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# BMJ Open

## How do workplaces, working practices and colleagues affect UK doctors' career decisions?

Journal:	<i>BMJ Open</i>
Manuscript ID	bmjopen-2017-018462
Article Type:	Research
Date Submitted by the Author:	30-Jun-2017
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<b>Primary Subject Heading</b>:	Medical education and training
Secondary Subject Heading:	Qualitative research
Keywords:	MEDICAL EDUCATION & TRAINING, Medical specialty choice, Medical workforce

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**TITLE**

**How do workplaces, working practices and colleagues affect UK doctors' career decisions?**

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**Abstract (299/300)****Objectives**

This study draws on an in-depth investigation of factors which influenced the career decisions of junior doctors.

**Setting**

Junior doctors in the UK can choose to enter specialty training (ST) programmes within 2 years of becoming doctors. Their specialty choices contribute to shaping the balance of the future medical workforce. This paper examines the impact of a wide range of factors which shape junior doctors' career decisions including their experiences of medical work and perceptions about specialty training.

**Participants**

Doctors in the second year of a Foundation Training Programme in England were recruited. Purposive sampling was used to achieve a diverse sample from respondents to an online survey.

**Results**

Narrative interviewing techniques encouraged doctors to reflect on how experiences during medical school and in medical workplaces had influenced their preferences and perceptions of different specialties. They also spoke about personal aspirations and priorities in work and for their wider future.

Junior doctors' decisions were informed by knowledge about the requirements of ST programmes and direct observation of the pressures under which ST doctors worked. When they encountered negative attitudes towards a specialty they intended to choose, some became defensive while others kept silent. The importance of achieving and maintaining an acceptable work-life balance was a central objective which could over-ride other preferences.

Events linked with specific specialties influenced doctors' attitudes towards them. For example; findings confirmed that while early, positive experiences of GP work could increase its attractiveness, negative experiences in GP settings had the opposite effect.

**Conclusions**

Junior doctors' preferences and perceptions about medical work are influenced by multiple intrinsic and extrinsic factors and experiences. This paper highlights the importance of understanding how perceptions are formed and preferences are developed, as a basis for generating learning and working environments which nurture students and motivate their professional careers.

### Strengths and limitations of this study

- Use of narrative interviews facilitated an in-depth exploration of what drives specialty choice for junior doctors
- Interviews were conducted during the period when specialty recruitment was in progress
- Doctors were encouraged to include a wide range of factors based on personal preferences and experiences
- We cannot comment on how patterns of career choice may be affected by personality types, or whether participants remained fixed on their specialty choice
- Whilst purposive sampling aimed to achieve diversity amongst participants, it is possible that other doctors may have different perspectives.

### Introduction

In the UK, the NHS is responsible for delivery of comprehensive health services in community and hospitals settings. Continually evolving national and local organisational structures mean that managers and clinicians must continually adjust their working practices [1, 2]. Organisational changes influence how medical work is monitored, managed, and commissioned. They also shape the environments in which medical students and junior doctors acquire medical knowledge and skills and competencies which are essential in their future work [3]. Workplaces, working practices and colleagues influence how newly qualified doctors develop a sense of professional identity which acts as a platform for confident and professional practice, and informs how they respond to positions of responsibility in challenging and unfamiliar situations [4-6]. Further, factors such as gender, location and preferences related to the sort of patients they wish to work with, influence junior doctors' career decisions as they progress towards specialist training [7, 8].

Studies of medical students' experiences in specific specialties indicate that positive experiences are associated with greater desire to enter that specialty [9]. However, students who do not enjoy working with specific patients groups (e.g. elderly patients) are not necessarily attracted to do so unless they become convinced of the positive aspects of that specialty [10]. Discrete choice experiment studies have indicated that whilst medical students primarily value good working conditions, junior doctors also value good opportunities for partners and a desirable geographical location [11, 12]. However, these studies are unable to elicit detailed information about which aspects of workplaces, working practices or the experiences gained through observing colleagues, exert most influence on doctors' specialty choice.

Employment of a workforce equipped with appropriate training and resources is an essential component of providing timely and high quality care for patients [13, 14]. Since the cumulative effects of junior doctors' individual decisions as to which specialty they wish to pursue have long-term implications for achieving a balanced future workforce, their choices are of heightened importance in the context of concerns about UK medical recruitment across a diverse range of specialties [15-18]. In recent years, an increasing proportion of doctors have chosen not to progress directly to specialty training (ST) programmes, with rising preferences to defer training, move abroad or leave medical work [19, 20].

Since the implementation of a new career structure, Modernising Medical Careers (MMC) in 2005-6 [21], doctors in the UK begin specialty training 2 years after graduation. While it is known

that many doctors move from one specialty to another, training programmes are relatively inflexible, and switching ST programmes can incur financial penalties, therefore it is important that young doctors choose wisely [22]. Studies have shown that medical students' lifestyles and social circumstances affect the relative importance of income and status. They are also affected by family attitudes and are more likely to choose specialties in which they have had clinical placements [23-25].

Whilst the proportions of doctors appointed in each ST programme is published annually by Health Education England, these data do not reveal whether doctors have been successful in achieving their preferred ST choice. Further, they provide no information about how or why doctors have made those decisions and nuanced evidence about the factors associated with individual specialties which attract or deter junior doctors is therefore limited.

This study looks in detail at the background factors which were most influential for Foundation Programme doctors (F2s) as they neared completion of an initial 2-year training programme (Foundation Programme) and considered what to do next. Because of an ongoing shortfall in the proportion of doctors entering GP specialty training (GPST), this study focussed primarily on attitudes to GP work as expressed by doctors choosing and not choosing GP careers. These factors included their experience of workplaces, working practices and colleagues and the importance of finding a balance between their medical work and other priorities.

### Methods

This study consisted of two data gathering components. In the first phase, we requested that staff at Foundation Schools in England relay a message to their F2 doctors which invited them to complete an online survey about their career intentions and preferred job characteristics. They were also asked to supply contact details if willing to be interviewed about what had influenced their career choices.

During the second phase of the study, interview participants were purposively selected from 225 F2 potential interviewees; a range of demographic and career intention responses were used to achieve a diverse sample of interviewees. An open, narrative-inducing approach encouraged doctors to reflect on their perceptions of medical careers and about what had affected their choices. Face to face interviews were audio-recorded and generally continued for around one hour and were professionally transcribed. Interviewing ended when no themes continued to emerge after completion of 20 interviews. Details on gender, specialty preference, and length of interviews for each participant are given in Table 1 where each participant's Study ID prefix indicates their reported preference for GP specialty training: GP1 = GPST 1<sup>st</sup> choice, GP2 = GPST 2<sup>nd</sup> choice, GP0 = GPST not chosen.

Table 1: Interview participants' gender, specialty preferences and interview duration

Participant Study ID	Gender	Specialty preference 1	Specialty preference 2 (where stated)	Interview duration
GP1P1	Male	GP	Obstetrics and Gynaecology	43 mins
GP0P2	Female	Deferring no stated preference		66 mins

GP2P3	Female	Obstetrics and Gynaecology	GP	79 mins
GP1P4	Male	GP	Broad Based Training	60 mins
GP2P5	Male	ACCS Emergency Medicine	GP	68 mins
GP1P6	Female	GP		70 mins
GP0P7	Female	Histopathology		66 mins
GP1P8	Female	GP		67 mins
GP2P9	Female	Psychiatry	GP	48 mins
GP0P10	Female	Core Medical Training		47 mins
GP0P11	Female	Psychiatry		49 mins
GP2P12	Female	Psychiatry	GP	75 mins
GP1P13	Male	GP	ACCS Emergency Medicine	64 mins
GP1P14	Female	GP		65 mins
GP2P15	Male	Core Medical Training	GP	83 mins
GP1P16	Female	GP	Not stated	47 mins
GP0P17	Male	Core Surgical Training	Not stated	78 mins
GP0P18	Female	ACCS Emergency Medicine	Not stated	57 mins
GP0P19	Female	Paediatrics and Child Health	Psychiatry	56 mins
GP1P20	Female	GP	Not stated	48 mins

Since the primary objective of this study was to explore the reasons behind doctors' choice of medical specialty training, data reflects topics and attitudes as expressed by participants during open interviews and, where necessary, in response to a general question about GP. The balance of data reflects this overall research orientation.

Themes were identified following coding using NVivo software and an inductive approach to semantic thematic analysis, following steps set out by Braun and Clark [26]. These themes were reviewed, defined, collapsed, split and omitted as necessary throughout the process of analysis. They illustrate the importance of both perceived and observed working practices during both medical school and foundation training, suggesting that working practices are an influential component of specialty career choice.

## Results

Findings are presented under broad headings linked with themes which were prominent across interviews: career structures and pathways (*what do the different careers look like?*); the realities of work routines (*what will my routine be, and can I cope with it?*); considering job status and future prospects (*is this job sustainable and stable?*), the impact of work on life (*how will my*

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4 *future look if I work in this field, and is that what I want?); and the adequacy of preparation for*  
5 *choosing a specialty (how can I know which specialty will suit me best?).*  
6

### 7 **Career structures and pathways**

8  
9 Since the introduction of the MMC programme, doctors in the UK typically enter 3-8-year training  
10 programmes in their chosen specialty following Foundation Programme training (or other  
11 approved training). By working alongside specialty trainees, medical students and Foundation  
12 doctors become familiar with the training requirements, working practices and opportunities  
13 associated with various specialty careers.  
14

15 These experiences are important in informing opinions about which specialties seem most  
16 attractive, but it is not possible to gain first-hand experience of all specialities; interviewees  
17 reported dissatisfaction that their career decisions were therefore based on limited information.  
18 Some reported that feeling welcomed and integrated during short 'taster' periods in various  
19 specialties could be inspirational experiences which influenced their career choices, but access  
20 problems hampered extended visits to other specialties such as general practice:  
21

22  
23 *'The taster I think helped me because it gave me an idea of what ... the kind of people*  
24 *would be like, see what the patients would be like. That, kind of, made me think – yes, I*  
25 *could probably do this... I really felt like they tried to, like, integrate me into the team'*  
26 *GP0P11*  
27

28 *'If you're really interested in the [hospital] specialty that you do as a medical student you*  
29 *can get more involved, so you can stay later or you can volunteer to do things...Whereas,*  
30 *in GP, I felt like you went for the day and you came back.'* GP2P3  
31

32 Doctors recognised contrasting attitudes to specific specialties; some ST programmes were  
33 viewed as highly structured, intense, competitive and demanding high motivation, whilst others  
34 were rated as unworthy or unexciting:  
35

36 *'I like structure, and I like to know where I'm going...I want to move up the ladder, I want*  
37 *to acquire skills. GP0P17*  
38

39 *'A lot of the best candidates go for very competitive specialties...because a lot of medics*  
40 *are competitive, by nature they're very driven people and they like to do the best thing; so*  
41 *when something is portrayed as a lesser thing then I think almost psychologically they're*  
42 *less inclined to go for it'* GP1P4  
43  
44

45 Recent changes to junior doctors' contracts have increased career uncertainty for this cohort  
46 leading to shifts in the attractiveness of individual ST programmes [20]. GP specialist trainees  
47 (GPSTs) currently have a shorter training programme than other specialities, and some said that  
48 this meant earlier opportunities to feel in control of their future:  
49

50 *'Three years' training is the minimum which they [GPSTs] could do to get a job which*  
51 *would then allow them that freedom to either move or to determine their own contract ...*  
52 *So I think if anything perhaps the contract has pushed people towards GP just because of*  
53 *the training period, giving them perhaps freedom a little bit earlier.'* GP2P12  
54

55 *'Because GP is just short training... if I did want to do something else at a later date, I've*  
56 *still got time'* GP1P20  
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4 However, while GP training was highly rated and doctors recognised it as more compatible with  
5 other priorities, many regarded GP as nothing better than a reserve option:  
6

7 *'I never heard anyone say, oh, it's great to be a GP, you're going to be a fully-fledged GP in*  
8 *three years if you stick at it...which is surprising... You can go and work wherever you*  
9 *want, instead of having to wait for the one gastro post that might turn up in five years in*  
10 *the place that you want it.'* GP1P16  
11

12 *'There was an image of a GP as being somebody who's, kind of, failed every other*  
13 *speciality, not able to get into a speciality, so they've given up, they've become a GP... and*  
14 *it subconsciously roots into your mind.'* GP1P13  
15

16 Thus, in summary, doctors reported that medical school and early work furnished them with  
17 partial information about possible careers and recognised that hierarchical attitudes, contractual  
18 issues, competitiveness and known structural elements influenced their views.  
19

### 20 **The observed realities of work**

21 Interviews revealed that perceptions based on observing or assisting with medical work as a  
22 student were often significantly different to the experience of being a doctor:  
23

24 *'I hated my job [psychiatry] but I loved it as a student...I just found it really depressing as a*  
25 *doctor whereas as a student I found all the stories really interesting.'* GPOP18  
26

27 *'I don't think you get the same experience as a medical student as you do as a junior*  
28 *doctor, no matter how much they try to, because you just don't have that same*  
29 *responsibility.'* GP2P12  
30  
31

32 Doctors tended to feel drawn towards supportive teams and teachers who engaged with or  
33 inspired them, or helped rebuild their damaged confidence:  
34

35 *'I met a few people there [psychiatry] who were really encouraging and also were really*  
36 *passionate about the work ... I'd say that was the one thing where there people involved*  
37 *that I thought this is what I want to do.'* GPOP11  
38

39 *'One of the consultants ... went through my portfolio with me ...he'd bring me along, he'd*  
40 *teach me, he'd let me get involved. He was absolutely a mentor.'* GPOP17  
41

42 *'In my GP placement, had an amazing supervisor that was just really supportive and gave*  
43 *me feedback how it should have been given, and just kind of coaxed me through and built*  
44 *up my confidence again'* GPOP2  
45

46 However, workplaces varied and sometimes a heavy workload meant there was less time for  
47 teaching; at times, junior doctors felt inadequately supported for difficult work:  
48

49 *'People were working 40, 50 hours a week, staying till eight, kind of thing, and other*  
50 *people were doing literally nine-to-five.'* GPOP2.  
51

52 *'In stroke, the consultants were there in the morning, for an hour, for ward rounds, and*  
53 *then disappeared...whereas in a lot of other specialities, they gave us their mobile*  
54 *numbers, or they said, don't hesitate to contact us...similarly, our SHOs...took a bit of a*  
55 *step back. And I just didn't feel as supported... It was very hard work, it was very intense.'*  
56 *GPOP17*  
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4 *'I don't think there was any support per se [in GP]. Like, if you asked a question they'd tell*  
5 *you the answer, but that's not support, is it?'* GP1P16  
6

7 Doctors reported feeling underprepared for tasks they were asked to perform or to cope with  
8 terminally-ill patients. However, it became clear through doctors' narratives that working in  
9 specialist teams which were supportive in nature could transform a new or worrying situation  
10 into a positive experience:  
11

12 *'On both paediatrics and ENT, the consultants were very, very involved. So, if a consultant*  
13 *turned up on the ward, and you were struggling, it didn't matter whose patient they were,*  
14 *it didn't matter whether they were on call, they would go, "x, are you okay? what can I*  
15 *do?". And that makes a huge difference.'* GPOP17  
16

17 Doctors reported positively on periods spent in general practice; of being able to manage their  
18 own consultations, feeling included in the practice team, and enjoying a wide range of conditions  
19 and types of patients:  
20

21 *'I felt part of the [GP] team. It gave me a chance to see patients on my own; there were*  
22 *always people there to ask questions about... I did definitely feel integrated in that it was*  
23 *a useful experience.'* GPOP11  
24

25 *'I quite liked the variety and there wasn't a specific specialty that I could see myself doing*  
26 *for the rest of my life, just that specialty... I quite like the, sort of, general side and looking*  
27 *after people as a whole and just, sort of, yeah, treating them as a whole person rather*  
28 *than just thinking about their heart or their lungs or... able to think about lots of different*  
29 *things'* GP1P20  
30  
31

32 However, much as they appreciated the positive challenges of GP work, some worried about  
33 finding *'a really nice practice'*, did not feel ready to leave the hospital roles in which their skills  
34 were kept sharp, felt uncomfortable in managing the intrinsic uncertainties of primary care or if  
35 regular working hours would be achievable:  
36

37 *'Even being in GP for those four months... dealing with, sort of, different, more chronic*  
38 *conditions and I really hated that I'd lost confidence, I'd forgotten things, I didn't feel as*  
39 *confident with poorly patients.'* GPOP10  
40

41 *'I worried a lot more [in GP], because if, say for example, on my ward jobs I thought, oh,*  
42 *I've forgotten to do something with on one of my patients, I can either ring up the hospital*  
43 *at 11 o'clock at night and it will get done or if I completely forget, it will probably get*  
44 *picked up by somebody else.'* GPOP10  
45  
46

47 *'With A&E you finish your shift and you go home, with GP you finish your surgery and then*  
48 *you do your clinic referrals and you do your letters and you do everything else and then*  
49 *eventually you get home and then you have other stuff to do and it just seems to take*  
50 *over your life.'* GPOP18  
51

52 Interviewees drew on a pool of first-hand and other experience in weighing up the pros and cons  
53 of specialty careers. The variability of these accounts suggested that real-life work experience was  
54 important in their decision-making and that prospective colleagues and patient groups were also  
55 important. However, individual doctors reported both positive and negative impressions of the  
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4 same specialty and expressed concern that it may be difficult to obtain a post which was exactly  
5 as they wanted.  
6

### 7 **Perceived status of specialty and future prospects**

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9 Doctors not only confirmed first-hand experience of denigration of GP work by hospital  
10 specialists, but reported how this had altered how they had been treated after expressing an  
11 interest in training for general practice. Examples illustrate the reactions of senior hospital  
12 doctors and how a junior doctor had kept quiet to avoid being badly thought of or excluded from  
13 'specialist' teaching:  
14

15 *'When I told her [oncologist] I was going to be a GP, she looked at me and she said, oh, are you*  
16 *pregnant?'* GP1P16  
17

18 *"Oh, why do you want to do [GP]?... it just seemed a boring pursuit for them...it put me off a bit. I*  
19 *mean because I didn't want to be thought of as the one who wasn't trying hard... or wasn't going*  
20 *to like put their hand up for something that maybe wouldn't be relevant to my future.'* GP1P14  
21

22 Experience of watching how GPs work had convinced some that such attitudes were misplaced.  
23 Instead, doctors spoke of respecting GPs for their *'really, really tough job'* (GP0P10). Another  
24 spoke of the added significance of supportive comments from a hospital consultant whose pro-GP  
25 career opinions were valued more because his wife was a GP:  
26

27 *'someone bothering to say that who was a hospital doctor meant more to me than a GP saying it*  
28 *because GPs... It just was like someone countering the wave of negativity in the hospital about*  
29 *being a GP, so I held onto that.'* GP1P14  
30  
31

32 In addition to negative attitudes towards a GP career, evidence emerged that psychiatry also  
33 suffers from low regard; for example, some doctors spoke of a medical parent having advised  
34 against it *'because it's not real medicine'*. GP0P18 and another prospective psychiatry trainee felt  
35 a great deal of pressure to *'a responsible decision to do GP'* GP2P9.  
36

37 While several spoke enthusiastically about pursuing competitive hospital specialties, the prospect  
38 of a different junior doctors' contract and sense of being under-valued as a dedicated  
39 professional workforce was a source of concern:  
40

41 *I'm just a bit worried that the NHS is such an unknown at the moment in the future and... that's*  
42 *my whole career... But I feel more and more that these people who work in the government are*  
43 *not really respecting us as a profession.'* GP1P8  
44

45 Doctors perceived that the new contract conditions would make work more exhausting and,  
46 although the shorter training period for general practice seemed attractive, they felt that general  
47 practice work had changed and was also uncertain:  
48

49 *'With the way the current contract changes and the way the current health service is, I don't think*  
50 *I'd want to work in an acute specialty anymore because I just think that's the way to a burnout.'*  
51 GP1P1  
52

53 *'In GP now you don't often see the same people... you only get like five or seven minutes. It's very*  
54 *difficult I think –to the bottom of what's going on in such a short space of time.'* GP0P11  
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4 These attitudinal factors and an undercurrent of uncertainty about specialty choice and future  
5 stability in their careers were prominent in doctors' narratives and were consistent with evidence  
6 that about half did not intend to proceed directly to any UK specialist training programme.  
7

### 8 **Achieving a balance between working and living**

9  
10 Most doctors placed huge importance on achieving a good work-life balance; time for family,  
11 friends, and exploring interests beyond their specialty or unrelated to medical work were  
12 prominent in the narratives of interviewees. When weighing up the relative attractiveness of  
13 different specialties, this could be the deciding factor:  
14

15 *'I would love to do gastroenterology, but ...I just know I wouldn't have a good work-life balance.*  
16 *Work-life balance is really important to me, I'd probably say more so than what I want to do in my*  
17 *career... if I'm not enjoying myself out of work, it's just not worth it for me'* GPOP10  
18

19 In addition to compelling personal reasons, doctors were put off by habitually heavy workloads,  
20 which contributed to anxiety about their ability to work safely:  
21

22 *'The sort of commitment you need for surgery ... it wasn't something that I'm interested enough in*  
23 *to want to do'* GP1P20  
24

25 *'Paediatric registrars are incredible, they work phenomenally hard, they have horrendous hours...*  
26 *I don't want to be doing that for the rest of my life, I can't safely practice doing that for the rest of*  
27 *my life.'* GPOP17  
28

29 Having seen registrars who were 'broken' and consultants present until 11pm, this doctor  
30 switched his career plan to a different specialty to avoid such extended commitment. Others  
31 echoed his concern that people choosing *'the more exciting specialties'* may feel rather different  
32 when they have matured or when their priorities changed:  
33

34 *'the speciality that you want to do when you're 25, the lifestyle that you're going to want when*  
35 *you're 25 is not the lifestyle that you're going to want when you're 45.'* GPOP18  
36

37 *'it needs to be something that I love so much that I'm willing to make the part of my life that is*  
38 *medicine, that chunk more significant, and it's going to eat into other areas of my life... but I see*  
39 *medicine as part of my life, as opposed to my entire life.'* GP1P13  
40  
41

42 Feeling they need to commit to a career path at this early stage felt premature for some doctors;  
43 they were still learning to cope with emotional stress, to spend time listening to patients, and  
44 appreciated working in settings where colleagues demonstrated similar preferences and rejected  
45 teams who acted differently:  
46

47 *'Consultants... junior doctors that I've worked with, the registrars and the SHOs, I've felt like*  
48 *they're quite similar to me... they all cared a lot about the patients, they saw them as people not*  
49 *just disease processes and listened'* GP1P6  
50

51 *'I'd like to be around a caring, friendly, supportive team, because that will...I feel like that will*  
52 *make me more caring, supportive and friendly, whereas, in a more direct blunt speciality,*  
53 *that's...I'll definitely become more like that and it's not someone I want to be'* GP2P3  
54

55 *'They weren't interested really, it wasn't their job and I don't really want to be like that, I'd rather*  
56 *listen to what the patient wants and adapt than just stick on my road.'* GP2P3  
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4 During these interviews, doctors spoke of their motivation for helping patients, but none referred  
5 to work as a vocation. They indicated that, whilst medicine was regarded as a significant part of  
6 junior doctors' lives in which they wish to succeed, it is also one which many may seek to contain  
7 or control through their career choices  
8  
9

#### 10 11 Section 5 Career decision changes based on personal experience 12

13 In addition to feeling that it was too early to make long-term career decisions, doctors identified  
14 deficiencies in their preparation for choosing between specialties because of limited exposure to  
15 specialties, and because the full impact of responsibility could not be experienced during medical  
16 school. Instead, medical school was remembered as a time of awareness of 'a hierarchy of  
17 intelligence of different specialties' (GP2P15). Intense competition was followed by dispersal into  
18 Foundation Programme posts with multiple tasks and unpleasant duties:  
19

20  
21 *'the realities of the job set in...everything's great when you're a student because you can just walk  
22 away an hour before the work's done ... when you're dealing with it as a doctor you have to see  
23 things through to the end of the day and all the negative experiences and all the arguments with  
24 patients and relatives and all the complaints.'* GP2P15  
25

26 They discovered that levels of clinical knowledge and communication skills which were adequate  
27 to pass exams fell short of what was needed, but with practice and support they could gain  
28 confidence:  
29

30  
31 *'You have to know about [in GP] ...management and also guidelines and standards ... We didn't  
32 really get any of that information, it was really based on the basis of history and examination,  
33 these are the kind of things that could be wrong and then later on this is how you can treat them.'*  
34 GP0P11  
35

36  
37 *'I learned some self-dependence, I learned to trust my own decisions and opinions...it made me  
38 focus on my history taking and examination skills, rather than just being so reliant on blood  
39 results, and chest x-rays, and scans.'* GP0P17  
40

41 In general practice, doctors could find opportunities to build confidence, use interpersonal skills,  
42 deal with variety and have access to a supportive team; this led to positive experiences and a  
43 confirmation for some of GP as their preferred specialty;

44  
45 *'I think potentially the biggest thing you can do is ensure that people have an experience of it in  
46 their foundation training really.'* GP2P5  
47

48 However, the challenging nature of GP work was also clear to interviewees. Through media  
49 reports and their own observations, they detected 'a wave of cynicism and sceptical attitudes'  
50 surrounding general practice which could not be ignored;

51  
52 *'If you're one of the senior GPs or whatever, you have an influence over the attitude of the people  
53 you work with and everyone has a responsibility to create a nice environment to work in. It  
54 sounds maybe a bit optimistic and a bit sort of wishy washy, but I hope that you can keep that  
55 going for 30 years or 40 years.'* It just feels like no-one...not many people are still standing there  
56 being like, I've been a GP for 40 years and I still love it. No-one's saying that. No-one's saying  
57 that' GP1P14  
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4 This doctor intended to train for general practice despite misgivings which could have been eased  
5 by greater positivity from experienced GPs, which underlines the importance of placing students  
6 and junior doctors in practices where GPs are ready to communicate the best aspects of their  
7 working lives.  
8

## 9 10 11 Discussion

12  
13 In this paper, we have described a number of factors that seem to influence the career decisions  
14 of junior doctors.

15  
16 Structured training programmes for all specialties differ in duration and in the characteristics  
17 associated with them. Competition for training posts and the perceived career prospects  
18 following successful completion of training were important considerations for many of the  
19 participants in this study. Perceptions of specialties and ST programmes generally depended on  
20 the personal values and motivations of the individuals and whether they preferred generalist or  
21 specialist work.  
22

23  
24 Having exposure to the specialties of choice was important. Doctors gathered some information  
25 through observing specialty trainees, but recognised the added value of working in specialties  
26 which were among their preferred choices. However, since this was not possible in all cases,  
27 some who were unable to include specific specialties in their Foundation Programme chose to  
28 defer a decision until they could make a more informed choice.  
29

30  
31 Attitudes of others, including peers and senior medical practitioners, friends and family can  
32 influence thoughts and feelings about professions, and tended to be discussed in a negative light  
33 for specialties such as GP and psychiatry, where negative attitudes of others could lead to  
34 hesitation and uncertainty.  
35

36  
37 Contractual change was believed to affect some specialties to a greater extent than others and  
38 led some to switch from their preferred to another specialty to mitigate the effects of that  
39 change. There was a general feeling that these changes would affect all UK career choices, and  
40 concern that work schedules were already threatening the ability of over-stretched doctors to  
41 work safely. Whilst this did not lead all participants to change their decision to apply to a specialty  
42 where they had observed this trend, they expressed fears for the future.  
43

44  
45 Work-life balance was an important theme, cited by most as a major criterion when planning  
46 their careers. Some participants reported a switch in their original aspirations to reflect their life  
47 plans outside of work. They placed limits on their willingness to allow their job to impinge on their  
48 life as a whole, and recognised that if they did not feel comfortable making the investment  
49 necessary for a given specialty, they should look elsewhere.

50  
51 Many narratives demonstrated that doctors' experiences with one specialist team could  
52 profoundly shape their opinion of that entire specialty. High levels of support, well-organised  
53 teaching, plentiful feedback, encouragement and positive reinforcement were generally  
54 categorised by participants as contributing to the attractiveness of a specialty. Where  
55 experiences were described in terms of a lack of support for doctors, or disinterest in patients,  
56 participants tended to distance themselves from that specialty.  
57

## 58 Strengths and Limitations

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4 Individual interviews with F2 doctors from a broad range of personal and educational  
5 backgrounds provided in-depth narrative accounts during which doctors reflected on when,  
6 where and how they had formed ideas about their future career plans. Conducting interviews at a  
7 stage when career decisions were at the forefront of their mind capitalised on this a topic under  
8 active discussion between peers and with senior colleagues.  
9

10 We did not make any assessments of the doctors' personality traits, aptitudes or other such  
11 characteristics and are therefore unable to comment on how these may have influenced their  
12 decisions. Further, we are not able to confirm whether they remained firm in decisions they had  
13 made or accepted an alternative ST programme. Returning to interview them after they have  
14 gained further experience of work would usefully add to our analysis of this decision-making  
15 process.  
16

#### 17 Links with other studies

18  
19 A decline in the attractiveness of general practice which has been confirmed during the 15-year  
20 period is not unique to the UK and there is broad agreement that doctors' career choices are  
21 influenced by both intrinsic (e.g. personal attitudes and preferences) and extrinsic (e.g. family and  
22 environmental) factors [8, 27-30]. Studies have confirmed that work-related priorities are  
23 associated with gender and noted that while income and promotion prospects have declined in  
24 importance, enthusiasm for their chosen specialty and hours which matched their domestic  
25 circumstances have become more important [31, 32]. Further, it has been proposed that  
26 matching doctors' preferences to their future work is likely to create a happier medical workforce  
27 [28]. Our findings are well aligned with international studies indicating the recruitment potential  
28 for GP ST programmes of drivers which are also recognised in other specialties, such as: early  
29 clinical experience of general practice work, positive role models and promotion of GP careers,  
30 [10, 25, 33]. However, although these actions are among recommendations of a recent Health  
31 Education England Report [34], there is limited high quality evidence demonstrating a durable  
32 impact of interventional recruitment strategies (e.g. financial incentives, support for doctor well-  
33 being, targeted recruitment, focussed undergraduate placements, marketing strategies etc).  
34 Furthermore, some strategies which produced enhanced attitudes to specific specialties did not  
35 translate into altered specialty choice [35-37] and there is evidence that choices can be  
36 intrinsically personal and idiosyncratic [38].  
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#### 42 Conclusions

43 Understanding the factors which influence junior doctors' career choices is vital in achieving a  
44 balanced and sustainable workforce and in the context of a GP recruitment crisis, this study adds  
45 to what is known about what influences affect junior doctors' attitudes to specialty choice and to  
46 GP work. A better understanding of these factors will support development of policies and  
47 structures to achieve a balanced and fit-for-purpose workforce. This research has highlighted the  
48 importance of working experiences, perceptions about how different specialities are viewed and  
49 the importance of work-life balance. These findings point to specific and achievable changes that  
50 could be instituted in both medical schools and Foundation programmes to support the long-term  
51 goal of a balanced, fit-for-purpose workforce. These include: a concerted campaign to ensure that  
52 specialists treat other specialities with respect and refrain from denigrating students' choices;  
53 ensuring that all Foundation doctors undertake a post in general practice as well as a range of  
54 hospital specialities; and further developing opportunities for students and Foundation doctors to  
55 undertake 'taster' sessions in a wide range of specialities.  
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#### Contributor ship statement

SS led this study, with all authors involved in study design and discussion of data from interviews carried out by EP and SS. All listed authors have directly contributed to writing and finalising the paper.

#### Competing interests

Dr. Spooner reports grants from NIHR SPCR, during the conduct of the study; and also works as an NHS General Practitioner.

Dr. Checkland reports grants from NIHR School for Primary Care Research, during the conduct of the study; and grants from Department of Health Policy research programme, outside the submitted work.

Dr. Pearson reports grants from NIHR School for Primary Care Research, during the conduct of the study; personal fees from additional part-time employment in teaching and research at the University of Manchester, outside the submitted work;

Dr. Gibson has nothing to disclose.

#### Funding

This research is funded by the NIHR through the School for Primary Care Research. Grant Reference Number: 260

#### Data sharing statement

Raw transcripts are held by the researchers who will consider requests for further information in line with guidance from funders and/or ethics committee

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## Consolidated criteria for reporting qualitative studies (COREQ): 32-item checklist

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

**YOU MUST PROVIDE A RESPONSE FOR ALL ITEMS. ENTER N/A IF NOT APPLICABLE**

No. Item	Guide questions/description	Detail	Page
<b>Domain 1: Research team and reflexivity</b>			
<i>Personal Characteristics</i>			
1. Inter viewer/facilitator	Which author/s conducted the interview or focus group?	EP/SS	3
2. Credentials	What were the researcher's credentials? E.g. PhD, MD	EP: PhD, BSc (Hons) SS: PhD, MBChB	N/A
3. Occupation	What was their occupation at the time of the study?	EP: Research Associate SS: Academic Clinical Lecturer and GP	N/A
4. Gender	Was the researcher male or female?	Female (both)	N/A
5. Experience and training	What experience or training did the researcher have?	EP: >8 years qualitative research experience SS: >20 years clinical/medical practice, 8 years in academic research	N/A
<i>Relationship with participants</i>			
6. Relationship established	Was a relationship established prior to study commencement?	No direct contact was made with study respondents prior to their participation. Invitations to participate were sent via email/portfolio messages from their Foundation School Participants who expressed an interest in participating were contacted by email they supplied to arrange interview dates/times/	3

		locations	
7. Participant knowledge of the interviewer	What did the participants know about the researcher? e.g. personal goals, reasons for doing the research	PIS outlined the purpose of the research in broad terms. No specific detail was offered about researchers' personal research or academic interests though university websites were available if such information was sought	N/A
8. Interviewer characteristics	What characteristics were reported about the interviewer/facilitator? e.g. Bias, assumptions, reasons and interests in the research topic	Reasons for research and interest in the research topic were include in background information (via PIS)	N/A
<b>Domain 2: study design</b>			
<i>Theoretical framework</i>			
9. Methodological orientation and Theory	What methodological orientation was stated to underpin the study? e.g. grounded theory, discourse analysis, ethnography, phenomenology, content analysis	Thematic analysis	3
<i>Participant selection</i>			
10. Sampling	How were participants selected? e.g. purposive, convenience, consecutive, snowball	Survey – non-selective, data not contributing to this paper.  Interviews - purposive selection (for maximum variation) and subject to interviewee availability	3
11. Method of approach	How were participants approached? e.g. face-to-face, telephone, mail, email	For survey respondents, email/eportfolio message sent by Foundation School administrators  Email to arrange data collection followed by face-to-face interviews for interviewees	3
12. Sample size	How many participants were in the study?	816 survey respondents – data not contributing to this paper  20 interviewees	3
13. Non-participation	How many people refused to participate or dropped out? Reasons?	Survey: We are unable to determine how many	N/A

		received or read the invitation email.  Interview: 76% of those contacted were not interviewed due to lack of ongoing interest or time. No interviewed participants requested to withdraw from the study or to have their data withdrawn.	
<i>Setting</i>			
14. Setting of data collection	Where was the data collected? e.g. home, clinic, workplace	Survey: participants completed online  Interview: mutually agreed venues included a wide variety of settings including workplace, home, University settings, and cafes	N/A
15. Presence of non-participants	Was anyone else present besides the participants and researchers?	Survey: unknown Interviews: no	N/A
16. Description of sample	What are the important characteristics of the sample? e.g. demographic data, date	All were junior doctors in the second year of their Foundation Programme at the time of completing the survey/interviews. The study was limited to doctors working under the supervision of Foundation Schools in England	3-4
<i>Data collection</i>			
17. Interview guide	Were questions, prompts, guides provided by the authors? Was it pilot tested?	Survey was constructed after review of literature, discussion with experts and early forms were pilot tested with junior doctors. Questions and prompts which guided the interviews drew on the above and additional knowledge of prevalent discourses about career choices and the potential impact of the contract dispute.	3
18. Repeat interviews	Were repeat interviews carried out? If yes, how many?	No	N/A
19. Audio/visual	Did the research use audio or visual	Audio recorded	3

1	recording	recording to collect the data?		
2	20. Field notes	Were field notes made during and/or after the inter view or focus group?	Yes	N/A
3	21. Duration	What was the duration of the inter views or focus group?	Ranged from 43 – 83 minutes (average 61.8 minutes)	3
4	22. Data saturation	Was data saturation discussed?	Yes	3
5	23. Transcripts returned	Were transcripts returned to participants for comment and/or correction?	No	N/A
6	<b>Domain 3: analysis and findings</b>			
7	<i>Data analysis</i>			
8	24. Number of data coders	How many data coders coded the data?	1, coding trees and emerging themes were discussed by EP and SS with other team members informed at intervals	N/A
9	25. Description of the coding tree	Did authors provide a description of the coding tree?	A detailed description of codes used for the entire data set can be made available, however since the vast majority of the coding is dedicated to a broader understanding of factors affecting career choices, only a small proportion of these are directly related to issues involving the contract dispute	N/A
10	26. Derivation of themes	Were themes identified in advance or derived from the data?	Both, some evident from literature or experience of the field, others in response to the data	N/A
11	27. Software	What software, if applicable, was used to manage the data?	NVivo	4
12	28. Participant checking	Did participants provide feedback on the findings?	No	N/A
13	<i>Reporting</i>			
14	29. Quotations presented	Were participant quotations presented to illustrate the themes/findings? Was each quotation identified? e.g. participant number	Yes, and interviewee IDs are shown	3-4
15	30. Data and findings consistent	Was there consistency between the data presented and the findings?	Yes	4-10
16	31. Clarity of major themes	Were major themes clearly presented in the findings?	Yes	4-10
17	32. Clarity of minor themes	Is there a description of diverse cases or discussion of minor themes?	Broad themes with specific examples	4-10

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Once you have completed this checklist, please save a copy and upload it as part of your submission. When requested to do so as part of the upload process, please select the file type: *Checklist*. You will NOT be able to proceed with submission unless the checklist has been uploaded. Please DO NOT include this checklist as part of the main manuscript document. It must be uploaded as a separate file.

For peer review only

# BMJ Open

## How do workplaces, working practices and colleagues affect UK doctors' career decisions? A qualitative study of junior doctors' career decision-making in the UK.

Journal:	<i>BMJ Open</i>
Manuscript ID	bmjopen-2017-018462.R1
Article Type:	Research
Date Submitted by the Author:	15-Aug-2017
Complete List of Authors:	Spooner, Sharon; University of Manchester, School of Health Sciences, Division of Population Health, Health Services Research and Primary Care Pearson, Emma; Edge Hill University, Department of Psychology Gibson, Jonathan; University of Manchester, Centre for Health Economics, Division of Population Health, Health Services Research and Primary Care Checkland, Kath; University of Manchester, School of Health Sciences, Division of Population Health, Health Services Research and Primary Care
<b>Primary Subject Heading</b>:	Medical education and training
Secondary Subject Heading:	Qualitative research
Keywords:	MEDICAL EDUCATION & TRAINING, Medical specialty choice, Medical workforce

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**TITLE**

**How do workplaces, working practices and colleagues affect UK doctors' career decisions? A qualitative study of junior doctors' career decision-making in the UK.**

**Authors: Dr Sharon Spooner, Dr Emma Pearson, Dr Jon Gibson, Prof Kath Checkland**

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**Word count in paper 4072; excluding title page, references, tables and direct quotes from qualitative data**



## Abstract (300/300)

### Objectives

This study draws on an in-depth investigation of factors which influenced the career decisions of junior doctors.

### Setting

Junior doctors in the UK can choose to enter specialty training (ST) programmes within 2 years of becoming doctors. Their specialty choices contribute to shaping the balance of the future medical workforce and views on general practice careers were of particular interest because of current recruitment difficulties. This paper examines how experiences of medical work and perceptions about specialty training shape junior doctors' career decisions.

### Participants

Twenty doctors in the second year of a Foundation Training Programme in England were recruited. Purposive sampling was used to achieve a diverse sample from respondents to an online survey.

### Results

Narrative interviewing techniques encouraged doctors to reflect on how experiences during medical school and in medical workplaces had influenced their preferences and perceptions of different specialties. They also spoke about personal aspirations, work priorities and for their wider future.

Junior doctors' decisions were informed by knowledge about the requirements of ST programmes and direct observation of the pressures under which ST doctors worked. When they encountered negative attitudes towards a specialty they had intended to choose, some became defensive while others kept silent. Achievement of an acceptable work-life balance was a central objective which could over-ride other preferences.

Events linked with specific specialties influenced doctors' attitudes towards them. For example; findings confirmed that whilst early, positive experiences of GP work could increase its attractiveness, negative experiences in GP settings had the opposite effect.

### Conclusions

Junior doctors' preferences and perceptions about medical work are influenced by multiple intrinsic and extrinsic factors and experiences. This paper highlights the importance of understanding how perceptions are formed and preferences are developed, as a basis for generating learning and working environments which nurture students and motivate their professional careers.

### Strengths and limitations of this study

- Use of narrative interviews facilitated an in-depth exploration of what drives specialty choice for junior doctors
- Interviews were conducted during the period when specialty recruitment was in progress

- Doctors were encouraged to include a wide range of factors based on personal preferences and experiences
- We cannot comment on how patterns of career choice may be affected by personality types, or whether participants remained fixed on their specialty choice
- Whilst purposive sampling aimed to achieve diversity amongst participants, it is possible that other doctors may have different perspectives.

## Introduction

In the UK, the NHS is responsible for delivery of comprehensive health services in community and hospitals settings. Continually evolving national and local organisational structures mean that managers and clinicians must continually adjust their working practices [1 2]. Organisational changes influence how medical work is monitored, managed, and commissioned. They also shape the environments in which medical students and junior doctors acquire medical knowledge and skills and competencies which are essential in their future work [3]. Workplaces, working practices and colleagues influence how newly qualified doctors develop a sense of professional identity which acts as a platform for confident and professional practice, and informs how they respond to positions of responsibility in challenging and unfamiliar situations [4-6]. Further, factors such as gender, location and preferences related to the sort of patients they wish to work with, influence junior doctors' career decisions as they progress towards specialist training [7 8].

Studies of medical students' experiences in specific specialties indicate that positive experiences are associated with greater desire to enter that specialty [9]. However, students who do not enjoy working with specific patients groups (e.g. elderly patients) are not necessarily attracted to do so unless they become convinced of the positive aspects of that specialty [10]. Discrete choice experiment studies have indicated that whilst medical students primarily value good working conditions, junior doctors also value good opportunities for partners and a desirable geographical location [11 12]. However, these studies are unable to elicit detailed information about which aspects of workplaces, working practices or the experiences gained through observing colleagues, exert most influence on doctors' specialty choice.

Employment of a workforce equipped with appropriate training and resources is an essential component of providing timely and high quality care for patients [13 14]. Since the cumulative effects of junior doctors' individual decisions as to which speciality they wish to pursue have long-term implications for achieving a balanced future workforce, their choices are of heightened importance in the context of concerns about UK medical recruitment across a diverse range of specialties [15-18]. In recent years, an increasing proportion of doctors have chosen not to progress directly to specialty training (ST) programmes, with rising preferences to defer training, move abroad or leave medical work [19 20].

Since the implementation of a new career structure, Modernising Medical Careers (MMC) in 2005-6 [21], doctors in the UK begin specialty training 2 years after graduation. While it is known that many doctors move from one specialty to another, training programmes are relatively inflexible, and switching ST programmes can incur financial penalties, therefore it is important that young doctors choose wisely [22]. Studies have shown that medical students' lifestyles and social circumstances affect the relative importance of income and status. They are also affected by family attitudes and are more likely to choose specialties in which they have had clinical placements [23-25].

Whilst the proportions of doctors appointed in each ST programme is published annually by Health Education England, these data do not reveal whether doctors have been successful in achieving their preferred ST choice. Further, they provide no information about how or why doctors have made those decisions and nuanced evidence about the factors associated with individual specialties which attract or deter junior doctors is therefore limited.

This study looks in detail at the background factors which were most influential for Foundation Programme doctors (F2s) as they neared completion of an initial 2-year training programme (Foundation Programme) and considered what to do next. Because of an ongoing shortfall in the proportion of doctors entering GP specialty training (GPST), and concerns about GP workforce retention, this study focussed primarily on attitudes to GP work as expressed by doctors choosing and not choosing GP careers[26]. These factors included their experience of workplaces, working practices and colleagues and the importance of finding a balance between their medical work and other priorities.

### Methods

This study consisted of two data gathering components. In the first phase, we requested that staff at Foundation Schools in England relay a message to their F2 doctors which invited them to complete an online survey about their career intentions and preferred job characteristics. Doctors who completed the survey could opt to receive information about further participation through interviews focussing on what had influenced their career choices. Full participant information was supplied and consent obtained in advance and in accordance with Ethics Committee approvals.

During the second phase of the study, interview participants were purposively selected from 225 F2 potential interviewees; a range of demographic and career intention responses were used to achieve a diverse sample of interviewees. An open, narrative-inducing approach encouraged doctors to reflect on their perceptions of medical careers and about what had affected their choices. Face to face interviews were audio-recorded and generally continued for around one hour and were professionally transcribed. Interviewing ended when no themes continued to emerge after completion of 20 interviews. Details on gender, specialty preference, and length of interviews for each participant are given in Table 1 where each participant's Study ID prefix indicates their reported preference for GP specialty training: GP1 = GPST 1<sup>st</sup> choice, GP2 = GPST 2<sup>nd</sup> choice, GP0 = GPST not chosen.

Table 1: Interview participants' gender, specialty preferences and interview duration

Participant Study ID	Gender	Specialty preference 1	Specialty preference 2 (where stated)	Interview duration
GP1P1	Male	GP	Obstetrics and Gynaecology	43 mins
GP0P2	Female	Deferring no stated preference		66 mins
GP2P3	Female	Obstetrics and Gynaecology	GP	79 mins
GP1P4	Male	GP	Broad Based	60 mins

			Training	
GP2P5	Male	ACCS Emergency Medicine	GP	68 mins
GP1P6	Female	GP		70 mins
GP0P7	Female	Histopathology		66 mins
GP1P8	Female	GP		67 mins
GP2P9	Female	Psychiatry	GP	48 mins
GP0P10	Female	Core Medical Training		47 mins
GP0P11	Female	Psychiatry		49 mins
GP2P12	Female	Psychiatry	GP	75 mins
GP1P13	Male	GP	ACCS Emergency Medicine	64 mins
GP1P14	Female	GP		65 mins
GP2P15	Male	Core Medical Training	GP	83 mins
GP1P16	Female	GP	Not stated	47 mins
GP0P17	Male	Core Surgical Training	Not stated	78 mins
GP0P18	Female	ACCS Emergency Medicine	Not stated	57 mins
GP0P19	Female	Paediatrics and Child Health	Psychiatry	56 mins
GP1P20	Female	GP	Not stated	48 mins

Since the primary objective of this study was to explore the reasons behind doctors' choice of medical specialty training, data reflects topics and attitudes as expressed by participants during open interviews and, where necessary, in response to a general question about GP. The balance of data reflects this overall research orientation.

Themes were identified following coding using NVivo software and an inductive approach to semantic thematic analysis, following steps set out by Braun and Clark [27]. These themes were reviewed, defined, collapsed, split and omitted as necessary throughout the process of analysis. They illustrate the importance of both perceived and observed working practices during both medical school and foundation training, suggesting that working practices are an influential component of specialty career choice.

## Results

Findings are presented under broad headings linked with themes which were prominent across interviews: career structures and pathways (*what do the different careers look like?*); the realities of work routines (*what will my routine be, and can I cope with it?*); considering job status and future prospects (*is this job sustainable and stable?*), the impact of work on life (*how will my future look if I work in this field, and is that what I want?*); and the adequacy of preparation for choosing a specialty (*how can I know which specialty will suit me best?*).

### Career structures and pathways

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4 Since the introduction of the MMC programme, doctors in the UK typically enter 3-8-year training  
5 programmes in their chosen specialty following Foundation Programme training (or other  
6 approved training). By working alongside specialty trainees, medical students and Foundation  
7 doctors become familiar with the training requirements, working practices and opportunities  
8 associated with various specialty careers.  
9

10 These experiences are important in informing opinions about which specialties seem most  
11 attractive, but it is not possible to gain first-hand experience of all specialities; interviewees  
12 reported dissatisfaction that their career decisions were therefore based on limited information.  
13 Some reported that feeling welcomed and integrated during short 'taster' periods in various  
14 specialties could be inspirational experiences which influenced their career choices, but access  
15 problems hampered extended visits to other specialties such as general practice:  
16  
17

18 *'The taster I think helped me because it gave me an idea of what ... the kind of people*  
19 *would be like, see what the patients would be like. That, kind of, made me think – yes, I*  
20 *could probably do this... I really felt like they tried to, like, integrate me into the team'*  
21 GPOP11  
22

23 *'If you're really interested in the [hospital] specialty that you do as a medical student you*  
24 *can get more involved, so you can stay later or you can volunteer to do things... Whereas,*  
25 *in GP, I felt like you went for the day and you came back.'* GP2P3  
26  
27

28 Doctors recognised contrasting attitudes to specific specialties; some ST programmes were  
29 viewed as highly structured, intense, competitive and demanding high motivation, whilst others  
30 were rated as unworthy or unexciting:  
31

32 *'I like structure, and I like to know where I'm going...I want to move up the ladder, I want*  
33 *to acquire skills. GPOP17*  
34

35 *'A lot of the best candidates go for very competitive specialties...because a lot of medics*  
36 *are competitive, by nature they're very driven people and they like to do the best thing; so*  
37 *when something is portrayed as a lesser thing then I think almost psychologically they're*  
38 *less inclined to go for it' GP1P4*  
39

40 Recent changes to junior doctors' contracts have increased career uncertainty for this cohort  
41 leading to shifts in the attractiveness of individual ST programmes [20]. GP specialist trainees  
42 (GPSTs) currently have a shorter training programme than other specialties, and some said that  
43 this meant earlier opportunities to feel in control of their future:  
44

45 *'Three years' training is the minimum which they [GPSTs] could do to get a job which*  
46 *would then allow them that freedom to either move or to determine their own contract ...*  
47 *So I think if anything perhaps the contract has pushed people towards GP just because of*  
48 *the training period, giving them perhaps freedom a little bit earlier.'* GP2P12  
49

50 *'Because GP is just short training... if I did want to do something else at a later date, I've*  
51 *still got time' GP1P20*  
52

53 However, while GP training was highly rated and doctors recognised it as more compatible with  
54 other priorities, many regarded GP as nothing better than a reserve option:  
55

56 *'I never heard anyone say, oh, it's great to be a GP, you're going to be a fully-fledged GP in*  
57 *three years if you stick at it...which is surprising... You can go and work wherever you*  
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4 *want, instead of having to wait for the one gastro post that might turn up in five years in*  
5 *the place that you want it.'* GP1P16  
6

7 *'There was an image of a GP as being somebody who's, kind of, failed every other*  
8 *speciality, not able to get into a speciality, so they've given up, they've become a GP... and*  
9 *it subconsciously roots into your mind.'* GP1P13  
10

11 Thus, in summary, doctors reported that medical school and early work furnished them with  
12 partial information about possible careers and recognised that hierarchical attitudes, contractual  
13 issues, competitiveness and known structural elements influenced their views.  
14

### 15 **The observed realities of work**

16  
17 Interviews revealed that perceptions based on observing or assisting with medical work as a  
18 student were often significantly different to the experience of being a doctor:  
19

20 *'I hated my job [psychiatry] but I loved it as a student...I just found it really depressing as a*  
21 *doctor whereas as a student I found all the stories really interesting.'* GPOP18  
22

23 *'I don't think you get the same experience as a medical student as you do as a junior*  
24 *doctor, no matter how much they try to, because you just don't have that same*  
25 *responsibility.'* GP2P12  
26

27 Doctors tended to feel drawn towards supportive teams and teachers who engaged with or  
28 inspired them, or helped rebuild their damaged confidence:  
29

30 *'I met a few people there [psychiatry] who were really encouraging and also were really*  
31 *passionate about the work ... I'd say that was the one thing where there people involved*  
32 *that I thought this is what I want to do.'* GPOP11  
33

34 *'One of the consultants ... went through my portfolio with me ...he'd bring me along, he'd*  
35 *teach me, he'd let me get involved. He was absolutely a mentor.'* GPOP17  
36

37 *'In my GP placement, had an amazing supervisor that was just really supportive and gave*  
38 *me feedback how it should have been given, and just kind of coaxed me through and built*  
39 *up my confidence again'* GPOP2  
40

41 However, workplaces varied and sometimes a heavy workload meant there was less time for  
42 teaching; at times, junior doctors felt inadequately supported for difficult work:  
43

44 *'People were working 40, 50 hours a week, staying till eight, kind of thing, and other*  
45 *people were doing literally nine-to-five.'* GPOP2.  
46

47 *'In stroke, the consultants were there in the morning, for an hour, for ward rounds, and*  
48 *then disappeared...whereas in a lot of other specialities, they gave us their mobile*  
49 *numbers, or they said, don't hesitate to contact us...similarly, our SHOs...took a bit of a*  
50 *step back. And I just didn't feel as supported... It was very hard work, it was very intense.'*  
51 GPOP17  
52

53 *'I don't think there was any support per se [in GP]. Like, if you asked a question they'd tell*  
54 *you the answer, but that's not support, is it?'* GP1P16  
55

56  
57 Doctors reported feeling underprepared for tasks they were asked to perform or to cope with  
58 terminally-ill patients. However, it became clear through doctors' narratives that working in  
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4 specialist teams which were supportive in nature could transform a new or worrying situation  
5 into a positive experience:  
6

7 *'On both paediatrics and ENT, the consultants were very, very involved. So, if a consultant*  
8 *turned up on the ward, and you were struggling, it didn't matter whose patient they were,*  
9 *it didn't matter whether they were on call, they would go, "x, are you okay? what can I*  
10 *do?". And that makes a huge difference.'* GPOP17  
11

12 Doctors reported positively on periods spent in general practice; of being able to manage their  
13 own consultations, feeling included in the practice team, and enjoying a wide range of conditions  
14 and types of patients:  
15

16 *'I felt part of the [GP] team. It gave me a chance to see patients on my own; there were*  
17 *always people there to ask questions about... I did definitely feel integrated in that it was*  
18 *a useful experience.'* GPOP11  
19

20 *'I quite liked the variety and there wasn't a specific specialty that I could see myself doing*  
21 *for the rest of my life, just that specialty... I quite like the, sort of, general side and looking*  
22 *after people as a whole and just, sort of, yeah, treating them as a whole person rather*  
23 *than just thinking about their heart or their lungs or... able to think about lots of different*  
24 *things'* GP1P20  
25  
26

27 However, much as they appreciated the positive challenges of GP work, some worried about  
28 finding 'a really nice practice', did not feel ready to leave the hospital roles in which their skills  
29 were kept sharp, felt uncomfortable in managing the intrinsic uncertainties of primary care or if  
30 regular working hours would be achievable:  
31

32 *'Even being in GP for those four months... dealing with, sort of, different, more chronic*  
33 *conditions and I really hated that I'd lost confidence, I'd forgotten things, I didn't feel as*  
34 *confident with poorly patients.'* GPOP10  
35

36 *'I worried a lot more [in GP], because if, say for example, on my ward jobs I thought, oh,*  
37 *I've forgotten to do something with on one of my patients, I can either ring up the hospital*  
38 *at 11 o'clock at night and it will get done or if I completely forget, it will probably get*  
39 *picked up by somebody else.'* GPOP10  
40  
41

42 *'With A&E you finish your shift and you go home, with GP you finish your surgery and then*  
43 *you do your clinic referrals and you do your letters and you do everything else and then*  
44 *eventually you get home and then you have other stuff to do and it just seems to take*  
45 *over your life.'* GPOP18  
46

47 Interviewees drew on a pool of first-hand and other experience in weighing up the pros and cons  
48 of specialty careers. The variability of these accounts suggested that real-life work experience was  
49 important in their decision-making and that prospective colleagues and patient groups were also  
50 important. However, individual doctors reported both positive and negative impressions of the  
51 same specialty and expressed concern that it may be difficult to obtain a post which was exactly  
52 as they wanted.  
53  
54

### 55 **Perceived status of specialty and future prospects**

56 Doctors not only confirmed first-hand experience of denigration of GP work by hospital  
57 specialists, but reported how this had altered how they had been treated after expressing an  
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4 interest in training for general practice. Examples illustrate the reactions of senior hospital  
5 doctors and how a junior doctor had kept quiet to avoid being badly thought of or excluded from  
6 'specialist' teaching:  
7

8 *'When I told her [oncologist] I was going to be a GP, she looked at me and she said, oh,*  
9 *are you pregnant?'* GP1P16

10  
11 *"Oh, why do you want to do [GP]?... it just seemed a boring pursuit for them...it put me*  
12 *off a bit. I mean because I didn't want to be thought of as the one who wasn't trying*  
13 *hard... or wasn't going to like put their hand up for something that maybe wouldn't be*  
14 *relevant to my future.'* GP1P14

15  
16 Experience of watching how GPs work had convinced some that such attitudes were misplaced.  
17 Instead, doctors spoke of respecting GPs for their *'really, really tough job'* (GPOP10). Another  
18 spoke of the added significance of supportive comments from a hospital consultant whose pro-GP  
19 career opinions were valued more because his wife was a GP:

20  
21 *'someone bothering to say that who was a hospital doctor meant more to me than a GP*  
22 *saying it because GPs... It just was like someone countering the wave of negativity in the*  
23 *hospital about being a GP, so I held onto that.'* GP1P14

24  
25 In addition to negative attitudes towards a GP career, evidence emerged that psychiatry also  
26 suffers from low regard; for example, some doctors spoke of a medical parent having advised  
27 against it *'because it's not real medicine'*. GPOP18 and another prospective psychiatry trainee felt  
28 a great deal of pressure to *'a responsible decision to do GP'* GP2P9.  
29

30  
31 Doctors expressed mixed views on the extent to which the attitudes of their families, friends or  
32 other people influenced their specialty choice. In some cases, status and respect were significant  
33 influences, whilst others attached greater importance to achievement of a work life balance  
34 which was acceptable to family members :  
35

36  
37 *'Most people I've said that I want to do psychiatry to, from in the hospital, have looked*  
38 *quite surprised, especially in intensive care, because they're all anaesthetists. It's, 'Why*  
39 *have you chosen psychiatry?' I think that doesn't matter to me so much, because I know*  
40 *that I'd really enjoy it, and it's really important. But, I think, it would bother me if family*  
41 *thought that, you know, I perhaps wasn't around so much because I work, or maybe*  
42 *putting too much into work, and not enough into other things.* GPOP19

43  
44 *'I don't care what my friends and family think, it's the wider population. ... I had the girl doing my*  
45 *nails one day. She said, 'Oh, what kind of doctor are you going to be?' I said, 'I'm going to be a*  
46 *GP'. And she said, 'Oh, do you have to go to medical school for that?' And I just thought, ...there's*  
47 *just that a bit less respect, isn't there, than, 'Oh yes, I'm a brain surgeon'.* GP1P16:  
48

49  
50 While several spoke enthusiastically about pursuing competitive hospital specialties, the prospect  
51 of a different junior doctors' contract and sense of being under-valued as a dedicated  
52 professional workforce was a source of concern:

53  
54 *I'm just a bit worried that the NHS is such an unknown at the moment in the future and...*  
55 *that's my whole career... But I feel more and more that these people who work in the*  
56 *government are not really respecting us as a profession.'* GP1P8  
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4 Doctors perceived that the new contract conditions would make work more exhausting and,  
5 although the shorter training period for general practice seemed attractive, they felt that general  
6 practice work had changed and was also uncertain:  
7

8 *'With the way the current contract changes and the way the current health service is, I*  
9 *don't think I'd want to work in an acute specialty anymore because I just think that's the*  
10 *way to a burnout.'* GP1P1  
11

12 *'In GP now you don't often see the same people... you only get like five or seven minutes.*  
13 *It's very difficult I think –to the bottom of what's going on in such a short space of time.'*  
14 GPOP11  
15

16 These attitudinal factors and an undercurrent of uncertainty about specialty choice and future  
17 stability in their careers were prominent in doctors' narratives and were consistent with evidence  
18 that about half did not intend to proceed directly to any UK specialist training programme.  
19

### 20 **Achieving a balance between working and living**

21 Most doctors placed huge importance on achieving a good work-life balance; time for family,  
22 friends, and exploring interests beyond their specialty or unrelated to medical work were  
23 prominent in the narratives of interviewees. When weighing up the relative attractiveness of  
24 different specialties, this could be the deciding factor:  
25

26 *'I would love to do gastroenterology, but ...I just know I wouldn't have a good work-life*  
27 *balance. Work-life balance is really important to me, I'd probably say more so than what I*  
28 *want to do in my career... if I'm not enjoying myself out of work, it's just not worth it for*  
29 *me'* GPOP10  
30  
31  
32

33 In addition to compelling personal reasons, doctors were put off by habitually heavy workloads,  
34 which contributed to anxiety about their ability to work safely:  
35

36 *'The sort of commitment you need for surgery ... it wasn't something that I'm interested*  
37 *enough in to want to do'* GP1P20  
38

39 *'Paediatric registrars are incredible, they work phenomenally hard, they have horrendous*  
40 *hours... I don't want to be doing that for the rest of my life, I can't safely practice doing*  
41 *that for the rest of my life.'* GPOP17  
42

43 Having seen registrars who were 'broken' and consultants present until 11pm, the above doctor  
44 switched his career plan to a different specialty to avoid such extended commitment. Others  
45 echoed his concern that people choosing *'the more exciting specialties'* may feel rather different  
46 when they have matured or when their priorities changed:  
47

48 *'the speciality that you want to do when you're 25, the lifestyle that you're going to want*  
49 *when you're 25 is not the lifestyle that you're going to want when you're 45.'* GPOP18  
50

51 *'it needs to be something that I love so much that I'm willing to make the part of my life*  
52 *that is medicine, that chunk more significant, and it's going to eat into other areas of my*  
53 *life... but I see medicine as part of my life, as opposed to my entire life.'* GP1P13  
54

55 Feeling they need to commit to a career path at this early stage felt premature for some doctors;  
56 they were still learning to cope with emotional stress, to spend time listening to patients, and  
57  
58  
59  
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appreciated working in settings where colleagues demonstrated similar preferences and rejected teams who acted differently:

*'Consultants... junior doctors that I've worked with, the registrars and the SHOs, I've felt like they're quite similar to me... they all cared a lot about the patients, they saw them as people not just disease processes and listened'* GP1P6

*'I'd like to be around a caring, friendly, supportive team, because that will...I feel like that will make me more caring, supportive and friendly, whereas, in a more direct blunt specialty, that's...I'll definitely become more like that and it's not someone I want to be'* GP2P3

*'They weren't interested really, it wasn't their job and I don't really want to be like that, I'd rather listen to what the patient wants and adapt than just stick on my road.'* GP2P3

During these interviews, doctors spoke of their motivation for helping patients, but none referred to work as a vocation. They indicated that, whilst medicine was regarded as a significant part of junior doctors' lives in which they wish to succeed, it is also one which many may seek to contain or control through their career choices

### **Career decision changes based on personal experience**

In addition to feeling that it was too early to make long-term career decisions, doctors identified deficiencies in their preparation for choosing between specialties because of limited exposure to specialties, and because the full impact of responsibility could not be experienced during medical school. Instead, medical school was remembered as a time of awareness of *'a hierarchy of intelligence of different specialties'* (GP2P15). Intense competition was followed by dispersal into Foundation Programme posts with multiple tasks and unpleasant duties:

*'the realities of the job set in...everything's great when you're a student because you can just walk away an hour before the work's done ... when you're dealing with it as a doctor you have to see things through to the end of the day and all the negative experiences and all the arguments with patients and relatives and all the complaints.'* GP2P15

They discovered that levels of clinical knowledge and communication skills which were adequate to pass exams fell short of what was needed, but with practice and support they could gain confidence:

*'You have to know about [in GP] ...management and also guidelines and standards ... We didn't really get any of that information, it was really based on the basis of history and examination, these are the kind of things that could be wrong and then later on this is how you can treat them.'* GP0P11

*'I learned some self-dependence, I learned to trust my own decisions and opinions...it made me focus on my history taking and examination skills, rather than just being so reliant on blood results, and chest x-rays, and scans.'* GP0P17

In general practice, doctors could find opportunities to build confidence, use interpersonal skills, deal with variety and have access to a supportive team; this led to positive experiences and a confirmation for some of GP as their preferred specialty;

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4 *'I think potentially the biggest thing you can do is ensure that people have an experience*  
5 *of it in their foundation training really.'* GP2P5  
6

7 However, the challenging nature of GP work was also clear to interviewees. Through media  
8 reports and their own observations, they detected *'a wave of cynicism and sceptical attitudes'*  
9 surrounding general practice which could not be ignored;  
10

11 *'If you're one of the senior GPs or whatever, you have an influence over the attitude of the*  
12 *people you work with and everyone has a responsibility to create a nice environment to*  
13 *work in. It sounds maybe a bit optimistic and a bit sort of wishy washy, but I hope that*  
14 *you can keep that going for 30 years or 40 years.'* *It just feels like no-one...not many*  
15 *people are still standing there being like, I've been a GP for 40 years and I still love it. No-*  
16 *one's saying that. No-one's saying that'* GP1P14  
17  
18

19 The above doctor intended to train for general practice despite misgivings which could have been  
20 eased by greater positivity from experienced GPs, which underlines the importance of placing  
21 students and junior doctors in practices where GPs are ready to communicate the best aspects of  
22 their working lives.  
23

## 24 25 26 Discussion

27  
28 In this paper, we have described a number of factors that seem to influence the career decisions  
29 of junior doctors.  
30

31 Structured training programmes for all specialties differ in duration and in the characteristics  
32 associated with them. Competition for training posts and the perceived career prospects  
33 following successful completion of training were important considerations for many of the  
34 participants in this study. Perceptions of specialties and ST programmes generally depended on  
35 the personal values and motivations of the individuals and whether they preferred generalist or  
36 specialist work.  
37

38 Having exposure to the specialties of choice was important. Doctors gathered some information  
39 through observing specialty trainees, but recognised the added value of working in specialties  
40 which were among their preferred choices. However, since this was not possible in all cases,  
41 some who were unable to include specific specialties in their Foundation Programme chose to  
42 defer a decision until they could make a more informed choice.  
43  
44

45 Attitudes of others, including peers and senior medical practitioners, friends and family can  
46 influence thoughts and feelings about professions, and tended to be discussed in a negative light  
47 for specialties such as GP and psychiatry, where negative attitudes of others could lead to  
48 hesitation and uncertainty.  
49

50 Contractual change was believed to affect some specialties to a greater extent than others and  
51 led some to switch from their preferred to another specialty to mitigate the effects of that  
52 change. There was a general feeling that these changes would affect all UK career choices, and  
53 concern that work schedules were already threatening the ability of over-stretched doctors to  
54 work safely. Whilst this did not lead all participants to change their decision to apply to a specialty  
55 where they had observed this trend, they expressed fears for the future.  
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4 Work-life balance was an important theme, cited by most as a major criterion when planning  
5 their careers. Some participants reported a switch in their original aspirations to reflect their life  
6 plans outside of work. They placed limits on their willingness to allow their job to impinge on their  
7 life as a whole, and recognised that if they did not feel comfortable making the investment  
8 necessary for a given specialty, they should look elsewhere.  
9

10 Many narratives demonstrated that doctors' experiences with one specialist team could  
11 profoundly shape their opinion of that entire specialty. High levels of support, well-organised  
12 teaching, plentiful feedback, encouragement and positive reinforcement were generally  
13 categorised by participants as contributing to the attractiveness of a specialty. Where  
14 experiences were described in terms of a lack of support for doctors, or disinterest in patients,  
15 participants tended to distance themselves from that specialty.  
16  
17

### 18 Strengths and Limitations

19  
20 Individual interviews with F2 doctors from a broad range of personal and educational  
21 backgrounds provided in-depth narrative accounts during which doctors reflected on when,  
22 where and how they had formed ideas about their future career plans. Conducting interviews at  
23 a stage when career decisions were at the forefront of their mind capitalised on this a topic under  
24 active discussion between peers and with senior colleagues. Despite efforts to achieve a diverse  
25 sample in terms of chosen specialty, it was not possible to recruit from all specialties due to  
26 limitations of participant consent and the scope of the study.  
27  
28

29 We did not make any assessments of the doctors' personality traits, aptitudes or other such  
30 characteristics and are therefore unable to comment on how these may have influenced their  
31 decisions. Further, we are not able to confirm whether they remained firm in decisions they had  
32 made or accepted an alternative ST programme. As part of a longitudinal study, further  
33 interviews conducted after they have gained further experience of work would usefully add to  
34 our analysis of this decision-making process.  
35  
36

### 37 Links with other studies

38 A decline in the attractiveness of general practice which has been confirmed during the 15-year  
39 period is not unique to the UK and there is broad agreement that doctors' career choices are  
40 influenced by both intrinsic (e.g. personal attitudes and preferences) and extrinsic (e.g. family and  
41 environmental) factors [8 28-31]. Studies have confirmed that work-related priorities are  
42 associated with gender and noted that while income and promotion prospects have declined in  
43 importance, enthusiasm for their chosen specialty and hours which matched their domestic  
44 circumstances have become more important [32 33]. Further, it has been proposed that matching  
45 doctors' preferences to their future work is likely to create a happier medical workforce [29]. Our  
46 findings are well aligned with international studies indicating the recruitment potential for GP ST  
47 programmes of drivers which are also recognised in other specialties, such as: early clinical  
48 experience of general practice work, positive role models and promotion of GP careers, [10 25  
49 34]. However, although these actions are among recommendations of a recent Health Education  
50 England Report [35], there is limited high quality evidence demonstrating a durable impact of  
51 interventional recruitment strategies (e.g. financial incentives, support for doctor well-being,  
52 targeted recruitment, focussed undergraduate placements, marketing strategies etc).  
53 Furthermore, some strategies which produced enhanced attitudes to specific specialties did not  
54 translate into altered specialty choice [36-38] and there is evidence that choices can be  
55 intrinsically personal and idiosyncratic [39].  
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## Conclusions

Understanding the factors which influence junior doctors' career choices is vital in achieving a balanced and sustainable workforce and in the context of a GP recruitment crisis, this study adds to what is known about what influences affect junior doctors' attitudes to speciality choice and to GP work. A better understanding of these factors will support development of policies and structures which shape workplaces, working practices and relationships within healthcare teams such that sufficient numbers of doctors are attracted to each speciality, including general practice, to match healthcare needs and future patterns of service delivery.

This research has highlighted the importance of working experiences, perceptions about how different specialities are viewed and the importance of work-life balance. These findings point to specific and achievable changes that could be instituted in both medical schools and Foundation programmes to support the long-term goal of a balanced, fit-for-purpose workforce. These include: a concerted campaign to ensure that specialists treat other specialities with respect and refrain from denigrating students' choices; ensuring that all Foundation doctors undertake a post in general practice as well as a range of hospital specialities; and further developing opportunities for students and Foundation doctors to undertake 'taster' sessions in a wide range of specialities.

## Contributor ship statement

SS led this study, with all authors involved in study design and discussion of data from interviews carried out by EP and SS. All listed authors have directly contributed to writing and finalising the paper.

## Competing interests

Dr. Spooner reports grants from NIHR SPCR, during the conduct of the study; and also works as an NHS General Practitioner.

Dr. Checkland reports grants from NIHR School for Primary Care Research, during the conduct of the study; and grants from Department of Health Policy research programme, outside the submitted work.

Dr. Pearson reports grants from NIHR School for Primary Care Research, during the conduct of the study; personal fees from additional part-time employment in teaching and research at the University of Manchester, outside the submitted work;

Dr. Gibson has nothing to disclose.

## Funding

This research is funded by the NIHR through the School for Primary Care Research. Grant Reference Number: 260

## Data sharing statement

Raw transcripts are held by the researchers who will consider requests for further information in line with guidance from funders and/or ethics committee

This Project Has Been Approved by the University of Manchester's Research Ethics Committee [UREC reference number 15370].

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## Consolidated criteria for reporting qualitative studies (COREQ): 32-item checklist

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

**YOU MUST PROVIDE A RESPONSE FOR ALL ITEMS. ENTER N/A IF NOT APPLICABLE**

No. Item	Guide questions/description	Detail	Page
<b>Domain 1: Research team and reflexivity</b>			
<i>Personal Characteristics</i>			
1. Inter viewer/facilitator	Which author/s conducted the interview or focus group?	EP/SS	3
2. Credentials	What were the researcher's credentials? E.g. PhD, MD	EP: PhD, BSc (Hons) SS: PhD, MBChB	N/A
3. Occupation	What was their occupation at the time of the study?	EP: Research Associate SS: Academic Clinical Lecturer and GP	N/A
4. Gender	Was the researcher male or female?	Female (both)	N/A
5. Experience and training	What experience or training did the researcher have?	EP: >8 years qualitative research experience SS: >20 years clinical/medical practice, 8 years in academic research	N/A
<i>Relationship with participants</i>			
6. Relationship established	Was a relationship established prior to study commencement?	No direct contact was made with study respondents prior to their participation. Invitations to participate were sent via email/portfolio messages from their Foundation School Participants who expressed an interest in participating were contacted by email they supplied to arrange interview dates/times/	3

		locations	
7. Participant knowledge of the interviewer	What did the participants know about the researcher? e.g. personal goals, reasons for doing the research	PIS outlined the purpose of the research in broad terms. No specific detail was offered about researchers' personal research or academic interests though university websites were available if such information was sought	N/A
8. Interviewer characteristics	What characteristics were reported about the interviewer/facilitator? e.g. Bias, assumptions, reasons and interests in the research topic	Reasons for research and interest in the research topic were include in background information (via PIS)	N/A
<b>Domain 2: study design</b>			
<i>Theoretical framework</i>			
9. Methodological orientation and Theory	What methodological orientation was stated to underpin the study? e.g. grounded theory, discourse analysis, ethnography, phenomenology, content analysis	Thematic analysis	3
<i>Participant selection</i>			
10. Sampling	How were participants selected? e.g. purposive, convenience, consecutive, snowball	Survey – non-selective, data not contributing to this paper.  Interviews - purposive selection (for maximum variation) and subject to interviewee availability	3
11. Method of approach	How were participants approached? e.g. face-to-face, telephone, mail, email	For survey respondents, email/eportfolio message sent by Foundation School administrators  Email to arrange data collection followed by face-to-face interviews for interviewees	3
12. Sample size	How many participants were in the study?	816 survey respondents – data not contributing to this paper  20 interviewees	3
13. Non-participation	How many people refused to participate or dropped out? Reasons?	Survey: We are unable to determine how many	N/A

		received or read the invitation email.  Interview: 76% of those contacted were not interviewed due to lack of ongoing interest or time. No interviewed participants requested to withdraw from the study or to have their data withdrawn.	
<i>Setting</i>			
14. Setting of data collection	Where was the data collected? e.g. home, clinic, workplace	Survey: participants completed online  Interview: mutually agreed venues included a wide variety of settings including workplace, home, University settings, and cafes	N/A
15. Presence of non-participants	Was anyone else present besides the participants and researchers?	Survey: unknown Interviews: no	N/A
16. Description of sample	What are the important characteristics of the sample? e.g. demographic data, date	All were junior doctors in the second year of their Foundation Programme at the time of completing the survey/interviews. The study was limited to doctors working under the supervision of Foundation Schools in England	3-4
<i>Data collection</i>			
17. Interview guide	Were questions, prompts, guides provided by the authors? Was it pilot tested?	Survey was constructed after review of literature, discussion with experts and early forms were pilot tested with junior doctors. Questions and prompts which guided the interviews drew on the above and additional knowledge of prevalent discourses about career choices and the potential impact of the contract dispute.	3
18. Repeat interviews	Were repeat interviews carried out? If yes, how many?	No	N/A
19. Audio/visual	Did the research use audio or visual	Audio recorded	3

1	recording	recording to collect the data?		
2	20. Field notes	Were field notes made during and/or after the inter view or focus group?	Yes	N/A
3	21. Duration	What was the duration of the inter views or focus group?	Ranged from 43 – 83 minutes (average 61.8 minutes)	3
4	22. Data saturation	Was data saturation discussed?	Yes	3
5	23. Transcripts returned	Were transcripts returned to participants for comment and/or correction?	No	N/A
6	<b>Domain 3: analysis and findings</b>			
7	<i>Data analysis</i>			
8	24. Number of data coders	How many data coders coded the data?	1, coding trees and emerging themes were discussed by EP and SS with other team members informed at intervals	N/A
9	25. Description of the coding tree	Did authors provide a description of the coding tree?	A detailed description of codes used for the entire data set can be made available, however since the vast majority of the coding is dedicated to a broader understanding of factors affecting career choices, only a small proportion of these are directly related to issues involving the contract dispute	N/A
10	26. Derivation of themes	Were themes identified in advance or derived from the data?	Both, some evident from literature or experience of the field, others in response to the data	N/A
11	27. Software	What software, if applicable, was used to manage the data?	NVivo	4
12	28. Participant checking	Did participants provide feedback on the findings?	No	N/A
13	<i>Reporting</i>			
14	29. Quotations presented	Were participant quotations presented to illustrate the themes/findings? Was each quotation identified? e.g. participant number	Yes, and interviewee IDs are shown	3-4
15	30. Data and findings consistent	Was there consistency between the data presented and the findings?	Yes	4-10
16	31. Clarity of major themes	Were major themes clearly presented in the findings?	Yes	4-10
17	32. Clarity of minor themes	Is there a description of diverse cases or discussion of minor themes?	Broad themes with specific examples	4-10

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4 **Once you have completed this checklist, please save a copy and upload it as part**  
5 **of your submission. When requested to do so as part of the upload process,**  
6 **please select the file type: *Checklist*. You will NOT be able to proceed with**  
7 **submission unless the checklist has been uploaded. Please DO NOT include this**  
8 **checklist as part of the main manuscript document. It must be uploaded as a**  
9 **separate file.**  
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# BMJ Open

## How do workplaces, working practices and colleagues affect UK doctors' career decisions? A qualitative study of junior doctors' career decision-making in the UK.

Journal:	<i>BMJ Open</i>
Manuscript ID	bmjopen-2017-018462.R2
Article Type:	Research
Date Submitted by the Author:	07-Sep-2017
Complete List of Authors:	Spooner, Sharon; University of Manchester, School of Health Sciences, Division of Population Health, Health Services Research and Primary Care Pearson, Emma; Edge Hill University, Department of Psychology Gibson, Jonathan; University of Manchester, Centre for Health Economics, Division of Population Health, Health Services Research and Primary Care Checkland, Kath; University of Manchester, School of Health Sciences, Division of Population Health, Health Services Research and Primary Care
<b>Primary Subject Heading</b>:	Medical education and training
Secondary Subject Heading:	Qualitative research
Keywords:	MEDICAL EDUCATION & TRAINING, Medical specialty choice, Medical workforce

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**TITLE**

**How do workplaces, working practices and colleagues affect UK doctors' career decisions? A qualitative study of junior doctors' career decision-making in the UK.**

**Authors: Dr Sharon Spooner, Dr Emma Pearson, Dr Jon Gibson, Prof Kath Checkland**

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**Word count in paper 4237; excluding title page, references, tables and direct quotes from qualitative data**

**Abstract (300/300)****Objectives**

This study draws on an in-depth investigation of factors which influenced the career decisions of junior doctors.

**Setting**

Junior doctors in the UK can choose to enter specialty training (ST) programmes within 2 years of becoming doctors. Their specialty choices contribute to shaping the balance of the future medical workforce, with views on general practice (GP) careers of particular interest because of current recruitment difficulties. . This paper examines how experiences of medical work and perceptions about specialty training shape junior doctors' career decisions.

**Participants**

Twenty doctors in the second year of a Foundation Training Programme in England were recruited. Purposive sampling was used to achieve a diverse sample from respondents to an online survey.

**Results**

Narrative interviewing techniques encouraged doctors to reflect on how experiences during medical school and in medical workplaces had influenced their preferences and perceptions of different specialties. They also spoke about personal aspirations, work priorities and their wider future.

Junior doctors' decisions were informed by knowledge about the requirements of ST programmes and direct observation of the pressures under which ST doctors worked. When they encountered negative attitudes towards a specialty they had intended to choose, some became defensive while others kept silent. Achievement of an acceptable work-life balance was a central objective which could over-ride other preferences.

Events linked with specific specialties influenced doctors' attitudes towards them. For example; findings confirmed that whilst early, positive experiences of GP work could increase its attractiveness, negative experiences in GP settings had the opposite effect.

**Conclusions**

Junior doctors' preferences and perceptions about medical work are influenced by multiple intrinsic and extrinsic factors and experiences. This paper highlights the importance of understanding how perceptions are formed and preferences are developed, as a basis for generating learning and working environments which nurture students and motivate their professional careers.

**Strengths and limitations of this study**

- Use of narrative interviews facilitated an in-depth exploration of what drives specialty choice for junior doctors
- Interviews were conducted during the period when specialty recruitment was in progress



- Doctors were encouraged to include a wide range of factors based on personal preferences and experiences
- We cannot comment on how patterns of career choice may be affected by personality types, or whether participants remained fixed on their specialty choice
- Whilst purposive sampling aimed to achieve diversity amongst participants, it is possible that other doctors may have different perspectives.

## Introduction

In the UK, the NHS is responsible for delivery of comprehensive health services in community and hospitals settings. Continually evolving national and local organisational structures mean that managers and clinicians must continually adjust their working practices [1 2]. Organisational changes influence how medical work is monitored, managed, and commissioned. They also shape the environments in which medical students and junior doctors acquire medical knowledge and skills and competencies which are essential in their future work [3]. Workplaces, working practices and colleagues influence how newly qualified doctors develop a sense of professional identity which acts as a platform for confident and professional practice, and informs how they respond to positions of responsibility in challenging and unfamiliar situations [4-6]. Further, factors such as gender, location and preferences related to the sort of patients they wish to work with, influence junior doctors' career decisions as they progress towards specialist training [7 8].

Studies of medical students' experiences in specific specialties indicate that positive experiences are associated with greater desire to enter that specialty [9]. However, students who do not enjoy working with specific patients groups (e.g. elderly patients) are not necessarily attracted to do so unless they become convinced of the positive aspects of that specialty [10]. Discrete choice experiment studies have indicated that whilst medical students primarily value good working conditions, junior doctors also value good opportunities for partners and a desirable geographical location [11 12]. However, these studies are unable to elicit detailed information about which aspects of workplaces, working practices or the experiences gained through observing colleagues, exert most influence on doctors' specialty choice.

Employment of a workforce equipped with appropriate training and resources is an essential component of providing timely and high quality care for patients [13 14]. Since the cumulative effects of junior doctors' individual decisions as to which speciality they wish to pursue have long-term implications for achieving a balanced future workforce, their choices are of heightened importance in the context of concerns about UK medical recruitment across a diverse range of specialties [15-18]. In recent years, an increasing proportion of doctors have chosen not to progress directly to specialty training (ST) programmes, with rising preferences to defer training, move abroad or leave medical work [19 20].

Since the implementation of a new career structure, Modernising Medical Careers (MMC) in 2005-6 [21], doctors in the UK begin specialty training 2 years after graduation. While it is known that many doctors move from one specialty to another, training programmes are relatively inflexible, and switching ST programmes can incur financial penalties, therefore it is important that young doctors choose wisely [22]. Studies have shown that medical students' lifestyles and social circumstances affect the relative importance of income and status. They are also affected by family attitudes and are more likely to choose specialties in which they have had clinical placements [23-25].

Whilst the proportions of doctors appointed in each ST programme is published annually by Health Education England, these data do not reveal whether doctors have been successful in achieving their preferred ST choice. Further, they provide no information about how or why doctors have made those decisions and nuanced evidence about the factors associated with individual specialties which attract or deter junior doctors is therefore limited.

This study looks in detail at the background factors which were most influential for Foundation Programme doctors (F2s) as they neared completion of an initial 2-year training programme (Foundation Programme) and considered what to do next. Because of an ongoing shortfall in the proportion of doctors entering GP specialty training (GPST), and concerns about GP workforce retention, this study focussed primarily on attitudes to GP work as expressed by doctors choosing and not choosing GP careers[26]. These factors included their experience of workplaces, working practices and colleagues and the importance of finding a balance between their medical work and other priorities.

### Methods

This study consisted of two data gathering components. In the first phase, we requested that staff at Foundation Schools in England relay a message to their F2 doctors which invited them to complete an online survey about their career intentions and preferred job characteristics. Doctors who completed the survey could opt to receive information about further participation through interviews focussing on what had influenced their career choices. Full participant information was supplied and consent obtained in advance and in accordance with Ethics Committee approvals.

During the second phase of the study, interview participants were purposively selected from 225 F2 potential interviewees; a range of demographic and career intention responses were used to achieve a diverse sample of interviewees. An open, narrative-inducing approach encouraged doctors to reflect on their perceptions of medical careers and about what had affected their choices. Face to face interviews were audio-recorded and generally continued for around one hour and were professionally transcribed. Interviewing ended when no themes continued to emerge after completion of 20 interviews. Details on gender, specialty preference, and length of interviews for each participant are given in Table 1 where each participant's Study ID prefix indicates their reported preference for GP specialty training: GP1 = GPST 1<sup>st</sup> choice, GP2 = GPST 2<sup>nd</sup> choice, GP0 = GPST not chosen.

Table 1: Interview participants' gender, specialty preferences and interview duration

Participant Study ID	Gender	Specialty preference 1	Specialty preference 2 (where stated)	Interview duration
GP1P1	Male	GP	Obstetrics and Gynaecology	43 mins
GP0P2	Female	Deferring no stated preference		66 mins
GP2P3	Female	Obstetrics and Gynaecology	GP	79 mins
GP1P4	Male	GP	Broad Based Training	60 mins
GP2P5	Male	ACCS Emergency	GP	68 mins

		Medicine		
GP1P6	Female	GP		70 mins
GPOP7	Female	Histopathology		66 mins
GP1P8	Female	GP		67 mins
GP2P9	Female	Psychiatry	GP	48 mins
GPOP10	Female	Core Medical Training		47 mins
GPOP11	Female	Psychiatry		49 mins
GP2P12	Female	Psychiatry	GP	75 mins
GP1P13	Male	GP	ACCS Emergency Medicine	64 mins
GP1P14	Female	GP		65 mins
GP2P15	Male	Core Medical Training	GP	83 mins
GP1P16	Female	GP	Not stated	47 mins
GPOP17	Male	Core Surgical Training	Not stated	78 mins
GPOP18	Female	ACCS Emergency Medicine	Not stated	57 mins
GPOP19	Female	Paediatrics and Child Health	Psychiatry	56 mins
GP1P20	Female	GP	Not stated	48 mins

Since the primary objective of this study was to explore the reasons behind doctors' choice of medical specialty training, data reflects topics and attitudes as expressed by participants during open interviews and, where necessary, in response to a general question about GP. The balance of data reflects this overall research orientation.

Themes were identified following coding using NVivo software and an inductive approach to semantic thematic analysis, following steps set out by Braun and Clark [27]. These themes were reviewed, defined, collapsed, split and omitted as necessary throughout the process of analysis. They illustrate the importance of both perceived and observed working practices during both medical school and foundation training, suggesting that working practices are an influential component of specialty career choice.

## Results

Findings are presented under broad headings linked with themes which were prominent across interviews: career structures and pathways (*what do the different careers look like?*); the realities of work routines (*what will my routine be, and can I cope with it?*); considering job status and future prospects (*is this job sustainable and stable?*), the impact of work on life (*how will my future look if I work in this field, and is that what I want?*); and the adequacy of preparation for choosing a specialty (*how can I know which specialty will suit me best?*).

### Career structures and pathways

Since the introduction of the MMC programme, doctors in the UK typically enter 3-8-year training programmes in their chosen specialty following Foundation Programme training (or other

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4 approved training). By working alongside specialty trainees, medical students and Foundation  
5 doctors become familiar with the training requirements, working practices and opportunities  
6 associated with various specialty careers.  
7

8 These experiences are important in informing opinions about which specialties seem most  
9 attractive, but it is not possible to gain first-hand experience of all specialities; interviewees  
10 reported dissatisfaction that their career decisions were therefore based on limited information.  
11 Some reported that feeling welcomed and integrated during short 'taster' periods in various  
12 specialties could be inspirational experiences which influenced their career choices, but access  
13 problems hampered extended visits to other specialties such as general practice:  
14

15  
16 *'The taster I think helped me because it gave me an idea of what ... the kind of people*  
17 *would be like, see what the patients would be like. That, kind of, made me think – yes, I*  
18 *could probably do this... I really felt like they tried to, like, integrate me into the team'* GP  
19 not chosen P11  
20

21 *'If you're really interested in the [hospital] specialty that you do as a medical student you*  
22 *can get more involved, so you can stay later or you can volunteer to do things...Whereas,*  
23 *in GP, I felt like you went for the day and you came back.'* GP second choice P3  
24

25 Doctors recognised contrasting attitudes to specific specialties; some ST programmes were  
26 viewed as highly structured, intense, competitive and demanding high motivation, whilst others  
27 were rated as unworthy or unexciting:  
28

29 *'I like structure, and I like to know where I'm going...I want to move up the ladder, I want*  
30 *to acquire skills. GP not chosen P17*  
31

32 *'A lot of the best candidates go for very competitive specialties...because a lot of medics*  
33 *are competitive, by nature they're very driven people and they like to do the best thing; so*  
34 *when something is portrayed as a lesser thing then I think almost psychologically they're*  
35 *less inclined to go for it'* GP first choice P4  
36  
37

38 Recent changes to junior doctors' contracts have increased career uncertainty for this cohort  
39 leading to shifts in the attractiveness of individual ST programmes [20]. GP specialist trainees  
40 (GPSTs) currently have a shorter training programme than other specialities, and some said that  
41 this meant earlier opportunities to feel in control of their future:  
42

43 *'Three years' training is the minimum which they [GPSTs] could do to get a job which*  
44 *would then allow them that freedom to either move or to determine their own contract ...*  
45 *So I think if anything perhaps the contract has pushed people towards GP just because of*  
46 *the training period, giving them perhaps freedom a little bit earlier.'* GP second choice P12  
47

48 *'Because GP is just short training... if I did want to do something else at a later date, I've*  
49 *still got time'* GP first choice P20  
50

51 However, while GP training was highly rated and doctors recognised it as more compatible with  
52 other priorities, many regarded GP as nothing better than a reserve option:  
53

54 *'I never heard anyone say, oh, it's great to be a GP, you're going to be a fully-fledged GP in*  
55 *three years if you stick at it...which is surprising... You can go and work wherever you*  
56 *want, instead of having to wait for the one gastro post that might turn up in five years in*  
57 *the place that you want it.'* GP first choice P16  
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4 *'There was an image of a GP as being somebody who's, kind of, failed every other*  
5 *speciality, not able to get into a speciality, so they've given up, they've become a GP... and*  
6 *it subconsciously roots into your mind.'* GP first choice P13  
7

8 Thus, in summary, doctors reported that medical school and early work furnished them with  
9 partial information about possible careers and recognised that hierarchical attitudes, contractual  
10 issues, competitiveness and known structural elements influenced their views.  
11

### 12 **The observed realities of work**

13  
14 Interviews revealed that perceptions based on observing or assisting with medical work as a  
15 student were often significantly different to the experience of being a doctor:  
16

17 *'I hated my job [psychiatry] but I loved it as a student...I just found it really depressing as a*  
18 *doctor whereas as a student I found all the stories really interesting.'* GP not chosen P18  
19

20 *'I don't think you get the same experience as a medical student as you do as a junior*  
21 *doctor, no matter how much they try to, because you just don't have that same*  
22 *responsibility.'* GP second choice P12  
23

24 Doctors tended to feel drawn towards supportive teams and teachers who engaged with or  
25 inspired them, or helped rebuild their damaged confidence:  
26

27 *'I met a few people there [psychiatry] who were really encouraging and also were really*  
28 *passionate about the work ... I'd say that was the one thing where there people involved*  
29 *that I thought this is what I want to do.'* GP not chosen P11  
30

31 *'One of the consultants ... went through my portfolio with me ...he'd bring me along, he'd*  
32 *teach me, he'd let me get involved. He was absolutely a mentor.'* GP not chosen P17  
33

34 *'In my GP placement, had an amazing supervisor that was just really supportive and gave*  
35 *me feedback how it should have been given, and just kind of coaxed me through and built*  
36 *up my confidence again'* GP not chosen P2  
37

38 However, workplaces varied and sometimes a heavy workload meant there was less time for  
39 teaching; at times, junior doctors felt inadequately supported for difficult work:  
40

41 *'People were working 40, 50 hours a week, staying till eight, kind of thing, and other*  
42 *people were doing literally nine-to-five.'* GP not chosen P2.  
43

44 *'In stroke, the consultants were there in the morning, for an hour, for ward rounds, and*  
45 *then disappeared...whereas in a lot of other specialities, they gave us their mobile*  
46 *numbers, or they said, don't hesitate to contact us...similarly, our SHOs...took a bit of a*  
47 *step back. And I just didn't feel as supported... It was very hard work, it was very intense.'*  
48 GP not chosen P17  
49

50 *'I don't think there was any support per se [in GP]. Like, if you asked a question they'd tell*  
51 *you the answer, but that's not support, is it?'* GP first choice P16  
52  
53

54 Doctors reported feeling underprepared for tasks they were asked to perform or to cope with  
55 terminally-ill patients. However, it became clear through doctors' narratives that working in  
56 specialist teams which were supportive in nature could transform a new or worrying situation  
57 into a positive experience:  
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4 *'On both paediatrics and ENT, the consultants were very, very involved. So, if a consultant*  
5 *turned up on the ward, and you were struggling, it didn't matter whose patient they were,*  
6 *it didn't matter whether they were on call, they would go, "x, are you okay? what can I*  
7 *do?". And that makes a huge difference.'* GP not chosen P17  
8

9  
10 Doctors reported positively on periods spent in general practice; of being able to manage their  
11 own consultations, feeling included in the practice team, and enjoying a wide range of conditions  
12 and types of patients:

13  
14 *'I felt part of the [GP] team. It gave me a chance to see patients on my own; there were*  
15 *always people there to ask questions about... I did definitely feel integrated in that it was*  
16 *a useful experience.'* GP not chosen P11  
17

18 *'I quite liked the variety and there wasn't a specific specialty that I could see myself doing*  
19 *for the rest of my life, just that specialty... I quite like the, sort of, general side and looking*  
20 *after people as a whole and just, sort of, yeah, treating them as a whole person rather*  
21 *than just thinking about their heart or their lungs or... able to think about lots of different*  
22 *things'* GP first choice P20  
23

24 However, much as they appreciated the positive challenges of GP work, some worried about  
25 finding *'a really nice practice'*, did not feel ready to leave the hospital roles in which their skills  
26 were kept sharp, felt uncomfortable in managing the intrinsic uncertainties of primary care or if  
27 regular working hours would be achievable:  
28

29  
30 *'Even being in GP for those four months... dealing with, sort of, different, more chronic*  
31 *conditions and I really hated that I'd lost confidence, I'd forgotten things, I didn't feel as*  
32 *confident with poorly patients.'* GP not chosen P10  
33

34 *'I worried a lot more [in GP], because if, say for example, on my ward jobs I thought, oh,*  
35 *I've forgotten to do something with on one of my patients, I can either ring up the hospital*  
36 *at 11 o'clock at night and it will get done or if I completely forget, it will probably get*  
37 *picked up by somebody else.'* GP not chosen P10  
38

39 *'With A&E you finish your shift and you go home, with GP you finish your surgery and then*  
40 *you do your clinic referrals and you do your letters and you do everything else and then*  
41 *eventually you get home and then you have other stuff to do and it just seems to take*  
42 *over your life.'* GP not chosen P18  
43

44 Interviewees drew on a pool of first-hand and other experience in weighing up the pros and cons  
45 of specialty careers. The variability of these accounts suggested that real-life work experience was  
46 important in their decision-making and that prospective colleagues and patient groups were also  
47 important. However, individual doctors reported both positive and negative impressions of the  
48 same specialty and expressed concern that it may be difficult to obtain a post which was exactly  
49 as they wanted.  
50

### 51 **Perceived status of specialty and future prospects**

52  
53 Doctors not only confirmed first-hand experience of denigration of GP work by hospital  
54 specialists, but reported how this had altered how they had been treated after expressing an  
55 interest in training for general practice. Examples illustrate the reactions of senior hospital  
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doctors and how a junior doctor had kept quiet to avoid being badly thought of or excluded from 'specialist' teaching:

*'When I told her [oncologist] I was going to be a GP, she looked at me and she said, oh, are you pregnant?' GP first choice P16*

*"Oh, why do you want to do [GP]?... it just seemed a boring pursuit for them...it put me off a bit. I mean because I didn't want to be thought of as the one who wasn't trying hard... or wasn't going to like put their hand up for something that maybe wouldn't be relevant to my future.' GP first choice P14*

Experience of watching how GPs work had convinced some that such attitudes were misplaced. Instead, doctors spoke of respecting GPs for their 'really, really tough job' (GPOP10). Another spoke of the added significance of supportive comments from a hospital consultant whose pro-GP career opinions were valued more because his wife was a GP:

*'someone bothering to say that who was a hospital doctor meant more to me than a GP saying it because GPs... It just was like someone countering the wave of negativity in the hospital about being a GP, so I held onto that.' GP first choice P14*

In addition to negative attitudes towards a GP career, evidence emerged that psychiatry also suffers from low regard; for example, some doctors spoke of a medical parent having advised against it 'because it's not real medicine'. GPOP18 and another prospective psychiatry trainee felt a great deal of pressure to 'a responsible decision to do GP' GP second choice P9.

Doctors expressed mixed views on the extent to which the attitudes of their families, friends or other people influenced their specialty choice. In some cases, status and respect were significant influences, whilst others attached greater importance to achievement of a work life balance which was acceptable to family members :

*'Most people I've said that I want to do psychiatry to, from in the hospital, have looked quite surprised, especially in intensive care, because they're all anaesthetists. It's, 'Why have you chosen psychiatry?' I think that doesn't matter to me so much, because I know that I'd really enjoy it, and it's really important. But, I think, it would bother me if family thought that, you know, I perhaps wasn't around so much because I work, or maybe putting too much into work, and not enough into other things. GP not chosen P19*

*'I don't care what my friends and family think, it's the wider population. ... I had the girl doing my nails one day. She said, 'Oh, what kind of doctor are you going to be?' I said, 'I'm going to be a GP'. And she said, 'Oh, do you have to go to medical school for that?' And I just thought, ...there's just that a bit less respect, isn't there, than, 'Oh yes, I'm a brain surgeon'. GP first choice P16:*

While several spoke enthusiastically about pursuing competitive hospital specialties, the prospect of a different junior doctors' contract and sense of being under-valued as a dedicated professional workforce was a source of concern:

*I'm just a bit worried that the NHS is such an unknown at the moment in the future and... that's my whole career... But I feel more and more that these people who work in the government are not really respecting us as a profession.' GP first choice P8*

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4 Doctors perceived that the new contract conditions would make work more exhausting and,  
5 although the shorter training period for general practice seemed attractive, they felt that general  
6 practice work had changed and was also uncertain:  
7

8 *'With the way the current contract changes and the way the current health service is, I*  
9 *don't think I'd want to work in an acute specialty anymore because I just think that's the*  
10 *way to a burnout.'* GP first choice P1  
11

12 *'In GP now you don't often see the same people... you only get like five or seven minutes.*  
13 *It's very difficult I think –to the bottom of what's going on in such a short space of time.'*  
14 GP not chosen P11  
15

16 These attitudinal factors and an undercurrent of uncertainty about specialty choice and future  
17 stability in their careers were prominent in doctors' narratives and were consistent with evidence  
18 that about half did not intend to proceed directly to any UK specialist training programme.  
19

### 20 **Achieving a balance between working and living**

21 Most doctors placed huge importance on achieving a good work-life balance; time for family,  
22 friends, and exploring interests beyond their specialty or unrelated to medical work were  
23 prominent in the narratives of interviewees. When weighing up the relative attractiveness of  
24 different specialties, this could be the deciding factor:  
25

26 *'I would love to do gastroenterology, but ...I just know I wouldn't have a good work-life*  
27 *balance. Work-life balance is really important to me, I'd probably say more so than what I*  
28 *want to do in my career... if I'm not enjoying myself out of work, it's just not worth it for*  
29 *me'* GP not chosen P10  
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32

33 In addition to compelling personal reasons, doctors were put off by habitually heavy workloads,  
34 which contributed to anxiety about their ability to work safely:  
35

36 *'The sort of commitment you need for surgery ... it wasn't something that I'm interested*  
37 *enough in to want to do'* GP first choice P20  
38

39 *'Paediatric registrars are incredible, they work phenomenally hard, they have horrendous*  
40 *hours... I don't want to be doing that for the rest of my life, I can't safely practice doing*  
41 *that for the rest of my life.'* GP not chosen P17  
42

43 Having seen registrars who were 'broken' and consultants present until 11pm, the above doctor  
44 switched his career plan to a different specialty to avoid such extended commitment. Others  
45 echoed his concern that people choosing *'the more exciting specialties'* may feel rather different  
46 when they have matured or when their priorities changed:  
47

48 *'the speciality that you want to do when you're 25, the lifestyle that you're going to want*  
49 *when you're 25 is not the lifestyle that you're going to want when you're 45.'* GP not  
50 chosen P18  
51

52 *'it needs to be something that I love so much that I'm willing to make the part of my life*  
53 *that is medicine, that chunk more significant, and it's going to eat into other areas of my*  
54 *life... but I see medicine as part of my life, as opposed to my entire life.'* GP first choice P13  
55

56 Feeling they need to commit to a career path at this early stage felt premature for some doctors;  
57 they were still learning to cope with emotional stress, to spend time listening to patients, and  
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4 appreciated working in settings where colleagues demonstrated similar preferences and rejected  
5 teams who acted differently:  
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7 *'Consultants... junior doctors that I've worked with, the registrars and the SHOs, I've felt*  
8 *like they're quite similar to me... they all cared a lot about the patients, they saw them as*  
9 *people not just disease processes and listened'* GP first choice P6  
10

11 *'I'd like to be around a caring, friendly, supportive team, because that will...I feel like that*  
12 *will make me more caring, supportive and friendly, whereas, in a more direct blunt*  
13 *specialty, that's...I'll definitely become more like that and it's not someone I want to be'*  
14 GP second choice P3  
15

16 *'They weren't interested really, it wasn't their job and I don't really want to be like that,*  
17 *I'd rather listen to what the patient wants and adapt than just stick on my road.'* GP  
18 second choice P3  
19

20 During these interviews, doctors spoke of their motivation for helping patients, but none referred  
21 to work as a vocation. They indicated that, whilst medicine was regarded as a significant part of  
22 junior doctors' lives in which they wish to succeed, it is also one which many may seek to contain  
23 or control through their career choices  
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### 28 **Career decision changes based on personal experience**

29

30 In addition to feeling that it was too early to make long-term career decisions, doctors identified  
31 deficiencies in their preparation for choosing between specialties because of limited exposure to  
32 specialties, and because the full impact of responsibility could not be experienced during medical  
33 school. Instead, medical school was remembered as a time of awareness of *'a hierarchy of*  
34 *intelligence of different specialties'* (GP2P15). Intense competition was followed by dispersal into  
35 Foundation Programme posts with multiple tasks and unpleasant duties:  
36

37 *'the realities of the job set in...everything's great when you're a student because you can*  
38 *just walk away an hour before the work's done ... when you're dealing with it as a doctor*  
39 *you have to see things through to the end of the day and all the negative experiences and*  
40 *all the arguments with patients and relatives and all the complaints.'* GP second choice  
41 P15  
42  
43

44 They discovered that levels of clinical knowledge and communication skills which were adequate  
45 to pass exams fell short of what was needed, but with practice and support they could gain  
46 confidence:  
47

48 *'You have to know about [in GP] ...management and also guidelines and standards ... We*  
49 *didn't really get any of that information, it was really based on the basis of history and*  
50 *examination, these are the kind of things that could be wrong and then later on this is*  
51 *how you can treat them.'* GP not chosen P11  
52

53 *'I learned some self-dependence, I learned to trust my own decisions and opinions...it*  
54 *made me focus on my history taking and examination skills, rather than just being so*  
55 *reliant on blood results, and chest x-rays, and scans.'* GP not chosen P17  
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4 In general practice, doctors could find opportunities to build confidence, use interpersonal skills,  
5 deal with variety and have access to a supportive team; this led to positive experiences and a  
6 confirmation for some of GP as their preferred speciality;  
7

8 *'I think potentially the biggest thing you can do is ensure that people have an experience*  
9 *of it in their foundation training really.'* GP second choice P5  
10

11 However, the challenging nature of GP work was also clear to interviewees. Through media  
12 reports and their own observations, they detected *'a wave of cynicism and sceptical attitudes'*  
13 surrounding general practice which could not be ignored;  
14

15 *'If you're one of the senior GPs or whatever, you have an influence over the attitude of the*  
16 *people you work with and everyone has a responsibility to create a nice environment to*  
17 *work in. It sounds maybe a bit optimistic and a bit sort of wishy washy, but I hope that*  
18 *you can keep that going for 30 years or 40 years.'* *It just feels like no-one...not many*  
19 *people are still standing there being like, I've been a GP for 40 years and I still love it. No-*  
20 *one's saying that. No-one's saying that'* GP first choice P14  
21  
22

23 The above doctor intended to train for general practice despite misgivings which could have been  
24 eased by greater positivity from experienced GPs, which underlines the importance of placing  
25 students and junior doctors in practices where GPs are ready to communicate the best aspects of  
26 their working lives.  
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28

## 29 Discussion

30  
31 In this paper, we have described a number of factors that seem to influence the career decisions  
32 of junior doctors.  
33

34 Structured training programmes for all specialties differ in duration and in the characteristics  
35 associated with them. Competition for training posts and the perceived career prospects  
36 following successful completion of training were important considerations for many of the  
37 participants in this study. Perceptions of specialties and ST programmes generally depended on  
38 the personal values and motivations of the individuals and whether they preferred generalist or  
39 specialist work.  
40  
41

42 Having exposure to the specialties of choice was important. Doctors gathered some information  
43 through observing specialty trainees, but recognised the added value of working in specialties  
44 which were among their preferred choices. However, since this was not possible in all cases,  
45 some who were unable to include specific specialties in their Foundation Programme chose to  
46 defer a decision until they could make a more informed choice.  
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48

49 Attitudes of others, including peers and senior medical practitioners, friends and family can  
50 influence thoughts and feelings about professions, and tended to be discussed in a negative light  
51 for specialties such as GP and psychiatry, where negative attitudes of others could lead to  
52 hesitation and uncertainty.  
53

54 Contractual change was believed to affect some specialties to a greater extent than others and  
55 led some to switch from their preferred to another speciality to mitigate the effects of that  
56 change. There was a general feeling that these changes would affect all UK career choices, and  
57 concern that work schedules were already threatening the ability of over-stretched doctors to  
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4 work safely. Whilst this did not lead all participants to change their decision to apply to a specialty  
5 where they had observed this trend, they expressed fears for the future.  
6

7 Work-life balance was an important theme, cited by most as a major criterion when planning  
8 their careers. Some participants reported a switch in their original aspirations to reflect their life  
9 plans outside of work. They placed limits on their willingness to allow their job to impinge on their  
10 life as a whole, and recognised that if they did not feel comfortable making the investment  
11 necessary for a given specialty, they should look elsewhere.  
12

13 Many narratives demonstrated that doctors' experiences with one specialist team could  
14 profoundly shape their opinion of that entire specialty. High levels of support, well-organised  
15 teaching, plentiful feedback, encouragement and positive reinforcement were generally  
16 categorised by participants as contributing to the attractiveness of a specialty. Where  
17 experiences were described in terms of a lack of support for doctors, or disinterest in patients,  
18 participants tended to distance themselves from that specialty.  
19

#### 20 21 Strengths and Limitations

22 Individual interviews with F2 doctors from a broad range of personal and educational  
23 backgrounds provided in-depth narrative accounts during which doctors reflected on when,  
24 where and how they had formed ideas about their future career plans. Conducting interviews at  
25 a stage when career decisions were at the forefront of their mind capitalised on this a topic under  
26 active discussion between peers and with senior colleagues. Despite efforts to achieve a diverse  
27 sample in terms of chosen specialty, it was not possible to recruit from all specialties due to  
28 limitations of participant consent and the scope of the study. Furthermore, we obtained interview  
29 data from more female than male doctors; this may in part be due to a rising proportion of early  
30 career doctors across all specialties who are female, and which is more marked in general  
31 practice[28].  
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34 We did not make any assessments of the doctors' personality traits, aptitudes or other such  
35 characteristics and are therefore unable to comment on how these may have influenced their  
36 decisions. Further, we are not able to confirm whether they remained firm in decisions they had  
37 made or accepted an alternative ST programme. As part of a longitudinal study, further  
38 interviews conducted after they have gained further experience of work would usefully add to  
39 our analysis of this decision-making process.  
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#### 43 Links with other studies

44 A decline in the attractiveness of general practice which has been confirmed during the 15-year  
45 period is not unique to the UK and there is broad agreement that doctors' career choices are  
46 influenced by both intrinsic (e.g. personal attitudes and preferences) and extrinsic (e.g. family and  
47 environmental) factors [8 29-32]. Studies have confirmed that work-related priorities are  
48 associated with gender and noted that while income and promotion prospects have declined in  
49 importance, enthusiasm for their chosen specialty and hours which matched their domestic  
50 circumstances have become more important [33 34]. Further, it has been proposed that matching  
51 doctors' preferences to their future work is likely to create a happier medical workforce [30]. Our  
52 findings are well aligned with international studies indicating the recruitment potential for GP ST  
53 programmes of drivers which are also recognised in other specialties, such as: early clinical  
54 experience of general practice work, positive role models and promotion of GP careers, [10 25  
55 35]. However, although these actions are among recommendations of a recent Health Education  
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4 England Report [36], there is limited high quality evidence demonstrating a durable impact of  
5 interventional recruitment strategies (e.g. financial incentives, support for doctor well-being,  
6 targeted recruitment, focussed undergraduate placements, marketing strategies etc).  
7 Furthermore, some strategies which produced enhanced attitudes to specific specialties did not  
8 translate into altered specialty choice [37-39] and there is evidence that choices can be  
9 intrinsically personal and idiosyncratic [40].  
10

#### 11 Conclusions

12  
13 Understanding the factors which influence junior doctors' career choices is vital in achieving a  
14 balanced and sustainable workforce and in the context of a GP recruitment crisis, this study adds  
15 to what is known about what influences affect junior doctors' attitudes to specialty choice and to  
16 GP work. A better understanding of these factors will support development of policies and  
17 structures which shape workplaces, working practices and relationships within healthcare teams  
18 such that sufficient numbers of doctors are attracted to each specialty, including general practice,  
19 to match healthcare needs and future patterns of service delivery.  
20

21  
22 This research has highlighted the importance of working experiences, perceptions about how  
23 different specialties are viewed and the importance of work-life balance. These findings point to  
24 specific and achievable changes that could be instituted in both medical schools and Foundation  
25 programmes to support the long-term goal of a balanced, fit-for-purpose workforce. These  
26 include: a concerted campaign to ensure that specialists treat other specialties with respect and  
27 refrain from denigrating students' choices; ensuring that all Foundation doctors undertake a post  
28 in general practice as well as a range of hospital specialties; and further developing opportunities  
29 for students and Foundation doctors to undertake 'taster' sessions in a wide range of specialties.  
30  
31

#### 32 Contributor ship statement

33  
34 SS led this study, with all authors involved in study design and discussion of data from interviews  
35 carried out by EP and SS. All listed authors have directly contributed to writing and finalising the  
36 paper.  
37

#### 38 Competing interests

39  
40 Dr. Spooner reports grants from NIHR SPCR, during the conduct of the study; and also works as an  
41 NHS General Practitioner.

42 Dr. Checkland reports grants from NIHR School for Primary Care Research, during the conduct of  
43 the study; and grants from Department of Health Policy research programme, outside the  
44 submitted work.

45 Dr. Pearson reports grants from NIHR School for Primary Care Research, during the conduct of the  
46 study; personal fees from additional part-time employment in teaching and research at the  
47 University of Manchester, outside the submitted work;

48 Dr. Gibson has nothing to disclose.  
49  
50

#### 51 Funding

52  
53 This research is funded by the NIHR through the School for Primary Care Research. Grant  
54 Reference Number: 260  
55  
56

#### 57 Data sharing statement

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59  
60

Raw transcripts are held by the researchers who will consider requests for further information in line with guidance from funders and/or ethics committee

This Project Has Been Approved by the University of Manchester's Research Ethics Committee [UREC reference number 15370].

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## Consolidated criteria for reporting qualitative studies (COREQ): 32-item checklist

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

**YOU MUST PROVIDE A RESPONSE FOR ALL ITEMS. ENTER N/A IF NOT APPLICABLE**

No. Item	Guide questions/description	Detail	Page
<b>Domain 1: Research team and reflexivity</b>			
<i>Personal Characteristics</i>			
1. Inter viewer/facilitator	Which author/s conducted the interview or focus group?	EP/SS	14
2. Credentials	What were the researcher's credentials? E.g. PhD, MD	EP: PhD, BSc (Hons) SS: PhD, MBChB	N/A
3. Occupation	What was their occupation at the time of the study?	EP: Research Associate SS: Academic Clinical Lecturer and GP	N/A
4. Gender	Was the researcher male or female?	Female (both)	N/A
5. Experience and training	What experience or training did the researcher have?	EP: >8 years qualitative research experience SS: >20 years clinical/medical practice, 8 years in academic research	N/A
<i>Relationship with participants</i>			
6. Relationship established	Was a relationship established prior to study commencement?	No direct contact was made with study respondents prior to their participation. Invitations to participate were sent via email/portfolio messages from their Foundation School Participants who expressed an interest in participating were contacted by email they supplied to arrange interview dates/times/	4



		locations	
7. Participant knowledge of the interviewer	What did the participants know about the researcher? e.g. personal goals, reasons for doing the research	PIS outlined the purpose of the research in broad terms. No specific detail was offered about researchers' personal research or academic interests though university websites were available if such information was sought	N/A
8. Interviewer characteristics	What characteristics were reported about the interviewer/facilitator? e.g. Bias, assumptions, reasons and interests in the research topic	Reasons for research and interest in the research topic were include in background information (via PIS)	N/A
<b>Domain 2: study design</b>			
<i>Theoretical framework</i>			
9. Methodological orientation and Theory	What methodological orientation was stated to underpin the study? e.g. grounded theory, discourse analysis, ethnography, phenomenology, content analysis	Thematic analysis	5
<i>Participant selection</i>			
10. Sampling	How were participants selected? e.g. purposive, convenience, consecutive, snowball	Survey – non-selective, data not contributing to this paper.  Interviews - purposive selection (for maximum variation) and subject to interviewee availability	4
11. Method of approach	How were participants approached? e.g. face-to-face, telephone, mail, email	For survey respondents, email/eportfolio message sent by Foundation School administrators  Email to arrange data collection followed by face-to-face interviews for interviewees	4
12. Sample size	How many participants were in the study?	816 survey respondents – data not contributing to this paper  20 interviewees	4
13. Non-participation	How many people refused to participate or dropped out? Reasons?	Survey: We are unable to determine how many	N/A

		received or read the invitation email.  Interview: 76% of those contacted were not interviewed due to lack of ongoing interest or time. No interviewed participants requested to withdraw from the study or to have their data withdrawn.	
<i>Setting</i>			
14. Setting of data collection	Where was the data collected? e.g. home, clinic, workplace	Survey: participants completed online  Interview: mutually agreed venues included a wide variety of settings including workplace, home, University settings, and cafes	N/A
15. Presence of non-participants	Was anyone else present besides the participants and researchers?	Survey: unknown Interviews: no	N/A
16. Description of sample	What are the important characteristics of the sample? e.g. demographic data, date	All were junior doctors in the second year of their Foundation Programme at the time of completing the survey/interviews. The study was limited to doctors working under the supervision of Foundation Schools in England	4-5
<i>Data collection</i>			
17. Interview guide	Were questions, prompts, guides provided by the authors? Was it pilot tested?	Survey was constructed after review of literature, discussion with experts and early forms were pilot tested with junior doctors. Questions and prompts which guided the interviews drew on the above and additional knowledge of prevalent discourses about career choices and the potential impact of the contract dispute.	4
18. Repeat interviews	Were repeat interviews carried out? If yes, how many?	No	N/A
19. Audio/visual	Did the research use audio or visual	Audio recorded	4

1	recording	recording to collect the data?		
2	20. Field notes	Were field notes made during and/or after the inter view or focus group?	Yes	N/A
3	21. Duration	What was the duration of the inter views or focus group?	Ranged from 43 – 83 minutes (average 61.8 minutes)	4-5
4	22. Data saturation	Was data saturation discussed?	Yes	4
5	23. Transcripts returned	Were transcripts returned to participants for comment and/or correction?	No	N/A
6	<b>Domain 3: analysis and findings</b>			
7	<i>Data analysis</i>			
8	24. Number of data coders	How many data coders coded the data?	1, coding trees and emerging themes were discussed by EP and SS with other team members informed at intervals	N/A
9	25. Description of the coding tree	Did authors provide a description of the coding tree?	A detailed description of codes used for the entire data set can be made available, however since the vast majority of the coding is dedicated to a broader understanding of factors affecting career choices, only a small proportion of these are directly related to issues involving the contract dispute	N/A
10	26. Derivation of themes	Were themes identified in advance or derived from the data?	Both, some evident from literature or experience of the field, others in response to the data	N/A
11	27. Software	What software, if applicable, was used to manage the data?	NVivo	5
12	28. Participant checking	Did participants provide feedback on the findings?	No	N/A
13	<i>Reporting</i>			
14	29. Quotations presented	Were participant quotations presented to illustrate the themes/findings? Was each quotation identified? e.g. participant number	Yes, and interviewee IDs are shown	4-12
15	30. Data and findings consistent	Was there consistency between the data presented and the findings?	Yes	5-12
16	31. Clarity of major themes	Were major themes clearly presented in the findings?	Yes	5-12
17	32. Clarity of minor themes	Is there a description of diverse cases or discussion of minor themes?	Broad themes with specific examples	5-12

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4 **Once you have completed this checklist, please save a copy and upload it as part**  
5 **of your submission. When requested to do so as part of the upload process,**  
6 **please select the file type: *Checklist*. You will NOT be able to proceed with**  
7 **submission unless the checklist has been uploaded. Please DO NOT include this**  
8 **checklist as part of the main manuscript document. It must be uploaded as a**  
9 **separate file.**  
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