

This is an Open Access document downloaded from ORCA, Cardiff University's institutional repository:<https://orca.cardiff.ac.uk/id/eprint/100331/>

This is the author's version of a work that was submitted to / accepted for publication.

Citation for final published version:

Allen, Davina 2017. From polyformacy to formacology. *BMJ Quality & Safety* 26 (9) , pp. 695-697. 10.1136/bmjqs-2017-006677

Publishers page: <http://dx.doi.org/10.1136/bmjqs-2017-006677>

Please note:

Changes made as a result of publishing processes such as copy-editing, formatting and page numbers may not be reflected in this version. For the definitive version of this publication, please refer to the published source. You are advised to consult the publisher's version if you wish to cite this paper.

This version is being made available in accordance with publisher policies. See <http://orca.cf.ac.uk/policies.html> for usage policies. Copyright and moral rights for publications made available in ORCA are retained by the copyright holders.



EDITORIAL: FROM POLYFORMACY TO FORMACOLOGY

DAVINA ALLEN

In this edition Redley and Raggatt report on the use of risk assessment tools in the care of older people in Victoria Australia. Concern with healthcare quality and safety has precipitated widespread use of a range of such seemingly simple interventions. Check-lists, pathways, algorithms are a tempting way for organizations and healthcare professionals to signal to the outside world that they are making a good faith effort to ensure service quality. Yet the popularity of these everyday tools has not been matched by their systematic and critical analysis, leading to concern about the potential impact of a growing epidemic of 'polyformacy' on healthcare systems. Redley and Raggatt draw into view specific insights about risk management in older people, but their research highlights issues of wider relevance about the use of everyday technologies for healthcare quality and safety that merit further reflection.

A key finding from the study was the sheer volume of tools identified in the 11 health services - 52 in total – and the associated burdens for staff and patients. Healthcare work has always involved charts and documents of one kind or another, but over the last three decades the patient record has been transformed from a loosely structured narrative description produced for educational purposes¹ into a highly complex account of any aspect of treatment that has official status². In a context in which trust in professionals has been replaced by trust in auditable systems, documentation has become important evidence of organizational and professional performance³. Far from serving as a straightforward catalogue of care, the patient record comprises of multiple documents with a variety of

purposes. Synthesizing and making sense of this assorted information is a demanding task⁴ which, as Redley and Raggatt report, can lead to further complexity through duplication.

In Redley and Raggatt's study, an important driver for the selection of assessment forms, and the rationale for using multiple specific but overlapping tools, was accreditation with the National Safety Quality Health Service Standards. It has become increasingly common for external agencies to impose such requirements on organizations so that the appearance of public scrutiny can be maintained. Of course, the danger with such an approach is that the form is taken as a proxy for actual activity. Redley and Raggatt report that although quality assurance processes incentivized compliance with the risk assessment documentation, their completion did not necessarily result in action to mitigate risk.

This decoupling of formal organizational processes from actual operational practices was first observed by Meyer and Rowan⁵ who argued that many elements of organizational life are not driven by efficiency or function, but by the need to secure organizational legitimacy through the adoption of accepted models for the attainment of desirable ends. Thus many organizational structures stem not from the demands of the work, but are highly institutionalized myths depicting accepted cultural pressures about the appropriate way of acting. According to Meyer and Rowan, 'formal structures that celebrate institutionalized myths differ from structures that act efficiently' (p.355). Organizations accommodate these tensions by routinely decoupling arrangements produced in

in order to achieve legitimacy from those necessary to support concrete work activity. These observations have been contentious, partly because of their connotations of deception and partly because they did not rest well with the empirical experiences of scholars. As Redley and Raggatt's study shows, however, in healthcare certainly, formal rules and procedures *do* impact on delivery processes, but their consequences are not necessarily in line with their intended effects⁶.

I have a longstanding interest in everyday technologies in healthcare, beginning with the use of nursing care plans⁷, through the politics of integrated care pathway development⁸⁻¹³, to on-going work on escalation pathways and transfers of care. My analyses have drawn on a body of social sciences research that underscores the role of everyday technologies in organizational life¹⁴. While deprecatingly describing itself as 'The Society of People Interested in Boring Things'¹⁵, the work is practically very useful and its application to healthcare quality and safety long overdue. There is a pressing need for everyday technologies to be taken seriously in improvement initiatives and in the space that remains I will sketch out some key considerations for progressing such an agenda.

First, a necessary prerequisite for advancing this field is to treat everyday technologies as 'actors' that *do* things in healthcare processes, rather than inanimate objects. There is plenty of evidence that tools have value in supporting human activity or bringing about behavioural change¹⁶, but healthcare has a poor record of being explicit about these mechanisms and understanding how they are influenced by the context in which they are used. The nursing process, a system for documenting patient assessment and

individualized care planning, worked well as an intervention to support nurse education, but was impractical to implement in the workplace⁷. Integrated care pathways are effective in coordinating action in the acute phase of stroke, but less so for rehabilitation purposes where there is a need for greater flexibility in addressing individual need¹⁸.

Second, recognition of everyday technologies as 'actors' in healthcare processes directs attention to their 'affordances'. The concept of affordances comes from the psychology of perception, and refers to how humans orient to objects in terms of the possibilities they offers for action¹⁷. When people interact with or through, technologies, it is necessary for them to find ways of managing the constraints and the possibilities for action that emerge from a technology's affordances¹⁶. This has important implications when one technology or actor is replaced with another. Research on the invisible organizing work of hospital nurses revealed the limitations of Patient Status at a Glance Whiteboards when those tools were compared with the functioning of nurses themselves in mediating information flows¹³.

Third, closely related to affordances is the notion of 'scripts'. This directs attention to the assumptions that are embedded in a tool about the world in which it is to be implemented. Thus, a door presupposes that a human actor will open and shut it if it is to do its job of closing a hole in the wall¹⁹. Similarly, an early warning score presupposes that key vital signs will be measured correctly at the appropriate intervals and that the various items can be added together accurately if it is to identify patients at risk

of deterioration. If the equipment, skills or resources are not available for observations to be taken when required, or the users of the tool are unable to calculate the scores, then the tool cannot function as intended.

Fourth, taking everyday technologies seriously focuses critical attention on the content of such interventions. This can lead to errors of commission or omission. Despite the wide range of assessment tools in use, Redley and Raggatt's study revealed gaps in assessment processes according to best practice. The perceived lack of evidence underpinning tool content can act as a powerful disincentive for their use, seriously undermining their value as a multidisciplinary tool.¹²

Finally, systematic engagement with everyday technologies requires attending to the relationship *between* artefacts in a clinical micro system. All too often new forms are added to an already oversaturated field, without consideration for these issues. As Redley and Raggatt show, meeting the National Safety Quality Health Service Standards produced duplication of content in multiple forms.

Redley and Raggatt offer important insights into the use of risk assessment tools in the care of older people in Australia. I have used this work as a springboard for wider consideration of the use of everyday technologies in healthcare and to issue a call to arms for a new sub-field of improvement - we might call it formacology! – that addresses systematically and critically the content, form and use of check-lists, proforma and their like.

REFERENCES

1. Seigler EL. The evolving medical record. *Annals Internal Medicine* 2010;153: 671-677.
2. Berg M, Bowker, G. The multiple bodies of the medical record: toward a sociology of artefact. *The Sociological Quarterly* 1997; 38(3): 513-537.
3. Power M. *The Audit Society: Rituals of Verification*. Oxford: Oxford University Press 1997.
4. Allen D. *The Invisible Work of Nurses: Hospitals, Organisation and Healthcare*. London: Routledge 2015.
5. Meyer JW Rowan B. Institutionalized organizations: formal structure as myth and ceremony. *American Journal of Sociology* 1977; 83(2): 340-363.
6. Berg M. On distribution, drift and the electronic record: Some tools for a sociology of the formal. In *Proceedings of the Fifth European Conference on Computer Supported Cooperative Work*, Kluwer Academic Publishers 1997.
7. Allen D. Record-keeping and routine nursing practice: the view from the wards *Journal of Advanced Nursing* 1998; 27: 1223-1230
8. Allen D. From boundary concept to boundary object: the politics and practices of care pathway development. *Social Science & Medicine* 2009; 69: 354-361.
9. Allen D. Care pathways: an ethnographic description of the field. *International Journal of Care Pathways* 2010; 14: 47-51.
10. Allen D. Care pathways: some social scientific observations on the field. *International Journal of Care Pathways* 2010;14: 4-9.
11. Allen D. Understanding context for quality improvement purposes: artefacts, affordances and socio-material infrastructure, *Health* 2013; 15(5): 460-477
12. Allen D. Lost In Translation? Articulating institutional logics in integrated care pathways: from positive to

negative boundary object, *Sociology of Health & Illness* 2014; 36(6): 807-22

13. Allen D. The importance, challenges and prospects of taking work practices into account for healthcare quality improvement: Nursing work and patient status at a glance white boards *Journal of Healthcare Management and Organisation* 2016; 30(4): 672-689

14. Hutchby I. Technology, texts and affordances. *Sociology* 2001; 35: 411-456.

15. Star SL. Lampland M. Reckoning with standards. In Lampland M. and Star SL. eds. *Standards and their Stories: How Quantifying, Classifying and Formalizing Practices Shape Everyday Life.*, Cornell: Cornell University Press; 2009: 3-24.

16. Hutchins E. *Cognition in the Wild*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press 1995.

17. Gibson JJ. *The Ecological Approach to Perception*. London: Houghton Mifflin 1979.

18. Allen D. Rixson L. How has the impact of 'care pathway technologies' on service integration in stoke care been measured and what is the strength of the evidence to support their effectiveness in this respect? *International Journal of Evidence Based Healthcare* 2008; 6 (1): 78-110

19. Latour B. Technology is society made durable. In Law J. Ed. *A sociology of Monsters: Essays on Power, Technology and Domination*. London: Routledge 1991: 103-131.