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Self-Identified Barriers to Rural Mental Health Services in Iowa by Patients with Multiple Comorbidities: A Qualitative Interview Study

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Access to Rural Mental Health Services

Self-Identified Barriers to Rural Mental Health Services in Iowa by Patients with Multiple

Comorbidities:

Qualitative Interview Study

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ABSTRACT

Objectives: Individuals in rural areas face critical health disparities, including limited access to mental healthcare services and elevated burden of chronic illnesses. While disease outcomes are often worse in individuals who have both physical and mental comorbidities, few studies have examined rural, chronically-ill patients' experiences accessing mental health services. While disease outcomes are often worse in individuals who have both physical and mental comorbidities, few studies have examined rural, chronically-ill patients' experiences accessing mental health services. The aim of the study was to determine barriers to finding, receiving, and adhering to mental health treatments in this population to inform future interventions delivering services.

Design: We conducted a qualitative study of barriers to mental healthcare access. Nineteen interviews were analyzed deductively for barriers using a modified version of Penchansky & Thomas's theory of access as an analytic framework.

Setting: This study was conducted remotely using telephonic interviews. Participants were located in various rural Iowa towns and cities.

Participants: 15 rural Iowans with multiple physical comorbidities as well as anxiety and/or depression.

Results: We found that while patients in this study often felt that their mental health was important to address, they experienced multiple, but overlapping, barriers to services that delayed care or broke their continuity of receiving care, including limited knowledge of extant services and how to find them, difficulties obtaining referrals, and unsatisfactory relationships with mental health service providers.

Conclusions: Our findings highlight the need for intervention across multiple domains of access is necessary for successful long-term management of mental health disorders for patients with multiple chronic comorbidities in Iowa.

STRENGTHS AND LIMITATIONS OF THE STUDY:

- This study used an adapted theory of access to demonstrate multiple pathways by which access to rural mental health services in Iowa was hindered.
- Qualitative findings highlight lived experiences and provided context for barriers experienced among an understudied population.
- This study is the first qualitative investigation, to our knowledge, of barriers experienced by rural Iowans after the privatization of Medicaid and the state-wide shift towards community-based mental health services, which changed the distribution and delivery of services compared to previous years.
- The main limitations of this study was that it used a small, largely homogenous population which may have limited generalizability; experiences of rural patients of color may not be represented in the study findings.

INTRODUCTION

Mental illness is one of the largest contributors to disease and disability in the US.^{1 2} Despite this, access and delivery of mental healthcare services in rural settings remains a critical public health issue. Rural residents are less likely to seek and receive treatment for their mental health than those living in urban areas.³ Further, rural individuals being treated for their mental health have fewer mental health visits and are less likely to see a specialist for their mental health than their urban counterparts.⁴ Stigma, lack of mental health care specialists, and an overall insufficient healthcare workforce have been frequently cited as common barriers to delivering mental health services to rural populations.⁴⁻⁹

In addition to disparities in mental health services, rural populations are also disproportionately affected by chronic diseases. Conditions such as cardiovascular disease, stroke, and diabetes often have higher prevalence and have worse outcomes in the presence of mental health disorders.¹⁰⁻¹⁵ In fact, the greater the severity of mental illness, the higher the incidence and excess mortality from many chronic illnesses, such as cardiovascular and respiratory diseases.¹⁶ Since comorbid mental illness has been demonstrated to shorten lifespans in the presence of physical morbidities,¹⁷ unmet mental health needs may be an underlying factor contributing to this excess mortality in rural areas.

Given that rurality and chronic illness often share multiple and reciprocal pathways for poor mental health,^{15 18-21} it is worth investigating rural chronically-ill patients' engagement with mental health care. However, there is a paucity of research on the experiences of patients in rural areas regarding their use of mental health care, and it is unknown if chronically-ill rural patients have unique or excess barriers to mental health care than those without chronic illnesses.

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3 In this paper we describe patient-reported barriers to seeking, receiving, and adhering to
4 mental health treatments in rural Iowans with multiple physical comorbidities. We used a
5 modified version of Penchansky & Thomas's theory of access²² to characterize barriers reported
6 by patients during semi-structured interviews. Using this adapted model, we were able to
7 characterize barriers across six dimensions of access for this patient population. The information
8 from this study was intended to identify areas for intervention to expand access to mental health
9 services in this high-risk, but underserved population.
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20 **Defining access**

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23 Access to healthcare is a central problem to healthcare service provision and is one of the
24 most widely used concepts in discussions about healthcare policy. The concept of "access"
25 encompasses multiple dimensions and pathways that enable users to find, enter, and utilize
26 healthcare systems. Access is often defined in the literature as the degree to which characteristics
27 of the healthcare system fit the characteristics of the health system users,²² although these
28 dimensions have been defined differently by different authors.^{23 24}
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37 In 1981, Penchansky & Thomas developed a theory of access which is still widely used
38 to conceptualize problems of access in public health research. The theory contained five
39 dimensions: availability (supply and demand of services), accessibility (location of supply to
40 patients), accommodation (organization of system to accept patients), affordability (price of
41 services and patients' ability to pay for services), and acceptability (patient attitudes about the
42 immutability qualities about the service and service provider, and vice-versa).²²
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52 Noting that the original theory did not account for patient knowledge and understanding
53 of extant services, Levesque's split model of access, which describes parallel user and system
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3 dimensions of access, posits that the “ability to perceive” a need for care is critical to healthcare
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5 access.²⁴ Similarly, Saurman added a sixth dimension of access— awareness—to Penchansky &
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7 Thomas’s theory after an evaluation of a telepsychiatry program revealed that many users of
8
9 emergency mental health services were unaware of the existence of these services, what they
10
11 entailed, and who they were intended to serve.²³
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16 In the previous decade, there were calls for policy to increase intervention on select
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18 dimensions of access from Penchansky & Thomas’s model. For instance, the 2015 National
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20 Rural Health Association (NRHA) released a policy brief calling for a “multi-pronged approach”
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22 to mental health disparities through focusing on disparities of availability, accessibility,
23
24 affordability, and acceptability.²⁵ Similarly, Smalley and colleagues identified three key areas—
25
26 accessibility, availability, and acceptability— to decrease rural mental health disparities.²⁶ While
27
28 these calls correctly identified a need to address multiple pathways contributing to disparities in
29
30 mental healthcare access, they disregard other important dimensions of access. Further, while
31
32 these provide helpful models for conceptualizing access, there are few studies grounding the
33
34 utility of these theories in empirical investigations of patient experiences. Rural patients with
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36 multiple comorbidities are particularly interesting to study, as they paradoxically have relatively
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38 high contact with medical professionals, but still face disparities in mental health care access.
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43 **METHODS**

44 **Context and setting**

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47 To fill this gap, we conducted a qualitative study of barriers and facilitators to rurally-
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49 based mental health care. We collected semi-structured interviews over the phone and analyzed
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51 them by applying a modified Penchansky & Thomas’s theory of access as an analytical
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3 framework. A sample of rurally-based patients with multiple chronic physical comorbidities and
4
5 anxiety and/or depression were enrolled from a previous prospective, cluster-randomized,
6
7 controlled clinical trial called Improved Cardiovascular Risk Reduction to Enhance Rural
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9 Primary Care, or ICARE.^{27 28} ICARE was conducted in 12 private physician offices in Iowa. All
10
11 the study procedures for both ICARE and this study were approved by the university Institutional
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13 Review Board prior to beginning research activities.
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16 17 18 **Overall study design:**

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20 This is a qualitative study of semi-structured interviews. We used a prior study (ICARE)
21
22 as a convenience sample. Interviews were conducted over the phone and analyzed deductively in
23
24 NVIVO.²⁹
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27 28 **Eligibility:**

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30 This study used patients from the original ICARE study as a convenience sample of
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32 chronically-ill patients receiving rurally-based mental health care. The original ICARE study
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34 followed a two-step process for inclusion.²⁸ First, English-speaking males and females aged 50 or
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36 older who were seen at their primary care clinic within the previous 24 months with at least one of
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38 the following conditions were identified: 1) diabetes 2) hypertension, or 3) hypercholesterolemia
39
40 with a history of peripheral artery disease, coronary artery disease, stroke, transient ischemic
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42 attack, or diabetes. Second, subjects had to have at least three chronic illnesses or risk factors that
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44 could include the aforementioned diseases or any of the following: coronary artery disease,
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46 myocardial infarction, stroke, transient ischemic attack, atrial fibrillation, peripheral vascular
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48 disease, claudication, carotid artery disease, current smoking, or obesity.
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54 ICARE patients were eligible to participate in the present study if they 1) self-reported
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56 ever having a diagnosis of anxiety or depression or 2) had a diagnosis of anxiety or depression
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3 reported in their electronic medical records, which was determined during the ICARE trial. The
4
5 justification for examining mental health in ICARE patients stemmed from a finding that anxiety
6
7 and depression were highly prevalent in this cohort, as 156 of the 302 patients enrolled in the
8
9 ICARE study had self-reported or diagnosed anxiety or depression during the trial, indicating the
10
11 potential for unmet care needs and elevated cardiovascular risk.²⁷
12
13

14 15 **Recruitment**

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17 We contacted 156 eligible patients through mailed letters containing the elements of
18
19 informed consent. Interested patients then notified us of their willingness to participate by
20
21 returning a postcard with their contact information, contacting us via a dedicated study phone
22
23 number, or the study email address. Twelve ICARE patients could not be contacted due to
24
25 changes in address made since the clinical trial ended. The first author then contacted the patient
26
27 to schedule a time for an interview over the phone. Patients could be contacted up to three times
28
29 to schedule an initial interview before being lost to follow-up. Patients could be interviewed up
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31 to two additional times to clarify questions that arose during the analysis process. Patients were
32
33 offered a \$25 check voucher for every interview completed.
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39 40 **Data collection**

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42 Interviews were conducted from September 2017 – June 2018 by the first author. A semi-
43
44 structured interview guide was developed by the first and second authors and contained
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46 questions about the patient's past and current experiences obtaining mental healthcare and with
47
48 different treatments, how they discussed their mental health with providers, their knowledge of
49
50 available resources, how they prioritized and balanced their mental and physical healthcare
51
52 needs, and what ideally their mental healthcare would include. The interview guide underwent
53
54 iterative revisions by the first and second authors by reviewing interview audio and transcripts
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3 throughout the data collection process and adding or changing questions to probe for additional
4 or missing information. Interviews lasted between 20 minutes to 2 hours and were recorded. To
5 protect patient privacy, identifying information was redacted from audio files using Audacity.
6
7 Audio files were transcribed using an online transcription service (Rev.com).
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9

13 **Data analysis**

16 Analysis of qualitative data was performed by deductive thematic analysis using a
17 modified theory of access described by Penchansky & Thomas and Saurman. The first and
18 second authors developed a codebook that contained six broad dimensions of access previously
19 described in the literature as categories for analysis—accessibility, availability, affordability,
20 accommodation, acceptability, and awareness. Conflicts about coding were resolved among the
21 research team by discussing and revising the codebook. The final codebook was developed by
22 two researchers coding two (~10%) transcripts independently and comparing results for
23 agreement.
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25

26 Transcripts were then coded deductively line-by-line using NVIVO²⁹ for barriers and
27 facilitators for access to mental healthcare by the first author. For the purposes of analysis, we
28 used a broad definition of mental health services, including specialized care, primary care, and
29 more informal care settings, such as support groups. Text was coded as a facilitator if it assisted
30 the patient in receiving or adhering to mental health treatment. Conversely, text was coded as a
31 barrier if it prevented the patient from receiving or sustaining mental healthcare. When all
32 transcripts were coded, the coded text within each category was compared for similarities
33 endorsed by patients across interviews. Similarities within our analytic categories were grouped
34 into themes. Themes with illustrative quotations are described in the results section.
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Patient and public involvement:

Participants were not involved in any phase of the development, design, or writing of this study.

RESULTS

Nineteen prospective subjects contacted us with their interest in participating; 3 were lost to follow-up and 1 decided not to be interviewed. We ultimately interviewed 15 patients. Four patients were re-interviewed for follow-up questions, resulting in a total of 19 interviews. The majority of patients were female, white, and had an educational attainment of 12 years or fewer (Table 1). Nearly three-quarters of patients had public insurance. We recruited ICARE patients with either diagnosed or self-reported anxiety and/or depression; however, when asked if they had ever received a mental health diagnosis, patients also reported: post-traumatic stress disorder (PTSD), panic disorder, bipolar-II, substance abuse, “anger issues,” and prior suicidality. Patients rated both their physical and mental health as important health priorities.

Table 1: Patient characteristics (n= 15)

Variable	Mean (SD)	N (%)
Age (range 53-71 years)	61.7 (5.1)	
Gender		
Female		12 (80)
Male		3 (20)
Race & ethnicity		
White, non-Hispanic		14 (93.33)
Black		1 (6.67)
Educational attainment		
≤ 12 years		9 (60)
Associates or technical degree		4 (26.67)
College or higher		2 (13.33)
Insurance type		
Medicare		7 (46.67)
Medicaid		4 (26.67)
Private		3 (20)
None/self-pay		1 (6.67)
ICARE recruitment criteria		
Diagnosis of depression		9 (60)
Diagnosis of anxiety		9 (60)
Self-reported depression		10 (66.67)
Self-reported anxiety		12 (80)
Ever had a mental health diagnosis		11 (73.3)
Ever took psychiatric medication		13 (86.67)
Currently taking psychiatric medication		12 (80)
Ever saw a mental health specialist		13 (86.67)
Psychiatrist		6 (46.15)
Psychiatric nurse		1 (7.69)
Therapist or counselor		10 (76.92)
Currently seeing a mental health specialist		4 (26.67)
Psychiatrist		2 (13.33)
Therapist or counselor		2 (13.33)
Self-rated importance of addressing mental health (1= least important, 10= most important)	8.93 (1.73)	
Self-rated importance of addressing physical health (1= least important, 10=most important)	9.46 (.88)	

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3 A requirement of enrolling in the ICARE study was that all patients had a primary care
4 provider, thus, in this sub-study all patients had some level of access to medical care. Most
5 patients were receiving mental health services through their primary care providers. A majority
6 of patients had seen mental health specialists (either a psychiatrist, psychiatric nurse, or a
7 therapist) at some point in their lifetime. However, only slightly more than a quarter were
8 currently seeing a provider other than their PCP for their mental health. Despite this current level
9 of access, patients reported a myriad of barriers to mental health care in rural settings, which are
10 summarized in Table 2 and described below.
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Table 2: Dimensions of access and patient-reported barriers to mental health care

Dimensions	Definition	Patient-reported Barriers
Accessibility	Services are offered within a reasonable proximity to patient in terms of time and distance.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Distance to mental health specialists/resources Lack of motility Severe chronic illness
Availability	Services physically exist, are in adequate supply, and can meet the volume and needs of the patients served.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Difficulty establishing long-term relationships with providers Lack of facilities offering mental health services
Affordability	Cost to consumer and the financial viability of service provider. Includes payment from multiple funding streams.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Lack of mental health parity Pharmaceuticals not covered Out-of-pocket cost
Accommodation	Clinic operations are organized such that patients can utilize services easily; services are easy and convenient to obtain and use.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Communication channel incompatible with patient Waiting lists/waiting times Crisis care unavailable Difficulty receiving referrals
Acceptability	Patient attitudes about the personal and practice characteristics of a provider or qualities of a healthcare service.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Relationship and communication with provider Treatment incompatible with patient
Awareness	Patients can identify that some form of services exist, can be reached, and have an impact on the health of the individual.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Inability to locate resources Poor health literacy Poor knowledge of mental health system

Accessibility

Accessibility refers to the relationship between patients, the location of services, and the time spent traveling to obtain them. Patients indicated differences in accessibility for PCPs and mental health professionals, such as therapists and psychiatrists. Most patients reported that their PCP practiced locally and was easier to access in terms of time and distance; thus, for many, their PCP was the most accessible provider for obtaining mental health services. Patients faced more difficulty traveling to psychiatrists, therapists, and support groups due to distance and time spent traveling. Patients frequently estimated traveling times of a minimum of 45 minutes to the next largest town that would offer specialist resources. Some patients noted that while some form of specialist resources might be available locally, they felt that other places had better resources than what was immediately available. One respondent stated:

The bottom line is if you need help, you can get it, but the degree of expertise that lies in these people is not like a big city. This is a different caliber of doctor. (Patient 3, M, aged 62)

Further, transportation was also a barrier for rural and chronically ill patients. Some patients reported a lack of mobility or independence for traveling, such as not having a driver's license, broken vehicles, or being mostly house-bound from severe chronic illness, such as cancers and chronic pain; these patients relied on friends and family to help them get to medical appointments.

Availability

Availability refers to the relationship between quantity and quality of services and patient demand for services. Patients reported many factors that impacted the availability of mental

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3 health services. During the course of the ICARE study, and prior to these interviews, the
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5 governor privatized Medicaid and also closed several mental health facilities in Iowa. Notably,
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7 several patients discussed the closure of state-run mental health facilities and psychiatric units as
8
9 an indication of dwindling resources or opportunities for receiving mental healthcare, even
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11 though none had disclosed having been patients at those facilities. These closures gave some
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13 patients the perception that mental health services were overall in short supply. As one patient
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15 stated:
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20 In our town it seems like people can't get help. They'll end up
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22 going to jail and the jail tries pushing them off onto mental health
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24 or vice versa. There should be a place that they can go, but every
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26 time you turn around they're wanting to close them. ... Doctors are
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28 doing okay as far as I'm concerned in this town, but it's their
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30 limited resources. (Patient 13, F, aged 60)
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35 In addition to a shortage of physical facilities, patients often noted a lack of providers,
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37 particularly those with specialist expertise. Patients who were currently receiving specialized
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39 mental health care noted that their providers had high patient loads and it was difficult to get an
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41 appointment with a specialist provider, particularly psychiatrists. Again, PCPs were often easier
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43 to see when problems arose:
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47 My psychiatrist is a little difficult because there are so many
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49 people at [clinic], mental health runs rampant over there. My
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51 doctor's appointments are easier. I called on Friday, had an
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53 appointment Monday. (Patient 10, F, aged 67)
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56 **Affordability**

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3 Affordability refers to the ability for healthcare services to be reimbursed through
4 different funding streams. While all patients in this study had some access to physical and mental
5 healthcare in terms of paying for services, the ability to pay for services was dependent on the
6 type of provider and degree of insurance coverage. While receiving some types of mental health
7 care from PCPs was often a more affordable option, receiving specialist services was less
8 frequently affordable, with patients reporting paying high copays for clinic visits and
9 medications. Some patients were retired or did not earn enough to cover copays. Insurance
10 coverage was particularly problematic for patients seeking therapists:
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22 I could always go to a psychologist, but it costs money. I live on a
23 fixed income with Social Security. I don't have extra money that I
24 could just say, "Gee, I think I'll make an appointment with a
25 therapist." (Patient 10, F, aged 67)
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31 Patients in this sample were largely insured through Medicare and Medicaid (~73%),
32 which had limitations due to the low number of mental health professionals accepting subsidized
33 insurance. The recent changes in Iowa's privatized Medicaid system left some patients with gaps
34 in their mental healthcare coverage after one managed care organization dropped out of the
35 program, which in turn impacted the availability of treatment options. For instance, one patient
36 recalled recently being forced to cancel appointments with his therapist after the change. Another
37 patient recalled that insurance companies were not willing to cover more expensive depression
38 medications prescribed by her physician:
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50 Now we are living by what the insurance companies tell us. And I
51 suppose that even includes the depression type drugs... They
52 won't pay for it. 90% of the time it seems that insurance
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3 companies are rejecting what the doctor says. Get to the pharmacy
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5 and you have to play “find out what we can do for you.” (Patient 1,
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7 F, aged 63)
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10 **Accommodation**

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13 Accommodation refers to the ease and convenience of using services. Patients described
14 several ways that extant services were made less accessible due to organizational and policy
15 factors within primary care and mental health clinics.
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21 First, communication with the patient influenced adherence and appointment attendance.
22 Clinics did not always communicate to the patient through their preferred channels, meaning that
23 reminders about upcoming appointments and important updates about the patients’ care were
24 sometimes missed. In the context of mental health services, the lack of communication between
25 patients and providers could be disruptive to their care. This is exemplified by one patient’s
26 account how her clinic did not notified her about her mental health provider leaving:
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36 I was devastated because my lady that I go see just up and left.
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38 And I'd been seeing her for 10 or 15 years. She went to a different
39 job down thirty miles from here. I started crying right there. She let
40 people know a month in advance, but I was seeing her every six
41 weeks. So needless to say I did not see anybody. (Patient 13, F,
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49 aged 60)

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51 Further, clinical protocols such as depression or anxiety screening may influence how
52 readily patients initiate or alter aspects of their mental healthcare. For instance, some patients
53 receiving mental health services through their PCP said their physician never asked them about
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3 their emotional well-being and had only begun treatment after telling their physicians that they
4 suspected they had depression; these patients felt responsible for initiating discussions about
5 their mood and treatment outcomes. However, not all patients were willing to initiate these
6 conversations unprompted. As one patient suggested:
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13 Every time I go to see [my doctor], he asks me if I'm depressed.

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15 But I don't know that every doctor does that. I think that mental
16 health sometimes is overlooked, but sometimes it's the root of
17 some of your physical problems. So I think the doctors need to
18 approach it as my doctor does and ask me how I'm doing mentally.
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24 (Patient 9, F, aged 72)
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27 Referral policies and procedures also impacted the ability of patients to receive
28 specialized mental healthcare. Many patients were uncertain about where to receive additional or
29 specialized services and relied on their PCPs for referrals. However, some patients had trouble
30 requesting and receiving referrals to other providers or resources. This became a significant
31 barrier when patients needed services beyond what their PCP could provide:
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39 I know my doctor never suggested talking to anybody or doing
40 anything more, and you can't hardly get referrals to go see other
41 people without the doctors. ... You almost always have to have
42 that referral. And then its question is who's good and who's not
43 good, and I don't know how to figure that part out. (Patient 1, F,
44 aged 63)
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3 Patient 1 ultimately never received a referral but decided to stay with her PCP due to her
4 proximity to the clinic. Even after finding specialized care, other patients found that it was
5 difficult to initiate services with new providers for different reasons. Some facilities were not
6 accepting new patients or were not willing to allow clients to see other therapists within their
7 facility when patients requested a change. These problems then prompted patients to cease care
8 with that provider in favor of seeking a more accommodating one, as exemplified by this patient
9 who had requested to see a different therapist:
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20 By the end of five months, I asked to see someone else. They told
21 me that they don't do that. So I never went back. (Patient 10, F,
22 aged 67)
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27 **Acceptability**

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30 Acceptability refers to patient attitudes about the characteristics of a provider or a
31 healthcare service and vice-versa. In other words, acceptability describes the degree to which
32 patients and providers tolerate the immutable qualities of one another or the service being
33 offered. In this sample, the most significant patient-reported barriers impacting acceptability
34 were poor relationships with the provider and dissatisfaction with aspects of the treatment.
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41 Patients described the relationship they had with any mental healthcare provider as one of
42 the most significant determinants of whether they would continue seeking mental healthcare
43 care. A negative experience with a mental health provider could prevent the patient from
44 returning for subsequent visits. Sometimes this resulted in a further delay for seeking treatment
45 with other providers for long periods of time ranging from months to years:
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53 I saw that therapist I think in 2010. Didn't work for me. I just didn't
54 feel like I was talking to somebody who understood what I was
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3 going through. That's really difficult for me. Most of the time I
4
5 never finished the sessions. (Patient 10, F, aged 67)

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7
8 At the time of the interview in 2018, this patient had experienced a recent increase in her
9
10 anxiety. Only when a provider she trusted, her long-term psychiatrist, suggested that she talk to a
11
12 therapist did she reluctantly consider going again, stating, "I'm going to try it again. I'm very
13
14 hesitant about doing it."

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16
17 Notably, patients overall did not feel that providers' professional backgrounds (such as
18
19 psychiatry or family medicine) were as important as their interpersonal skills. When asked about
20
21 what they were looking for in a mental health provider, patients described the ideal provider as
22
23 someone who was trustworthy; regardless of their professional background, providers should be
24
25 comfortable discussing mental health concerns and patient histories, understanding of their
26
27 feelings and preferences, and be an active, empathetic listener. Patients valued being able to
28
29 communicate openly about their experiences without fear of judgement. Patients felt that being
30
31 truly heard and understood was paramount to their own recoveries:
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35 I've noticed that some doctors are kind of like "Oh, I don't wanna
36
37 talk about that."... If you're gonna shy away from this, what else
38
39 are you gonna shy away from? So I didn't feel comfortable with
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41 them, and I was like "Forget it". ... You've gotta be able to talk to
42
43 them about mental health, your physical health. (Patient 11, F,
44
45 aged 54)
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50 Several patients reported having prior negative experiences with a provider that they saw
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52 for their mental health. Thus, patients were eager to retain providers they liked for as long as
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3 needed. Patients felt that having a positive long-term relationship with a provider enabled them
4
5 to receive better mental healthcare, as it enabled their provider to interpret their affect accurately:
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8 I think from all the times that I've went and seen her that she knew
9
10 that something's wrong even if I didn't want to tell her about it.
11
12 And I think that, to me that showed me that she really cared. That
13
14 she knew my thoughts and feelings. (Patient 13, F, aged 60)
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18 Patients also discussed disruption of valued clinical relationships as significant barriers to
19
20 receiving mental health care; the impact of providers leaving their clinics often meant that the
21
22 patient would have to start looking for trusted providers again. Sometimes this left a gap in the
23
24 management or provision of their mental health care for several months. Since patients in this
25
26 sample preferred to stay with the same trusted provider, disruptions in clinical relationships were
27
28 often emotional experiences, as it was for one patient whose long-term PCP, who also managed
29
30 her depression and anxiety treatment at the time, retired:
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35 I was so upset. I told him, "I'm not happy about this," when he let
36
37 us know. We got a letter and I just felt like crying because I did not
38
39 want that to ever happen. I always thought "I'll have him forever."
40
41
42 (Patient 8, F, aged 70)
43
44

45 Additionally, patients valued being able to collaborate with their providers on treatment
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47 decisions. Some patients felt that their previous providers didn't respect their desire to alter
48
49 aspects about their treatment or therapy, which lead to them ceasing care with that provider. This
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51 seemed especially true for patients who wished to discontinue medications with deleterious side-
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53 effects:
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3 Well, I had told [psychiatrist] my prior experience with certain
4 drugs. ... And he was coming up with these diagnoses that really
5 were not pertinent to me. He knew it all, you know. ... I already
6 told him that I don't take those drugs and that I've tried them in the
7 past and they just haven't worked for me. We didn't have a very
8 good connection. (Patient 3, M, aged 62)
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17 While patients said they were generally open-minded about their providers'
18 recommendations, they framed providers' willingness to negotiate treatment options to find the
19 best fit as an indication that their providers truly understood their needs. As the previous patient
20 stated:
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26
27 If they're willing to meet me halfway, we get along just fine. But
28 just don't talk. You also have to listen. A lot of doctors don't
29 wanna listen. You throw up a couple of symptoms, this and that,
30 they've already got a diagnosis. But they really don't know your
31 history. ... That's why I wouldn't want to lose the doctor I have
32 right now. (Patient 3, M, aged 62)
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42 Finally, patients described different ways that their treatment options were not compatible
43 with patients in terms with their clinical or personal goals. Many patients recounted at least one
44 time they had been dissatisfied with their psychiatric medication. However, sometimes patients
45 felt that medication was not right for them, and sought other services, such as counseling or
46 therapy, but also encountered difficulties finding or asking for alternatives:
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53 There was a point when I got so depressed, and all the doctor
54 wanted to do was give me pills. Beyond that, they weren't too
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3 interested. So you take the pills, you sleep a lot...you really don't
4 get any better. ... They may help, but it won't get to the problems,
5 of how to really deal with the way you're feeling and things. ... I
6 just felt kind of let down...you know, when I did get to the point
7 where I asked for [help], it wasn't like it was a high on her list. She
8 gave a prescription but that's not it. (Patient 1, F, aged 63)
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17 Awareness

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20 Awareness refers to patients' ability to perceive and locate extant services, as well as
21 their health literacy. In other words, patients can identify that some form of services exist, can be
22 reached, and have an impact on the health of the individual. Overall, patients said they were
23 largely uncertain about where to go for mental health concerns and were less familiar with extant
24 options for receiving mental health services than their physical health care.
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32 Patients had varying knowledge of Iowa's mental health system and mental healthcare
33 options. For instance, most patients who had received some form of services from a mental
34 health specialist, such as a psychiatrist or therapist, could not describe how different treatment
35 options worked. Further, some patients could not readily distinguish between different provider
36 types, including their own service providers, and were unsure of how to access services offered
37 by different provider types. While PCPs were more accessible and available than other provider
38 types, not all patients were aware that they could or should discuss mental health concerns with
39 their PCP, as one patient put it:
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51 Usually if you're going to the doctor you may quiz them about
52 some other things. But it's not like I make an appointment just to
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3 go and discuss mental. I go in to do my *medical* stuff and discuss
4
5 it. (Patient 1, F, aged 63, emphasis in original)
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8 Another reported barrier that resulted in delaying seeking treatment was an initial lack of
9
10 knowledge about common mental health disorders. Patients in the sample usually described
11
12 learning about mental health conditions and services only after experiencing them first-hand. For
13
14 instance, many patients reported that they first learned about anxiety or depression after they had
15
16 been diagnosed with the condition. In some cases, patients learned about these conditions from
17
18 family and friends with similar experiences, who then told them how to seek care.
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23 Patients differed in their abilities and preferred channels for finding out information about
24
25 their conditions, local resources, and treatment options. While patients primarily could only
26
27 name the places that they had previously received services, over the course of the interviews they
28
29 mentioned several preferred channels for researching other options, including the local
30
31 phonebook or service directory, magazines, and local churches. While one patient said they
32
33 would research their options on the internet, two others said they were unable to use internet
34
35 searches to find more information (one didn't have a computer, the other didn't know how to
36
37 search). Many patients felt that extant mental health services were not apparent to those in need.
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41 As one patient stated:
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44 Some [mental health services] don't advertise, so a lot of people
45
46 don't know ... what's available. You see all these other
47
48 advertisements, but you never see where to go for mental health
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50 help. Not once have I seen help for that. So I don't think people
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52 know where to turn. (Patient 11, F, aged 54)
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3 Facilitating awareness, PCPs emerged as one of the most important sources for education
4 and information for patients, as patients reported relying heavily or even solely on their PCPs for
5 information about mental health conditions. When asked where they would go if they had
6 questions or developed new problems with their mental health, most patients said they would
7 return to their PCP. As one patient stated in her advice to patients going through similar struggles
8 with their mental health, one patient responded:

16 Go to their family doctor and tell them exactly what they're
17 feeling. It's the only way that they can get any guidance. (Patient 8,
18 F, aged 70)

24 DISCUSSION

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26
27 This study examined barriers experienced by a sample of 15 rural adults managing
28 multiple physical conditions as well as depression and/or anxiety. We found that while patients
29 in the study generally believed that treating both their physical and mental health were important
30 priorities, long-term mental healthcare with any one provider was often hindered by multiple,
31 sometimes over-lapping barriers. Except for the dimension of accessibility, we did not observe
32 chronic illness contributing to excess barriers to receiving mental health services among our
33 sample. Despite this, most patients experienced at least one barrier to receiving mental healthcare
34 in their lifetimes. This study is the first qualitative investigation, to our knowledge, of barriers
35 experienced by rural Iowans after the privatization of Medicaid and the state-wide shift towards
36 community-based mental health services, which changed the distribution and delivery of services
37 compared to previous years. This study contributes to our understanding of the impact of this
38 changing context for delivering rural mental health services.

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3 While studies about rural US adults with comorbid physical and mental comorbidities are
4 particularly limited, findings from this study both confirm and augment those of extant research
5 on rural health disparities. For example, the importance of a good patient-doctor relationship has
6 been found in previous studies³⁰ and may be more important than other factors, such as distance
7 to services, for rural patients.³¹ The present study suggests that shared decision-making between
8 the patient and provider, as well as clinical organization, may facilitate positive patient-physician
9 relationships and greater adherence to treatment. Further, similar to Saurman *et al*, we found that
10 patients' awareness of extant mental health services was indeed a critical dimension of access in
11 rural populations;^{23 32} our findings indicate rural social networks and public advertisement of
12 mental health services in clinics or in the community may be viable avenues for promoting
13 service utilization by facilitating awareness. While strengthening the role of the PCP in
14 managing common psychiatric concerns, such as anxiety and depression, has been proposed as
15 an intervention to improving access in rural areas,³³ our results complicate that strategy, as
16 patients in our study felt that PCPs, while the most accessible, were not always the most
17 acceptable option for addressing their mental health concerns. Finally, while other studies of
18 mental health service utilization by rural individuals demonstrate how stigma affects the
19 acceptability of services,³⁴ our study finds that other issues, such as feeling understood by the
20 provider, impact the acceptability of services, even among patients who actively want help.
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45 Our study has important implications for intervention planning. As reported by the
46 study's patients, barriers to access were often related to one another. For instance, under
47 accessibility, patients reported unreliable transportation arrangements or mobility issues that
48 made traveling more difficult than other rural individuals. Similarly, under the dimension of
49 availability, patients felt they had few local options and would have to travel to find care.
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Access to Rural Mental Health Services

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3 Finding diverse means to deliver mental health services either locally or remotely may be
4 especially important for rural individuals with limited mobility. Similarly, the patient-provider
5 relationship was a significant finding in both the dimensions of availability (difficulty
6 establishing clinical relationships) and acceptability (relationship and communication with
7 provider), and strongly influenced patients' desire to return for appointments. Finally, awareness
8 was pertinent to both the dimensions of availability and acceptability, as it influenced patients'
9 knowledge of how to seek mental healthcare, as well as shaped patients' expectations of clinical
10 outcomes. These results indicate that interventions aimed at this population should account for
11 multiple barriers to access.
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24 This study had several limitations. First, patients in this study were largely female and
25 nearly exclusively white. This may reflect the gender and race differences in help-seeking
26 patterns, which has been well-documented in other studies³⁵. Further, the barriers to access
27 experienced by Iowans of color may not be represented in these findings, indicating a need to
28 research the experiences of racial minorities obtaining rural mental healthcare, specifically.
29
30 Second, while small sample sizes are appropriate for qualitative work, we only recruited ~12%
31 and ultimately interviewed ~9% of eligible ICARE patients. This low-response rate may be a
32 product of stigma against mental health disorders.
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44 This study also had a number of strengths. We believe that our recruitment strategy using
45 a convenience sample of rural patients from the ICARE study allowed us to interview in-depth
46 patients from a number of towns across rural Iowa, thus allowing us to have a wide geographic
47 sampling within the state and within multiple hospital and clinic systems. Further, our semi-
48 structured and iterative approach to writing an interview guide allowed us flexibility to probe for
49 issues that were important to participants. Finally, our analytic framework of a modified theory
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of access from Penchansky & Thomas allowed us to account for and characterize multiple interrelated barriers at once.

CONCLUSION:

This study offers important insight into the real-life experiences of rural individuals with multiple comorbidities with seeking mental healthcare, such as the importance of the patient-provider relationship in care-seeking behaviors, understanding of the diversity of healthcare settings and provider types, and critical organizational and policy-level barriers. It is important that interventions are grounded in the needs of intended service users; in this case, interventions targeting rural individuals with multiple comorbidities may need to account for multiple and overlapping barriers.

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FOOTNOTES:

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Patient consent: obtained

IRB approval: Ethical approval for study activities was obtained from the University of Iowa IRB (08/28/2017).

APPENDIX A: Phone script

Hello, my name is [NAME], and I am a Co-Investigator for the ICARE study you and your clinic participated in. As part of the study, a clinical pharmacist from the University of Iowa collaborated with clinic physicians in order to improve health outcomes for patients. We now hope to conduct an interview over the phone with 3-4 patients from that clinic so we can identify ways to improve mental health services in rural care settings. I received [an email or a postcard] indicating that you may be interested in participating in this interview over the telephone. The interview will take about 30-60 minutes. You also may be asked to participate in a follow-up 30-minute interview for clarification of questions that arise during the analysis of interview data. If you are interested in participating in a follow-up phone interview, you will be asked to leave a phone number and best time of day for phone contact.

Participation in this interview is completely voluntary. Is this interview something you may be interested participating in?

{If YES} Do you have some time to do the interview now? Or we could set up a later time to do the interview if you don't have time now or wanted more time to think about participating.

{If NO} I thank you for your time. Have a good day.

Let me go over some things before we begin.

If you have any questions, please feel free to ask me. Also, if you don't want to answer any questions just let me know.

With your permission, we will be recording this interview to ensure we accurately record what you say and so we can review your responses.

All information will be kept strictly confidential. I will use a random study ID number to identify you once we start recording.

Do you have any questions for me before we begin?

OK, I will begin recording now.

Hi, this is [NAME]. I am speaking with participant # _____.

Today's date is _____.

Thinking back on your interactions in health care clinics, please answer the following questions.

[interview questions]

APPENDIX B: Example interview questions

Interview guides were developed iteratively to probe for missing information.

Questions about patient's mental health service utilization

1. Have you ever been diagnosed with anxiety or depression?
2. Do you recall a provider ever asking you about your [anxiety/depression/mental health]?
What about your mood?
 - a. *{IF YES}*
 - i. How did he or she ask?
 - ii. When go to visit your healthcare provider, how often does he/she ask you about it? Every visit? Every few visits?
3. How is easy for you to talk about [anxiety/depression/mental health] with your provider?
4. Think about how your provider addresses your healthcare needs. Do you feel your provider thinks [anxiety/depression] is important to address?
 - a. *{IF PATIENT HAS DX}*
 - i. Do you think they spend enough time addressing your [anxiety/depression]?
5. Are you currently receiving any kind of treatment or therapy for [anxiety/depression] or any other mental health or mood issue?
 - a. *{IF YES}*
 - i. How satisfied are you with your current treatment?
 - ii. Are there things you wish your provider would do differently regarding your mental health care?
 1. *{IF NO}*
 - a. What do you like about their approach?
 - b. *{IF NO}*
 - i. Have you in the past?
6. Was there a time you needed care for [anxiety/depression] symptoms but could not or did not receive any?
 - a. *{IF YES}*
 - i. What would have helped you during that time?
7. Overall, what do you think would improve treatment of anxiety/depression for people experiencing it?

Healthcare priorities

8. Think about your healthcare needs and priorities. On a scale of 1-10, how important or urgent is treating your [anxiety/depression]?
 - i. Why did you pick that numbers verses a [higher/lower] number?

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3 ii. On a scale of 1-10, how important or urgent is treating your physical
4 healthcare?
5
6 9. Do you have other health issues that trouble you a lot?
7 *b. {If YES}*
8 i. How do you balance those with addressing your mental health?
9

10
11 **Patient preferences/conclusion:**
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- 13 10. In an ideal world, what would you look for in a mental health provider?
14 11. What would help you manage your [anxiety/depression] the most?
15 12. If you needed help with your mental health, who would you like to call?
16 13. Where would someone in your area go if they wanted help for their mental health?
17 14. Do you have any advice for patients struggling with a mood disorder?
18 15. Finally, do you have any recommendations for providers treating patients for
19 [anxiety/depression/mood disorders]?
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COREQ (COnsolidated criteria for REporting Qualitative research) Checklist

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

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

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

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

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BMJ Open

Self-Identified Barriers to Rural Mental Health Services in Iowa by Older Adults with Multiple Comorbidities: Qualitative Interview Study

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Access to Rural Mental Health Services

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3 1 Self-Identified Barriers to Rural Mental Health Services in Iowa by Older Adults with Multiple
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5 2
6 Comorbidities:
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8 3
9 Qualitative Interview Study
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11 4 **Authors & affiliations:**
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36 13 **Keywords:** mental health services, anxiety, depression, chronic illness, healthcare access
37

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56 23 Paper **not** presented at a meeting
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1 ABSTRACT

2 **Objectives:** Individuals in rural areas face critical health disparities, including limited access to
3 mental healthcare services and elevated burden of chronic illnesses. While disease outcomes are
4 often worse in individuals who have both physical and mental comorbidities, few studies have
5 examined rural, chronically-ill older adults' experiences accessing mental health services. The
6 aim of the study was to determine barriers to finding, receiving, and adhering to mental health
7 treatments in this population to inform future interventions delivering services.

8 **Design:** We conducted a qualitative study of barriers and facilitators to mental healthcare access.
9 19 interviews were analyzed deductively for barriers using a modified version of Penchansky
10 and Thomas's theory of access as an analytic framework.

11 **Setting:** This study was conducted remotely using telephonic interviews. Patients were located in
12 various rural Iowa towns and cities.

13 **Participants:** 15 rural Iowan older adults with multiple physical comorbidities as well as anxiety
14 and/or depression.

15 **Results:** We found that while patients in this study often felt that their mental health was
16 important to address, they experienced multiple, but overlapping, barriers to services that
17 delayed care or broke their continuity of receiving care, including limited knowledge of extant
18 services and how to find them, difficulties obtaining referrals, and unsatisfactory relationships
19 with mental health service providers.

20 **Conclusions:** Our findings indicate that intervention across multiple domains of access is
21 necessary for successful long-term management of mental health disorders for patients with
22 multiple chronic comorbidities in Iowa.

1 STRENGTHS AND LIMITATIONS OF THE STUDY:

- 2 • This study used an adapted theory of access to demonstrate multiple pathways by which
3 access to rural mental health services in Iowa was hindered.
- 4 • Participants were asked about their lived experiences and barriers encountered in seeking
5 mental healthcare in rural settings.
- 6 • This study is the first qualitative investigation, to our knowledge, of barriers experienced
7 by older rural Iowans after the privatization of Medicaid and the state-wide shift towards
8 community-based mental health services, which changed the distribution and delivery of
9 services compared to previous years.
- 10 • The main limitations of this study was that it used a small, largely homogenous
11 population which may have limited generalizability and possible selection bias;
12 experiences of rural patients of other racial and ethnic backgrounds may not be
13 represented in the study findings.

1 INTRODUCTION

2 Mental illness is one of the largest contributors to disease and disability in the United
3 States (US).^{1,2} Despite this, access and delivery of mental healthcare services in rural settings
4 remains a critical public health issue. Rural residents are less likely to seek and receive treatment
5 for their mental health than those living in urban areas.³ Further, rural individuals being treated
6 for their mental health have fewer mental health visits and are less likely to see a specialist for
7 their mental health than their urban counterparts.⁴ Stigma, lack of mental health care specialists,
8 and an overall insufficient healthcare workforce have been frequently cited as common barriers
9 to delivering mental health services to rural populations.⁴⁻⁹

10 In addition to disparities in mental health services, rural populations are also
11 disproportionately affected by chronic physical illnesses. Conditions such as cardiovascular
12 disease, stroke, and diabetes often have higher prevalence and have worse outcomes in the
13 presence of mental health disorders.¹⁰⁻¹⁵ In fact, the greater the severity of mental illness, the
14 higher the incidence and excess mortality from many chronic physical illnesses, such as
15 cardiovascular and respiratory diseases.¹⁶ Since comorbid mental illness has been demonstrated
16 to shorten lifespans in the presence of physical morbidities,¹⁷ unmet mental health needs may be
17 an underlying factor contributing to this excess mortality in rural areas.

18 Given that rurality and chronic illness often share multiple and reciprocal pathways for
19 poor mental health,^{15, 18-21} it is worth investigating rural chronically-ill patients' engagement with
20 mental health care. However, there is a paucity of research on the experiences of patients in rural
21 areas regarding their use of mental health care, and it is unknown if chronically-ill rural patients
22 have unique or excess barriers to mental health care than those without chronic illnesses.

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3 1 In this paper we describe patient-reported barriers to seeking, receiving, and adhering to
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5 2 mental health treatments in older rural patients with multiple physical comorbidities. We used a
6
7 3 modified version of Penchansky and Thomas's theory of access²² to characterize barriers
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9 4 reported by patients during semi-structured interviews across 6 dimensions of access for this
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11 5 patient population. The information from this study was intended to identify areas for
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13 6 intervention to expand access to mental health services in this high-risk, but underserved
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15 7 population.
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20 8 **Defining access**

21
22
23 9 Access to healthcare is a central problem to healthcare service provision and is one of the
24
25 10 most widely used concepts in discussions about healthcare policy. The concept of "access"
26
27 11 encompasses multiple dimensions and pathways that enable users to find, enter, and utilize
28
29 12 healthcare systems. Access is often defined in the literature as the degree to which characteristics
30
31 13 of the healthcare system fit the characteristics of the health system users,²² although these
32
33 14 dimensions have been defined inconsistently and sometimes interchangeably by different
34
35 15 authors.^{23 24} For instance, Penchansky and Thomas uses the term "accommodation" to refer to
36
37 16 organizational factors that influence access, whereas Peters places organizational factors under
38
39 17 "availability".²⁵
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44 18 In 1981, Penchansky and Thomas developed a theory of access which is still widely used
45
46 19 to conceptualize problems of access in public health research.²³⁻²⁸ The theory contained 5
47
48 20 dimensions: availability (supply and demand of services), accessibility (location of supply to
49
50 21 patients), accommodation (organization of system to accept patients), affordability (price of
51
52 22 services and patients' ability to pay for services), and acceptability (patient attitudes about the
53
54 23 immutability qualities about the service and service provider, and vice-versa).²²
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3 1 Noting that the original theory did not account for patient knowledge and understanding
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5 2 of extant services, Levesque's split model of access, which describes parallel user and system
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7 3 dimensions of access, posits that the "ability to perceive" a need for care is critical to healthcare
8
9 4 access.²⁴ Similarly, Saurman added a 6th dimension of access— awareness—to Penchansky and
10
11 5 Thomas's theory after an evaluation of a telepsychiatry program revealed that many users of
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13 6 emergency mental health services were unaware of the existence of these services, what they
14
15 7 entailed, and who they were intended to serve.²³

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20 8 In the previous decade, there were calls for policy to increase intervention on select
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22 9 dimensions of access from Penchansky and Thomas's model. For instance, the 2015 National
23
24 10 Rural Health Association (NRHA) released a policy brief calling for a "multi-pronged approach"
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26 11 to mental health disparities through focusing on improving the availability, accessibility,
27
28 12 affordability, and acceptability of services.²⁹ Similarly, Smalley and colleagues identified three
29
30 13 key areas—accessibility, availability, and acceptability— to decrease rural mental health
31
32 14 disparities.³⁰ While these calls correctly identified a need to address multiple pathways
33
34 15 contributing to disparities in mental healthcare access, they disregard other important dimensions
35
36 16 of access. Further, while these provide helpful models for conceptualizing access, there is a
37
38 17 paucity of research grounding the utility of these theories in analyzing patients' lived
39
40 18 experiences. Rural patients with multiple comorbidities are particularly interesting to study, as
41
42 19 they paradoxically have relatively high contact with medical professionals, but still face
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44 20 disparities in mental health care access.

21 **METHODS**

22 **Context and setting**

1
2
3 1 To fill this gap, we conducted a qualitative study of barriers and facilitators to rurally-
4
5 2 based mental health care. We conducted semi-structured interviews over the phone to allow the
6
7 3 researchers to easily interview ICARE patients from different locations across the state.
8
9 4 Interviews were analyzed by applying a modified Pechansky and Thomas's theory of access as
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11 5 an analytical framework. This framework was chosen to guide our qualitative investigation
12
13 6 because 1) this framework is commonly used in public health discourse on problems of
14
15 7 healthcare access and 2) along with the dimension of awareness, it encompasses multiple broad
16
17 8 pathways by which access can be hindered. A sample of rurally-based patients with multiple
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19 9 chronic physical comorbidities and anxiety and/or depression were enrolled from a previous
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21 10 prospective, cluster-randomized, controlled clinical trial called Improved Cardiovascular Risk
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23 11 Reduction to Enhance Rural Primary Care, or ICARE.^{31 32} ICARE was conducted in 12 private
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25 12 physician offices in Iowa. All the study procedures for both ICARE and this study were
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27 13 approved by the university Institutional Review Board prior to beginning research activities.
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34 **Overall study design:**

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37 15 This is a qualitative study of semi-structured interviews. We used a prior study (ICARE)
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39 16 as a convenience sample. Interviews were conducted over the phone and analyzed deductively in
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41 17 NVIVO.³³
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43

44 **Eligibility:**

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46
47 19 This study used patients from the original ICARE study as a convenience sample of
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49 20 chronically-ill older patients receiving rurally-based mental health care. The original ICARE
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51 21 study followed a two-step process for inclusion.³² First, English-speaking males and females aged
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53 22 50 or older who were seen at their primary care clinic within the previous 24 months with at least
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55 23 one of the following conditions were identified: 1) diabetes 2) hypertension, or 3)
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3 1 hypercholesterolemia with a history of peripheral artery disease, coronary artery disease, stroke,
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5 2 transient ischemic attack, or diabetes. Second, patients had to have at least three chronic illnesses
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7 3 or risk factors that could include the aforementioned diseases or any of the following: coronary
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9 4 artery disease, myocardial infarction, stroke, transient ischemic attack, atrial fibrillation,
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11 5 peripheral vascular disease, claudication, carotid artery disease, current smoking, or obesity.
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13 6 Further, the 12 ICARE sites were selected because they provided care to predominately rural
14
15 7 patients.

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19 8 ICARE patients were eligible to participate in the present study if they 1) self-reported
20
21 9 ever having a diagnosis of anxiety or depression or 2) had a diagnosis of anxiety or depression
22
23 10 reported in their electronic medical records, which was determined during the ICARE trial. The
24
25 11 justification for examining mental health in ICARE patients stemmed from a finding that anxiety
26
27 12 and depression were highly prevalent in this cohort, as 156 of the 302 patients enrolled in the
28
29 13 ICARE study had self-reported or diagnosed anxiety or depression during the trial, indicating the
30
31 14 potential for unmet care needs and elevated cardiovascular risk.³¹

32 33 34 35 15 **Recruitment**

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38 16 We contacted 156 eligible patients through mailed letters containing the elements of
39
40 17 informed consent; our study obtained a waiver of written informed consent. Interested patients
41
42 18 then notified us of their willingness to participate by returning a postcard with their contact
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44 19 information, contacting us via a dedicated study phone number, or the study email address.
45
46 20 Twelve ICARE patients could not be contacted due to changes in address made since the clinical
47
48 21 trial ended. The first author then contacted the patient to schedule a time for an interview over
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50 22 the phone (online supplementary Appendix A). Patients could be contacted up to 3 times to
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52 23 schedule an initial interview before being lost to follow-up. Patients could be interviewed up to 2
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3 1 additional times to clarify questions that arose during the analysis process. Patients were offered
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5 2 a \$25 check voucher for every interview completed.
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8 3 **Data collection** 9

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11 4 Interviews were conducted from September 2017 – June 2018 by the first author. A semi-
12
13 5 structured interview guide (online supplementary Appendix B) was developed by the first and
14
15 6 second authors and contained questions about the patient's past and current experiences
16
17 7 obtaining mental healthcare and with different treatments, how they discussed their mental health
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19 8 with providers, their knowledge of available resources, how they prioritized and balanced their
20
21 9 mental and physical healthcare needs, and what ideally their mental healthcare would include.
22
23 10 The interview guide underwent iterative revisions by the first and second authors by reviewing
24
25 11 interview audio and transcripts throughout the data collection process and adding or changing
26
27 12 questions to probe for additional or missing information. Interviews lasted between 20 minutes to
28
29 13 2 hours and were recorded. To protect patient privacy, identifying information was redacted from
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31 14 audio files using Audacity. Audio files were transcribed using an online transcription service
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33 15 (Rev.com).
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40 16 **Data analysis** 41

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43 17 Analysis of qualitative data was performed by deductive thematic analysis using a
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45 18 modified theory of access described by Penchansky and Thomas and Saurman. The first and
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47 19 second authors developed a codebook of descriptive codes that contained 6 broad dimensions of
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49 20 access previously described in the literature as categories for analysis—accessibility, availability,
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51 21 affordability, accommodation, acceptability, and awareness. Conflicts about coding were
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53 22 resolved among the research team by discussing and revising the codebook. The final codebook
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1 was developed by 2 researchers coding 2 (~10%) transcripts independently and comparing
2 results for agreement.

3 The analysis and reporting of the results were structured following the theoretical
4 concepts of Penchansky and Thomas²² and the analytic methods of *Saurman et al.*³⁴ Following
5 the definitions in the codebook, transcripts were then coded line-by-line using NVIVO³³ for
6 barriers and facilitators to access to mental healthcare by the first author. The 6 dimensions of
7 access frame both the analysis and reporting of our data.

8 For the purposes of analysis, we used a broad definition of mental health services,
9 including specialized care, primary care, and more informal care settings, such as support
10 groups. Text was coded as a facilitator if it assisted the patient in receiving or adhering to mental
11 health treatment. Conversely, text was coded as a barrier if it prevented the patient from
12 receiving or sustaining mental healthcare. When all transcripts were coded, themes were defined
13 by comparing barriers and facilitators within each category for similarities and differences
14 endorsed by patients across interviews. Analysis stopped after data saturation was reached.
15 Themes with illustrative quotations are described in the results section.

16 **Patient and public involvement:**

17 Participants were not involved in any phase of the development, design, or writing of this
18 study.

19 **RESULTS**

20 19 prospective subjects contacted us with their interest in participating; 3 were lost to
21 follow-up and 1 decided not to be interviewed. We ultimately interviewed 15 patients. 4 patients
22 were re-interviewed for follow-up questions, resulting in a total of 19 interviews, at which data

Access to Rural Mental Health Services

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3 1 saturation was reached. Data saturation was determined when no new or differing information
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5 2 was gleaned from interviewing. We recruited a higher percentage of women than the original
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7 3 ICARE study, and the majority of patients were female, white, and had an educational attainment
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9 4 of 12 years or fewer (Table 1). Nearly three-quarters of patients had public insurance. We
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11 5 recruited ICARE patients who, at the time of the original study, were either diagnosed with or
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13 6 self-reported having histories of anxiety and/or depression; however, when asked during the
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15 7 present study if they had ever received a mental health diagnosis, patients also reported: post-
16
17 8 traumatic stress disorder (PTSD), panic disorder, bipolar-II, substance abuse, “anger issues,” and
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19 9 prior suicidality. At the time of the interview, most (73%), but not all, patients self-identified as
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21 10 ever having a mental health diagnosis, despite meeting at least one of the ICARE criteria.
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26 11 Patients rated both their physical and mental health as important health priorities.
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1 **Table 1: Patient characteristics (n= 15)**

Variable	Mean (SD)	N (%)
Age (range 53-71 years)	61.7 (5.1)	
Gender		
Female		12 (80)
Male		3 (20)
Race & ethnicity		
White, non-Hispanic		14 (93.33)
Black		1 (6.67)
Educational attainment		
≤ 12 years		9 (60)
Associates or technical degree		4 (26.67)
College or higher		2 (13.33)
Insurance type		
Medicare		7 (46.67)
Medicaid		4 (26.67)
Private		3 (20)
None/self-pay		1 (6.67)
ICARE recruitment criteria		
Diagnosis of depression		9 (60)
Diagnosis of anxiety		9 (60)
Self-reported depression		10 (66.67)
Self-reported anxiety		12 (80)
Ever had a mental health diagnosis		11 (73.3)
Ever took psychiatric medication		13 (86.67)
Currently taking psychiatric medication		12 (80)
Ever saw a mental health specialist		13 (86.67)
Psychiatrist		6 (46.15)
Psychiatric nurse		1 (7.69)
Therapist or counselor		10 (76.92)
Currently seeing a mental health specialist		4 (26.67)
Psychiatrist		2 (13.33)
Therapist or counselor		2 (13.33)
Self-rated importance of addressing mental health (1= least important, 10= most important)	8.93 (1.73)	
Self-rated importance of addressing physical health (1= least important, 10=most important)	9.46 (.88)	

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3 1 A requirement of enrolling in the ICARE study was that all patients had a primary care
4
5 2 provider, thus, in this sub-study all patients had some level of access to medical care. Most
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7 3 patients were receiving mental health services through their primary care providers. A majority
8
9 4 of patients had seen mental health specialists (either a psychiatrist, psychiatric nurse, or a
10
11 5 therapist) at some point in their lifetime. However, only slightly more than a quarter were
12
13 6 currently seeing a provider other than their PCP for their mental health. Despite this current level
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15 7 of access, patients reported a myriad of barriers to mental health care in rural settings, which are
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17 8 summarized in Table 2 and described below.
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1 **Table 2: Dimensions of access and patient-reported barriers to mental health care**

Dimensions	Definition	Sub-themes	Patient-reported Barriers	Patient-reported Facilitators
Accessibility	Services are offered within a reasonable proximity to patient in terms of time and distance.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Differences in distance to providers • Transportation 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Distance to mental health specialists/resources • Lack of motility • Severe chronic illness 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Local mental health services • Social support
Availability	Services physically exist, are in adequate supply, and can meet the volume and needs of the patients served.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Identifying brick-and-mortar facilities and workforce 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Difficulty establishing long-term relationships with providers • Lack of facilities offering mental health services 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Dedicated mental health facilities • PCP manages mental health care
Affordability	Cost to consumer and the financial viability of service provider. Includes payment from multiple funding streams.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Insurance policy for mental health services and treatments • Out-of-pocket cost 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Lack of mental health parity • Pharmaceuticals not covered • High co-pays 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Complete and on-going coverage for services
Accommodation	Clinic operations are organized such that patients can utilize services easily; services are easy and convenient to	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Communication with the patient • Processes for initiating and changing treatment 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Communication channel incompatible with patient • Waiting lists/waiting times • Crisis care unavailable 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Routine screening and monitoring procedures • PCP makes referral to a specific mental health provider

Access to Rural Mental Health Services

	obtain and use.		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Difficulty receiving referrals 	
Acceptability	Patient attitudes about the personal and practice characteristics of a provider or qualities of a healthcare service.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Quality of the patient-provider relationship • Quality of the healthcare service 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Provider “doesn’t listen” • Disrupting long-term clinical relationships • Unpleasant medication side-effects 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Non-judgmental listening • Joint decision-making • Minimal medication side-effects
Awareness	Patients can identify that some form of services exist, can be reached, and have an impact on the health of the individual.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Mental health literacy • Understanding of the mental health system 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Inability to locate resources • Poor health literacy • Poor knowledge of mental health system 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • PCP educates patient on diagnoses, treatments, and options

1

1 **Accessibility**

2 Accessibility refers to the relationship between patients, the location of services, and the
3 time spent traveling to obtain them.

4 *Differences in distance to providers*

5 Patients indicated differences in accessibility for PCPs and mental health professionals,
6 such as therapists and psychiatrists. Most patients reported that their PCP practiced locally and
7 was easier to access in terms of time and distance; thus, for many, their PCP was the most
8 accessible provider for obtaining mental health services. Patients faced more difficulty traveling
9 to psychiatrists, therapists, and support groups due to distance and time spent traveling. Patients
10 frequently estimated traveling times of a minimum of 45 minutes to the next largest town that
11 would offer specialist resources. Some patients noted that while some form of specialist
12 resources might be available locally, they felt that other places had better resources than what
13 was immediately available. One respondent stated:

14 The bottom line is if you need help, you can get it, but the degree
15 of expertise that lies in these people is not like a big city. This is a
16 different caliber of doctor. (Patient 3, M, aged 62)

17 *Transportation*

18 Further, transportation was also a barrier for rural and chronically ill patients. Some
19 patients reported a lack of mobility or independence for traveling, such as not having a driver's
20 license, broken vehicles, or being mostly house-bound from severe chronic illness, such as
21 cancers and chronic pain; these patients relied on friends and family to help them get to medical
22 appointments.

1
2
3 1 In contrast, facilitators that enabled patients to obtain mental health services were having
4
5 2 providers and mental health workforce practicing locally, having a PCP with expertise in treating
6
7 3 mental health concerns, and having friends or family to take them to their appointments.
8
9

10 4 **Availability**

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14 5 Availability refers to the relationship between quantity and quality of services and patient
15
16 6 demand for services. Patients reported many factors that impacted the availability of mental
17
18 7 health services.
19
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21 8 *Identifying brick-and-mortar facilities and workforce*

22
23
24 9 During the course of the ICARE study, and prior to these interviews, the governor
25
26 10 privatized Medicaid and also closed several mental health facilities in Iowa. Notably, several
27
28 11 patients discussed the closure of state-run mental health facilities and psychiatric units as an
29
30 12 indication of dwindling resources or opportunities for receiving mental healthcare, even though
31
32 13 none had disclosed having been patients at those facilities. These closures gave some patients the
33
34 14 perception that mental health services were overall in short supply. As one patient stated:
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37

38
39 15 In our town it seems like people can't get help. They'll end up
40
41 16 going to jail and the jail tries pushing them off onto mental health
42
43 17 or vice versa. There should be a place that they can go, but every
44
45 18 time you turn around they're wanting to close them. ... Doctors are
46
47 19 doing okay as far as I'm concerned in this town, but it's their
48
49 20 limited resources. (Patient 13, F, aged 60)
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52

53 21 In addition to a shortage of physical facilities, patients often noted a lack of providers,
54
55 22 particularly those with specialist expertise. Patients who were currently receiving specialized
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1 mental health care noted that their providers had high patient loads and it was difficult to get an
2 appointment with a specialist provider, particularly psychiatrists. Again, PCPs were often easier
3 to see when problems arose:

4 My psychiatrist is a little difficult because there are so many
5 people at [clinic], mental health runs rampant over there. My
6 doctor's appointments are easier. I called on Friday, had an
7 appointment Monday. (Patient 10, F, aged 67)

8 In contrast to the aforementioned barriers, facilitators to availability included the PCP
9 having special training or expertise in psychiatry, and the clinic having in-house mental health
10 specialists.

11 **Affordability**

12 Affordability refers to the ability for healthcare services to be reimbursed through
13 different funding streams.

14 *Out-of-pocket cost*

15 While all patients in this study had some access to physical and mental healthcare in
16 terms of paying for services, the ability to pay for services was dependent on the type of provider
17 and degree of insurance coverage. Although receiving some types of mental health care from
18 PCPs was often a more affordable option, receiving specialist services was less frequently
19 affordable, with patients reporting paying high copays for clinic visits and medications. Some
20 patients were retired or did not earn enough to cover copays. Insurance coverage was particularly
21 problematic for patients seeking therapists:

Access to Rural Mental Health Services

19

1
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3 1 I could always go to a psychologist, but it costs money. I live on a
4
5 2 fixed income with Social Security. I don't have extra money that I
6
7 3 could just say, "Gee, I think I'll make an appointment with a
8
9 4 therapist." (Patient 10, F, aged 67)

Insurance policy for mental health services and treatments

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12 5
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14
15 6 Patients in this sample were largely insured through Medicare and Medicaid (~73%),
16
17 7 which had limitations due to the low number of mental health professionals accepting subsidized
18
19 8 insurance. The recent changes in Iowa's privatized Medicaid system left some patients with gaps
20
21 9 in their mental healthcare coverage after one managed care organization dropped out of the
22
23
24 10 program, which in turn impacted the availability of treatment options. For instance, one patient
25
26 11 recalled recently being forced to cancel appointments with his therapist after the change. Another
27
28 12 patient recalled that insurance companies were not willing to cover more expensive depression
29
30
31 13 medications prescribed by her physician:

32
33
34 14 Now we are living by what the insurance companies tell us. And I
35
36 15 suppose that even includes the depression type drugs... They
37
38 16 won't pay for it. 90% of the time it seems that insurance
39
40
41 17 companies are rejecting what the doctor says. Get to the pharmacy
42
43 18 and you have to play "find out what we can do for you." (Patient 1,
44
45 19 F, aged 63)

46
47
48 20 Factors that made receiving mental healthcare more affordable was having insurance
49
50
51 21 policies that enabled mental health parity for services. While not personally experienced by
52
53 22 patients, some expressed a desire for more low-cost and community-based mental health
54
55 23 programs for individuals facing financial barriers.

1 **Accommodation**

2 Accommodation refers to the ease and convenience of using services. Patients described
3 several ways that extant services were made less accessible due to organizational and policy
4 factors within primary care and mental health clinics.

5 *Communication with the patient*

6 First, communication with the patient influenced adherence and appointment attendance.
7 Clinics did not always communicate to the patient through their preferred channels, meaning that
8 reminders about upcoming appointments and important updates about the patients' care were
9 sometimes missed. In the context of mental health services, the lack of communication between
10 patients and providers could be disruptive to their care. This is exemplified by one patient's
11 account how her clinic did not notified her about her mental health provider leaving:

12 I was devastated because my lady that I go see just up and left.
13 And I'd been seeing her for 10 or 15 years. She went to a different
14 job down 30 miles from here. I started crying right there. She let
15 people know a month in advance, but I was seeing her every 6
16 weeks. So needless to say I did not see anybody. (Patient 13, F,
17 aged 60)

18 *Processes for initiating and changing treatment*

19 Further, clinical protocols such as depression or anxiety screening may influence how
20 readily patients initiate or alter aspects of their mental healthcare. For instance, some patients
21 receiving mental health services through their PCP said their physician never asked them about
22 their emotional well-being and had only begun treatment after telling their physicians that they

1
2
3 1 suspected they had depression; these patients felt responsible for initiating discussions about
4
5 2 their mood and treatment outcomes. However, not all patients were willing to initiate these
6
7
8 3 conversations unprompted. As one patient suggested:

10 4 Every time I go to see [my doctor], he asks me if I'm depressed.

12 5 But I don't know that every doctor does that. I think that mental
14 6 health sometimes is overlooked, but sometimes it's the root of
16 7 some of your physical problems. So I think the doctors need to
18 8 approach it as my doctor does and ask me how I'm doing mentally.

20 9 (Patient 9, F, aged 72)

22 10 Referral policies and procedures also impacted the ability of patients to receive
24 11 specialized mental healthcare. Many patients were uncertain about where to receive additional or
26 12 specialized services and relied on their PCPs for referrals. However, some patients had trouble
28 13 requesting and receiving referrals to other providers or resources. This became a significant
30 14 barrier when patients needed services beyond what their PCP could provide:

32 15 I know my doctor never suggested talking to anybody or doing
34 16 anything more, and you can't hardly get referrals to go see other
36 17 people without the doctors. ... You almost always have to have
38 18 that referral. And then its question is who's good and who's not
40 19 good, and I don't know how to figure that part out. (Patient 1, F,
42 20 aged 63)

44 21 Patient 1 ultimately never received a referral but decided to stay with her PCP due to her
46 22 proximity to the clinic. Even after finding specialized care, other patients found that it was

1
2
3 1 difficult to initiate services with new providers for different reasons. Some facilities were not
4
5 2 accepting new patients or were not willing to allow clients to see other therapists within their
6
7 3 facility when patients requested a change. These problems then prompted patients to cease care
8
9 4 with that provider in favor of seeking a more accommodating one, as exemplified by this patient
10
11 5 who had requested to see a different therapist:
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15 6 By the end of 5 months, I asked to see someone else. They told me
16
17 7 that they don't do that. So I never went back. (Patient 10, F, aged
18
19 8 67)
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21

22 9 Facilitators mentioned by patients were described as procedures that made receiving and
23
24 10 adhering to clinical care easier. For instance, patients appreciated receiving reminders of up-
25
26 11 coming appointments through phone calls. Further, screening and routine monitoring of patients'
27
28 12 symptoms were important facilitators to patients. Finally, some patients in this sample described
29
30 13 how their PCP made it easier to receive additional care by making referrals to a mental health
31
32 14 provider; sometimes more than one referral was needed in order for patients to find a provider
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34 15 they felt could help them.
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39 16 **Acceptability**

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41
42 17 Acceptability refers to patient attitudes about the characteristics of a provider or a
43
44 18 healthcare service and vice-versa. In other words, acceptability describes the degree to which
45
46 19 patients and providers tolerate the immutable qualities of one another or the service being
47
48 20 offered. In this sample, the most significant patient-reported barriers impacting acceptability
49
50 21 were poor relationships with the provider and dissatisfaction with aspects of the treatment.
51
52

53 22 *Quality of the patient-provider relationship*

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2
3 1 Patients described the relationship they had with any mental healthcare provider as one of
4
5 2 the most significant determinants of whether they would continue seeking mental healthcare
6
7 3 care. A negative experience with a mental health provider could prevent the patient from
8
9 4 returning for subsequent visits. Sometimes this resulted in a further delay for seeking treatment
10
11 5 with other providers for long periods of time ranging from months to years:

14 6 I saw that therapist I think in 2010. Didn't work for me. I just didn't
15
16 7 feel like I was talking to somebody who understood what I was
17
18 8 going through. That's really difficult for me. Most of the time I
19
20 9 never finished the sessions. (Patient 10, F, aged 67)

23
24 10 At the time of the interview in 2018, this patient had experienced a recent increase in her
25
26 11 anxiety. Only when a provider she trusted, her long-term psychiatrist, suggested that she talk to a
27
28 12 therapist did she reluctantly consider going again, stating, "I'm going to try it again. I'm very
29
30 13 hesitant about doing it."

32
33 14 Notably, patients overall did not feel that providers' professional backgrounds (such as
34
35 15 psychiatry or family medicine) were as important as their interpersonal skills. When asked about
36
37 16 what they were looking for in a mental health provider, patients described the ideal provider as
38
39 17 someone who was trustworthy; regardless of their professional background, providers should be
40
41 18 comfortable discussing mental health concerns and patient histories, understanding of their
42
43 19 feelings and preferences, and be an active, empathetic listener. Patients valued being able to
44
45 20 communicate openly about their experiences without fear of judgement. Patients felt that being
46
47 21 truly heard and understood was paramount to their own recoveries:

50
51 22 I've noticed that some doctors are kind of like "Oh, I don't wanna
52
53 23 talk about that."... If you're gonna shy away from this, what else

1
2
3 1 are you gonna shy away from? So I didn't feel comfortable with
4
5 2 them, and I was like "Forget it". ... You've gotta be able to talk to
6
7 3 them about mental health, your physical health. (Patient 11, F,
8
9 4 aged 54)

10
11
12 5 Several patients reported having prior negative experiences with a provider that they saw
13
14 6 for their mental health. Thus, patients were eager to retain providers they liked for as long as
15
16 7 needed. Patients felt that having a positive long-term relationship with a provider enabled them
17
18 8 to receive better mental healthcare, as it enabled their provider to interpret their affect accurately:

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20
21
22 9 I think from all the times that I've went and seen her that she knew
23
24 10 that something's wrong even if I didn't want to tell her about it.
25
26
27 11 And I think that, to me that showed me that she really cared. That
28
29 12 she knew my thoughts and feelings. (Patient 13, F, aged 60)

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31
32 13 Patients also discussed disruption of valued clinical relationships as significant barriers to
33
34 14 receiving mental health care; the impact of providers leaving their clinics often meant that the
35
36 15 patient would have to start looking for trusted providers again. Sometimes this left a gap in the
37
38 16 management or provision of their mental health care for several months. Since patients in this
39
40 17 sample preferred to stay with the same trusted provider, disruptions in clinical relationships were
41
42 18 often emotional experiences, as it was for one patient whose long-term PCP, who also managed
43
44 19 her depression and anxiety treatment at the time, retired:

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48
49 20 I was so upset. I told him, "I'm not happy about this," when he let
50
51 21 us know. We got a letter and I just felt like crying because I did not
52
53 22 want that to ever happen. I always thought "I'll have him forever."
54
55
56 23 (Patient 8, F, aged 70)

1
2
3 1 Additionally, patients valued being able to collaborate with their providers on treatment
4
5 2 decisions. Some patients felt that their previous providers didn't respect their desire to alter
6
7 3 aspects about their treatment or therapy, which lead to them ceasing care with that provider. This
8
9 4 seemed especially true for patients who wished to discontinue medications with deleterious side-
10
11 5 effects:

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13
14
15 6 Well, I had told [psychiatrist] my prior experience with certain
16
17 7 drugs. ... And he was coming up with these diagnoses that really
18
19 8 were not pertinent to me. He knew it all, you know. ... I already
20
21 9 told him that I don't take those drugs and that I've tried them in the
22
23 10 past and they just haven't worked for me. We didn't have a very
24
25 11 good connection. (Patient 3, M, aged 62)

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30 12 While patients said they were generally open-minded about their providers'
31
32 13 recommendations, they framed providers' willingness to negotiate treatment options to find the
33
34 14 best fit as an indication that their providers truly understood their needs. As the previous patient
35
36 15 stated:

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38
39
40 16 If they're willing to meet me halfway, we get along just fine. But
41
42 17 just don't talk. You also have to listen. A lot of doctors don't
43
44 18 wanna listen. You throw up a couple of symptoms, this and that,
45
46 19 they've already got a diagnosis. But they really don't know your
47
48 20 history. ... That's why I wouldn't want to lose the doctor I have
49
50 21 right now. (Patient 3, M, aged 62)

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52
53
54 22 *Quality of the healthcare service*

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2
3 1 Finally, patients described different ways that their treatment options were not compatible
4
5 2 with patients in terms with their clinical or personal goals. Many patients recounted at least one
6
7 3 time they had been dissatisfied with their psychiatric medication. However, sometimes patients
8
9 4 felt that medication was not right for them, and sought other services, such as counseling or
10
11 5 therapy, but also encountered difficulties finding or asking for alternatives:
12
13

14
15 6 There was a point when I got so depressed, and all the doctor
16
17 7 wanted to do was give me pills. Beyond that, they weren't too
18
19 8 interested. So you take the pills, you sleep a lot...you really don't
20
21 9 get any better. ... They may help, but it won't get to the problems,
22
23 10 of how to really deal with the way you're feeling and things. ... I
24
25 11 just felt kind of let down...you know, when I did get to the point
26
27 12 where I asked for [help], it wasn't like it was a high on her list. She
28
29 13 gave a prescription but that's not it. (Patient 1, F, aged 63)
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33 **Awareness**

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36 15 Awareness refers to patients' ability to perceive and locate extant services, as well as
37
38 16 their health literacy. In other words, patients can identify that some form of services exist, can be
39
40 17 reached, and have an impact on the health of the individual. Overall, patients said they were
41
42 18 largely uncertain about where to go for mental health concerns and were less familiar with extant
43
44 19 options for receiving mental health services than their physical health care.
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48 *Understanding of the mental health system*

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51 21 Patients had varying knowledge of Iowa's mental health system and mental healthcare
52
53 22 options. For instance, most patients who had received some form of services from a mental
54
55 23 health specialist, such as a psychiatrist or therapist, could not describe how different treatment
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1
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3 1 options worked. Further, some patients could not readily distinguish between different provider
4
5 2 types, including their own service providers, and were unsure of how to access services offered
6
7
8 3 by different provider types. While PCPs were more accessible and available than other provider
9
10 4 types, not all patients were aware that they could or should discuss mental health concerns with
11
12 5 their PCP, as one patient put it:

15 6 Usually if you're going to the doctor you may quiz them about
16
17 7 some other things. But it's not like I make an appointment just to
18
19
20 8 go and discuss mental. I go in to do my *medical* stuff and discuss
21
22 9 it. (Patient 1, F, aged 63, emphasis in original)

25 10 Patients differed in their abilities and preferred channels for finding out information about
26
27 11 their conditions, local resources, and treatment options. While patients primarily could only
28
29
30 12 name the places that they had previously received services, over the course of the interviews they
31
32 13 mentioned several preferred channels for researching other options, including the local
33
34 14 phonebook or service directory, magazines, and local churches. While one patient said they
35
36
37 15 would research their options on the internet, two others said they were unable to use internet
38
39 16 searches to find more information (one didn't have a computer, the other didn't know how to
40
41 17 search). Many patients felt that extant mental health services were not apparent to those in need.
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43
44 18 As one patient stated:

46 19 Some [mental health services] don't advertise, so a lot of people
47
48 20 don't know ... what's available. You see all these other
49
50
51 21 advertisements, but you never see where to go for mental health
52
53 22 help. Not once have I seen help for that. So I don't think people
54
55
56 23 know where to turn. (Patient 11, F, aged 54)

1 *Mental health literacy*

2 Another reported barrier that resulted in delaying seeking treatment was an initial lack of
3 knowledge about common mental health disorders. Patients in the sample usually described
4 learning about mental health conditions and services only after experiencing them first-hand. For
5 instance, many patients reported that they first learned about anxiety or depression after they had
6 been diagnosed with the condition. In some cases, patients learned about these conditions from
7 family and friends with similar experiences, who then told them how to seek care.

8 Facilitating awareness, PCPs emerged as one of the most important sources for education
9 and information for patients, as patients reported relying heavily or even solely on their PCPs for
10 information about mental health conditions. When asked where they would go if they had
11 questions or developed new problems with their mental health, most patients said they would
12 return to their PCP. As one patient stated in her advice to patients going through similar struggles
13 with their mental health, one patient responded:

14 Go to their family doctor and tell them exactly what they're
15 feeling. It's the only way that they can get any guidance. (Patient 8,
16 F, aged 70)

17 **DISCUSSION**

18 This study examined barriers experienced by a sample of 15 rural adults managing
19 multiple physical conditions as well as depression and/or anxiety. We found that while patients
20 in the study generally believed that treating both their physical and mental health were important
21 priorities, long-term mental healthcare with any one provider was often hindered by multiple,
22 sometimes over-lapping barriers. Except for the dimension of accessibility, we did not observe

1 chronic illness contributing to excess barriers to receiving mental health services among our
2 sample. Despite this, most patients experienced at least one barrier to receiving mental healthcare
3 in their lifetimes. This study is the first qualitative investigation, to our knowledge, of barriers
4 experienced by rural Iowans after the privatization of Medicaid and the state-wide shift towards
5 community-based mental health services, which changed the distribution and delivery of services
6 compared to previous years. This study contributes to our understanding of the impact of this
7 changing context for delivering rural mental health services.

8 While studies about rural US adults with comorbid physical and mental comorbidities are
9 particularly limited, findings from this study both confirm and augment those of extant research
10 on rural health disparities. For example, the importance of a good patient-doctor relationship has
11 been found in previous studies³⁵ and may be more important than other factors, such as distance
12 to services, for rural patients.³⁶ The present study suggests that shared decision-making between
13 the patient and provider, as well as clinical organization, may facilitate positive patient-physician
14 relationships and greater adherence to treatment. Further, similar to *Saurman et al*, we found that
15 patients' awareness of extant mental health services was indeed a critical dimension of access in
16 rural populations;^{23 37} our findings indicate rural social networks and public advertisement of
17 mental health services in clinics or in the community may be viable avenues for promoting
18 service utilization by facilitating awareness. While strengthening the role of the PCP in
19 managing common psychiatric concerns, such as anxiety and depression, has been proposed as
20 an intervention to improving access in rural areas,³⁸ our results complicate that strategy, as
21 patients in our study felt that PCPs, while the most accessible, were not always the most
22 acceptable option for addressing their mental health concerns. Finally, while other studies of
23 mental health service utilization by rural individuals demonstrate how stigma affects the

1 acceptability of services,³⁹ our study finds that other issues, such as feeling understood by the
2 provider, impact the acceptability of services, even among patients who actively want help.

3 Our study has important implications for intervention planning. As reported by the
4 study's patients, barriers to access were often related to one another. For instance, under
5 accessibility, patients reported unreliable transportation arrangements or mobility issues that
6 made traveling more difficult than other rural individuals. Similarly, under the dimension of
7 availability, patients felt they had few local options and would have to travel to find care. Thus,
8 utilizing multiple pathways to deliver mental health services either locally or remotely may be
9 especially important for rural individuals with limited mobility. Likewise, the patient-provider
10 relationship was a significant finding in both the dimensions of availability (difficulty
11 establishing clinical relationships) and acceptability (relationship and communication with
12 provider), and strongly influenced patients' desire to return for appointments. Finally, awareness
13 was pertinent to both the dimensions of availability and acceptability, as it influenced patients'
14 knowledge of how to seek mental healthcare, as well as shaped patients' expectations of clinical
15 outcomes. It should be noted that as our study was restricted to patients over the age of 50, the
16 barrier of awareness (such as the ability to use internet searches) could be contributed to
17 participants' age rather than chronic illness or rural status. Nevertheless the relative invisibility
18 of mental health services reported by this sample may be an important finding for providers and
19 public health practitioners who wish to promote local services. Overall, these results indicate that
20 interventions aimed at this population should account for multiple barriers to access.

21 This study had several limitations. First, patients in this study were largely female and
22 nearly exclusively white. This may reflect the gender and race differences in help-seeking
23 patterns^{40 41}, healthcare utilization^{41 42}, and diagnosis rates^{43 44}, which has been well-documented

1
2
3 1 in other studies. Further, the barriers to access experienced by Iowans of other racial and ethnic
4
5 2 backgrounds may not be represented in these findings, indicating a need to research the
6
7 3 experiences of racial and ethnic minorities obtaining rural mental healthcare, specifically.
8
9
10 4 Second, while small sample sizes are often used in qualitative work due to the volume of data
11
12 5 generated in qualitative analysis, we only recruited ~12% and ultimately interviewed ~9% of
13
14 6 eligible ICARE patients. This low-response rate may be a product of stigma against mental
15
16 7 health disorders. Further, given the low response rate, it is possible that our findings contain
17
18 8 selection bias, and as such the experiences represented here differ considerably from the general
19
20 9 population. Further, we note that while all patients met ICARE criteria for inclusion, not all
21
22 10 endorsed having a history of mental health diagnosis; this may reflect different levels of mental
23
24 11 health literacy or understandings of mental health topics and concepts in this rural older
25
26 12 population.
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30
31 13 This study also had a number of strengths. We believe that our recruitment strategy using
32
33 14 a convenience sample of rural patients from the ICARE study allowed us to interview in-depth
34
35 15 patients from a number of towns across rural Iowa, thus allowing us to have a wide geographic
36
37 16 sampling within the state and within multiple hospital and clinic systems. Further, our semi-
38
39 17 structured and iterative approach to writing an interview guide allowed us flexibility to probe for
40
41 18 issues that were important to participants. Finally, our analytic framework of a modified theory
42
43 19 of access from Penchansky and Thomas allowed us to account for and characterize multiple
44
45 20 interrelated barriers at once.
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49 50 21 **CONCLUSION:**

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53 22 This study offers important insight into the real-life experiences of rural individuals with
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55 23 multiple comorbidities with seeking mental healthcare, such as the importance of the patient-
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1 provider relationship in care-seeking behaviors, understanding of the diversity of healthcare
2 settings and provider types, and critical organizational and policy-level barriers. It is important
3 that interventions are grounded in the needs of intended service users; in this case, interventions
4 targeting rural individuals with multiple comorbidities may need to account for multiple and
5 overlapping barriers.

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3 **1 FOOTNOTES:**
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8

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21
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23
24 **10 obtained.** LP and KAK participated in the recruitment of the subjects for this sub-study. LP and
25
26 **11 KAK** participated in the collection, analysis, and interpretation of data. LP drafted the
27
28 **12 manuscript.** KAK and BLC critically reviewed and approved this manuscript for publication.
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32 **13 Patient consent:** obtained
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35 **14 IRB approval:** Ethical approval for study activities was obtained from the University of Iowa
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37 **15 IRB (08/28/2017).**
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41 **16 Data availability statement:** No additional data are available.
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APPENDIX A: Phone script

Hello, my name is [NAME], and I am a Co-Investigator for the ICARE study you and your clinic participated in. As part of the study, a clinical pharmacist from the University of Iowa collaborated with clinic physicians in order to improve health outcomes for patients. We now hope to conduct an interview over the phone with 3-4 patients from that clinic so we can identify ways to improve mental health services in rural care settings. I received [an email or a postcard] indicating that you may be interested in participating in this interview over the telephone. The interview will take about 30-60 minutes. You also may be asked to participate in a follow-up 30-minute interview for clarification of questions that arise during the analysis of interview data. If you are interested in participating in a follow-up phone interview, you will be asked to leave a phone number and best time of day for phone contact.

Participation in this interview is completely voluntary. Is this interview something you may be interested participating in?

{If YES} Do you have some time to do the interview now? Or we could set up a later time to do the interview if you don't have time now or wanted more time to think about participating.

{If NO} I thank you for your time. Have a good day.

Let me go over some things before we begin.

If you have any questions, please feel free to ask me. Also, if you don't want to answer any questions just let me know.

With your permission, we will be recording this interview to ensure we accurately record what you say and so we can review your responses.

All information will be kept strictly confidential. I will use a random study ID number to identify you once we start recording.

Do you have any questions for me before we begin?

OK, I will begin recording now.

Hi, this is [NAME]. I am speaking with participant #_____.

Today's date is _____.

Thinking back on your interactions in health care clinics, please answer the following questions.

[interview questions]

APPENDIX B: Example interview questions

Interview guides were developed iteratively to probe for missing information.

Questions about patient's mental health service utilization

1. Have you ever been diagnosed with anxiety or depression?
2. Do you recall a provider ever asking you about your [anxiety/depression/mental health]?
What about your mood?
 - a. *{IF YES}*
 - i. How did he or she ask?
 - ii. When go to visit your healthcare provider, how often does he/she ask you about it? Every visit? Every few visits?
3. How is easy for you to talk about [anxiety/depression/mental health] with your provider?
4. Think about how your provider addresses your healthcare needs. Do you feel your provider thinks [anxiety/depression] is important to address?
 - a. *{IF PATIENT HAS DX}*
 - i. Do you think they spend enough time addressing your [anxiety/depression]?
5. Are you currently receiving any kind of treatment or therapy for [anxiety/depression] or any other mental health or mood issue?
 - a. *{IF YES}*
 - i. How satisfied are you with your current treatment?
 - ii. Are there things you wish your provider would do differently regarding your mental health care?
 1. *{IF NO}*
 - a. What do you like about their approach?
 - b. *{IF NO}*
 - i. Have you in the past?
6. Was there a time you needed care for [anxiety/depression] symptoms but could not or did not receive any?
 - a. *{IF YES}*
 - i. What would have helped you during that time?
7. Overall, what do you think would improve treatment of anxiety/depression for people experiencing it?

Healthcare priorities

8. Think about your healthcare needs and priorities. On a scale of 1-10, how important or urgent is treating your [anxiety/depression]?
 - i. Why did you pick that numbers verses a [higher/lower] number?

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3 ii. On a scale of 1-10, how important or urgent is treating your physical
4 healthcare?
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6 9. Do you have other health issues that trouble you a lot?

7 b. *{If YES}*

8 i. How do you balance those with addressing your mental health?
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10 **Patient preferences/conclusion:**

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13 10. In an ideal world, what would you look for in a mental health provider?

14 11. What would help you manage your [anxiety/depression] the most?

15 12. If you needed help with your mental health, who would you like to call?

16 13. Where would someone in your area go if they wanted help for their mental health?

17 14. Do you have any advice for patients struggling with a mood disorder?

18 15. Finally, do you have any recommendations for providers treating patients for
19 [anxiety/depression/mood disorders]?
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COREQ (COnsolidated criteria for REporting Qualitative research) Checklist

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

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

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

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

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