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1 **From hospital to home: Australian midwives' experiences of**
2 **transitioning into publicly-funded homebirth programs.**

3 **Abstract**

4 *Background:* Over the past two decades, 14 publicly-funded homebirth models have been
5 established in Australian hospitals. Midwives working in these hospitals now have the
6 opportunity to provide homebirth care, despite many having never been exposed to
7 homebirth before. The transition to providing homebirth care can be daunting for midwives
8 who are accustomed to practising in the hospital environment.

9 *Aim:* To explore midwives' experiences of transitioning from providing hospital to homebirth
10 care in Australian public health systems.

11 *Methods:* A descriptive, exploratory study was undertaken. Data were collected through in-
12 depth interviews with 13 midwives and midwifery managers who had recent experience
13 transitioning into and working in publicly-funded homebirth programs. Thematic analysis
14 was conducted on interview transcripts.

15 *Findings:* Six themes were identified. These were: skilling up for homebirth; feeling
16 apprehensive; seeing birth in a new light; managing a shift in practice; homebirth - the same
17 but different; and the importance of mentoring and support.

18 *Discussion:* Midwives providing homebirth work differently to those working in hospital
19 settings. More experienced homebirth midwives may provide high quality care in a relaxed
20 environment (compared to a hospital setting). Midwives acceptance of homebirth is
21 influenced by their previous exposure to homebirth.

22 *Conclusion:* The transition from hospital to homebirth care required midwives to work to the
23 full scope of their practice. When well supported by colleagues and managers, midwives
24 transitioning into publicly-funded homebirth programs can have a positive experience that
25 allows for a greater understanding of and appreciation for normal birth.

26 **Summary of Relevance**

Problem or Issue	Australian midwives who are trained in the hospital system now have the opportunity to provide publicly-funded homebirth.
What is Already Known	Midwives' experiences of transitioning into new models of care are influenced by attitudes within the maternity system as a whole, as well as locally within their workplace. Adequate training and support is required for midwives to successfully transition into new models of care.
What this Paper Adds	Providing publicly-funded homebirth offered midwives an opportunity to work to the full scope of their practice. With adequate support from midwifery managers and colleagues, providing publicly-funded homebirth was a positive experience that improved midwives' practice and fostered a new understanding of and appreciation for normal birth.

27

28 **Introduction**

29 Homebirth is an uncommon event in Australia with the vast majority of births (96.9%)
 30 occurring in traditional labour-ward settings.¹ In 2012, only 1177 births occurred at home,
 31 representing just 0.4% of all births in Australia.¹ Despite the low number of women
 32 accessing a homebirth, there is evidence of strong consumer demand for access to
 33 alternative places of birth such as the home.^{2,3} In 2008, the Australian government
 34 undertook a National Maternity Services Review (MSR) in order to address the 'issues, gaps
 35 and priorities which concern Australian women and their families'.^{4, p. 1} Analysis of public
 36 submissions to the MSR's community consultation process by Dahlen,⁵ revealed that over
 37 60% of the 900 public submissions were from women advocating and requesting homebirth.

38 In order to meet the demand for safe and affordable homebirth care, a number of publicly-
39 funded homebirth programs have been developed in association with Australian public
40 hospitals over the past 20 years. Currently there are 14 programs operating across New
41 South Wales, Victoria, South Australia, The Northern Territory and Western Australia with
42 further programs under development.⁶

43

44 Publicly-funded homebirth programs exist as an extension of the hospital's continuity of
45 midwifery care model, usually known as either a Midwifery Group Practice (MGP) or
46 Community Midwifery Program (CMP). In midwifery continuity of care models, the woman is
47 assigned one primary midwife who provides the majority of her care with the support of
48 other midwives from a small team who are available if the primary midwife is not. The
49 primary midwife cares for the woman throughout the entire antenatal period, is on call to
50 attend the woman's labour and birth, and then continues to provide care in the postnatal
51 period at home following hospital discharge.⁷ This model provides the most comprehensive
52 one-to-one midwifery care available within the hospital system.⁸

53

54 For the most part, each publicly-funded homebirth program in Australia has been developed
55 in isolation and, as a result, there are a number of differences in the way programs were
56 established and currently operate.⁹ Some publicly-funded homebirth programs have a
57 specific team of midwives dedicated to providing homebirth care, while others ensure that
58 the majority of their continuity of care midwives are able to provide homebirth. Midwives
59 working in publicly-funded homebirth programs are usually required by the hospital to
60 become accredited to provide homebirth via attaining a certain set of clinical skills that allow
61 them to work to the full scope of their practice in the community setting.⁹ Midwives working
62 in this model remain employees of the hospital and, as such, are covered by the hospital's
63 professional indemnity insurance. These midwives are bound by the same hospital policies

64 and protocols as when attending hospital births and, in the majority of cases, are able to
65 continue providing midwifery care for women who transfer into hospital from a homebirth.
66 This allows them to maintain continuity of care across the full spectrum of a woman's
67 experience.

68

69 Generally, only healthy women deemed at low obstetric risk are eligible for publicly-funded
70 homebirth and midwives working in the model are expected to follow the Australian College
71 of Midwives 'Guidelines for Consultation and Referral'.¹⁰ Eligibility criteria for women to
72 access publicly-funded homebirth programs tend to be strict, though not all services follow
73 the same policies and protocols.⁹ For example, some programs require that women have the
74 glucose tolerance test (GTT) screening for gestational diabetes mellitus (GDM). In such
75 programs, declining the GTT would mean the woman is no longer eligible for publicly-funded
76 homebirth, as would a positive result for GDM. In other programs, however, if a woman
77 declines the GTT, so long as the woman is considered to have an adequate understanding of
78 the possible health implications of her decision, she is free to choose publicly-funded
79 homebirth.

80

81 Public hospitals offering home as an option for a woman's birthplace is a somewhat radical
82 concept in Australia where the overwhelming majority of women give birth in a hospital
83 setting. In other high-income nations such as England, The Netherlands and New Zealand
84 where homebirth is more common, midwives tend to be exposed to homebirth during their
85 midwifery education.^{11,12} In Australia, however, during their midwifery degree, clinical
86 placement for midwifery students takes place almost exclusively in the hospital setting due
87 to difficulties with securing professional indemnity insurance for students. Exposure to
88 homebirth is not built into the University or practical curriculum and a student midwife who
89 is interested in homebirth would have to seek out practical experiences in this setting of her

90 own accord. As such, the vast majority of Australian midwives have never attended a
91 homebirth and their involvement in a publicly-funded homebirth program may be their first
92 exposure to this alternative place of birth.

93

94 A small number of individual evaluations have been carried out on several of the publicly-
95 funded homebirth programs.^{2,13-16} These studies primarily focused on women's experiences
96 of using the service and evaluated safety outcomes for women and babies who planned to
97 give birth at home within this model. While these evaluations offered some exploration of
98 midwives' experiences within individual programs, to date, no national evaluation has been
99 undertaken on midwives' experiences of working in this relatively new model of care.

100

101 The aim of this paper is to examine midwives' experiences of transitioning from providing
102 hospital-based midwifery to homebirth midwifery care. It forms part of a larger PhD study
103 conducted by the first author on midwives' experiences of providing publicly-funded
104 homebirth in Australia. It is hoped that the findings of this research will contribute to the
105 normalisation of homebirth in Australia, along with the continuation of publicly-funded
106 homebirth programs and the expansion of both new and existing models in order to meet
107 increasing consumer demand.

108

109 **Methods**

110 A qualitative study using a descriptive exploratory design was undertaken.¹⁷ Descriptive
111 analysis is recognised as being useful when investigating previously unexamined
112 experiences,^{17,18} therefore this design was appropriate for exploring this relatively new way
113 of working for Australian midwives.

114

115 The study was advertised through the National Publicly-Funded Homebirth Consortium
116 network via email. The Consortium was established in 2010 by Catling-Paull, Foureux and
117 Homer in order to improve communication between publicly-funded homebirth programs.⁹
118 Its principle aim is to facilitate the sharing of resources between services and has also
119 allowed for a description and comparison of different programs and the collation of data on
120 outcomes for mothers and babies.⁹

121

122 Participation in the study was open to all midwives registered to practice who had
123 experience providing publicly-funded homebirth in Australia within the past five years. This
124 time period was chosen so that participants had relatively recent experience of working in
125 the model and also allowed for midwives who had sufficient experience in the model to be
126 able to reflect on their experience of transition. In order to access midwives who may not
127 have been providing clinical care but still played a significant role in the establishment or
128 ongoing management of a publicly-funded homebirth service, the study was also open to
129 midwifery managers. Some midwifery managers also offer care to a small caseload of
130 women as part of their role.

131

132 Data were collected through in-depth, semi-structured telephone interviews that were
133 audio recorded and later transcribed. Interviews typically lasted between 45 and 60
134 minutes. Field notes were recorded during interviews in order to identify important ideas
135 and concepts as they emerged. These notes were expanded upon after the interview and
136 formed part of the analysis process. Telephone interviews were chosen as it was not
137 practical to travel to the diverse geographical locations where participants were situated.
138 Telephone interviews are often depicted as a less than ideal mode of data collection
139 because over the phone the researcher loses the ability to see visual cues resulting in a loss
140 of contextual and nonverbal data and a perceived compromise to the development of

141 rapport.^{19,20} Evidence is lacking, however, that phone interviews actually produce poorer
142 quality data.^{20,21}

143

144 The first author conducted all interviews for this study. Before the formal commencement of
145 the interview she introduced herself to participants and explained her personal experience
146 with homebirth (as a homebirth mother) and motivations for conducting the study. She had
147 never worked with, or had any contact with any of the participants before commencement
148 of the study. As a registered midwife, she was able to build rapport quickly and easily with
149 participants, who were also midwives, over the phone. When compared with face-to-face
150 interviews, telephone interviews offer some advantages including a greater level of
151 flexibility in scheduling, reduction in costs for the research project, and a faster method of
152 collecting data.²² Further to this, phone interviews allow participants a greater level of
153 anonymity which may encourage respondents to feel more relaxed and better able to
154 disclose sensitive information.²⁰ For these reasons, telephone interviews are increasingly
155 recognised as having the potential to provide a rich data source for qualitative analysis.¹⁹

156

157 Following transcription of the audio recordings, thematic analysis was conducted on the
158 interview transcripts. Thematic analysis is a qualitative analytic method that allows for the
159 identification, analysis and reporting of patterns and themes within data, thus facilitating
160 the organisation of data into basic and more global themes.²³ The first author coded the
161 data and established the initial themes. These were then shared for discussion and debate
162 between other authors. Themes and their accompanying data were then organised in a
163 computer spreadsheet. This process allowed for a thorough assessment of the strength of
164 each theme; the more data clustered into a theme the stronger the theme until saturation
165 occurred. Once initial themes were identified within the data, linkages and relationships

166 between themes were identified, ultimately achieving the level of abstraction and
167 interpretation presented in the findings.²⁴

168

169 In order to maintain the confidentiality of participants, transcripts were de-identified so that
170 midwives' names and that of their workplace were protected. Midwives' names have been
171 replaced with the term 'Midwife' or 'Manager' and the numbers 1 to 13 chronologically
172 from the first interview to the thirteenth.

173

174 Ethical clearance to carry out the study was sought and obtained from the University of
175 Technology Sydney's (UTS) Human Research Ethics Committee, approval number
176 2014000316.

177

178 **Findings**

179 Thirteen participants undertook telephone interviews, nine midwives and four midwifery
180 managers. Participants in the study came from each of the five different states and
181 territories of Australia that currently provide publicly-funded homebirth (New South Wales,
182 Victoria, South Australia, The Northern Territory and Western Australia). All of the midwives
183 interviewed had, within the past five years, worked in or managed a public MGP or CMP
184 continuity of care model that offered homebirth as an option for women of low obstetric
185 risk. Four of the participants had current or previous experience as a private practice
186 midwife as well as providing publicly-funded homebirth, while the other nine had only
187 provided homebirth as part of a publicly-funded homebirth program.

188

189 Six themes were identified in relation to midwives transition from hospital to homebirth
190 care. These were; skilling up for homebirth; feeling apprehensive; seeing birth in a new light;
191 managing a shift in practice; homebirth - the same but different; and the importance of

192 mentoring and support. Each of the themes will now be explained with comments from the
193 midwives and managers interviewed used to illustrate the concepts.

194

195 **Skilling up for homebirth**

196 Midwives described the process of 'skilling up', which referred to developing competence in
197 the range of midwifery skills necessary for attending women at home. Commonly these skills
198 were intravenous cannulation, perineal suturing and maternal and neonatal resuscitation.
199 Once competent in these skills, midwives were proud of their ability to work as autonomous
200 practitioners and provide a complete service for the women in their care, for example:

201 *'Being able to facilitate an entire experience from 20 weeks all the way*
202 *through to 6 weeks postpartum with everything in the middle. I find that*
203 *really satisfying actually'. Midwife 2*

204 Designation as the primary midwife for a homebirth required each midwife to have
205 witnessed several births (commonly between two and five) and then act in the role of
206 second midwife for several more. Once this process was complete and the necessary
207 midwifery skills attained, they were able to attend a homebirth as the primary midwife. All
208 services required a second midwife to be present for every homebirth. This supervision
209 model was seen as an excellent way to introduce new midwives to homebirth in a
210 supportive environment. For example, one manager said:

211 *'We've got all these new midwives coming in and it's amazing. One whose*
212 *only been in with us for... six weeks, she's been at two [homebirths], but*
213 *because she hasn't been at homebirths before, she'll then have an accredited*
214 *midwife on who knows what's going on. Then she would ring when transition*
215 *is starting or when she feels she needs someone or if there's a problem.'*

216 Manager 2

217 The supervision model was available for both new and experienced midwives. Even after
218 being deemed competent, midwives were encouraged to engage the support of their
219 colleagues whenever they felt unsure. As illustrated here:

220 *‘...just because you're deemed competent doesn't mean that you can't say*
221 *“oh it's been a year since I've done one, I'm feeling a bit wobbly I might need*
222 *an extra person”. You know, that's fine!’* Manager 1

223 Midwives also reported participating in emergency drills in order to maintain the skills they
224 had acquired. These were usually conducted in collaboration with obstetricians,
225 anesthetists, ambulance workers and other allied health staff. This midwife explained her
226 team's ongoing training, stating:

227 *‘We do two [homebirth drills] a year and we go to one of our houses and we*
228 *have a day. So the morning is based on the drill and then a lot of teamwork*
229 *and team building and things like that because you want to feel comfortable*
230 *with the person that's with you [in an emergency].’* Midwife 5

231 Midwives saw maintaining their skills and building good relationships with allied health
232 professionals as essential to providing safe homebirth care.

233 **Feeling apprehensive**

234 Midwives providing publicly-funded homebirth in Australia come from a variety of different
235 backgrounds. In this study, four reported a previous involvement in homebirth either
236 working as a private practice midwife (PPM), attending homebirths with a PPM colleague
237 out of personal interest, or through their midwifery training in another country (namely
238 England and New Zealand). The vast majority (nine out of 13), however, had no previous
239 exposure to homebirth and expressed that initially they were apprehensive about being the
240 midwife responsible for a woman's care at home.

241

242 Midwives commonly retold the story of the first homebirth they attended with many
243 describing the acute anxiety they felt around practising in an environment so different to
244 their usual place of practice, the hospital. This midwife described the shock of seeing a
245 physiological third stage for the first time in the home setting:

246 *'The first home birth I went to she had a baby in the water and I'd come from*
247 *a tertiary centre in Sydney and you clamped and cut that cord and had the*
248 *Synto [Syntocinon] within a minute, probably within seconds and she was*
249 *having a physiological [third stage]... I'd never seen one of those before. And*
250 *the baby was born in the water and it took a good 30 seconds to pink up and*
251 *take its own breath and in my head I was like, "[Swears]...they've got to*
252 *clamp that cord and get it to the oxygen." And it just started breathing on its*
253 *own and it sounds so ridiculous now...'* Midwife 3

254 Some midwives even described feeling physically ill at their first homebirth, as reflected in
255 this midwife's experience:

256 *'Actually, I've spoken to a couple of my colleagues and they've all had very*
257 *similar experiences when they're first exposed to a planned birth at home...*
258 *They all go home and are thoroughly ill afterwards... I think there's a lot of*
259 *adrenalin when you're in that first experience.'* Midwife 2

260 One midwifery manager described how midwives in her team who were reluctant to attend
261 homebirths eventually came around:

262 *'A lot of people are a bit funny about it... And then gradually, people just ...*
263 *They get a woman who decides half way through her pregnancy she wants a*
264 *homebirth and so then they might think, "Well..." Or they get called: "Can*
265 *you go out to this woman?"... And over time, it's just been an evolution*
266 *because you see now it's sort of normal. It's nothing wacko or different.'*

267 Manager 2

268 Despite the initial apprehension felt by some, since their involvement in publicly-funded
269 homebirth all midwives interviewed had become strong advocates of the model and felt
270 that working in the program had been an important step in their midwifery career.

271 **Seeing birth in a new light**

272 Several midwives described the first time they attended a homebirth as being a revelatory
273 experience. They recounted feeling as if they were seeing birth 'in a new light', despite
274 having many years of midwifery experience. This midwife explained her change in outlook:

275 *'I had facilitated almost a thousand births when I started working in MGP,*
276 *but I had never seen a woman birth so calmly and physiologically as I did*
277 *when I saw that woman birth at home... It was a completely new experience*
278 *for me.'* Midwife 2

279 For some midwives, facilitating homebirths dramatically changed their perspective of
280 hospital birth, as this midwife described:

281 *'I actually think in a negative way it kind of changed how I felt about hospital*
282 *birth because I remember the first homebirth I went to, I was euphoric and*
283 *then I was hit with this horrible kind of resentment... I was so upset and*
284 *frustrated for the amount of women that miss out on experiences like that.'*
285 Midwife 1

286 Midwives acknowledged that not all pregnant women were interested in or suitable for
287 homebirth. However, many expressed that they felt the publicly-funded homebirth model
288 should be available to all women in Australia and that home needed to be viewed as a
289 legitimate alternative to hospital for low-risk women.

290 **A shift in practice**

291 The woman's home was a different work environment for midwives and this was
292 acknowledged to have an influence on their practice. Whilst midwives emphasised that the

293 same hospital policies applied to women at home, many of them noted subtle changes in
294 the way they interacted with and cared for women. This midwife described the way the
295 home environment influenced her:

296 *'...one of the big things about birthing at home is I think you're not on high*
297 *alert because you're less distracted with the goings on of the hospital. You're*
298 *not hearing emergency bells out in the corridor. I think you are more in-tune*
299 *with what the woman's body is doing and I think you're able then to*
300 *facilitate change when change is indicated... I think that's almost why home*
301 *birth can be safer than hospital birth for low-risk women.'* Midwife 2

302 Several midwives noted the difference in power dynamics when attending a woman at
303 home. This was perceived to alter the way the midwife interacted with the woman and her
304 partner, as this midwife identified:

305 *'... you're a visitor in the home. Where in the hospital it doesn't matter what*
306 *you do to change that perception, you're in control to a greater degree. So*
307 *the control part of it is huge for me because... you're there as an invited*
308 *guest in somebody else's labour when you're in the home environment.'*

309 Midwife 3

310 The concept of being on the woman's territory was viewed in a positive light. Midwives
311 observed that when women were on their territory they were able to relax into labour. This
312 also alleviated the perceived need for the midwife to protect the woman's birth space as
313 revealed by this midwife:

314 *'... I think part of my job as a midwife is protecting the birthing space and I*
315 *feel that at home it's a lot easier to do that because we don't have doctors*
316 *coming while doing rounds, and pharmacists, and anaesthetists, and the*
317 *other midwives. I think just keeping... the people down to a minimum I think*
318 *makes a big difference.'* Midwife 2

319 Along with changes to their practice in the home environment, some midwives described
320 how attending homebirths had prompted them to change the way they practice during
321 hospital births. One midwife said:

322 *'I feel like I'm able to facilitate normal in the hospital better now that I see*
323 *what normal at home is like and I think I'm better at making the hospital*
324 *environment more home-like for women.'* Midwife 2

325 Overall, midwives felt their experience of providing publicly-funded homebirth had
326 improved their midwifery skills and their understanding of and appreciation for normal
327 birth.

328 **Homebirth - the same but different**

329 Midwives identified practising in the home environment as being 'the same, but different' to
330 hospital. As they became more familiar with homebirth, an awareness of similarities
331 between hospital and home brought comfort to the midwives as they realised that the
332 midwifery skills they had developed in their hospital practice were still effective in a
333 woman's home. This midwife describes her realisation:

334 *'As much as I always believed in homebirth, it is a little bit scary when you go*
335 *to your first one until you realise how normal it is. But you are... You're still a*
336 *midwife as well, you've got all the skills, it's just a different setting...'*

337 Midwife 1

338 Midwives felt reassured that the same policies and protocols they followed in the hospital
339 setting remained in place when caring for women at home. This manager describes the way
340 her team operate:

341 *'They don't do anything differently; they follow the same guidelines. When*
342 *we wrote our guidelines we tried to align them with what everyone else is*
343 *doing. They don't do anything more... special or different. They just do it in a*
344 *different space.'* Manager 1

345 Overall, midwives felt protected by having the same set of rules to follow and they also
346 believed this made the model safe for women and babies. However, some expressed
347 frustration regarding policies they perceived to be 'too strict', as described here:

348 *'It can be really frustrating working under really ... Um... They're not limiting*
349 *policies but they can be a little strict sometimes.'* Midwife 2

350 The primary point of difference identified by midwives between hospital and home was the
351 relaxed atmosphere of the home environment. One manager stated:

352 *'...you can see a difference in the women and their family because they're*
353 *very much in control because it's their environment. So it's nice to see that...*
354 *The whole atmosphere is a lot more relaxed.'* Manager 3

355 This was perceived to greatly improve women's experience of labour and thought to
356 facilitate normal birth. For midwives, being in the home environment also tended to help
357 them feel more relaxed. The same manager reflected:

358 *'As a midwife, it's just a totally different experience... much more relaxed.*
359 *Even though people say, "Oh, God, I don't know how you take on that*
360 *responsibility," Well it's just a woman who is birthing who supposedly has no*
361 *complexities, so what's the issue, really? It's very much more relaxed than in*
362 *the clinical setting.'* Manager 3

363 As midwives gained more experience with providing publicly-funded homebirth, their
364 confidence grew. Reassured by working within the guidelines and policies they were familiar
365 with, they became aware of the benefits of the home environment both for the woman and
366 her family, and for the midwife herself. This enabled midwives to enjoy providing homebirth
367 as they began to relax into their new role.

368 **The importance of mentoring and support**

369 Midwives described the positive effects of the mentoring and support that was offered to
370 them when working in publicly-funded homebirth programs. At a homebirth there were

371 always two, or sometimes three, midwives present for the labour and birth. Many enjoyed
372 the support offered by colleagues present at the birth, as this midwife detailed:

373 *'I'd feel different if I was on my own. I enjoy having two [midwives] because*
374 *you've just got a second pair of hands and a second perspective; which often*
375 *isn't needed, but when it is you're very thankful that it's there.'* Midwife 3

376 Midwives also described the benefits of working alongside one another. It was noted that
377 once qualified, midwives rarely work directly alongside each other in the hospital
378 environment, which limits opportunities for observing and learning from one another.
379 Working closely with colleagues at a homebirth allowed midwives to learn from one another
380 in a supportive environment. For example, this midwife reflected:

381 *'You often don't realise how or why you do things the way you do until*
382 *someone picks you up on it, and then there's definitely that security within*
383 *the practice to be like: "Oh hey, you do this. How come you do that? It might*
384 *not be the best way to do it, why don't you try this?" ... That constructive*
385 *criticism, but in a really friendly, loving way that is just meant to help you*
386 *improve.'* Midwife 1

387 The majority of midwives reported positive experiences of transferring women from home
388 who required hospital care and this was seen as a major advantage of the publicly-funded
389 homebirth model. This manager described how midwives working in the publicly-funded
390 homebirth program interacted with core staff during a transfer:

391 *'When they have to bring a woman in whose transferring, they come in and*
392 *they're still part of one big team. It doesn't really matter. They just work a*
393 *slightly different rostered system and they're giving birth in a slightly*
394 *different environment, but they're still their teammate.'* Manager 1

395 However, not all midwives felt well supported. Some described being heavily scrutinised by
396 the media, hospital management and other health professionals who weren't supportive of
397 homebirth, for example:

398 *'Every opportunity in the media [homebirth] is demonised. It's actually quite*
399 *a difficult model to work in. There's still a great deal of resistance between*
400 *hospital and home birth. This was a major problem when I was doing it. If*
401 *you felt the need to transfer a woman in, you never quite knew what you*
402 *were going to get, you never knew what reception you were going to get.'*

403 Midwife 9

404 Considering that each of the 14 publicly-funded homebirth programs around Australia have
405 been developed in isolation from one another, it is unsurprising that there are differences in
406 midwives' experiences of working within the model. As there is no standard mode of
407 operation, individual programs seem to vary significantly in terms of the level of support
408 they offer midwives. Acceptance of the homebirth program appears to depend upon the
409 beliefs and actions of individual health professionals and the culture within their respective
410 hospitals.

411

412 **Discussion**

413 Six major themes were identified to explain midwives' experiences of transitioning from
414 providing hospital birth to homebirth care in publicly-funded models. Midwives described in
415 detail the practical skills required to provide care for a woman at home and the process of
416 witnessing and assisting at homebirths before taking on the role of primary midwife. It was
417 clear that midwives took the responsibility of caring for women at home very seriously and
418 acknowledged that, for some midwives, this felt daunting at first.

419

420 Our findings reveal that the primary reason midwives were apprehensive about attending
421 homebirths was due to a lack of exposure to homebirth leading to uncertainty about their
422 ability to provide suitable care. Midwives were conscientious about ensuring they had the
423 appropriate skills to keep women and their babies safe, however their stories of successfully
424 transitioning into the model demonstrate that it is not necessary for midwives to have prior
425 homebirth experience in order to provide suitable care in a publicly-funded program.
426 Indeed, all of the clinical skills required by midwives to attend homebirths fall under the
427 normal scope of practice for a registered midwife. Effectively, this means that all registered
428 midwives could work in the model if they desired. However, for a few of the programs,
429 finding midwives who want to work in the model has proven challenging.

430

431 Publicly-funded homebirth programs have had mixed success in attracting midwives to work
432 in this new model of care. Whilst many of the programs have easily maintained adequate
433 staffing levels, others have faced challenges in recruiting midwives to work in the model,
434 and in some cases chronic understaffing has even led to the suspension and possible closure
435 of the program. Yet our research illuminates that simply exposing midwives to homebirth
436 with the support of midwifery colleagues not only increases their desire to provide
437 homebirth care, it also increases their understanding of and appreciation for normal birth.

438

439 In the United Kingdom (UK), midwives' confidence to provide out-of-hospital birth services
440 was examined by McCourt et al.²⁵ as part of the Birthplace in England research programme.
441 Unlike in Australia, the UK's National Health Service's policy requires that every maternity
442 service is able to provide care for women who desire homebirth.²⁵ Although this model
443 appears to provide an excellent level of choice for women and serves to normalise
444 homebirth by making it freely accessible, McCourt et al's²⁵ qualitative study found that many
445 community midwives and managers lacked the confidence to provide homebirth care for

446 women due to a lack of experience. Midwives reported feeling that they did not attend
447 homebirths often enough to maintain their skills and feel confident in their ability to provide
448 safe homebirth care.²⁵ This notion was reiterated by women who had used the homebirth
449 service, some of whom felt the midwives had actively discouraged them from choosing
450 homebirth and/or did not provide optimal care.²⁵ Although the findings of the study are not
451 directly applicable to the Australian setting, the experience of midwives in the UK provides
452 some insight into the strengths and relative success of the publicly-funded homebirth model
453 in Australia.

454

455 A significant challenge to the success of publicly-funded homebirth models in Australia are
456 negative attitudes towards homebirth from the general public and some members of the
457 medical community, leading to a lack of support from the government.^{5,26-28} Despite
458 international evidence supporting planned homebirth as being safe for women with low-risk
459 pregnancies,²⁹⁻³⁴ the safety of homebirth still remains unresolved in the hearts and minds of
460 many maternity care practitioners. This is reflected in the differing stances of peak
461 professional groups representing midwifery and obstetric bodies³⁵ some of whom are for
462 homebirth, and others strongly against. This conflict also tends to play out on local levels,
463 leading to internal political struggles within individual maternity services.

464

465 Midwives and obstetricians personal experiences, thoughts and feelings towards homebirth
466 are important because health care providers' attitudes have the potential to influence
467 women's decisions.³⁶⁻³⁸ As outlined earlier in McCourt's²⁵ study, women in the UK felt
468 discouraged from choosing homebirth by midwives who lacked the confidence to provide it.
469 In addition, an American study by Vedam, et al.,³⁶ examined whether nurse-midwives'
470 experiences with planned homebirth impacted on their attitudes and practice. The results
471 suggested that educational and clinical experiences with planned homebirth significantly

472 predicted favorable attitudes towards homebirth.³⁶ This is in-line with the findings from our
473 study wherein midwives' who had never been exposed to homebirth before were more
474 apprehensive towards providing homebirth. It was clear that these midwives not only felt
475 unsure of whether they possessed the appropriate midwifery skills to provide care at home,
476 they were also unsure about the concept of homebirth altogether. However, after their first
477 exposure to homebirth, they felt reassured that homebirth was not only safe, but that it
478 could potentially provide great benefits to women and babies, leading midwives to see birth
479 'in a new light'.

480

481 Decisions regarding birthplace are closely linked with issues of power and control for both
482 mothers and midwives.^{39,40} The home as a setting for birth can be interpreted as being both
483 geographically and ideologically distant from the hospital.^{41,42} Indeed, Cheyney refers to
484 women choosing homebirth in the United States as a 'systems challenging praxis',^{42, p. 254} a
485 political act of rejecting the dominant obstetric model of childbirth. In this sense, it is
486 understandable that there may be a level of discomfort felt by midwives who are employees
487 of the hospital when they begin supporting women to homebirth. This uneasiness is
488 reflected in our findings by the midwives' initial apprehension to attend homebirths and
489 their careful insistence that the same policies and guidelines they follow in hospital are
490 always followed at a homebirth. This is one of the ways in which publicly-funded homebirth
491 is constructed to be 'the same but different' to hospital birth.

492

493 It is important to consider the impact that being in the woman's home environment might
494 have on midwives. A growing body of evidence suggests that the environment a midwife is
495 practicing in has the potential to impact her caregiving behavior.⁴³⁻⁴⁵ For example, in New
496 Zealand, Miller and Skinner⁴⁶ compared birth outcomes for women who gave birth at home
497 and in the hospital setting within the care of the same midwives. Their research found that

498 despite receiving care by the same midwives working across both settings, women who gave
499 birth at home were more likely to give birth without intervention and more likely to receive
500 evidence-based care.⁴⁶ Miller and Skinner⁴⁶ strongly argue that care commonly offered in
501 hospital as 'routine', is not always evidence-based.⁴⁷ However, when working in the home
502 setting, midwives tended to support physiological birth by allowing events to unfold with
503 minimal interference.⁴⁶

504

505 Hammond, et al.⁴³ suggest that evidence of midwives' practising differently in different
506 settings might be explained by the impact of the environment on midwives' neurobiological
507 responses. They illuminate that the production and release of oxytocin in a midwife's body
508 allows her to be in a state of calm and connection when caring for women during labour and
509 birth.⁴³ This neurobiological response can be triggered by the midwife's experience and
510 perception of the physical environment.⁴³ In our study, midwives explicitly described feeling
511 more relaxed in the home environment without the constant interruptions, noise and sense
512 of urgency they felt in hospital. The theory by Hammond, et al.⁴³ regarding the impact of the
513 environment on care provider's behavior gives weight to the midwives' experience in our
514 study and this same theory was demonstrated in Miller's⁴⁶ research described above. It is
515 clear that if midwives feel more relaxed in the home environment, they are likely to be
516 giving better care.

517

518 Our study provides insight into midwives' experiences of transitioning into publicly-funded
519 homebirth programs, however it does have limitations. The sample size of 13 is small,
520 though given that this is a relatively new model of care only operating across 14 sites in
521 Australia, the total population of midwives who have worked in the model is not very large.
522 A further limitation is in the potential for selection bias; it's possible that midwives' who self-
523 selected to take part in the study were more likely to have strong feelings, be they positive

524 or negative, about publicly-funded homebirth which may mean we are missing the middle-
525 ground. Another limitation is that participants in the study weren't offered to opportunity to
526 provide feedback on whether they felt the findings accurately reflected their experiences.

527

528 Our study demonstrates that it is possible for midwives without prior experience of
529 homebirth to transition into providing homebirth care in the publicly-funded model.
530 Mentoring and support from other midwives and managers was a crucial factor in the
531 midwives' sense of confidence and willingness to work in the model. Without support from
532 managers and midwifery colleagues, midwives struggled to stay working in the model. Those
533 who were well supported went from 'feeling apprehensive' to 'seeing birth in a new light'.
534 As a result, some midwives reported a change to their midwifery practice in hospital as they
535 strived to emulate positive aspects of the home environment.

536

537 **Conclusion**

538 Publicly-funded homebirth is an innovative model of care that accommodates the wishes of
539 some women to access homebirth. For midwives, transitioning from providing hospital to
540 homebirth care requires them to work to the full scope of their practice and cooperate with
541 both midwifery and obstetric colleagues. This study has highlighted that, when supported
542 adequately by midwifery managers and colleagues, midwives transition into providing
543 homebirth care with ease and may discover unexpected benefits to working within this
544 model of care.

545

546 The experience of providing homebirth care transformed midwives' views of normal birth
547 and facilitated an unanticipated improvement in their midwifery practice. Further to this,
548 the experience tended to transform midwives into strong advocates for homebirth.

549 Exposure to homebirth during midwifery education would serve to normalise homebirth for
550 midwives who will, in turn, communicate this positive message to the women they care for.
551

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556

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