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The added value of an open narrative in verbal autopsies – a mixed-methods evaluation from Malawi

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4 Malawi
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Abstract

Background

The WHO standardised verbal autopsy (VA) instrument includes closed questions, ascertaining signs and symptoms of illness preceding death, and an optional open narrative. As VA analyses increasingly use automated algorithms, inclusion of narratives should be justified. We evaluated the role of open narratives on VA processes, data quality and respondent emotion.

Methods

A mixed-methods analysis was conducted using VA data for children deaths (0–59 months), between 04/2013–11/2016 in Mchinji district, Malawi. Deaths were randomised at the point of interview to receive closed questions only or open narrative followed by closed questions. Upon concluding the VA, interviewers self-completed questions relating to respondent emotions. Logistic regression was conducted to determine associations with visible emotions during VAs. A group discussion with interviewers was conducted at the project end, to understand field experiences and explore future recommendations; data were coded using deductive themes.

Results

2509 VAs were included, with 49.8% (n=1341) randomised to open narratives. Narratives lasted a median of 7 minutes (range: 1–113). Interviewers described improved rapport and felt narratives improved data quality, although there was no difference in the proportion of deaths with an indeterminate cause (5.3% vs. 6.1%). The majority of respondents did not display visible emotions (81%). Those with a narrative had higher, but not statistically significant, odds of displaying emotion (aOR: 1.20; 95% CI: 0.98, 1.47). Factors associated with visible emotion were: infant deaths versus neonates; deaths at a health centre or on-route to hospital versus home; and higher socio-economic status. Non-parental respondents and increased time between death and interview were associated with lower odds of emotion.

Conclusion

Conducting an open narrative to build rapport, something valued by the interviewers, may outweigh additional time and emotional burdens. However, these burdens may be further justified if the quality and utility of information from the narrative was promoted through standardised recommendations.

What is known about the topic

- Verbal autopsies are often conducted in contexts where civil registration systems are lacking or incomplete.
- There are several different tools for conducting these interviews, some containing an open narrative section, where respondents describe the events leading to a death in their own words.
- Automated methods for analysing verbal autopsies often do not use the data from narratives and therefore there should be a clear and justified reason for conducting this section of the interview.

What this study adds

- Data collectors reported the narratives as a way to build rapport with the respondents, and felt this improved their ability to collect better quality information.
- While respondents mostly did not show visible signs of emotions during interviews, this was more frequent but statistically non-significant, in those with a narrative.
- There may be a trade-off in the increased time and emotional burden of verbal autopsies which contain a narrative section, with the ability to establish a connection between data collectors and respondents.

Background

A comprehensive civil registration and vital statistics (CRVS) system recording births and deaths provides a country with essential information to make informed decisions for country-specific priority-setting, and measure its progress towards the Sustainable Development Goals (1, 2). In the absence of functional CRVS structures, verbal autopsies (VA) can partly fill this gap as an interim mortality data collection instrument by providing cause-specific mortality estimates (3-5). These data can be used by governments, healthcare providers, researchers, donors and policy makers, who rely on accurate and comparable data over time to estimate burdens of diseases at population level, evaluate program implementation and complement routine administrative data (1, 6). A recent review supported the use of VA to identify vulnerable groups and health needs for effective resource allocation in humanitarian settings (7).

The VA process involves trained fieldworkers identifying and interviewing an appropriate respondent, usually a close relative or caregiver, for a given death (3). Events preceding the death are recorded using a survey with a pre-determined set of closed questions, which can be supplemented by a free-text open narrative designed to elicit the story in the respondent's own words of how the death occurred (8). Following this, a suspected cause of death is generally assigned through physician review, or through the automated application of statistical algorithms (e.g. InterVA or SmartVA) (3-5).

In 2006, up to 18 VA tools with varying combinations of closed questions and open narratives were reportedly being used in 13 countries (9). The World Health Organization (WHO) published the first iteration of a standardised VA methodology in 2007, with subsequent updates in 2012, 2014 and 2016 (8). The inclusion of an open narrative section remains recommended, but optional. The role of the narrative in physician-coded VAs has been likened to a medical history used by doctors to make diagnoses (10). It can also encourage interviewer-respondent rapport, providing respondents a more natural outlet to express themselves and recount events they feel were most relevant (11). The open narrative can also provide valuable information that standardised closed questions do not capture, such as cultural beliefs, adding context and holding authorities accountable to design interventions and services that are responsive to its people's needs (9, 12, 13). In contrast, it could be argued that such information could be better identified using structured social autopsy tools – a supplementary survey conducted specifically to identify non-medical causes of death (7, 14).

The emotional strain of a VA has been recently detailed in qualitative studies from Ghana,(15) Papua New Guinea,(16) and Nepal,(17) and fieldworkers from South Africa reported a higher likelihood of respondents becoming emotional during the open narrative compared to closed question sections of the interview (18). Furthermore, the potential for adverse effects of VA-induced distress on data quality, and the diagnostic influence this might have for assigning cause of death is important to understand (12, 19, 20).

This paper explores the role of the open narrative in the VA process, including its effects on interview procedures, data quality and respondent emotion. As the narrative potentially poses an additional burden on both respondents and interviewers, and VAs are increasingly analysed using automated algorithms that do not use these free-text responses, their inclusion in the VA process should be justified.

Methods

We conducted a mixed-methods analysis of VA process data for deaths of children aged 0–59 months collected prospectively from April 2013 to November 2016, as part of the VacSurv Study in Mchinji District, Malawi (21). Mchinji is a rural agricultural district in the central region of Malawi, with a population of approximately 600000, under-5 mortality rate of 63 per 1000 livebirths and crude birth rate of 32.2 at the time of data collection (22).

Mortality Surveillance

Full details of the population surveillance system used by the VacSurv Study have been previously described (21, 23). Briefly, deaths in children aged 0–59 months, including stillbirths, were registered retrospectively from October 2011 to February 2012, and prospectively from March 2012 to June 2016. Births and deaths were reported by 1060 volunteer village informants who cumulatively covered the whole of Mchinji District, supervised by 50 enumerators and eight senior monitoring and evaluation officers (MEOs). Data were submitted using paper forms to the central office monthly where it was entered into a Microsoft Access database. Major errors in identification data (e.g. incompatible dates of birth and death) were sent back to the field for verification. All deaths in children under-5 years were extracted from the cleaned data, and pre-printed forms with a unique barcode containing the participant's study ID were generated.

Verbal Autopsies

Deaths were prospectively randomised at the point of interview to either: 1) closed questions only; or 2) open narrative followed by closed questions. Randomisation was programmed into the electronic data capture form (Open Data Kit software),(24) and the MEOs were informed of the allocation after the respondent had consented to the interview. The respondent was blinded to the randomisation procedure, but MEOs were unblinded to the purpose of randomisation. The open narrative was unstructured and MEOs could choose how they recorded the details, such as audio-recording and subsequent transcription, notes or direct transcription of the story during the interview. The closed questions were WHO's 2012 VA instrument,(25) translated into Chichewa.

Data Collection

The VAs were conducted at respondents' homes by nine different MEOs, each with five or more years' experience in conducting VAs. They underwent a one-week training where they collectively translated the WHO VA questionnaire, reviewed the study protocol including data collection using smartphones and strategies to conduct the interviews sensitively, and conducted supervised mock interviews.(12)

At the end of each VA, MEOs self-completed post-interview questions. MEOs were asked to document the respondents present, emotions during the interview and whether the interview needed to be paused as a result. Total VA interview duration was automatically captured on the smartphone, and MEOs noted the start and end time of the open narrative on the paper form.

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3 Closed questions were collected using ODK Collect on Android smartphones and narratives were
4 submitted as written transcripts on the pre-printed forms. These were entered into a Microsoft
5 Access database, and data were linked using the participants' study ID, then cleaned and processed.
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9 *Quantitative Analysis*

10 Child characteristics and VA process data were described with proportions, means and standard
11 deviations (SD) for normally distributed continuous data or medians and interquartile ranges (IQR)
12 for asymmetrically distributed data. The types of emotion, ability to assign a cause of death, and
13 duration of VA were compared between those with and without an open narrative, using t- and chi2
14 tests.
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18 Cause of death was assigned using InterVA-4 (www.interva.net) based on closed question responses
19 only; respondents had the option of answering with 'yes', 'no' or 'don't know'. InterVA uses a
20 Bayesian model to calculate the likelihood of different causes of death based on positive ('yes')
21 closed question responses only. The number of 'yes' answers and subsequently the ability to assign
22 probable cause of death were used as a proxy measure of data quality from respondents. Emotion
23 and interview duration were chosen as proxy indicators of burden for respondents and interviewers.
24 Stillbirths were excluded from the analysis as we used a locally modified VA tool for these deaths.
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28 The primary analysis was a per-protocol analysis, excluding interviews in which MEOs documented
29 that a narrative was conducted when allocated to not include one, and vice versa. We compared
30 respondent emotion during the interview between those with and without a narrative. A
31 multivariable logistic regression was conducted, adjusted for potential confounders defined *a priori*
32 as: main respondent, child's age and sex, location of death and socio-economic tercile. All analyses
33 were conducted with Stata 15.0.
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38 *Qualitative Data Collection and Analysis*

39 At study completion, a group discussion was held with the MEOs who conducted VAs during the
40 project to gather their feedback on the utility of the open narrative and recommendations for VA
41 procedures going-forward. This group discussion was led by the technical advisor (CK) in a private
42 room within the office using a structured topic guide (**Web-Appendix 1**). The discussion was
43 conducted in English, audio-recorded and transcribed verbatim. The data was then coded using the
44 following deductive themes, based on the aim of the study: the interview process and procedures;
45 perceived data quality; and emotions in VAs. The final analysis was shared with the MEOs, after
46 triangulation with the quantitative analysis to check for interpretation.
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52 *Patient and Public Involvement*

53 Prior to community verbal autopsies beginning, the overall VacSurv Study protocol was presented to
54 the District Executive Committee and District Health Management team in Mchinji for input and
55 approval. Extensive community engagement was conducted before data collection, and continued
56 throughout the study, through village level key informant volunteers, area development committees
57 and radio jingles. Community consent from traditional leaders was sought during study
58 introduction.
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Ethics

Verbal informed consent was obtained for all VA interviews, and written consent for the group discussion participants. The study was approved by the National Health Sciences Research Ethics Committee in Malawi [#837], London School of Hygiene and Tropical Medicine, UK [#6047] and Centers for Disease Control and Prevention, USA [#6268].

Results

A total of 3623 under-5 deaths were reported during the study period, and 2509 were included in the analysis (**Figure 1**). Overall, 50.2% (n=1352) were allocated to no narrative and 49.8% (n=1341) to have an open narrative, with 95% and 94% of VAs conducted per-protocol in each arm. Balance in the randomisation was achieved for respondent type, socio-economic status, child sex and time since the death. However more open narrative interviews were conducted for neonates (44.5% versus 39.9%, p -value=0.042) and location of death differed between the two groups (**Web-Appendix 2**). Of the deaths, 41.9% were neonates, 52.9% were male and 31.8% occurred at home (**Web-Appendix 2**). Primary respondents were mainly mothers (77.0%, n=1931), followed by grandparents (10.6%, n=266) and fathers (8.0%, n=200). The mean time between death and verbal autopsy was 22.5 weeks (range: 1–52 weeks). We present the quantitative and qualitative results together under the following themes: VA processes, data quality and emotions.

VA Processes and Procedures

Open narratives took a median of 7 minutes (range: 1–113 minutes) and closed questions took 17.5 minutes (range: 6–164 minutes). Overall, interviews which included narratives took longer to complete, with 32.3% taking longer than 30 minutes compared to only 5.2% of those without a narrative (p -value < 0.001), with the accompanying closed questions correspondingly taking longer on average to complete (**Table 1**).

From the group discussion, MEOs reported narratives generally taking between 3 and 15 minutes. A key factor in the duration of these was the respondent and whether they were capable and willing to respond. Respondents who were keen to relay their story were reported to do so without prompting, including in interviews randomised to not include a narrative. Conversely respondents who were hard to engage in interviews with a narrative were also reported.

“My experience has been that after getting consent sometimes a respondent starts to recount before you ask, so you don’t interrupt, you just listen. But because your phone has asked you not to take an open history, you don’t take notes on that, you just go straight to the questions.” (MEO 8)

“And you can see that there were some open histories that were very short, maybe just 2 minutes [general agreement]. You just know that the respondent was not ready to give you information. It happened like that.” (MEO 2)

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3 However, in general the MEOs agreed that the main difference in interviews with and without open
4 narratives was the time taken. Not taken into consideration in the quantitative measures of duration
5 was the time to identify appropriate respondents before an interview could start. This could involve
6 multiple visits to a respondent's household before an appropriate respondent could be located (e.g.
7 mother or father), or needing to gain community trust to access the respondent.
8
9

10 *"But some other times it may take even 10 minutes because these people know who you want to talk*
11 *to you, but they are trying to shield them because they are not very sure at first what you've come to*
12 *do."* (MEO 1)
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15 When asked what they would recommend as the best VA procedure, there was a consensus that
16 both the open narrative and closed questions were important and should be included: *"The best way*
17 *is the one which has the open history, that way you have the full explanation."* (MEO 7)
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22 *Data Quality*

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24 Based on InterVA analysis of closed questions, 94.3% of deaths had a cause of death assigned; there
25 was no difference between those with and without an open narrative (94.7% versus 93.9%, *p*-
26 value=0.404). Comparing the number of positive responses in the closed questions found no
27 differences with a mean of 22.4, 21.4 and 21.8 "yes" answers for neonates, infant and child VA
28 interviews (**Table 2**). The addition of the open narrative was not associated with respondents
29 expressing a desire to know or suggest a potential cause of death.
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32 There was consensus from the MEOs that data collected was of better quality when they conducted
33 an open narrative. The first reason was that they effectively asked the questions twice, once as the
34 narrative and then a second time in the closed questions, enabling them to cross-check responses.
35 Secondly, MEOs reported respondents being more comfortable narrating a story than responding to
36 "yes/no" questions.
37
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39 *"I have that feeling that, without the open history, the quality is compromised. Because it's like the*
40 *recall system, the set-up of the brain of the respondent, is disturbed by question time and again.*
41 *Unlike when he or she is free to express everything from her memory, it happens to be good quality*
42 *data [...] I think that open history gives a respondent a feeling that you are really concerned, because*
43 *you take a lot of time to listen to him or her."* (MEO 8)
44
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47 While only 28.2% of respondents were recorded as providing a cause of death (**Table 2**), the MEOs
48 noted that caregivers would often give a reason for their child's death – especially if they had sought
49 care. However, they also noted that cause of death was not limited to medical reasons:
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52 *"In their narrations, they will tell you the cause, 'yes this baby was suffering from malaria, but we*
53 *think this baby died because they delayed in referring us to a health centre'. Maybe in the most*
54 *remote areas there was no ambulance, they were told to come to the [town] but the ambulance was*
55 *not available. They were told to look for their own transport to the [town]. So they will tell you those*
56 *ones as reasons, not the actual sickness of the baby."* (MEO 4)
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Emotion

In the majority of interviews, respondents did not display visible signs of emotion (81%), with similar proportions between those with and without an open narrative (79.7% versus 82.4%, p -value=0.089). Of those who were recorded as showing signs of emotions, 3.4% cried, 26.7% had a long silence and 69.9% displayed other signs of emotion – over half of these interviews needed to be paused once or more (**Table 2**).

Table 3 shows the logistic regression for respondent emotion. While having an open narrative was associated with 20% (aOR: 1.20; 95% CI: 0.98, 1.47) higher likelihood of the respondent becoming emotional during the interview; this was not statistically significant but may be pragmatically relevant. Factors associated with lower odds of becoming emotional during the VA interview included: non-parental respondents and increased time between the death and interview (2% lower odds for each week passed). Factors associated with increased odds of visible displays of emotion include: deaths amongst infants compared to neonates (aOR: 1.42; 95% CI: 1.09, 1.85); the death occurring at a health centre (aOR: 1.36; 95% CI: 1.04, 1.77) or en-route to hospital (aOR: 1.49; 95% CI: 1.00, 2.22); and being in the middle (aOR 1.52; 95% CI: 1.17, 1.97) or highest wealth tercile (aOR: 1.49; 95% CI: 1.13, 1.95).

The emotion of respondents was not directly raised by the MEOs during the discussion; however, they noted a key challenge in conducting the VAs as being unable to help respondents or feeling hopeless when respondents related their stories. They raised specific examples around HIV positive respondents seeking advice or requests for referrals of malnourished children to NGO programmes.

“A challenge, in a nut shell, was not being able assist where questions were raised. You have raised questions to them. In the end they raise questions to you, that need action, for you to not be able to do anything. That was a big challenge and a let-down.” (MEO 4)

The MEOs raised the fact that the VA process is emotional from the interviewer’s perspective, as well as the respondent, with many of the MEOs also having families and young children which can relate to the narrative.

“The verbal autopsies are not easy to be carried as they involve or concern somebody who has lost life, so it’s always emotional between the interviewer and the interviewee” (MEO 2)

Discussion

Using a mixed-methods analysis of VA process data amongst children under-five in Malawi, we explored the role of open narratives on the interview process, data quality and respondents’ emotions. As expected, free-text narratives increased the duration of the VA interview but did not impact on the ability of a Bayesian algorithm to assign a cause of death - the proxy we used for data quality. The interviewers considered the open narrative useful in building rapport with respondents, agreeing with previously reported experiences, (11, 26) and believed it subsequently improved the VA data. However, respondents with an open narrative displayed visible emotions more frequently when compared to those without, even if visible respondent emotion was relatively uncommon.

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3 Although previous studies have observed VA-induced emotional stress amongst respondents, (16-
4 18, 27) exploring characteristics of both the respondent and deceased showed interesting
5 associations with visible emotion. Firstly, respondents were more likely to show emotion if they
6 were of a higher socio-economic status. One hypothesis could be that under-five deaths are more
7 common amongst lower socio-economic households; (28) specifically in Malawi, a study reported an
8 under-five mortality of 52/1000 livebirths in the highest wealth group, compared to 69/1000 in
9 middle and low wealth groups (29). The 'unexpectedness' of deaths amongst children has been
10 found to be associated with increased parental grief previously (30). Therefore, as these are rarer
11 events in families which are less underprivileged, with fewer perceived barriers to healthcare and
12 prevention, this may affect respondent emotion.
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16 We observed that deaths occurring at health centres or en-route to hospital was associated with
17 increased emotion. This may reflect respondents' perception or experience of poor quality of care,
18 resulting in frustrations at system failures and delays in referrals and receiving care. This was echoed
19 by the MEOs, and prior data from this setting,(12) who described respondents attributing deaths to
20 non-medical causes. Deficiencies in Malawian healthcare facilities' ability to deliver quality maternal,
21 newborn and child care, have been found,(31) and modelled estimates suggest that poor quality
22 maternal and newborn care result in considerable preventable mortality (32). Caregiver frustration
23 with healthcare provision and challenges in reaching referral facilities is therefore understandable.
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27 Although the MEOs perceived better rapport and improved data quality from VAs with open
28 narratives, we did not observe any differences in the number of "yes" responses and the subsequent
29 proportion of VAs with an assigned cause of death. Earlier findings from Malawi showed limited
30 advantage in including open narratives to assign cause of death (12), however in this case it is hard
31 to know whether individual answers would have been different. The added diagnostic value of the
32 free-text narratives was also examined by Rankin et al., (19) who reported that the addition of the
33 narrative did not explain discrepancies in diagnoses between physician and InterVA analyses. This
34 could be due to narratives capturing indicators which are included in closed questions. A key
35 principle in research ethics is to avoid intrusions;(33) therefore, if narrative data is not intended for
36 analysis and does not appear to have any influence on data quality, documenting these data may
37 pose an unnecessary burden.
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42 A key limitation of our study was our reliance on interviewer-observed signs of respondent emotion.
43 The MEO self-completed post-VA questionnaire may have suffered from the subjective nature of
44 emotion and possible cultural norms of private bereavement. Including questions on respondent-
45 reported emotional distress and interviewer self-reported emotion may have provided richer
46 information. Secondly, it is likely that protocol violations occurred, as MEOs reported respondents
47 being unwilling or unable to fully engage in the open narrative, and conversely narrating the story of
48 their child's death without prompt. This is not unlike the reluctance observed in VA respondents in
49 rural Ghana who occasionally denied interviews due to grief (15). While we planned a per-protocol
50 analysis, we were unable to fully adjust for these violations in the quantitative analysis, and our
51 results may therefore more closely reflect intention to treat. Finally, the group discussion with the
52 MEOs was led by the technical advisor, possibly leading to social-desirability bias limiting their
53 willingness to highlight concerns or deviations from the protocol.
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Conclusion

As far as we are aware, this is the first study to report the effect of open narratives during VA interviews on respondent emotion. Evidence from this large-scale evaluation suggests that open narratives do not necessarily affect data quality, but play a role in establishing rapport, which was clearly valued by interviewers. From the interviewer perspective, conducting an open narrative at the start of the VA may therefore outweigh the additional time burden and the slight increase in respondents becoming emotional. Any undue burden associated with having an open narrative would be further justified if the quality and utility of information from the narrative can be guaranteed. We would therefore recommend guidance from leading bodies, such as the WHO VA Reference Group, for a more standardised approach to record and analyse free-text narratives with a view to reducing bias introduced by those involved during the process such as interviewers, transcribers and reviewers. We would also support longer waiting periods between death and time of interview, so long as accurate recall is not negatively impacted, and the inclusion of wider non-parental family members to reduce the emotional burdens associated with the sensitive nature of discussing death.

Declarations

Ethics approval and consent to participate

The study was approved by the National Health Sciences Research Ethics Committee in Malawi [#837], London School of Hygiene and Tropical Medicine, UK [#6047] and Centers for Disease Control and Prevention, USA [#6268]. Verbal informed consent was sought from respondents prior to starting the verbal autopsy interviews. Consent was documented in the electronic data capture form.

Consent for publication

Not applicable.

Availability of data and materials

Fully anonymised quantitative and qualitative datasets generated and analysed for the purpose of this study are available from the corresponding author, Dr. Carina King (c.king@ucl.ac.uk) on reasonable request for research purposes only, following approval from the National Health Sciences Research Ethics Committee in Malawi, and study Principal Investigators.

Competing interests

The authors declare that they have no competing interests.

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Author contributions

This study was conceived by PL, EF and CK, based on data from a larger research question conceived by NBZ, BJB, JB, EF and CK. The data was collected under the oversight of TP, CM, and MB. The quantitative data was analysed by PL and the qualitative data was coded and analysed by CK. The manuscript was written by PL, with significant input from CK. All authors read, commented and approved the manuscript.

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Figure 1: Verbal autopsy inclusion (CONSORT diagram)

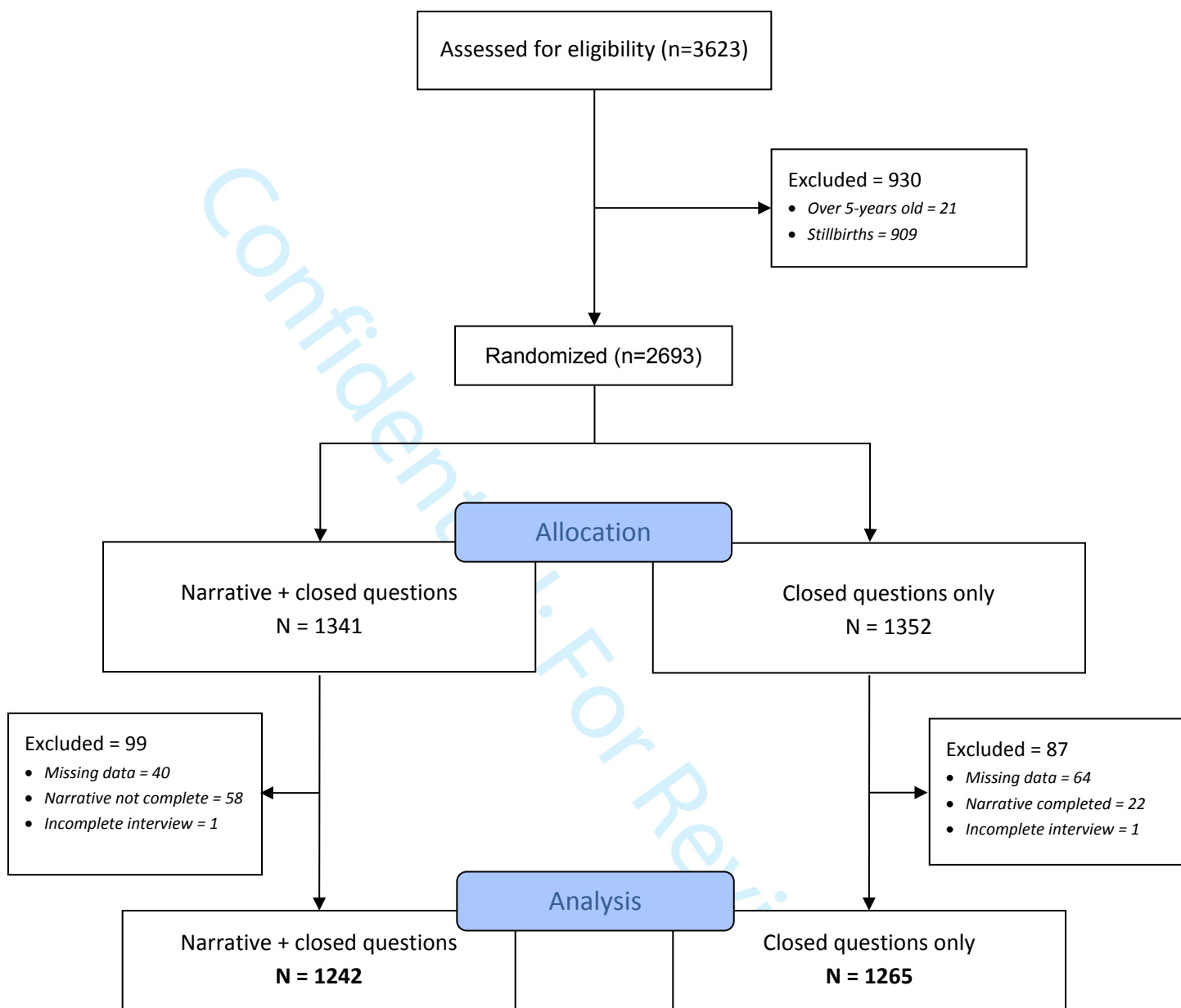


Table 1: Description of VA duration.

	No Narrative N = 1265	Narrative N = 1242	<i>p-value</i>
Total VA duration (Minutes)			
< 10	259 (20.5%)	33 (2.7%)	
11 – 20	663 (52.4%)	381 (30.7%)	
21 – 30	252 (19.9%)	422 (34.0%)	
> 30	66 (5.2%)	401 (32.3%)	
Missing	25 (2.0%)	5 (0.4%)	<0.001
Closed question duration (Minutes)			
Min – Max	6 – 134	6 – 164	
Median (IQR)	15.0 (9.7)	19.8 (9.9)	<0.001
Narrative duration (Minutes)			
Min – Max		1 – 113	
Median (IQR)		7.0 (5.0)	

Table 2: Description of respondent emotions and VA quality indicators, between interviews with and without open narratives.

	No Narrative n (%)	Narrative n (%)	Total n (%)	<i>p-value</i>
Respondent displayed visible emotion				
No	1042 (82.4%)	990 (79.7%)	2032 (81.0%)	
Yes	223 (17.6%)	252 (20.3%)	475 (19.0%)	0.089
*Type of emotion displayed during interview				
Crying	4 (1.8%)	12 (4.8%)	18 (3.4%)	
Long silence	59 (26.5%)	68 (27.0%)	127 (26.7%)	
Other signs of emotion	160 (71.8%)	172 (68.2%)	332 (69.9%)	0.191
*Interview paused due to respondent becoming too emotional				
No	89 (39.9%)	117 (46.4%)	206 (43.4%)	
Yes – Once	31 (13.9%)	41 (16.3%)	72 (15.2%)	
Yes – More than once	103 (46.2%)	94 (37.3%)	197 (41.5%)	0.146
Respondent expressed desire to know the cause of death				
No	1235 (97.6%)	1216 (97.9%)	2451 (97.8%)	
Yes	30 (2.4%)	26 (2.1%)	56 (2.2%)	0.638
Respondent suggested potential cause of death				
No	909 (71.9%)	890 (71.7%)	1799 (71.8%)	
Yes	356 (28.1%)	352 (28.3%)	708 (28.2%)	0.912
Inter-VA able to assign cause of death				
Indeterminate	77 (6.1%)	66 (5.3%)	143 (5.7%)	
Determinate	1188 (93.9%)	1176 (94.7%)	2364 (94.3%)	0.404
Number of “Yes” responses to closed questions**				
	Mean (SD)			
Neonates	22.6 (5.3)	22.2 (5.3)	22.4 (5.3)	0.297
Infants	21.5 (6.8)	21.3 (7.3)	21.4 (7.0)	0.658
Child	22.2 (8.2)	21.3 (8.1)	21.8 (8.1)	0.122

*Questions only asked for respondents who had a visible display of emotion (n=475)

**Different numbers of questions are asked for different age groups

Table 3: Logistic regression exploring associations between respondent and child characteristics and emotions during VA.

<i>Visible emotion due to open narrative</i>			
Descriptors		aOR* (95% CI)	p-value
Open narrative	No	1.00	
	Yes	1.20 (0.98, 1.47)	0.084
Respondent	Mother	1.00	
	Father	0.72 (0.49, 1.07)	0.102
	Grandparent	0.23 (0.13, 0.39)	<0.001
	Others	0.04 (0.01, 0.28)	0.001
Child's age	Neonate	1.00	
	Infant	1.42 (1.09, 1.85)	0.010
	Child under-5	1.21 (0.86, 1.69)	0.274
Child's sex	Male	1.00	
	Female	0.99 (0.80, 1.22)	0.920
Location of death	Home	1.00	
	Health centre	1.36 (1.04, 1.77)	0.023
	MDH	0.96 (0.72, 1.27)	0.753
	En route to hospital	1.49 (1.00, 2.22)	0.049
	Other	0.38 (0.23, 0.64)	<0.001
Socio-economic status by tercile	Tercile 1 (Lowest)	1.00	
	Tercile 2 (Middle)	1.52 (1.17, 1.97)	0.002
	Tercile 3 (Highest)	1.49 (1.13, 1.95)	0.004
Delay between death & VA (Weeks)		0.98 (0.98, 0.99)	0.002

*All variables presented were included in the adjusted analysis

Web-Appendix 1: Group discussion topic guide

1. What is your experience of conducting verbal autopsies?
2. Can you describe the typical interview process?
3. Thinking specifically about interviews which DID NOT have an open narrative:
 - a. How did you establish a rapport with the respondents?
 - b. Did you feel the quality of the responses was accurate?
 - c. Were there any issues in conducting the interviews?
4. Now thinking specifically about the interviews which DID have an open narrative:
 - a. How did you establish a rapport with the respondents?
 - b. Did you feel the quality of the responses was accurate?
 - c. Were there any issues in conducting the interviews?
5. Overall, what were the biggest challenges in conducting the verbal autopsies?
6. Overall, did you feel there were any positive aspects of conducting these interviews?
7. Did you feel the open narrative improved the interview process for respondents? And for you? Why / Why not?
8. If you could recommend a best practice for conducting verbal autopsies, what would it be? Why?

Web-Appendix 2: Comparison of randomised groups

	No Narrative N = 1265 (51%)	Narrative N = 1242 (49%)	Total N = 2507	<i>p-value</i>
Respondent				
Mother	985 (77.9%)	946 (76.2%)	1931 (77.0%)	
Father	95 (7.5%)	105 (8.5%)	200 (8.0%)	
Grandparent	125 (9.9%)	141 (11.4%)	266 (10.6%)	
Other	60 (4.7%)	50 (4.0%)	110 (4.4%)	0.400
Socio-economic status by tercile				
Tercile 1 (Lowest)	408 (32.3%)	430 (34.6%)	838 (33.4%)	
Tercile 2 (Middle)	459 (36.3%)	420 (33.8%)	879 (35.1%)	
Tercile 3 (Highest)	398 (31.5%)	392 (31.6%)	790 (31.5%)	0.343
Child's age				
Neonate	505 (39.9%)	553 (44.5%)	1058 (41.9%)	
Infant	352 (27.8%)	302 (24.3%)	654 (26.4%)	
Child under-5	408 (32.3%)	387 (31.2%)	795 (31.7%)	0.042
Child's sex				
Male	677 (53.5%)	649 (52.3%)	1326 (52.9%)	
Female	588 (46.5%)	593 (47.8%)	1181 (47.1%)	0.526
Location of death				
Home	408 (32.3%)	389 (31.3%)	797 (31.8%)	
Health centre	327 (26.9%)	325 (26.2%)	652 (26.0%)	
MDH	297 (23.5%)	319 (25.7%)	616 (24.6%)	
En route to hospital	78 (6.2%)	103 (8.3%)	181 (7.2%)	
Other	155 (12.3%)	106 (8.5%)	261 (10.4%)	0.008
	Mean (SD)	Mean (SD)		
Delay between death and VA (Weeks)	22.6 (15.5)	22.5 (15.4)	22.5 (15.5)	0.838

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The added value of an open narrative in verbal autopsies – a mixed-methods evaluation from Malawi

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3 1 **Title:** The added value of an open narrative in verbal autopsies – a mixed-methods evaluation from
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3 18 **Abstract**
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5 19 **Background**
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7 20 The WHO standardised verbal autopsy (VA) instrument includes closed questions, ascertaining signs
8 21 and symptoms of illness preceding death, and an optional open narrative. As VA analyses
9 22 increasingly use automated algorithms, inclusion of narratives should be justified. We evaluated the
10 23 role of open narratives on VA processes, data quality and respondent's emotional stress.
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12

13 24 **Methods**
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15 25 A mixed-methods analysis was conducted using VA data for child deaths (0–59 months), between
16 26 04/2013–11/2016 in Mchinji district, Malawi. Deaths were prospectively randomised to receive
17 27 closed questions only or open narrative followed by closed questions. Upon concluding the VA,
18 28 interviewers self-completed questions on respondents' emotional stress. Logistic regression was
19 29 used to determine associations with visible emotional distress during VAs. A group discussion with
20 30 interviewers was conducted at the project end, to understand field experiences and explore future
21 31 recommendations; data were coded using deductive themes.
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25 32 **Results**
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27 33 2509 VAs were included, with 49.8% (n=1341) randomised to open narratives. Narratives lasted a
28 34 median of 7 minutes (range: 1–113). Interviewers described improved rapport and felt narratives
29 35 improved data quality, although there was no difference in the proportion of deaths with an
30 36 indeterminate cause using an automated algorithm (5.3% vs. 6.1%). The majority of respondents did
31 37 not display visible emotional stress (81%). Those with a narrative had higher, but not statistically
32 38 significant, odds of emotional distress (aOR: 1.20; 95% CI: 0.98, 1.47). Factors associated with
33 39 emotional stress were: infant deaths versus neonates; deaths at a health centre or en-route to
34 40 hospital versus home; and higher socio-economic status. Non-parental respondents and increased
35 41 time between death and interview were associated with lower odds of emotional distress.
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39 42 **Conclusion**
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41 43 Conducting an open narrative may help build rapport, something valued by the interviewers.
42 44 However, additional time and emotional burdens should be further justified, with quality and utility
43 45 of narratives promoted through standardised recommendations.
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3 48 **What is known about the topic**
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- 5 49 • Verbal autopsies are often conducted in contexts where civil registration systems are lacking
6 or incomplete.
7 50
8 51 • There are several different tools for conducting these interviews, some containing an open
9 narrative section, where respondents describe the events leading to a death in their own
10 words.
11 52
12 53
13 54 • Automated methods for analysing verbal autopsies often do not use the data from
14 narratives and therefore there should be a clear and justified reason for conducting this
15 section of the interview.
16 56

17 57 **What this study adds**
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- 19 58 • Data collectors reported the narratives as a way to build rapport with the respondents, and
20 felt this improved their ability to collect better quality information.
21 59
22 60 • While respondents mostly did not show visible signs of emotional stress during interviews,
23 this was more frequent but statistically non-significant, in those with a narrative.
24 61
25 62 • There may be a trade-off in the increased time and emotional burden of verbal autopsies
26 which contain a narrative section, with the ability to establish a connection between data
27 collectors and respondents.
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65 Background

66 A comprehensive civil registration and vital statistics (CRVS) system recording births and deaths
67 provides a country with essential information to make informed decisions for country-specific
68 priority-setting, and measure its progress towards the Sustainable Development Goals (1, 2). In the
69 absence of functional CRVS structures, verbal autopsies (VA) can partly fill this gap as an interim
70 mortality data collection instrument by providing cause-specific mortality estimates (3-5). These
71 data can be used by governments, healthcare providers, researchers, donors and policy makers, who
72 rely on accurate and comparable data over time to estimate burdens of diseases at population level,
73 evaluate program implementation and complement routine administrative data (1, 6). A recent
74 review supported the use of VA to identify vulnerable groups and health needs for effective resource
75 allocation in humanitarian settings (7).

76 The VA process involves trained fieldworkers identifying and interviewing an appropriate
77 respondent, usually a close relative or caregiver, for a given death. Events preceding the death are
78 recorded using a survey with a pre-determined set of closed questions, which can be supplemented
79 by a free-text open narrative designed to elicit the story in the respondent's own words of how the
80 death occurred (8). Following this, a suspected cause of death is generally assigned through
81 physician review, or through the automated application of statistical algorithms (e.g. InterVA or
82 SmartVA) (3-5).

83 In 2006, up to 18 VA tools with varying combinations of closed questions and open narratives were
84 reportedly being used in 13 countries (9). The World Health Organization (WHO) published the first
85 iteration of a standardised VA methodology in 2007, with subsequent updates in 2012, 2014 and
86 2016 (8). The inclusion of an open narrative section remains recommended, but optional. The role of
87 the narrative in physician-coded VAs has been likened to a medical history used by doctors to make
88 diagnoses (10). It can also encourage interviewer-respondent rapport, providing respondents a more
89 natural outlet to express themselves and recount events they feel were most relevant (11). The open
90 narrative can also provide valuable information that standardised closed questions do not capture,
91 such as cultural beliefs, adding context and holding authorities accountable to design interventions
92 and services that are responsive to its people's needs (9, 12, 13). In contrast, it could be argued that
93 such information could be better identified using structured social autopsy tools – a supplementary
94 survey conducted specifically to identify non-medical causes of death (7, 14).

95 The emotional strain of a VA has been detailed in qualitative studies from Ghana,(15) Papua New
96 Guinea,(16) and Nepal,(17) and fieldworkers from South Africa reported a higher likelihood of
97 respondents becoming emotionally stressed during the open narrative compared to closed question
98 sections of the interview (18). Furthermore, the potential for adverse effects of VA-induced distress
99 on data quality, and the diagnostic influence this might have for assigning cause of death is
100 important to understand (12, 19, 20).

101 This paper explores the role of the open narrative in the VA interview process, including its effects
102 on procedures, data quality and emotional stress in respondents. Narratives potentially pose
103 additional burdens on both respondents and interviewers, and as VAs are increasingly analysed
104 using automated algorithms that do not use these free-text responses, their inclusion in the VA
105 process should be justified.

106

107 **Methods**

108 We conducted a mixed-methods analysis of VA process data for deaths of children aged 0–59
109 months collected prospectively from April 2013 to November 2016, as part of the VacSurv Study in
110 Mchinji District, Malawi (21). Mchinji is a rural agricultural district in the central region of Malawi,
111 with a population of approximately 600000, under-5 mortality rate of 63 per 1000 livebirths and
112 crude birth rate of 32.2 at the time of data collection (22).

114 *Mortality Surveillance*

115 Full details of the population surveillance system used by the VacSurv Study have been previously
116 described (21, 23). Briefly, deaths in children aged 0–59 months, including stillbirths, were registered
117 retrospectively from October 2011 to February 2012, and prospectively from March 2012 to June
118 2016. Births and deaths were reported by 1060 volunteer village informants who cumulatively
119 covered the whole of Mchinji District, supervised by 50 enumerators and eight senior monitoring
120 and evaluation officers (MEOs). Data were submitted using paper forms to the central office monthly
121 where it was entered into a Microsoft Access database. Major errors in identification data (e.g.
122 incompatible dates of birth and death) were sent back to the field for verification. All deaths in
123 children under-5 years were extracted from the cleaned data, and pre-printed forms with a unique
124 barcode containing the participant’s study ID were generated.

126 *Verbal Autopsies*

127 Deaths were prospectively randomised to one of two standard VA approaches: 1) closed questions
128 only; or 2) open narrative followed by closed questions. Randomisation was programmed into the
129 electronic data capture form (Open Data Kit software),(24) and the MEOs were informed of the
130 allocation after the respondent had consented to the interview. The respondent was blinded to the
131 randomisation procedure to minimise potential recall and volunteer biases, but MEOs were
132 unblinded to the purpose of randomisation. The open narrative was unstructured and MEOs could
133 choose how they recorded the details, such as audio-recording and subsequent transcription, notes
134 or direct transcription of the story during the interview. The closed questions were WHO’s 2012 VA
135 instrument,(25) translated into Chichewa.

137 *Data Collection*

138 The VAs were conducted at respondents’ homes by nine different MEOs. The MEOs were Malawian
139 males, who resided in Mchinji district and had completed secondary education. Several hold
140 diplomas in community mobilisation and social work. All had worked within the local communities
141 for a minimum of five years before project commencement, and had conducted VAs previously. They
142 underwent a one-week training, including: collective translation of the WHO VA questionnaire; study
143 protocol including data collection using smartphones; developed Standard Operating Procedures
144 (SOPs) for conducting the interviews sensitively; and supervised mock interviews.(12) The SOPs
145 included identifying the main respondent, consent procedures, managing respondent distress and
146 offering condolences.

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2
3 147 At the end of each VA, MEOs self-completed post-interview questions. MEOs were asked to
4 148 document the respondents present, emotional stress during the interview and whether the
5 149 interview needed to be paused as a result. Total VA interview duration was automatically captured
6 150 on the smartphone, and MEOs noted the start and end time of the open narrative on the paper
7 151 form.

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10 152 Closed questions were collected using ODK Collect on Android smartphones and narratives were
11 153 submitted as written transcripts on the pre-printed forms. These were entered into a Microsoft
12 154 Access database, and data were linked using the participants' study ID, then cleaned and processed.

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14 155

156 *Quantitative Analysis*

157 Child characteristics and VA process data were described with proportions, means and standard
158 deviations (SD) for normally distributed continuous data or medians and interquartile ranges (IQR)
159 for asymmetrically distributed data. Student's t- and chi² test were applied to the comparisons of
160 process data between those with and without narratives.

161 Cause of death was assigned using InterVA-4 (www.interva.net) based on closed question responses
162 only; respondents had the option of answering with "yes", "no" or "don't know". InterVA uses a
163 Bayesian model to assign the posterior probability of different causes of death based on positive
164 ("yes") closed question responses only. The number of "yes" answers and subsequently the ability to
165 assign probable cause of death were used as a proxy measure of data quality. Emotional distress and
166 interview duration were chosen as proxy indicators of burden for respondents and interviewers.
167 Stillbirths were excluded from the analysis as we used a locally modified VA tool for these deaths.
168 The narratives were not used for assigning cause of death, and it was outside the scope of the study
169 to validate or verify automated cause of death assignment.

170 The primary analysis was a per-protocol analysis (i.e. excluding interviews not conducted as
171 allocated). This was chosen to examine the mechanism of narratives and the relationship to
172 respondent distress, and not the process of recommending a narrative be done. We compared
173 respondent emotional distress during the interview between those with and without a narrative. A
174 multivariable logistic regression was conducted, adjusted for potential confounders defined *a priori*
175 as: main respondent, child's age and sex, location of death and socio-economic tercile. All analyses
176 were conducted with Stata 15.0.

177

178 *Qualitative Data Collection and Analysis*

179 At study completion, a group discussion was held with the MEOs who conducted VAs during the
180 project to gather their feedback on the utility of the open narrative, their recommendations for
181 future VA procedures and debrief on the emotional toll of administering VAs. . This group discussion
182 was led by the technical advisor (CK) in a private room within the office using a structured topic
183 guide (**Web-Appendix 1**). The discussion was conducted in English, audio-recorded and transcribed
184 verbatim. The data was coded by CK using pen and paper, with pre-defined deductive themes using
185 a thematic approach. The themes were based on the aim of the study: the interview process and
186 procedures; perceived data quality; and emotional stress during VAs. The final interpretation was

187 shared with the MEOs, after triangulation with the quantitative analysis to check that it
188 corresponded with their experiences.

189

190 *Patient and Public Involvement*

191 Prior to community VAs beginning, the overall VacSurv Study protocol was presented to the District
192 Executive Committee and District Health Management team in Mchinji for input and approval.
193 Extensive community engagement was conducted before data collection, and continued throughout
194 the study, through village level key informant volunteers, area development committees and radio
195 jingles. Community consent from traditional leaders was sought during study introduction.

196

197 *Ethics*

198 Verbal informed consent was obtained for all VA interviews, and written consent for the group
199 discussion participants. The study was approved by the National Health Sciences Research Ethics
200 Committee in Malawi [#837], London School of Hygiene and Tropical Medicine, UK [#6047] and
201 Centers for Disease Control and Prevention, USA [#6268].

202

203 **Results**

204 A total of 3623 under-5 deaths were reported during the study period, and 2507 were included in
205 the analysis (**Figure 1**). Overall, 50.2% (n=1352) were allocated to no narrative and 49.8% (n=1341)
206 to have an open narrative, with 95% and 94% of VAs conducted per-protocol in each arm (Web-
207 Appendix 2). Balance in the randomisation was achieved for respondent type, socio-economic
208 status, child sex and time since the death. However more open narrative interviews were conducted
209 for neonates (44.5% versus 39.9%, p -value=0.042) and location of death differed between the two
210 groups (**Web-Appendix 3**). Of the deaths, 41.9% were neonates, 52.9% were male and 31.8%
211 occurred at home (**Web-Appendix 3**). Primary respondents were mainly mothers (77.0%, n=1931),
212 followed by grandparents (10.6%, n=266) and fathers (8.0%, n=200). The mean time between death
213 and verbal autopsy was 22.5 weeks (range: 1–52 weeks). We present the quantitative and
214 qualitative results together under the following themes: VA processes, data quality and emotional
215 stress.

216

217 *VA Processes and Procedures*

218 Open narratives took a median of 7 minutes (range: 1–113 minutes) and closed questions took 17.5
219 minutes (range: 6–164 minutes). Overall, interviews which included narratives took longer to
220 complete, with 32.3% taking longer than 30 minutes compared to only 5.2% of those without a
221 narrative (p -value < 0.001), with the accompanying closed questions correspondingly taking longer
222 on average to complete (**Table 1**).

223 From the group discussion, MEOs reported narratives generally taking between 3 and 15 minutes. A
224 key factor in the duration of these was the respondent and whether they were capable and willing to

225 respond. Respondents who were keen to relay their story were reported to do so without
226 prompting, including in interviews randomised to not include a narrative. Conversely respondents
227 who were hard to engage in interviews with a narrative were also reported.

228 *“My experience has been that after getting consent sometimes a respondent starts to recount before*
229 *you ask, so you don’t interrupt, you just listen. But because your phone has asked you not to take an*
230 *open history, you don’t take notes on that, you just go straight to the questions.” (MEO 8)*

231 *“And you can see that there were some open histories that were very short, maybe just 2 minutes*
232 *[general agreement]. You just know that the respondent was not ready to give you information. It*
233 *happened like that.” (MEO 2)*

234 However, in general the MEOs agreed that the main difference in interviews with and without open
235 narratives was the time taken. Not taken into consideration in the quantitative measures of duration
236 was the time to identify appropriate respondents before an interview could start. This could involve
237 multiple visits to a respondent’s household before an appropriate respondent could be located (e.g.
238 mother or father), or needing to gain community trust to access the respondent.

239 *“But some other times it may take even 10 minutes because these people know who you want to talk*
240 *to you, but they are trying to shield them because they are not very sure at first what you’ve come to*
241 *do.” (MEO 1)*

242 When asked what they would recommend as the best VA procedure, there was a consensus that
243 both the open narrative and closed questions were important and should be included: *“The best way*
244 *is the one which has the open history, that way you have the full explanation.” (MEO 7)*

245

246 *Data Quality*

247 Based on InterVA analysis of closed questions, 94.3% of deaths had a cause of death assigned; there
248 was no difference between those with and without an open narrative (94.7% versus 93.9%, *p*-
249 value=0.404). Comparing the number of positive responses in the closed questions found no
250 differences with a mean of 22.4, 21.4 and 21.8 “yes” answers for neonates, infant and child VA
251 interviews (**Table 2**). The addition of the open narrative was not associated with respondents
252 expressing a desire to know or suggest a potential cause of death.

253 There was consensus from the MEOs that data collected was of better quality when they conducted
254 an open narrative. The first reason was that they effectively asked the questions twice, once as the
255 narrative and then a second time in the closed questions, enabling them to cross-check responses.
256 Secondly, MEOs reported respondents being more comfortable narrating a story than responding to
257 “yes/no” questions. Finally, they reported the information gained during the narrative helped them
258 navigate through the closed questions and probe respondents for details in a more directed fashion.

259

260 *“I have that feeling that, without the open history, the quality is compromised. Because it’s like the*
261 *recall system, the set-up of the brain of the respondent, is disturbed by questions time and again.*
262 *Unlike when he or she is free to express everything from her memory, it happens to be good quality*

263 *data [...] I think that open history gives a respondent a feeling that you are really concerned, because*
 264 *you take a lot of time to listen to him or her.” (MEO 8)*

265 While only 28.2% of respondents were recorded as providing a cause of death (**Table 2**), the MEOs
 266 noted that caregivers would often give a reason for their child’s death – especially if they had sought
 267 care. However, they also noted that cause of death was not limited to medical reasons:

268 *“In their narrations, they will tell you the cause, ‘yes this baby was suffering from malaria, but we*
 269 *think this baby died because they delayed in referring us to a health centre’. Maybe in the most*
 270 *remote areas there was no ambulance, they were told to come to the [town] but the ambulance was*
 271 *not available. They were told to look for their own transport to the [town]. So they will tell you those*
 272 *ones as reasons, not the actual sickness of the baby.” (MEO 4)*

273

274 *Emotional stress*

275 In the majority of interviews, respondents did not display visible signs of emotional distress (81%),
 276 with similar proportions between those with and without an open narrative (79.7% versus 82.4%, *p*-
 277 value=0.089). Of those who were recorded as showing signs of emotional distress, 3.4% cried, 26.7%
 278 had a long silence and 69.9% exhibited other signs of emotional distress – over half of these
 279 interviews needed to be paused once or more (**Table 2**).

280 **Table 3** shows the logistic regression for respondent emotional distress. While having an open
 281 narrative was associated with 20% (aOR: 1.20; 95% CI: 0.98, 1.47) higher odds of the respondent
 282 becoming emotionally distressed during the interview; this was not statistically significant but may
 283 be pragmatically relevant. Factors associated with lower odds of becoming emotionally stressed
 284 during the VA interview included: non-parental respondents and increased time between the death
 285 and interview (2% lower odds for each week passed). Factors associated with increased odds of
 286 visible signs of emotional stress include: deaths amongst infants compared to neonates (aOR: 1.42;
 287 95% CI: 1.09, 1.85); the death occurring at a health centre (aOR: 1.36; 95% CI: 1.04, 1.77) or en route
 288 to hospital (aOR: 1.49; 95% CI: 1.00, 2.22); and being in the middle (aOR 1.52; 95% CI: 1.17, 1.97) or
 289 highest wealth tercile (aOR: 1.49; 95% CI: 1.13, 1.95).

290 Respondents’ emotional stress was not directly raised by the MEOs during the discussion; however,
 291 they noted a key challenge in conducting the VAs as being unable to help respondents or feeling
 292 hopeless when respondents related their stories. They raised specific examples around HIV positive
 293 respondents seeking advice or requests for referrals of malnourished children to NGO programmes.

294 *“A challenge, in a nut shell, was not being able assist where questions were raised. You have raised*
 295 *questions to them. In the end they raise questions to you, that need action, for you to not be able to*
 296 *do anything. That was a big challenge and a let-down.” (MEO 4)*

297 The MEOs indicated that the VA process is similarly distressing for the interviewer, with many of the
 298 MEOs also having families and young children which can relate to the narrative.

299 *“The verbal autopsies are not easy to be carried as they involve or concern somebody who has lost*
 300 *life, so it’s always emotional between the interviewer and the interviewee” (MEO 2)*

301

302 **Discussion**

303 Using a mixed-methods analysis of VA process data amongst children under-five in Malawi, we
304 explored the role of open narratives on the interview process, data quality and respondents'
305 emotional stress. As expected, free-text narratives increased the duration of the VA interview but
306 did not impact on the ability of a Bayesian algorithm to assign a cause of death - the proxy we used
307 for data quality. The interviewers considered the open narrative useful in building rapport with
308 respondents, agreeing with previously reported experiences,(11, 26) and believed it subsequently
309 improved the VA data. However, respondents with an open narrative displayed emotional distress
310 more frequently when compared to those without, even if visible relatively uncommon. While it was
311 outside the scope of this study, further work is warranted from the respondent perspective; in
312 particular, whether they value the space to narrate their stories, and how this balances with the
313 emotional burden.

314 Although previous studies have observed VA-induced emotional stress amongst respondents,(16-18,
315 27) exploring characteristics of both the respondent and deceased showed interesting associations
316 with emotional distress. Firstly, infant death was associated with increased emotional stress during
317 VA compared to neonatal deaths. Grief is influenced by cultural constructs, and here cultural
318 perceptions of child 'maturity' may be important. Studies from Tanzania and Ghana both point to
319 norms around concealing mourning for young infants, in particular pregnancy loss (28, 29).
320 Respondents from the higher socio-economic group had lower odds of observed emotional stress.
321 Under-five deaths are more frequent amongst lower socio-economic households;(30) with an under-
322 five mortality of 52/1000 livebirths in the highest wealth group, compared to 69/1000 in middle and
323 low wealth groups in Malawi (31). The 'unexpectedness' of deaths amongst children has been
324 associated with increased parental grief previously (32); and a study from South Africa reported that
325 pressures of poverty can overshadow the grieving process (33). More understanding on how local
326 contexts and mourning processes can affect the VA procedure, would be valuable.

327 We observed that deaths occurring at health centres or en route to hospital were associated with
328 increased emotional stress. This may reflect respondents' perception or experience of poor quality
329 of care, resulting in frustrations at system failures and delays in referrals and receiving care. This was
330 echoed by the MEOs, and prior data from this setting,(12) who described respondents attributing
331 deaths to non-medical causes. Deficiencies in Malawian healthcare facilities' ability to deliver quality
332 maternal, newborn and child care have been reported,(34) and modelled estimates suggest that
333 poor quality maternal and newborn care result in considerable preventable mortality (35). Caregiver
334 frustration with healthcare provision and challenges in reaching referral facilities is therefore
335 understandable.

336 Although the MEOs perceived better rapport and improved data quality from VAs with open
337 narratives, we did not observe any differences in the number of "yes" responses and the subsequent
338 proportion of VAs with an assigned cause of death. Earlier findings from Malawi showed limited
339 advantage in including unstructured open narratives to assign cause of death. (12) While in this case
340 it is hard to know whether individual answers would have been different, comparing cause of death
341 distributions between those with and without narratives found no clear differences (data not
342 shown), suggesting this was not the case. The added diagnostic value of free-text narratives has

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3 343 been examined previously (19), and found that the addition of the narrative did not explain
4 344 discrepancies in diagnoses between physician and InterVA analyses. This could be due to narratives
5 345 capturing indicators which are already included in closed questions. A key principle in research ethics
6 346 is to avoid intrusions;(36) therefore, if narrative data is not intended for analysis and does not
7 347 appear to have any influence on data quality, documenting these data may pose an unnecessary
8 348 burden.

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11 349 The main limitation of our study was our reliance on interviewer-observed signs of respondent
12 350 emotion. The MEO self-completed post-VA questionnaire may have suffered from the subjective
13 351 nature of expression and interpretation of emotion, and cultural norms of private bereavement.
14 352 Grief after the death of an infant has also been described as a non-linear process, and influenced by
15 353 gender (37). Including questions on both respondent-reported and interviewer self-reported
16 354 emotional stress would have provided richer information. The MEOs also reported being upset by
17 355 the VA interviews. A study from Mexico has developed a containment strategy to support the
18 356 emotional health of data collectors conducting VAs, and going forward this should be considered
19 357 (38).

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24 358 It has been reported that women can face stigma and blame in child deaths (39). The power
25 359 imbalance and gendered interviewer-interviewee dynamics present in this study may therefore have
26 360 influenced mothers' emotional stress and willingness to freely discuss their child's death. These
27 361 dynamics may also be present when multiple respondents were interviewed together e.g. a husband
28 362 and wife. While we allowed the main respondent to decide who else was present for the VA, women
29 363 may not have been empowered to exclude others from the process. The project conducted
30 364 extensive community sensitisation through working with village leaders and key informants to gain
31 365 respondent trust. However, the MEOs being local residents may also have inadvertently affected
32 366 this, as Haws et. al, found interviewers from outside the community with good cultural insights may
33 367 be more be trusted (29).

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38 368 It is likely that undocumented protocol violations occurred, as MEOs reported respondents being
39 369 unwilling or unable to fully engage in the open narrative, and conversely narrating the story of their
40 370 child's death without prompt. This is not unlike the reluctance observed in VA respondents in rural
41 371 Ghana who occasionally denied interviews due to grief (15). While we planned a per-protocol
42 372 analysis, we were unable to fully adjust for these violations in the quantitative analysis, and our
43 373 results may therefore more closely reflect intention-to-treat. Finally, the group discussion with the
44 374 MEOs was led by the technical advisor, possibly leading to social-desirability bias limiting their
45 375 willingness to highlight concerns or deviations from the protocol.

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50 51 377 **Conclusion**

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53 378 Evidence from this large-scale evaluation suggests that open narratives do not affect the ability of an
54 379 automated algorithm to assign a cause of death, but play a valued role in establishing interviewer-
55 380 interviewee rapport. From the interviewer perspective, good rapport as a result of conducting an
56 381 open narrative at the start of the VA may outweigh the additional time burden and the slight
57 382 increase in emotional stress amongst respondents. Any undue burden associated with having an
58 383 open narrative would be further justified if the quality and utility of information can be guaranteed.

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384 We would therefore recommend guidance from leading bodies, such as the WHO VA Reference
385 Group, for a more standardised approach to record and analyse free-text narratives. This is with a
386 view to reducing bias introduced by those involved during the VA process, but should also take into
387 account respondent perspective and preferences. We would also support longer waiting periods
388 between death and time of interview, so long as accurate recall is not negatively impacted, and the
389 inclusion of wider non-parental family members to reduce the emotional burdens associated with
390 the sensitive nature of discussing death.

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Confidential: For Review Only

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3 394 **Declarations**
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5 395 *Ethics approval and consent to participate*
6

7 396 The study was approved by the National Health Sciences Research Ethics Committee in Malawi
8 397 [#837], London School of Hygiene and Tropical Medicine, UK [#6047] and Centers for Disease Control
9 398 and Prevention, USA [#6268]. Verbal informed consent was sought from respondents prior to
10 399 starting the verbal autopsy interviews. Consent was documented in the electronic data capture
11 400 form.
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16 402 *Consent for publication*
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18 403 Not applicable.
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20 404

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22 405 *Availability of data and materials*
23

24 406 Fully anonymised quantitative and qualitative datasets generated and analysed for the purpose of
25 407 this study are available from the corresponding author, Dr. Carina King (c.king@ucl.ac.uk) on
26 408 reasonable request for research purposes only, following approval from the National Health Sciences
27 409 Research Ethics Committee in Malawi, and study Principal Investigators.
28
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32 411 *Competing interests*
33

34 412 The authors declare that they have no competing interests.
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3 421 **Author contributions**
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5 422 This study was conceived by PL, EF and CK, based on data from a larger research question conceived
6 423 by NBZ, BJB, JB, EF and CK. The data was collected under the oversight of TP, CM, and MB. The
7 424 quantitative data was analysed by PL and the qualitative data was coded and analysed by CK. The
8 425 manuscript was written by PL, with significant input from CK. All authors read, commented and
9 426 approved the manuscript.
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15

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22 435 Parashar (Centers for Disease Control & Prevention, Atlanta, GA, USA). The findings and conclusions
23 436 in this report are those of the authors and do not necessarily represent the official position of the US
24 437 Centers for Disease Control and Prevention.
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547 **Figure 1:** Verbal autopsy inclusion (CONSORT diagram)

548 **Table 1:** Description of VA duration.

	No Narrative N = 1265	Narrative N = 1242	<i>p-value</i>
Total VA duration (Minutes)			
< 10	259 (20.5%)	33 (2.7%)	
11 – 20	663 (52.4%)	381 (30.7)	
21 – 30	252 (19.9%)	422 (34.0%)	
> 30	66 (5.2%)	401 (32.3%)	
Missing	25 (2.0%)	5 (0.4%)	<0.001
Closed question duration (Minutes)*			
Min – Max	6 – 134	6 – 164	
Median (IQR)	15.0 (9.7)	19.8 (9.9)	<0.001
Narrative duration (Minutes)			
Min – Max		1 – 113	
Median (IQR)		7.0 (5.0)	

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550 *The duration included pauses in the interview; MEOs were instructed to allow at least 30 minutes if the
 551 respondent needed to pause the interview before attempting to reschedule. Note, only 17 (0.7%) interviews
 552 took longer than 60 minutes.

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554 **Table 2:** Description of respondent emotional stress and VA quality indicators, between interviews
 555 with and without open narratives.

	No Narrative n (%)	Narrative n (%)	Total n (%)	<i>p-value</i>
Respondent displayed visible emotional distress				
No	1042 (82.4%)	990 (79.7%)	2032 (81.0%)	
Yes	223 (17.6%)	252 (20.3%)	475 (19.0%)	0.089
*Type of emotional distress displayed during interview				
Crying	4 (1.8%)	12 (4.8%)	18 (3.4%)	
Long silence	59 (26.5%)	68 (27.0%)	127 (26.7%)	
Other signs of emotional distress	160 (71.8%)	172 (68.2%)	332 (69.9%)	0.191
*Interview paused due to respondent becoming emotionally distressed				
No	89 (39.9%)	117 (46.4%)	206 (43.4%)	
Yes – Once	31 (13.9%)	41 (16.3%)	72 (15.2%)	
Yes – More than once	103 (46.2%)	94 (37.3%)	197 (41.5%)	0.146
Respondent expressed desire to know the cause of death				
No	1235 (97.6%)	1216 (97.9%)	2451 (97.8%)	
Yes	30 (2.4%)	26 (2.1%)	56 (2.2%)	0.638
Respondent suggested potential cause of death				
No	909 (71.9%)	890 (71.7%)	1799 (71.8%)	
Yes	356 (28.1%)	352 (28.3%)	708 (28.2%)	0.912
Inter-VA able to assign cause of death				
Indeterminate	77 (6.1%)	66 (5.3%)	143 (5.7%)	
Determinate	1188 (93.9%)	1176 (94.7%)	2364 (94.3%)	0.404
Number of “Yes” responses to closed questions**				
Neonates	22.6 (5.3)	22.2 (5.3)	22.4 (5.3)	0.297
Infants	21.5 (6.8)	21.3 (7.3)	21.4 (7.0)	0.658
Child	22.2 (8.2)	21.3 (8.1)	21.8 (8.1)	0.122

556 *Questions only asked for respondents who had a visible display of emotional distress (n=475); “other” was
 557 not further specified, but informal feedback from MEOs reported examples of distress seen in facial
 558 expressions and body language.

559 **Different numbers of questions are asked for different age groups

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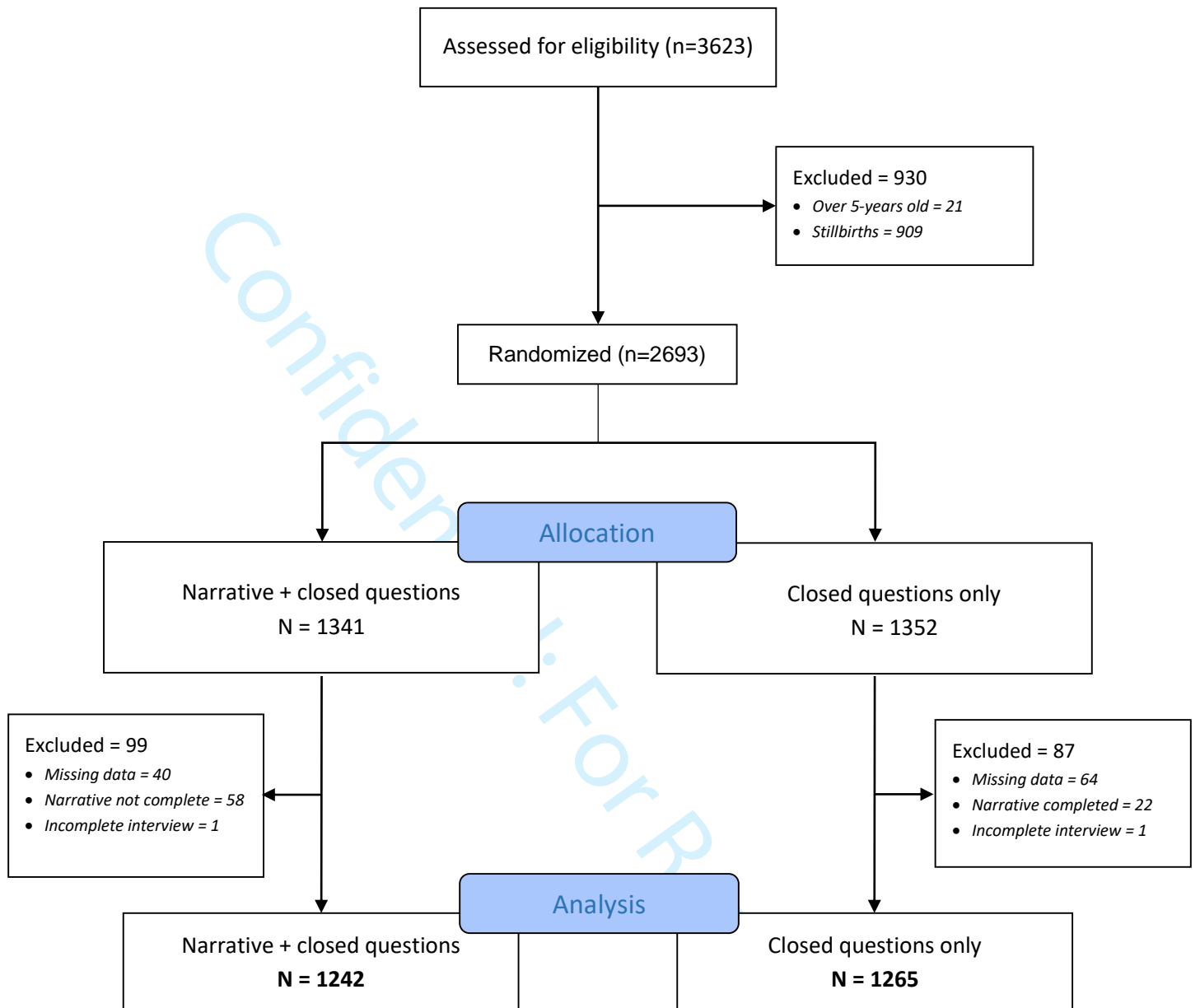
562 **Table 3:** Logistic regression exploring associations between respondent and child characteristics and
 563 emotional distress during VA.

<i>Visible emotional distress due to open narrative</i>			
Descriptors		aOR* (95% CI)	p-value
Open narrative	No	1.00	
	Yes	1.20 (0.98, 1.47)	0.084
Respondent	Mother	1.00	
	Father	0.72 (0.49, 1.07)	0.102
	Grandparent	0.23 (0.13, 0.39)	<0.001
	Others	0.04 (0.01, 0.28)	0.001
Child's age	Neonate	1.00	
	Infant	1.42 (1.09, 1.85)	0.010
	Child under-5	1.21 (0.86, 1.69)	0.274
Child's sex	Male	1.00	
	Female	0.99 (0.80, 1.22)	0.920
Location of death	Home	1.00	
	Health centre	1.36 (1.04, 1.77)	0.023
	MDH	0.96 (0.72, 1.27)	0.753
	En route to hospital	1.49 (1.00, 2.22)	0.049
	Other	0.38 (0.23, 0.64)	<0.001
Socio-economic status by tercile	Tercile 1 (Lowest)	1.00	
	Tercile 2 (Middle)	1.52 (1.17, 1.97)	0.002
	Tercile 3 (Highest)	1.49 (1.13, 1.95)	0.004
Delay between death & VA (Weeks)		0.98 (0.98, 0.99)	0.002

564 *All variables presented were included in the adjusted analysis

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Web-Appendix 1: Group discussion topic guide

1. What is your experience of conducting verbal autopsies?
2. Can you describe the typical interview process?
3. Thinking specifically about interviews which DID NOT have an open narrative:
 - a. How did you establish a rapport with the respondents?
 - b. Did you feel the quality of the responses was accurate?
 - c. Were there any issues in conducting the interviews?
4. Now thinking specifically about the interviews which DID have an open narrative:
 - a. How did you establish a rapport with the respondents?
 - b. Did you feel the quality of the responses was accurate?
 - c. Were there any issues in conducting the interviews?
5. Overall, what were the biggest challenges in conducting the verbal autopsies?
6. Overall, did you feel there were any positive aspects of conducting these interviews?
7. Did you feel the open narrative improved the interview process for respondents? And for you? Why / Why not?
8. If you could recommend a best practice for conducting verbal autopsies, what would it be? Why?

Web-appendix 2: Comparison of interviews which did not comply with the randomisation protocol

	Interview conducted per protocol (n=2507)	Protocol violation	
		No narrative group (n=22)	Narrative group (n=58)
Respondent			
Mother	1931 (77.0%)	19 (86.4%)	46 (79.3%)
Father	200 (8.0%)	2 (9.1%)	4 (6.9%)
Grandparent	266 (10.6%)	-	6 (10.3%)
Other	110 (4.4%)	1 (4.6%)	2 (3.5%)
Socio-economic status by tercile			
Tercile 1 (Lowest)	838 (33.4%)	6 (27.3%)	20 (34.5%)
Tercile 2 (Middle)	879 (35.1%)	8 (36.4%)	19 (32.8%)
Tercile 3 (Highest)	790 (31.5%)	8 (36.4%)	19 (32.8%)
Child's age			
Neonate (0-4 weeks)	1058 (41.9%)	7 (32.8%)	19 (32.8%)
Infant (5-52 weeks)	654 (26.4%)	10 (45.5%)	18 (31.0%)
Child (12-59 months)	795 (31.7%)	5 (22.7%)	21 (36.2%)
Child's sex*			
Male	1326 (52.9%)	9 (40.1%)	24 (42.1%)
Female	1181 (47.1%)	13 (59.1%)	33 (57.9%)
Location of death			
Home	797 (31.8%)	8 (36.4%)	13 (22.4%)
Health centre	652 (26.0%)	5 (22.7%)	20 (34.5%)
MDH	616 (24.6%)	5 (22.7%)	12 (20.7%)
En-route to hospital	181 (7.2%)	-	6 (10.3%)
Other	261 (10.4%)	4 (18.2%)	7 (12.1%)
Mean (SD)			
Delay between death and VA (weeks)	22.5 (15.5)	25.5 (14.9)	23.0 (14.3)

*One child in the non-compliant narrative group was missing a value for sex.

Web-Appendix 3: Comparison of randomised groups

	No Narrative N = 1265 (51%)	Narrative N = 1242 (49%)	Total N = 2507	<i>p-value</i>
Respondent				
Mother	985 (77.9%)	946 (76.2%)	1931 (77.0%)	
Father	95 (7.5%)	105 (8.5%)	200 (8.0%)	
Grandparent	125 (9.9%)	141 (11.4%)	266 (10.6%)	
Other	60 (4.7%)	50 (4.0%)	110 (4.4%)	0.400
Socio-economic status by tercile				
Tercile 1 (Lowest)	408 (32.3%)	430 (34.6%)	838 (33.4%)	
Tercile 2 (Middle)	459 (36.3%)	420 (33.8%)	879 (35.1%)	
Tercile 3 (Highest)	398 (31.5%)	392 (31.6%)	790 (31.5%)	0.343
Child's age				
Neonate (0-4 weeks)	505 (39.9%)	553 (44.5%)	1058 (41.9%)	
Infant (5-52 weeks)	352 (27.8%)	302 (24.3%)	654 (26.4%)	
Child (12-59 months)	408 (32.3%)	387 (31.2%)	795 (31.7%)	0.042
Child's sex				
Male	677 (53.5%)	649 (52.3%)	1326 (52.9%)	
Female	588 (46.5%)	593 (47.8%)	1181 (47.1%)	0.526
Location of death				
Home	408 (32.3%)	389 (31.3%)	797 (31.8%)	
Health centre	327 (26.9%)	325 (26.2%)	652 (26.0%)	
MDH	297 (23.5%)	319 (25.7%)	616 (24.6%)	
En route to hospital	78 (6.2%)	103 (8.3%)	181 (7.2%)	
Other	155 (12.3%)	106 (8.5%)	261 (10.4%)	0.008
	Mean (SD)	Mean (SD)		
Delay between death and VA (Weeks)	22.6 (15.5)	22.5 (15.4)	22.5 (15.5)	0.838