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# Title page

Title: Experiences and needs of Scotland's rural midwives

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### Abstract

Rural midwifery internationally is often misunderstood and is persistently compromised by recruitment and retention issues. In a climate of constant policy change and service development this has implications for morale with rural midwives who continue to practice in challenging yet rewarding contexts. This article reports on Scottish rural midwives' experiences as part of an international study examining New Zealand and Scottish rural midwives. Major themes from the study included the importance of relationships and a unique skill set. Scottish midwives reported feeling vulnerable in the face of constant policy direction and service changes that did not appreciate the context of practice realities. Considering current Scottish policy this paper highlights some implications for practice and ideas for further research.

#### Introduction

In a turbulent political and everchanging fiscal environment, with associated mobile populations, rural Scotland needs to focus attention on succession planning, recruitment and retention of rural midwives to ensure continuance of robust, highly skilled, accessible and acceptable rural services that provide choice and satisfaction for rural service users (Lironi, 2017, Grant, 2017, Harris et al., 2011, Scottish Government, 2019). While addressing significant concerns of accessibility to quality services for women and families (Hoang et al., 2014), it is equally important to acknowledge the morale of rural midwives as they encounter unique practice situations which are clearly different to their urban colleagues (Crowther et al., 2018b). To help address this, a group of international midwifery researchers embarked on a multi-center, multimethod international study including two universities in Scotland serving the needs of midwifery undergraduate and postgraduate education – Robert Gordon University, Aberdeen (North East) and the University of the West of Scotland. Likewise, two collaborating institutions in New Zealand included Ara Institute of Canterbury (Christchurch) and AUT University (Auckland).

The study aimed to illuminate the practice realities of rural midwives and further understand what practices enhance equitable and sustainable rural maternity care through a process of comparing findings and informing recommendations for education. Scotland and New Zealand have comparability in terms of population size and birth rates, rural topography, climate conditions and midwifery education, regulation and statutory status.

#### **Table 1: Study objectives**

To establish the characteristics of sustainable rural midwifery practice
 To explore and identify personal skills, qualities and professional expertise needed for rural midwifery practice
 To explore and identify education needs for undergraduate and postgraduate midwifery education

in Scotland and New Zealand

Full study findings were published in a series of three articles (Kensington et al., 2018, Gilkison et al., 2018, Crowther et al., 2018a). The first of these highlighted that courage, fortitude and resilience are essential underpinnings of rural midwifery practice (Gilkison, et al., 2018). The second paper explored pre-registration education experiences and views of rural midwives which asserted the value of including rural specific components in midwifery education (Kensington, et al., 2018). The third paper revealed the importance of relationships through the concept of social capital (Crowther, et al., 2019). Publishing regional specific articles was needed, therefore, one forthcoming article reporting New Zealand data is in press whilst this article focuses only on Scottish data.

### Methods

The multi-method international study was conducted in two stages using online anonymous questionnaires. In the second stage New Zealand and Scottish midwives were divided into their respective countries and accessed an online anonymized, asynchronous discussion groups (open for 6 weeks). The groups involved midwives consenting to this stage. This approach was adopted because it was cost-effective and allowed easier access for midwives in remote areas to participate. Survey results informed the questions for the online fora

enabling more in-depth explanation of aspects touched on in the questionnaire. Ethical

approval was obtained in New Zealand and Scotland.

An email with a direct URL link to the introductory information about the online survey and

information leaflet including ethical aspects, was sent inviting rural midwives. In total, 77

Scottish midwives responded to the online survey and 3 Scottish midwives participated in

the online discussion forum. The survey also provided demographic detail and

characteristics of participants (see table 2).

Table 2: Scottish midwife demographic details and characteristics				
Total I	number of participants (n)	77 (100%)		
•	Community (including labour/birth)	51 (66%)		
•	Community (mainly antenatal/postnatal)	26 (34%)		
Ethnic	ity	65 responses		
•	White Scottish	50 (77%)		
•	White other British	14 (21.5%)		
•	White Irish	1 (1.5%)		
Age		65 responses		
•	<30 years	3 (5%)		
•	30-49 years	26 (43%)		
•	≥50 years	34 (52%)		
Mean	years of Registration	1995		
Years in rural practice		65 responses		
•	≤5 years	14 (21.5%)		
•	6-10 years	14 (21.5%)		
•	11-15 years	14 (21.5%)		
•	>15 years	23 (35.5%)		
Transfer time		67 responses		
Mean transfer time (from decision to arrival at obstetric/neonatal facility)		88 min		
•	≤60 min	25 (37%)		
•	61-90 min	12 (18%)		
•	>90 min	30 (45%)		
Reaso	ns for being a rural midwife	77 responses		
٠	Live rurally	43 (56%)		
•	Enjoy working with rural women	30 (39%)		
•	Ensure women have access to midwifery care	29 (38%)		
•	Enjoy rural lifestyle	35 (46%)		
•	Grew up in rural area	21 (27%)		
•	Connection with the rural community	28 (36%)		

Qualitative data generated from the survey and online forum groups were thematically analysed using the Braun and Clarke (2006) approach. The final themes and sub themes were both individually determined then collectively discussed through three face-to-face meetings until consensus was reached (see table 3).

Table 3: Themes and Subthemes (adapted from the 3 published related articles)				
Over all	Principle themes	Sub themes		
themes				
Joys and	Social capital	<ul> <li>Working relationships</li> </ul>		
challenges		Respectful communication		
		Partnerships		
		Gift of time facilitates relationships		
		Interface tensions		
	Practice realities	Autonomy of rural midwifery		
		Appreciation of rural women and the community		
		<ul> <li>Beauty and a personal connection to the</li> </ul>		
		countryside/ land		
		<ul> <li>Impact of travel distances, topography and</li> </ul>		
		connectivity		
		Commitment to equity for rural women		
Courage	Unique skill set	Preparedness		
and		Practical skills		
fortitude		<ul> <li>Developing meaningful relationships</li> </ul>		
		Resourcefulness in the context of rural midwifery		
		practice.		
	Safeguarding	Sustaining self		
		<ul> <li>Safeguarding women and families</li> </ul>		
Future	Preparation for rural	Confidence in normal physiological birth		
proofing	practice	<ul> <li>Prepared, anticipate and respond</li> </ul>		
rural		Rural specific education		
practice		Learning from stories from rural midwives		
		Rural placement alongside a midwife		
	Living the experience	Relative isolation		
	and seeing the reality	The enormity of the responsibility		
		Rural women are different		
		Being adaptable and making do		

This article reports solely on the Scottish study data and advances our analysis to present a broader range of Scottish midwives' responses than initially included in our previous published thematic analysis. This invites more detail of the professional and personal experiences of participating Scottish rural midwives. In presenting these findings we do not wish to further problematise Scottish rural midwifery but focus understanding on the current lived practice realities. Likewise, we avoid romanticizing rural midwifery across Scotland and seek a balanced picture firmly grounded in their own words.

#### Results

Study data suggests that despite often feeling challenged by the complexities of rural practice the Scottish midwives reported feeling 'as linked to the women as to the good outcomes' (MW7). Relationships with women and other clinical colleagues that were embedded in social capital model were therefore important to the midwives. Connection with the rural community meant that 'you carry part of the community with you...there is no off switch' (MW7). The same midwife also reported having responsibility 'not for a shift or a ward but a community'. In rural areas, midwives often saw women who they had supported at birth and introduced to the members of the community as 'the midwife who delivered you'. The same midwives also remained visible and supportive to the women they had supported during miscarriage or child protection cases. Positive multi-professional working with social services, health visitors and addiction workers was a key theme in the data. However, having 'no off switch' came with its drawbacks as MW 3 suggests,

The stress of being on call after a 10-12 hour shift and having to get up in the middle of the night and take responsibility for a difficult high risk situation...a stressful transfer of several hours...a 2-3 hour journey before we reach hospital... Rural midwives found it difficult to leave women they had transferred (as was policy at the etime of data collection) when it seemed the women '*needed us the most*' (MW1) and that this separation caused increased isolation for the woman and her family. The main issue with staying with the woman was due to transport home again especially if transfer had been via helicopter. If rural midwives were able to stay in the hospital, they were only able to observe clinical care. As MW3 states,

they [hospital staff] do not understand the extra pressures of rural practice...they look down on us as less experienced and less knowledgeable in all areas.

From a professional perspective links with urban clinical colleagues were mainly positive and helpful especially with paediatricians and obstetric registrars. However, a recurring theme in the Scottish data was that links could also be tense and disrespectful with midwife colleagues, such as, *'frequently questioning our judgment and decision making'* (MW3) and *constant undermining from other midwives* (MW3). It was inferred this could lead to relationships with women and their families becoming less trustworthy and respectful.

Another midwife suggested there is 'no voice for rural practice' and that it is not 'seen or valued...with no insight...other than an inconvenience' (MW7). Midwives' words suggest there was no appreciation from urban colleagues of rural midwives who found 'themselves on the front line of situations normally dealt with by senior colleagues in the bigger centres' (MW1). Clinical decision-making processes are different for midwives working in rural areas, a finding reflected in both the New Zealand and Scottish data, as they are often made in isolation where there is no medical backup. As MW3 states,

Every aspect of care must be considered as to whether it is care that can be safely provided by a midwife and if not, we have to refer to a hospital in one of two areas both a two-hour drive away.

Also, clinical decisions must be made earlier in a remote setting. This is necessary to inform and include women in the decision-making process and to arrange transport where there could be long waiting times for an ambulance which takes longer than *'pressing a bell for help'*. This is particularly the case during intrapartum care where the midwife is often on her own making clinical decisions. Again, MW3 states,

In an urban setting if an emergency occurs the room would be full of people, other midwives, doctors, paediatricians, whoever was required whereas we have to deal with the situation without any support from other health professionals and a doctor who is a long way away.

Some midwives referred to future models of midwifery and how these need to consider the specialist role of a midwife working in remote and rural areas and that appropriate renumeration to reflect these clinical skills are considered. This is crucial if sustainable rural services are to continue. MW7 describes the reality of needing to 'manage the unplanned and the planned' which highlights the vulnerability and demands of rural Scottish midwifery. She continues by expressing her concern that this can only be achieved ... 'by ensuring we have a trained and dedicated workforce'.

### Discussion

The demanding issues highlighted by Scottish rural midwives in this study need addressing. Strengthening relationships between urban and clinical colleagues in this study remains a priority for rural midwives so that they can further build on existing collegiality and appreciation (Crowther et al., 2018a). This must extend to the interface between primary and rural services (Crowther et al., 2018a). Rural midwives often feel the buck stops with them (Harris et al., 2011) and any breakdown in communication only increases their sense of isolation and feeling misunderstood and unappreciated. This gestures to the problem of misunderstanding about rural midwifery, a misunderstanding that could result in rural communities getting inconsistent fragmentary care which in turn may lead to poor decisionmaking (Crowther and Smythe, 2016a). It is essential that any transfer of care between services is seamless and appreciates the contextual realities of the rural practitioner and their clients.

Current policy and evidence is driving Scottish services towards continuity of care and carer from a primary midwife, with a push towards improving choice for women and keeping services as near to communities as possible (Grant, 2017). It is imperative that this is not established without the input of rural midwives. The Scottish maternity and neonatal plan (Grant, 2017), highlights the need for integrated services, with a focus on working together and a reduction of inequalities – all of which are admirable aspirations, yet vigilance is needed to ensure that any transformation in services is context sensitive. Regional variance in midwifery in the Scottish Best Start 5-year plan has been identified and different models of providing continuity (including rural) will be audited and evaluated (Grant, 2017).

The Best Start 5-year plan recommends the need for rural practitioners to access high quality education, training and support; a finding strongly reflected in our study and we would urge that this includes rural midwives' wellbeing. Untangling the concerns of the current maternity systems to improve the experiences of women is crucial (Edwards et al., 2018). The ongoing discord that can occur between rural and urban colleagues has been evidenced in Scottish rural midwifery (Harris et al., 2011). Although some change appears to be for the better, it is a decade since the Harris study. Now is the time to address this directly and eradicate possible unprofessional communications. Simultaneously, the resource and staffing needs of rural midwives must be addressed to ease any anxiety in a vulnerable workforce practising in a constant climate of change.

### Implications for practice and further research

Key findings highlight implications for supporting professional practice and education for rural midwifery communities:

- Practical and personal resources are required for the development of a specific skillset, essential for safe and sustainable rural practice. (Gilkison et al., 2018)
- Positive working relationships built upon mutual trust and established communication pathways are needed to underpin safe rural practice. (Crowther et al., 2018a, Crowther and Smythe, 2016b)
- Education needs to have specific 'rural midwifery' embedded in pre-registration programmes. Activities need to acknowledge the contextual reality of rural practice, the needs of inter-professional working relationships and fundamental differences between urban and rural practice. (Kensington et al., 2018)
- Social capital needs to lie at the heart of sustainable rural midwifery. (Crowther et al., 2018a)

Further evidence is needed to inform policy guidance to sustain rural midwifery practice. Areas for investigation should explore the lived realities of practice for rural midwives; determine optimal practice development and educational opportunities to promote inter/intra-professional relationships, especially at the interface between rural and urban services. Additional exploration of interventions to support skill development, recruitment and educational strategies for rural practice is also required.

We must support our rural colleagues who serve their communities despite the challenges. It is time to listen to rural midwives everywhere and stop any undervaluing discourse - instead working together we must ensure that our rural colleagues are well-resourced, understood

and appreciated.

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