personal roles, some small medical communities may need structured reporting mechanisms
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43 to ensure anonymity (42).
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51 **Strengths and limitations of the study**

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55 The interviewing researcher (MH) has specific knowledge in the field of rural medicine as a
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57 Swedish rural GP, but no previous relation to the RHs or the medical staff interviewed, which
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59 is considered a strength. Conversely, his pre-understanding could co-create the messages
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3 from interviews with participants and play a role in the subsequent analysis. However, the
4
5 latter was balanced by other experienced qualitative researchers in the process (FDN, TS,
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7 MB) looking at the text data through different analytical lenses. Another strength is the
8
9 diversity of RHs visited, around the South Island. The interviewer's first language is Swedish,
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11 and interviews were performed in English. Therefore, linguistic nuances could be
12
13 misinterpreted. However, repeated readings of the transcripts and interviewees' reports
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15 from reviewing their transcript did not reveal such misinterpretations. It would have been
16
17 beneficial for the study if there had been Māori representation among interviewees, but in
18
19 the RHs visited, no doctor identified as Māori, and Māori are underrepresented in the NZ
20
21 medical workforce (43). We emphasize that some of our findings are not necessarily
22
23 transferable to RHs in North Island, as there are considerable socio-demographic differences
24
25 between the populations of North Island and South Island, notably in distribution of the
26
27 Māori population in rural areas (44).
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36 **Implications for clinical practice and health policy**

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39 A recent NZ policy document emphasizes the estimated increase in hospital bed usage in the
40
41 coming decades due to an ageing population, and states that the complexity of hospital
42
43 cases will increase due to multimorbidity and frailty (10). Generalist led hospital care is
44
45 considered especially suitable for multimorbid elderly patients that require a holistic
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47 approach by the caregiver (22). The 2006 Otago Rural Hospital study (6) suggested that
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49 "approximately 40% of admissions from urban populations to base hospitals could be
50
51 handled at a generalist level..." - as is now provided in rural settings using the RH model. If
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56 some of those patients would benefit from generalist led hospital care rather than specialist
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3 hospital care, this should influence future hospital workforce planning in urban, as well as in
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5 rural areas.
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10 11 **Conclusion**

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15 This study provides an understanding of how NZ South Island rural hospital doctors
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17 perceived the importance of the provision of a holistic generalist model of hospital care for
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19 patients and for their rural communities, as well as the significance of the rural hospital to
20
21 rural communities. The importance of quality and safety in RH care was emphasized, but
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23 long distances to base hospitals were acknowledged as adding challenges which required a
24
25 variety of medical and practical assessments that are not obvious or necessarily understood
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27 by urban doctors.
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33 WORD COUNT: 5389
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40 **Acknowledgements**

41
42 The authors would like to thank all the participating RH doctors and the Managing Directors
43
44 of their rural hospitals for their involvement and effort.
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48 **Contributorship statement**

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50
51 MH designed the study and developed the interview guide in cooperation with MB, TS and
52
53 FD-N. MH conducted the interviews. Initial data analysis was undertaken by MH, FD-N, TS,
54
55 and MB. Subsequent data analysis was undertaken by MH and MB, with input from TS and
56
57 FD-N. MH led the writing of the manuscript with inputs from MB, TS, and FD-N.
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Competing interests.

The authors declare that they have no competing interests.

Funding

This work was supported by Region Västerbotten, National Research School in General Practice (N/A), the Kempe Foundation (FS 2.1.6-263-18), Svenska Läkaresällskapet (SLS-787391) and DLF Provinsialläkarstiftelsen (N/A).

Ethics Approval

Ethical approval was obtained from the University of Otago Human Ethics Committee (17/141). Written informed consent was obtained from all participants.

Data availability statement

Full de-identified interview transcripts will not be shared. Informed consent, in line with the approving ethics committee, only allows for the use of de-identified extracts within research reporting and writing, in order to maintain the privacy of participants based in a defined regional area and population, thus making their identification with full transcripts more likely.

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INTERVIEW GUIDE

1. Informal introduction

- The researcher presents himself and informs about the research project

2. Formal introduction

- a. The researcher presents the principles for the interview method.
 - The participation is voluntary. It is possible to withdraw at any moment.
 - A predefined interview guide is used as a basis for the discussion.
 - The interview will be taped. Quotes from the interview can be used in an article, but quotes cannot be linked to individuals.
 - The timeframe for interview is one hour.
 - Consent is obtained from the participants.
- b. The researcher presents the background and the objectives of the interview
 - i. Definition of the Rural Community Hospital Model.
 - ii. A short background of statistics and data on the respondents' community hospital collected prior to the interview. Demographics, geography and distances. The researcher also informs about any important differences found between different community hospitals in South Island as well as differences between Swedish and NZ community hospitals.
 - iii. The interview will focus on the informants' perception of their units' role in the health care system. Of particular interest will be what they perceive to be challenges and success factors in their organisation for the optimal care of aged patients.

3. The tape recorder is put on

4. The interview begins

The researcher ensures that the following predefined main themes are discussed if they have not already been mentioned by the respondent:

About the respondent:

- Respondents' professional title, experiences in the past. Graduated in NZ or overseas? Different workplaces? Career path leading to current job.
- Family or other social bounds
- Positive and negative aspects of living in rural places compared to urban places.

About rural hospitals

- Respondents relation to rural hospital(s) – describe (since how long?,
- Role of the CH in health care system?
 - Patient groups suitable for CH care? – age groups, diagnoses...
 - Which patient groups should not be treated in CHs?
 - Same or different treatment?
 - Ethnic groups? (added in NZ)
- Advantages/disadvantages with CH model
 - Yet untapped uses of CHs
 - Patient safety in CHs?
- Different treatment cultures at CHs compared to GHs?
- What's to be most proud of?

About working conditions

- Vacancies of doctors? Responsibilities,
- Possibilities for professional development?
- Suggestions for improvement

About medical decision making

- Differences when far from general hospital? Does distance matter? Why?
- Support from hospital specialists
- Important diagnoses

About health care system

- How do you see the future for health care in rural areas?
 - Challenges?
- How do you see the role of the rural hospital in the future?
 - Challenges?
 - GP led small hospitals in urban areas?

About collaboration with nursing homes

- Nursing home capacity and organization
- Location of the physicians' offices in relation to the nursing homes
- Organization of the work on the nursing home

*Respondents' spontaneous reflexions***5. Summary**

- The researcher summarizes and the respondent has the possibility to comment on this.
- Does the respondent/informant feel that he/she have opinions, perceptions or nuances that have not been elucidated?

6. Finishing

- The researcher gives contact info to the informant and asks for consent to contact the informant by phone or e-mail later if further questions arise that need to be clarified.
- The moderator informs about further work in the research project and the expected use of the material.

7. Short evaluation

For peer review only

COREQ (CONsolidated criteria for REporting Qualitative research) Checklist

A checklist of items that should be included in reports of qualitative research. You must report the page number in your manuscript where you consider each of the items listed in this checklist. If you have not included this information, either revise your manuscript accordingly before submitting or note N/A.

Topic	Item No.	Guide Questions/Description	Reported on Page No.
Domain 1: Research team and reflexivity			
<i>Personal characteristics</i>			
Interviewer/facilitator	1	Which author/s conducted the interview or focus group?	
Credentials	2	What were the researcher's credentials? E.g. PhD, MD	
Occupation	3	What was their occupation at the time of the study?	
Gender	4	Was the researcher male or female?	
Experience and training	5	What experience or training did the researcher have?	
<i>Relationship with participants</i>			
Relationship established	6	Was a relationship established prior to study commencement?	
Participant knowledge of the interviewer	7	What did the participants know about the researcher? e.g. personal goals, reasons for doing the research	
Interviewer characteristics	8	What characteristics were reported about the interviewer/facilitator? e.g. Bias, assumptions, reasons and interests in the research topic	
Domain 2: Study design			
<i>Theoretical framework</i>			
Methodological orientation and Theory	9	What methodological orientation was stated to underpin the study? e.g. grounded theory, discourse analysis, ethnography, phenomenology, content analysis	
<i>Participant selection</i>			
Sampling	10	How were participants selected? e.g. purposive, convenience, consecutive, snowball	
Method of approach	11	How were participants approached? e.g. face-to-face, telephone, mail, email	
Sample size	12	How many participants were in the study?	
Non-participation	13	How many people refused to participate or dropped out? Reasons?	
<i>Setting</i>			
Setting of data collection	14	Where was the data collected? e.g. home, clinic, workplace	
Presence of non-participants	15	Was anyone else present besides the participants and researchers?	
Description of sample	16	What are the important characteristics of the sample? e.g. demographic data, date	
<i>Data collection</i>			
Interview guide	17	Were questions, prompts, guides provided by the authors? Was it pilot tested?	
Repeat interviews	18	Were repeat interviews carried out? If yes, how many?	
Audio/visual recording	19	Did the research use audio or visual recording to collect the data?	
Field notes	20	Were field notes made during and/or after the interview or focus group?	
Duration	21	What was the duration of the interviews or focus group?	
Data saturation	22	Was data saturation discussed?	
Transcripts returned	23	Were transcripts returned to participants for comment and/or	

Topic	Item No.	Guide Questions/Description	Reported on Page No.
		correction?	
Domain 3: analysis and findings			
<i>Data analysis</i>			
Number of data coders	24	How many data coders coded the data?	
Description of the coding tree	25	Did authors provide a description of the coding tree?	
Derivation of themes	26	Were themes identified in advance or derived from the data?	
Software	27	What software, if applicable, was used to manage the data?	
Participant checking	28	Did participants provide feedback on the findings?	
<i>Reporting</i>			
Quotations presented	29	Were participant quotations presented to illustrate the themes/findings? Was each quotation identified? e.g. participant number	
Data and findings consistent	30	Was there consistency between the data presented and the findings?	
Clarity of major themes	31	Were major themes clearly presented in the findings?	
Clarity of minor themes	32	Is there a description of diverse cases or discussion of minor themes?	

Developed from: Tong A, Sainsbury P, Craig J. Consolidated criteria for reporting qualitative research (COREQ): a 32-item checklist for interviews and focus groups. *International Journal for Quality in Health Care*. 2007. Volume 19, Number 6: pp. 349 – 357

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BMJ Open

Doctors' experiences of providing care in rural hospitals in Southern New Zealand – a qualitative study

Journal:	<i>BMJ Open</i>
Manuscript ID	bmjopen-2022-062968.R1
Article Type:	Original research
Date Submitted by the Author:	21-Aug-2022
Complete List of Authors:	Hedman, Mante; Umea University, Public Health and Clinical Medicine Doolan-Noble, F; University of Otago, General Practice and Rural Health Stokes, Tim; Otago University, General Practice & Rural Health Brännström, Margareta ; Umea Universitet, Department of Nursing
Primary Subject Heading:	Health services research
Secondary Subject Heading:	Geriatric medicine, Qualitative research, Palliative care, Patient-centred medicine
Keywords:	Organisation of health services < HEALTH SERVICES ADMINISTRATION & MANAGEMENT, Health & safety < HEALTH SERVICES ADMINISTRATION & MANAGEMENT, Adult palliative care < PALLIATIVE CARE, GERIATRIC MEDICINE, QUALITATIVE RESEARCH

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3 **Doctors' experiences of providing care in rural hospitals in Southern**
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6 **New Zealand – a qualitative study**
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ABSTRACT

Objective: To explore rural hospital doctors' experiences of providing care in New Zealand rural hospitals.

Design: The study had a qualitative design, using qualitative content analysis.

Setting: The study was conducted in South Island, New Zealand, and included nine different rural hospitals.

Respondents: Semi-structured interviews were conducted with 16 rural hospital doctors.

Results: Three themes were identified: 'Applying a holistic perspective in the care', 'striving to maintain patient safety in sparsely populated areas', and 'cooperating in different teams around the patient'. Rural hospital care more than general hospital care was seen as offering a holistic perspective on patient care based on closeness to their home and family, the generalist perspective of care and personal continuity. The presentation of acute life-threatening low-frequency conditions at rural hospitals were associated with feelings of concern due to limited access to ambulance transportation and lack of experience.

Overall, however, patient safety in rural hospitals was considered equal or better than in general hospitals. Doctors emphasized the central role of rural hospitals in the health care pathways of rural patients, and the advantages and disadvantages with small non-hierarchical multidisciplinary teams caring for patients. Collaboration with hospital specialists was generally perceived as good, although there was a sense that urban colleagues do not understand the additional medical and practical assessments needed in rural compared to the urban context.

Conclusions:

This study provides an understanding of how rural hospital doctors value the holistic generalist perspective of rural hospital care, and of how they perceive the quality and safety of that care. The long distances to general hospital care for acute cases was considered concerning.

WORD COUNT: 267

Strengths and limitations of this study

- | |
|---|
| <ul style="list-style-type: none">• In this study, both interviewer and interviewees had professional knowledge of the topic studied, thereby taking advantage of the researcher as an instrument of the research. |
| <ul style="list-style-type: none">• The diversity of sizes and services in the rural hospitals visited reflected different aspects of rural hospital care. |
| <ul style="list-style-type: none">• Qualitative content analysis was considered suitable as it is a methodologically flexible approach enabling interactive changes to the interview schedule as new information is gathered. Furthermore, this approach enables findings relevant to a specific problem/issue to be documented |
| <ul style="list-style-type: none">• Male and female doctors with varying clinical experience and of different ethnic origin participated; however, no Māori doctors were interviewed. |

Introduction

General practitioner (GP)-led community-based (rural) hospitals provide hospital care mainly in sparsely populated rural areas in many countries (1,2). The Cairns Consensus Statement (3) defines Rural Generalist Medicine by the broad scope of medical care a rural doctor provides. This includes primary care, hospital in-patient care, emergency care and a population health approach to provide services responsive to community needs both locally and at a distance.

In New Zealand hospitals are categorized by size (large, mid-sized and small) and by service provided: six levels along a continuum from level 1 (community services) to level 6 (supra-complex services)(4). There are 33 rural hospitals (RHs) in NZ (21 in North Island, 12 in South Island), they are all categorized as small and with service levels 1-3 based on medical coverage and resources (5). RHs have evolved in response to local needs and economic circumstances, resulting in a variety of sizes, services and ownership models - a mix of public hospitals run by District Health Boards and Community Trusts (6,7). The medical and nursing care provided in RHs cover many vocational areas of clinical practice (8), as do rural community hospitals in other countries (1).

Traditionally RH medical care in NZ has been provided by local rural general practitioners (GPs) and MOSSs (Medical Officer of Specialist Scale, a non-training position for not yet specialised doctors). RHs are defined as “a hospital staffed by suitably trained and experienced generalists (both medical officers and rural general practitioners), who take full clinical responsibility for a wide range of clinical presentations...” (6). Rural Hospital Medicine was recognized as a new scope of practice in 2008 and speciality-training programmes adapted for the needs of RH doctors were implemented (5,9). RH doctors would meet the

1
2
3 Cairns Consensus Statement's definition in their work at the RH, but approximately half of
4
5 the workforce work fulltime at the RH and not as GPs (5).
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10 The Otago Rural Hospitals Study found that RH patients were older than those admitted to
11
12 larger hospitals (10). This is consistent with studies on similar models of rural hospital care in
13
14 other countries (11–14). These studies indicate that some patient groups, mainly elderly
15
16 patients with exacerbation of chronic diseases and infections, could be offered different
17
18 levels of hospital care depending on the presence of a RH in their community.
19
20
21

22 A recent NZ policy document emphasizes an estimated increase in hospital bed usage in the
23
24 coming decades due to an ageing population, and states that the complexity of hospital
25
26 cases will increase due to multimorbidity and frailty (4). Furthermore, new models of care
27
28 are looking to provide more care in communities, closer to where people live, with earlier
29
30 discharges of patients from general hospitals to rural hospitals for step down care adding
31
32 further pressure on rural healthcare systems (4,15).
33
34
35

36
37 RHs provide hospital care for patient groups elsewhere treated at general hospitals and that
38
39 are predicted to constitute an increasing proportion of future rural hospitalizations. Rural
40
41 hospital medicine doctors will, therefore, be responsible for the care of an increasing
42
43 number of complex patients. Little is known about rural hospital doctors' experiences of
44
45 providing care in NZ (16). It is, therefore, important to explore how these doctors view their
46
47 role and that of their RHs in their community in the context of the wider NZ health care
48
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51
52 system.
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58 **Aim**

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3 The aim of this study was to explore rural hospital doctors' experiences of providing care in
4 rural hospitals in Southern NZ.
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10 11 **Methods**

12 **Study setting**

13
14
15 NZ's South Island has a population of 1.1 million(17) dispersed over a geographical area of
16
17
18 150,000 square kilometers (18). Secondary and tertiary hospital care is provided to the
19
20
21 population mainly by the general hospitals in Nelson, Christchurch, Dunedin, and
22
23
24 Invercargill. These hospitals also serve as supporting base hospitals for their associated RHs,
25
26
27 of which 12 are located in South Island. The study took place in rural parts of Otago,
28
29
30 Canterbury, and West Coast regions in the South Island of NZ.
31
32

33 **Design and sampling**

34
35
36 The study employed a qualitative exploratory design (19). A purposive sampling approach
37
38
39 was used to invite rural hospital doctors to the study, aiming to include men and women
40
41
42 with different level of experience and of differing ethnic origin, from a variety of RHs in
43
44
45 South Island. It was initially estimated that the study needed 15 participants with above
46
47
48 variation.

49
50
51 Participants were recruited using e-mail lists provided by the Managing Directors of the
52
53
54 South Island RHs.

55 **Data collection**

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3 Semi-structured, face to face interviews were conducted by the PhD student MH at the
4 doctors' work or in another undisturbed place of their choosing between October -
5
6
7
8 November 2018, using an interview guide (see supplemental file 1) previously used in a
9
10 Swedish interview study and modified for use in English and to the NZ context by the NZ
11
12 collaborators (FDN and TS). The interview technique included open-ended and probing
13
14 questions, with more specified questions used to orient the discussion towards areas of
15
16 interest for the study. Interviews lasted on average one hour. All interviews were digitally
17
18 recorded and transcribed. Transcripts were shared with participants for accuracy checking.
19
20
21
22

23 **Data analysis**

24
25
26 The interviews were analysed according to qualitative content analysis using an inductive
27
28 approach (20,21). Transcripts were read through several times to get a sense of the whole.
29
30
31 The analysis sought to identify meaning units, which were condensed and labelled with
32
33 descriptive codes. Codes were compared to identify similarities and differences and then
34
35 sorted into categories according to content. During the analysis process the codes and
36
37 categories were discussed in the research group to seek consensus and sub-themes and
38
39 themes formulated (see table 1) (22). Descriptions of sub-themes including representative
40
41 quotes from the doctors are presented in the results section. Participant doctors were
42
43
44
45
46 numbered 1-16.

47
48
49 We used the consolidated criteria for reporting qualitative research (COREQ) (23) to
50
51
52 structure reporting of study findings (see supplemental file 2).
53
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58 **Table 1:** Examples of meaning units, condensed meaning units, codes, categories, sub-themes, and
59
60 theme.

Meaning unit	Condensed meaning unit	Code	Category	Sub-theme	Theme
"...delay in getting your lab results often affected your decision as to whether you're going to keep somebody here or send them to (base hospital)."	Long wait for lab results affect decision whether to keep or send a patient	Long wait for lab results affect decision for referral	Referral because of distance	Weighing distance issues, between to keep or to refer patients	Striving to maintain patient safety in sparsely populated areas.
"I've put chest drains in people before. I've intubated people before, but not often. Doing those sorts of procedures, I'll do it if my back is shoved against the wall, and I had to. It's gonna make me really uncomfortable."	I've put chest drains and endotracheal tubes in people, but not often, and only if I had to and it makes me uncomfortable	I do scary medical procedures, but not often, and only because I must.	Limited experience of or training in handling different conditions	Handling issues related to sparse population	

Patient and Public Involvement

No patients or the public were involved in the design of this study.

Results

Fifty rural hospital doctors were invited to participate in the study. Sixteen doctors agreed and were all included in the study. They worked in 9 RHs in the West Coast, Canterbury, and Otago/Southland regions, representing public and Community Trust ownership models. They ranged from 67 to 330 km from the nearest secondary/tertiary hospital (Dunedin, Christchurch, or Invercargill), and supported populations from 663 – 33,000 inhabitants. They had 4 - 24 acute beds and variable numbers of long-term care beds, and all three levels of RH services were represented. The characteristics of participating doctors are presented in Table 2. Doctors worked in a RH for a part of or all their work time.

Table 2 Participant characteristics (n=16)

Sex	
Male	13
Female	3
Age (years)	
30-39	4
40-49	2
50-59	8
60 +	2
Clinical experience (years)	
< 20	6
> 20	10
Postgraduate Qualifications	
General Practice only	4
Rural Hospital Medicine only	4
Dual qualified (General Practice and Rural Hospital Medicine)	6
Other medical speciality	1
No specialist postgraduate qualification	1
Ethnicity	
New Zealand European	6
European (British and Irish)	7
Other European	2
Asian	1

The analysis identified three themes which are summarised in Table 3 along with their associated subthemes and categories.

Table 3 Presentation of categories, sub-themes, and themes.

Category	Sub-theme	Theme
Practical aspects of closeness	Providing care close to home and family	Applying a holistic perspective to care
Emotional aspects of closeness		
Spiritual aspects of closeness		
Medical generalist perspective	Seeing the whole patient	
Holistic perspective		
Continuity of care		
Ambulance access	Weighing distance issues, between to keep or to refer patients	Striving to maintain patient safety in sparsely populated rural areas.
Referral because of distance		
Limited experience of or training in handling infrequent acute conditions	Handling issues related to sparse population	
Limited medical resources		
Limited medical staff		
Rural practice for medical students		
Perceived patient safety		
Simplified collaboration	Working in small teams in organizations with flat structures	Cooperating in different teams around the patient
Impact on patients		
Nurses' role		
Interdependency and mutual recognition	Consulting hospital specialists	
Varying collaboration with different hospital clinics		

Applying a holistic perspective to care

1
2
3 The first theme, “Applying a holistic perspective to care” encapsulates two subthemes
4
5 “Providing care close to home and family” and “Seeing the whole patient”.
6
7
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11 **Providing care close to home and family**

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13
14
15 Doctors discussed three aspects of providing hospital care close to home and family: the
16
17 “practical”, the “emotional” and the “spiritual”. The importance of these aspects made it an
18
19 ethical as much as a medical issue to keep a patient or refer them to the nearest base
20
21 hospital.
22
23

24
25 *Practical aspects* included the ease for patients with the care close to home as well as for
26
27 relatives to come and visit, compared to having to travel to a base hospital. For relatives on a
28
29 low-income, travel costs could be an issue.
30
31

32
33 *“If your father gets admitted to Dunedin, what do you do? Do you take two weeks off work*
34
35 *and stay close to your father, or do you drive up and down twice each day before and after*
36
37 *work? (...) It is impractical for the family (...) But if it is here, they could just pop around for*
38
39 *five minutes and have a chat and go home, go back to work. Much better for the patients*
40
41 *who get to see their family members more.” (Doctor 13)*
42
43
44
45

46
47 Doctors described RH rooms for palliative end of life care, with the possibility for family
48
49 members to stay overnight, often with kitchenettes. Alternatively, these rooms could be
50
51 used for children and their parents in RHs that accept paediatric in-patient care.
52
53

54
55 *Emotional aspects* were considered essential for the local population’s feelings of safety and
56
57 wellbeing linked to the personal connection and homeliness of the facilities. Doctors
58
59 perceived feelings of pride over the service the hospital provided to the local population.
60

1
2
3 *“And people also feel very proud of the hospital. Both the people that work here and the*
4 *people who live here because they know that it is a hospital that understands them and*
5 *understands the community they live in and provides the highest standard of care in a very*
6 *effective and efficient manner.” (Doctor 6)*
7
8
9
10
11
12

13 *Spiritual aspects* of RHs close to home was particularly prominent when discussing end-of-
14 life care for Māori patients (the indigenous people of NZ). Dying close to home was
15 described as a very important spiritual aspect for Māori patients. As none of the participants
16 were Māori these conversations led participants to reflect on their shortcomings in relation to their
17 understanding of Māori tikanga (Māori customary practices), and they recognized that there
18 was room for improvement in the RH care of Māori patients.
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28 **Seeing the whole patient**

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32 Doctors described the importance of seeing the “whole patient”, particularly for patients
33 with multimorbidity or palliative needs. These aspects were brought out when discussing
34 “Medical generalist perspective”, “Holistic perspective” and “Continuity of care”.
35
36
37
38
39

40 *Medical generalist perspective:* All RH doctors claimed to have a generalist perspective in the
41 care of their in-patients, i.e., a medically wider role compared to that of base hospital
42 specialists. It was stated to be difficult for a generalist to turn down patients and say that the
43 patients’ problems were not within the scope of their competence, leading to a
44 preparedness to do unfamiliar tasks in a way other hospital specialist doctors would restrict
45 themselves from doing, not being in their area of expertise. This aspect of the RH generalist
46 role was described by the doctors, as *“We specialize in everything that comes in through the*
47 *door.” (Doctor 6).*
48
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3 RH doctors problematised that deeper specialisation leads to the loss of a broad perspective,
4
5 claiming that hospital specialists more often need to consult with other specialists about
6
7 things outside their scope of practice. RH doctors who had experienced working in urban
8
9 hospitals expressed their frustration with this approach, which meant they had to deal only
10
11 with the problem the patients come for and nothing else.
12
13

14
15
16 *"...just deal with the problem and send them back out, even if sometimes their other*
17
18 *problems were actually contributing to the presentation."* (Doctor 10)
19

20
21 *Holistic perspective:* RH doctors professed to having a broader mindset, that supported a
22
23 more holistic, person-centred approach.
24

25
26
27 *"I think the biggest difference here and the thing we do best compared to the bigger*
28
29 *hospitals, is that we treat people as individuals."* (Doctor 9)
30

31
32 It was recognized that having a holistic perspective helped acknowledging the challenges
33
34 patients faced due to the context in which they lived.
35

36
37
38 *"... that's the advantage I have, and I like about working across primary care is you see the*
39
40 *context in which people live and realize how hard it is for somebody who doesn't have a car*
41
42 *... to even get to (Rural Hospital x) for an X-ray..."* (Doctor 1)
43
44

45
46 Doctors considered that RHs offer some aspects of palliative care better than bigger
47
48 hospitals. Such aspects were familiarity, continuity, and ability to avoid unnecessary
49
50 procedures and treatments when patients would not gain from the intervention. This was
51
52 expressed as an ability to 'let people die with dignity'. One doctor described a patient who
53
54 was terminally ill from heart failure. He experienced a small gastro-intestinal bleed and went
55
56 through many invasive investigations in a larger hospital, even though this would not lead to
57
58
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1
2
3 either cure or symptom relief. Instead, it added to anxiety and confusion for the patient and
4
5 family. Finally, this rural doctor found out about what was happening and managed to stop
6
7 further (unethical) procedures. This holistic perspective was together with the practical
8
9 aspects described above considered important and many doctors compared RH palliative
10
11 care provision to that of a hospice.
12
13

14
15
16 *"The good deaths, people who are ... they've just reached the end of their time. They may be*
17
18 *well on in years, they may have been suffering their heart condition or their cancer or*
19
20 *whatever, and their family are here. They come into hospital and their symptoms are well*
21
22 *controlled, and everybody is happy and accepting. You know, it's ... if you can call any death*
23
24 *a good death. We do have plenty of those." (Doctor 12)*
25
26

27
28
29 *Continuity of care:* Another aspect of holism was relational continuity, typical for the GP –
30
31 patient relationship. A minority of participating doctors were working as GPs in parallel to
32
33 their work as RH doctors. These doctors witnessed the advantage of being familiar with the
34
35 patients' circumstances when making medical decisions. It could also be reassuring for
36
37 patients in difficult situations to know the doctor. One rural GP who had been working for
38
39 decades serving the local population exhibited his compassion and empathy for those
40
41 individuals with unfortunate fates that he had supported through the years.
42
43

44
45
46 *"I could have up to four generations of a family in my care at one time. So after ... excuse me*
47
48 *(sobbing)... After nearly 30 years, I get very close to them... ...a kid I delivered who I then*
49
50 *picked up off the road, dead in a drunken car crash, 18 years later." (Doctor 12)*
51
52
53

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55
56
57 Doctors also described a continuity of care for patients associated with repeated hospital
58
59 admissions at RHs, including familiarity with the health care professionals working on the
60

1
2
3 ward. Continuity of the patient/doctor relationship throughout the hospital stay was
4
5 expressed as important for the patients.
6
7
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9
10

11 **Striving to maintain patient safety**

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13
14
15 This second main theme, “Striving to maintain patient safety” summarizes subthemes
16
17 “Weighing distance issues, to keep or to refer patients?” and “Handling issues related to a
18
19 dispersed population”.
20
21
22

23 **Weighing distance issues, to keep or to refer patients**

24
25
26 Doctors considered that rural people deserve the same health care access as urban people.
27
28 They described how health care in RH areas struggle with patient safety issues related to
29
30 long distances to base hospitals, and the need for safe transportation of severely ill patients
31
32 requiring *ambulance access*. It was also discussed that even though many referred patients
33
34 need transfer to a larger hospital because of their condition - i.e., that they cannot be safely
35
36 treated in the RH - some patients are *referred because of practical issues related to long*
37
38 *distances*.
39
40
41
42
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45
46

47 *Ambulance access:* As an ambulance could be gone for hours when transporting a patient to
48
49 the base hospital, doctors described concern about what to do if another sick patient
50
51 needed ambulance transfer in the meantime¹:
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56
57 ¹ Rural ambulances are crewed by dedicated volunteers, consequently most rural areas just have one active
58 ambulance at any one time.
59
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2
3 *“But if I have got a sick patient who I need to transfer, that's where I'm worrying for where*
4 *the ambulance is (...) And if it's out of town doing a transfer, you're always aware that it's out*
5 *of town doing a transfer.” (Doctor 15)*
6
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11 As there was limited access to the local ambulance, any patient that could go safely to base
12 hospital by any other transportation (e.g., friend or family member's care) would not be sent
13 by ambulance.
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19 *Referral because of distance:* RH doctors reported that local access to basic radiology and
20 laboratory facilities was sufficient for most, although not all, acute situations. Some patients
21 needed acute laboratory testing or radiology examinations to guide further actions, that
22 were not available in rural areas. In such situations the decision had to be made as to
23 whether the patient needed referral to the base hospital for these investigations.
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31 32 **Handling issues related to sparsely populated rural areas**

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35 Among issues related to sparsely populated rural areas, *“limited experience of or training in*
36 *handling different conditions”, “limited medical resources” and “limited medical staff”* were
37 discussed. Related to these were discussions regarding vacancies among medical staff and
38 recruitment initiatives like *“rural practice for medical students”*.
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45 *Limited experience of handling different conditions:* Doctors described a sense of insecurity
46 when severely ill patients arrive at the RH. Although trained in emergency medicine, they do
47 not often meet these patients in the clinic.
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53 *“I've put chest drains in people before. I've intubated people before, but not often. Doing*
54 *those sorts of procedures, I'll do it if my back is shoved against the wall, and I had to. It's*
55 *gonna make me really uncomfortable. Yeah. Some of that stuff is scary.” (Doctor 10)*
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3 It was discussed that, since midwives took responsibility over the obstetric care in NZ in the
4
5 1990s, rural GPs have lost their competences to deal with obstetric complications. Only one
6
7 RH doctor interviewed was a trained obstetrician. Consequently, in some regions expectant
8
9 mothers can have a long way to go to give birth.
10
11

12
13 *"... if a midwife is looking after that woman, identifies she's in need of an emergency*
14
15 *caesarean she has to call an ambulance or a helicopter to get them to (a big hospital) for an*
16
17 *urgent operation, therefore the delay will be a minimum of probably an hour and a half.*
18
19 *Probably more likely two hours."* (Doctor 5)
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23
24 Some patient groups are not admitted to all RHs, such as psychogeriatric patients and
25
26 children.
27
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29
30 *Limited medical resources:* All RHs were reported to have access to plain x-ray, and many of
31
32 the RH doctors do point-of-care ultrasound examinations. However, with few exceptions,
33
34 RHs do not have a CT scanner, consequently patients with stroke symptoms, for example,
35
36 would be referred to a base hospital for diagnostics, which, including travel time, could take
37
38 hours.
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40

41
42 The availability of point-of-care lab tests were also reported to differ between RHs, and
43
44 additional tests were wanted to improve patient safety.
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49 *Limited medical staff:* The generalist rural health workforce across South Island was
50
51 acknowledged as having high turnover rates of doctors. Some doctors reported a lack of
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53 nurses, physiotherapists, midwives, and dentists as well.
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3 *"Midwives, we had the one midwife who was ... you know, her only, 24 hours a day, 7 days a*
4 *week, 365 days a year. She was our only midwife here for years and finally she just had*
5 *enough and said, "I quit." (Doctor 12)*

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10 Different reasons for this were discussed: Living and working in the countryside does not suit
11 everybody, *"GPs either hate it and they leave, or they love it, and they can't leave. "(Doctor*
12 *12). Working in isolation far from hospitals could be frightening, especially for*
13 *unexperienced doctors. And "...if you work there as a doctor, what does your partner do?"*
14 *(Doctor 14).*

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23 *Rural practice for medical students:* One problem described was that urban-centric health
24 professional training programs do not support a rural healthcare workforce. Doctors
25 appreciated the Rural Medical Immersion Programme run by the University of Otago
26 (Dunedin), where medical students do part of their clinical practice at RHs. Doctors stated
27 that students get closer to the patient work and take more responsibility when doing their
28 practice rurally compared to in a university hospital.

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39 *"It's very different if you're the first person to see the patient. And then you have to think*
40 *about the patient and the diagnosis and that's a bit. It's not... You can't just go and open the*
41 *notes and say, "ah yes the registrar said it was this" (Doctor 15)*

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Perceived patient safety: Many doctors argued that patient safety in RHs was as good as or
better than patient safety in larger hospitals, providing patients needing a higher level of
hospital care were not retained. Arguments for this were shorter decision paths in RHs and
medical staff knowing the social context of the patients, which could favour discharge
planning. Furthermore, in RHs patients are often seen by an experienced doctor sooner than
in a big hospital.

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2
3 “I’ve been here nearly 10 years and I can’t think of a specific example of somebody who I’ve
4 thought, “If that happened in central Auckland then they would be alive”, so that must be
5 quite rare, I think it’s safe” (Doctor 9)
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10 11 12 13 **Cooperating in different teams around the patient**

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16 The third theme, “Cooperating in different teams around the patient” summarizes
17 subthemes “Working in small teams in flat organizations around the patient” and
18 “Consulting hospital specialists”.
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23 24 **Working in small teams in flat organizations around the patient**

25
26
27 The RHs take a central position in the health care pathways of rural patients. Rural doctors
28 report team-working when describing patient care together with other doctors within the
29 RH, with local GPs and with hospital specialists in base and tertiary hospitals. They are also
30 part of multidisciplinary teams with nurses, physiotherapists, occupational therapists, social
31 workers, and needs assessors within the RH and within their locality. This does not differ
32 from other hospitals, but rural doctors discussed how small team sizes promote *simplified*
33 *collaboration* between team members. The *impact on patients* of varying numbers of staff
34 involved in the hospital care was also discussed. Specifically, the RH *nurses’ role* was
35 highlighted as being central to the delivery of patient centred care and adaptive to various
36 clinical situations.
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52 *Simplified collaboration*: Doctors stated that the small size of RHs promotes non-hierarchical
53 multidisciplinary teams, where personal acquaintances and deeper understanding of each
54 other’s roles simplify collaboration. In this sense, the small team size in RHs was expressed
55 as an advantage compared to big hospitals.
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3 *"I think there's less hierarchy here than in the bigger hospitals. I think it's much more*
4 *egalitarian."* (Doctor 9)
5
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9 *Impact on patients:* The limited number of medical staff in RHs was described as an
10 advantage for patients, as they would not meet so many different medical staff.
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13
14 *"He's in his 80's. If he got a pneumonia and went to Wellington Hospital where he lives, he'd*
15 *be seen by an emergency nurse, an emergency doctor, and then he'd probably be admitted to*
16 *a ward and see a junior doctor on a ward. And then he might see a registrar on a ward, and*
17 *he'd probably have a whole other set of nursing staff see him and do some sort of care plan.*
18 *And then you'd have the specialists might see him for five minutes at some point. And he'd*
19 *probably have some imaging at some point. (...) But that's already, probably 15 different*
20 *people would have been involved in his care, whereas, if he came to (our RH) and got a*
21 *pneumonia, well, my colleague xx, who's on call tonight, would see him and put him in the*
22 *ward and organize his treatment and the nurses would, the nurses that are there would be*
23 *the ones that care for him."* (Doctor 7)
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39 Conversely, small team size was also considered a weakness and a vulnerability. Rural health
40 professionals need broad clinical competencies, whereas urban hospitals have more
41 specialized staff available and if a member of staff falls ill it does not have such an impact on
42 patient care.
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48

49 *" We're always one nurse short of a catastrophe down here. If one nurse goes on leave and*
50 *another nurse gets sick, then all of a sudden, we haven't got enough RNs (registered nurses)*
51 *to man the roster."* (Doctor 12)
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3 *Nurses' role:* Many doctors expressed their appreciation of the RH nurses, for their broad
4
5 competence, their ability to adapt to different clinical situations, and their clinical
6
7 judgements.
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10
11 *"Particularly the nursing care, I think that's probably the best thing about the ward (...) some*
12
13 *of the nurses are really exceptional at adapting to a whole lot of roles" (Doctor 7)*
14
15

16 **Consulting hospital specialists**

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18
19
20 In different medical situations, rural doctors need to consult hospital specialists for advice on
21
22 patient care. They emphasised *the interdependency* between rural doctors and hospital
23
24 specialists, and the need for *mutual recognition* of each other's situation. They also reported
25
26 *varying levels of collaboration with different hospital clinics.*
27
28

29
30 *Interdependency and mutual recognition:* Overall cooperation with those working in urban
31
32 hospitals was described as good. This cooperation was improved by personal knowledge and
33
34 mutual recognition of each other's circumstances.
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38 *"... I think we work alongside each other. I couldn't do my job without a cardiologist who I*
39
40 *refer to, or a cardiac surgeon to refer to. They also couldn't do their jobs without me doing*
41
42 *what I do and finding patients for them and treating them before and after..." (Doctor 10)*
43
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47 However, some doctors described limited understanding from urban hospital staff about the
48
49 restricted resources available in RHs and about contextual factors that influence the medical
50
51 decisions taken in RHs. The perception that some RHs were more trusted and listened to by
52
53 hospital specialists than others was discussed.
54
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57 *Varying collaboration with different hospital clinics:* It was considered that some hospital
58
59 clinics tended to collaborate better with RH doctors than others.
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3 *“Things like oncology and paediatrics. We have really good, easy access to the specialists.*
4
5 *And they are really personable, and you can ring them about anyone (...) Whereas,*
6
7 *orthopaedics, oh my God, it's like a nightmare. You can never get the same person on the*
8
9 *phone, and then you always have to talk to the junior staff, so you can't actually ask*
10
11 *questions about people that might be quite sophisticated...” (Doctor 7)*
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19 **Discussion**

22 **Principal findings**

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26 Three themes were identified: ‘Applying a holistic perspective in the care’, ‘striving to
27
28 maintain patient safety in sparsely populated areas’, and ‘cooperating in different teams
29
30 around the patient’. Participating doctors considered RHs provided a more holistic
31
32 perspective on patient care based on closeness to home and family, a generalist care
33
34 perspective and greater relational continuity than hospitals in larger centres. Findings also
35
36 demonstrate the different assessments RH doctors make, which urban doctors are not
37
38 required to do. The central role of the RHs in the health care pathways of rural patients was
39
40 discussed, as well as advantages and disadvantages with small non-hierarchical
41
42 multidisciplinary teams for patients.
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49 **Comparison with existing literature**

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51
52 The RH doctors appreciated providing holistic care in contrast to the alleged narrow
53
54 biomedical perspective of hospital specialists in larger hospitals. Rural hospitals were
55
56 considered a suitable setting for the care of multimorbid elderly patients (6-9). Moffat et al.
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1
2
3 concluded that management of multimorbidity requires a holistic approach by a generalist
4
5 (24), in agreement with our findings.
6
7

8 “Close to home” is multifaceted as both “close” and “home” can have different definitions.
9

10 In a geographical sense our findings are consistent with those from interview studies
11
12 involving patients that describe having hospital care close to home as a great advantage (25).
13
14

15 The emotional sense of “home” including homeliness and personal connections discussed in
16
17 our study are also described in patient interviews (17,18,26). It was obvious that RH doctors
18
19 in our study not only considered the patient’s treatment as important but also the patients’
20
21 ‘lived experience’ of their hospital stay as important, reflecting the social aspect of their
22
23 holistic perspective.
24
25

26
27 “Home” means different things for different individuals depending on their ethnicity and
28
29 beliefs. Our study recognized that being near to their whānau (extended family) is
30
31 particularly important at end of life for Māori patients, as also reported in the study from the
32
33 North Island by Blattner et al (16). A systematic review (27) concluded that home is the
34
35 preferred place of rural death, and that when symptom control cannot be catered for at
36
37 home rural hospitals may act as substitute hospices. Compared to general hospitals,
38
39 rural/community hospitals have been regarded as preferable places for end-of-life care (28).
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47 Continuity of care is often discussed in relation to primary care, with an established positive
48
49 relationship between interpersonal (relational) continuity in the GP-patient relationship and
50
51 patient satisfaction (29). Our results show, that in the RH setting, relational continuity could
52
53 include interpersonal relationships within the community and, for patients with repeated
54
55 hospitalisations, familiarity with health professional on the ward, as reported elsewhere
56
57 (30). From the RH doctors’ point of view, this continuity was helpful in medical decision-
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3 making, particularly for RH doctors working as GPs in the community as well. Strong
4
5 overlapping personal and professional relationships with community members/patients can
6
7 emerge over time (31), described at times as a burden for the small town doctor by
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McCarthy (32) and reported in our study as well.

Long distances to the nearest ED increases mortality risk for patients with specific
emergency care-sensitive conditions: intracranial injury, acute myocardial infarction, other
acute ischemic heart disease, fracture of the femur, and sepsis (33,34). In South Island long
distances to EDs are the rule rather than the exception, due to the dispersed population.
Many rural areas are serviced by only one ambulance crewed by volunteer St John staff, so
when the ambulance is away transporting a patient, this could delay transportation of
subsequent acute patients.

Some acute conditions present as “high-risk, low-frequency situations” to RH teams, and
doctors may lack recent management experience of these, so such situations can be very
stressful for the team and potentially dangerous for the patients as discussed by our
participants and described elsewhere(35). To address this, rural-specific post-graduate
training programs have been developed and implemented in NZ (4,27,36), including
simulation-based training (37).

Patient safety is a wide subject to discuss. In this study, the expression was used without
definition, and therefore discussed intuitively by the doctors. RH doctors stressed the
importance of treating the right patients in RHs. This highlights the significance of the
assessments made when deciding whether to keep a patient or to refer to a base hospital.
This decision process has been studied elsewhere (38,39), and a common finding is that
these decisions are not governed solely by the patient’s medical condition, but by

1
2
3 contemplations of the doctor about RH capacity regarding available beds and diagnostic
4 investigations, staff competences, transferring capacity etc. Our study confirms the
5
6 heterogeneity of assessments RH doctors perform when making these decisions.
7
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10
11 Most RH doctors asserted that the patient safety in their RH was high, even possibly higher
12 than in a base hospital. Studies in NZ and internationally have not found any association
13
14 between rural location and increased risk of hospital harm, but patients in need of inter-
15
16 hospital transfers were at increased risk (40,41), as would be expected with patients with
17
18 emergency care-sensitive conditions.
19
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23
24 RH doctors considered that their small sized, informal, and egalitarian teams enhanced
25
26 holistic care, simplified collaboration, and reduced the impact on patients of fragmented
27
28 care driven by a high volume of health care professionals. This finding is similar to a Swedish
29
30 interview study on inter-disciplinary teamwork that identified a holistic care approach and
31
32 proactive non-hierarchical interaction as important factors for quality geriatric care (42).
33
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35
36 Small working teams do not need formalize reporting mechanisms if they have relationships
37
38 that enable open disclosure and resolution of errors (43). However, due to the overlapping
39
40 of professional and personal roles, some small medical communities may need structured
41
42 reporting mechanisms to ensure anonymity (43).
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49 **Strengths and limitations of the study**

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51
52 The interviewing researcher (MH) had specific knowledge in rural medicine as a Swedish
53
54 rural GP, but no previous relation to the RHs or the medical staff interviewed, which is
55
56 considered a strength. Conversely, his pre-understanding could co-create the messages from
57
58 interviews with participants and play a role in the subsequent analysis. However, the latter
59
60

1
2
3 was balanced by other experienced qualitative researchers in the process (FDN, TS, MB)
4
5 looking at the text data through different analytical lenses. Another strength is the diversity
6
7 of RHs visited. The interviewer's first language is Swedish, and interviews were performed in
8
9 English. Therefore, linguistic nuances could be misinterpreted. However, repeated readings
10
11 of the transcripts and interviewees' reports from reviewing their transcript did not reveal
12
13 such misinterpretations. Many of the doctors had long clinical experience from working in
14
15 NZ and overseas, that would add to richness in information. When discussing gender related
16
17 aspects on their work in RHs the female doctors did not report anything of value to the
18
19 study. We aspired to have Māori representation among interviewees, but in the RHs visited,
20
21 no doctor identified as Māori, and it is acknowledged that Māori are underrepresented in
22
23 the NZ medical workforce (44). In the last two interviews no new information of importance
24
25 was added, indicating that saturation was met. The chosen perspective in this study is that of
26
27 RH doctors. Perspectives of other members of RH teams, patients and relatives are
28
29 important and require exploration in subsequent studies.
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We emphasize that some of our findings are not necessarily transferable to RHs in North
Island, as there are considerable socio-demographic differences between the populations of
North Island and South Island, notably in distribution of the Māori population in rural areas
(45).

Implications for clinical practice and health policy

51
52 A recent NZ policy document emphasizes the estimated increase in hospital bed usage in the
53
54 coming decades due to an ageing population, and emphasises that the complexity of
55
56 hospital cases will increase due to multimorbidity and frailty (4). Hospitals need to work
57
58 "more closely with community, social and primary care services in locally integrated systems
59
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1
2
3 to ensure that people are only cared for in hospital when appropriate” (4). Generalist led
4
5 hospital care is considered especially suitable for multimorbid elderly patients that require a
6
7 holistic approach by the caregiver (24). The 2006 Otago Rural Hospital study (6) suggested
8
9 that “approximately 40% of admissions from urban populations to base hospitals could be
10
11 handled at a generalist level” - as is now provided in rural settings using the RH model. Given
12
13 the need for more hospital beds in future (4) the RH model of care could be suitable for
14
15 piloting in semi-rural and urban NZ.
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20 21 **Conclusion**

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23
24 This study provides an understanding of how NZ South Island rural hospital doctors
25
26 perceived the importance of the provision of a holistic generalist model of hospital care for
27
28 patients and for their rural communities, as well as the significance of the rural hospital to
29
30 rural communities.
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35 WORD COUNT: 5594
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41 **Acknowledgements**

42
43
44 The authors would like to thank all the participating RH doctors and the Managing Directors
45
46 of their rural hospitals for their involvement and effort.
47
48
49

50 **Contributorship statement**

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52
53 MH designed the study and developed the interview guide in cooperation with MB, TS and
54
55 FD-N. MH conducted the interviews. Initial data analysis was undertaken by MH, FD-N, TS,
56
57 and MB. Subsequent data analysis was undertaken by MH and MB, with input from TS and
58
59 FD-N. MH led the writing of the manuscript with inputs from MB, TS, and FD-N.
60

Competing interests.

The authors declare that they have no competing interests.

Funding

This work was supported by Region Västerbotten, National Research School in General Practice, the Kempe Foundation, Svenska Läkaresällskapet (SLS-787391) and DLF Provinsialläkarstiftelsen.

Ethics Approval

Ethical approval was obtained from the University of Otago Human Ethics Committee (17/141). Written informed consent was obtained from all participants.

Data availability statement

Full de-identified interview transcripts will not be shared. Informed consent, in line with the approving ethics committee, only allows for the use of de-identified extracts within research reporting and writing, in order to maintain the privacy of participants based in a defined regional area and population, thus making their identification with full transcripts more likely.

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For peer review only

INTERVIEW GUIDE

1. Informal introduction

- The researcher presents himself and informs about the research project

2. Formal introduction

- a. The researcher presents the principles for the interview method.
 - The participation is voluntary. It is possible to withdraw at any moment.
 - A predefined interview guide is used as a basis for the discussion.
 - The interview will be taped. Quotes from the interview can be used in an article, but quotes cannot be linked to individuals.
 - The timeframe for interview is one hour.
 - Consent is obtained from the participants.
- b. The researcher presents the background and the objectives of the interview
 - i. Definition of the Rural Community Hospital Model.
 - ii. A short background of statistics and data on the respondents' community hospital collected prior to the interview. Demographics, geography and distances. The researcher also informs about any important differences found between different community hospitals in South Island as well as differences between Swedish and NZ community hospitals.
 - iii. The interview will focus on the informants' perception of their units' role in the health care system. Of particular interest will be what they perceive to be challenges and success factors in their organisation for the optimal care of aged patients.

3. The tape recorder is put on

4. The interview begins

The researcher ensures that the following predefined main themes are discussed if they have not already been mentioned by the respondent:

About the respondent:

- Respondents' professional title, experiences in the past. Graduated in NZ or overseas? Different workplaces? Career path leading to current job.
- Family or other social bounds
- Positive and negative aspects of living in rural places compared to urban places.

About rural hospitals

- Respondents relation to rural hospital(s) – describe (since how long?,
- Role of the CH in health care system?
 - Patient groups suitable for CH care? – age groups, diagnoses...
 - Which patient groups should not be treated in CHs?
 - Same or different treatment?
 - Ethnic groups? (added in NZ)
- Advantages/disadvantages with CH model
 - Yet untapped uses of CHs
 - Patient safety in CHs?
- Different treatment cultures at CHs compared to GHs?
- What's to be most proud of?

About working conditions

- Vacancies of doctors? Responsibilities,
- Possibilities for professional development?
- Suggestions for improvement

About medical decision making

- Differences when far from general hospital? Does distance matter? Why?
- Support from hospital specialists
- Important diagnoses

About health care system

- How do you see the future for health care in rural areas?
 - Challenges?
- How do you see the role of the rural hospital in the future?
 - Challenges?
 - GP led small hospitals in urban areas?

About collaboration with nursing homes

- Nursing home capacity and organization
- Location of the physicians' offices in relation to the nursing homes
- Organization of the work on the nursing home

*Respondents' spontaneous reflexions***5. Summary**

- The researcher summarizes and the respondent has the possibility to comment on this.
- Does the respondent/informant feel that he/she have opinions, perceptions or nuances that have not been elucidated?

6. Finishing

- The researcher gives contact info to the informant and asks for consent to contact the informant by phone or e-mail later if further questions arise that need to be clarified.
- The moderator informs about further work in the research project and the expected use of the material.

7. Short evaluation

For peer review only

COREQ (CONsolidated criteria for REporting Qualitative research) Checklist

A checklist of items that should be included in reports of qualitative research. You must report the page number in your manuscript where you consider each of the items listed in this checklist. If you have not included this information, either revise your manuscript accordingly before submitting or note N/A.

Topic	Item No.	Guide Questions/Description	Reported on Page No.
Domain 1: Research team and reflexivity			
<i>Personal characteristics</i>			
Interviewer/facilitator	1	Which author/s conducted the interview or focus group?	
Credentials	2	What were the researcher's credentials? E.g. PhD, MD	
Occupation	3	What was their occupation at the time of the study?	
Gender	4	Was the researcher male or female?	
Experience and training	5	What experience or training did the researcher have?	
<i>Relationship with participants</i>			
Relationship established	6	Was a relationship established prior to study commencement?	
Participant knowledge of the interviewer	7	What did the participants know about the researcher? e.g. personal goals, reasons for doing the research	
Interviewer characteristics	8	What characteristics were reported about the interviewer/facilitator? e.g. Bias, assumptions, reasons and interests in the research topic	
Domain 2: Study design			
<i>Theoretical framework</i>			
Methodological orientation and Theory	9	What methodological orientation was stated to underpin the study? e.g. grounded theory, discourse analysis, ethnography, phenomenology, content analysis	
<i>Participant selection</i>			
Sampling	10	How were participants selected? e.g. purposive, convenience, consecutive, snowball	
Method of approach	11	How were participants approached? e.g. face-to-face, telephone, mail, email	
Sample size	12	How many participants were in the study?	
Non-participation	13	How many people refused to participate or dropped out? Reasons?	
<i>Setting</i>			
Setting of data collection	14	Where was the data collected? e.g. home, clinic, workplace	
Presence of non-participants	15	Was anyone else present besides the participants and researchers?	
Description of sample	16	What are the important characteristics of the sample? e.g. demographic data, date	
<i>Data collection</i>			
Interview guide	17	Were questions, prompts, guides provided by the authors? Was it pilot tested?	
Repeat interviews	18	Were repeat interviews carried out? If yes, how many?	
Audio/visual recording	19	Did the research use audio or visual recording to collect the data?	
Field notes	20	Were field notes made during and/or after the interview or focus group?	
Duration	21	What was the duration of the interviews or focus group?	
Data saturation	22	Was data saturation discussed?	
Transcripts returned	23	Were transcripts returned to participants for comment and/or	

Topic	Item No.	Guide Questions/Description	Reported on Page No.
		correction?	
Domain 3: analysis and findings			
<i>Data analysis</i>			
Number of data coders	24	How many data coders coded the data?	
Description of the coding tree	25	Did authors provide a description of the coding tree?	
Derivation of themes	26	Were themes identified in advance or derived from the data?	
Software	27	What software, if applicable, was used to manage the data?	
Participant checking	28	Did participants provide feedback on the findings?	
<i>Reporting</i>			
Quotations presented	29	Were participant quotations presented to illustrate the themes/findings? Was each quotation identified? e.g. participant number	
Data and findings consistent	30	Was there consistency between the data presented and the findings?	
Clarity of major themes	31	Were major themes clearly presented in the findings?	
Clarity of minor themes	32	Is there a description of diverse cases or discussion of minor themes?	

Developed from: Tong A, Sainsbury P, Craig J. Consolidated criteria for reporting qualitative research (COREQ): a 32-item checklist for interviews and focus groups. *International Journal for Quality in Health Care*. 2007. Volume 19, Number 6: pp. 349 – 357

Once you have completed this checklist, please save a copy and upload it as part of your submission. DO NOT include this checklist as part of the main manuscript document. It must be uploaded as a separate file.