The Problem with Traditional Accident Models to Investigate Patient Safety Incidents in Healthcare

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Abstract In healthcare, a number of patients experience incidents, where accident models have been used to understand such incidents. However, it has been often traditional accident models used to understand how incidents might occur and how future incidents can be prevented. While other industries also use traditional accident models and built incident investigation techniques based on the traditional models, such models and techniques have been criticised to be insufficient to understand and investigate incidents in complex systems. This paper provides insight into the understanding of patient safety incidents by highlighting the problems with traditional accident models to investigate patient safety incidents, and gives a number of recommendations. We hope that this paper would trigger further discussions on the fundamental concept of the incident investigations in healthcare.

Keywords Accident models \cdot Incident investigation \cdot Patient safety

Introduction

In healthcare, the incident rate is estimated to be between 6 and 25% of the patient admissions (Baker [2004](#page-5-0); Landgrigan et al. [2010\)](#page-6-0). Incidents not only lead to patient harm, but also to financial loss, psychological harm to healthcare staff, reputational damage and so on (Davies [2014;](#page-6-0) Barach and Small [2000](#page-5-0)). It is, therefore, considerable efforts have been made to minimise the occurrence of incidents in

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healthcare (Hayes et al. [2014](#page-6-0); Vincent and Amalberti [2016;](#page-7-0) Sujan et al. [2015](#page-7-0)). For instance, hospitals adopted incident reporting system from aviation (Mitchell et al. [2016\)](#page-6-0), and used a range of techniques to investigate incidents (NHS England [2015;](#page-6-0) Woodward et al. [2004;](#page-7-0) House of Commons [2015;](#page-6-0) Center for Chemical Process Safety [2010\)](#page-6-0). However, such efforts have not demonstrated significant contribution to preventing incidents, and criticised due to underreporting rates, the quality of the reports, inadequate use of techniques and insufficient investigations (Sari et al. [2007;](#page-7-0) NHS [2015;](#page-7-0) Vincent [2007;](#page-7-0) Macrae [2016](#page-6-0); Lawton and Parker [2002](#page-6-0); Barach and Small [2000](#page-5-0)). Indeed, researchers discussed problems with incident investigations with often focusing on the use of Root Cause Analysis (Peerally et al. [2016;](#page-7-0) Card [2017\)](#page-6-0). However, there is little evidence to highlight the problems with the accident models, where such techniques were built on (Perneger [2005;](#page-7-0) Reason et al. [2006\)](#page-7-0).

Accident Models

Accident models have been developed to understand incidents, and so to prevent similar ones. Hollnagel [\(2004\)](#page-6-0) divides these models into three categories, sequential (e.g. domino model) (Heinrich [1931\)](#page-6-0), epidemiological (e.g. Swiss Cheese Model) (Reason [1997a](#page-7-0), [b\)](#page-7-0) and systemic (e.g. FRAM and STAMP) (Hollnagel [2004;](#page-6-0) Leveson [2004](#page-6-0)). Figure [1](#page-2-0) shows representative examples of their use when investigating the wrong medication incident in a hospital.

Sequential models imply that accidents transpire as a result of sequential events occurring in a specific order (Hollnagel [2004\)](#page-6-0). A specific type of accident potentially follows the same route and series of events (Huang et al. [2004](#page-6-0)). The domino model is the first model for this way of thinking. Based on the domino model, all accidents result from the social environment leading to a fault of the person, which results in unsafe acts, which lead to an accident and, in turn, an injury (Heinrich [1931\)](#page-6-0). The domino model suggests that accidents can be prevented by removing one of these five blocks so that the domino effect is interrupted (Hollnagel [2004\)](#page-6-0). Among these five blocks, Heinrich focused on the removal of the fault of the person. His study found that 88% of preventable accidents result from the unsafe acts of persons, 10% result from the unsafe machines and 2% are unavoidable (Heinrich [1931\)](#page-6-0). Thus, this model considers humans as the main reason for the accident.

The principles behind the sequential models have been used to built incident investigation techniques, including 5 Whys, Root Cause Analysis, Bow-Tie or Barrier Analysis and Fault Tree Analysis (Mullai and Paulsson [2011;](#page-6-0) Hollnagel [2004\)](#page-6-0). While these techniques have been successfully applied in a range of industries, the sequential models have still been criticised to be insufficient to explain incidents in complex systems. Epidemiological models were, therefore, developed to understand and investigate incidents more sufficiently.

Fig. 1 Representative examples for the application of accident models in wrong medication incident

Epidemiological models view accidents as a result of a combination of factors, which include environmental conditions, performance deviations leading to unsafe acts as well as latent conditions. Such factors pass through system barriers and defences, and, in turn, can lead to accidents. Adding barriers, therefore, can prevent accidents in these models (Hollnagel [2004;](#page-6-0) Hollnagel et al. [2014;](#page-6-0) Reason [2000\)](#page-7-0). The Swiss Cheese Model (SCM) is a well-known epidemiological model (Reason [1997a](#page-7-0), [b](#page-7-0)). It has been widely accepted in healthcare (Perneger [2005\)](#page-7-0). This model emerges from a triggering event through different levels of barriers from institution to technical. Since these barriers might not be perfect, weaknesses may exist due to latent conditions and active failures. If hazards break through all the "holes", this could lead to harm or loss (Vincent [2010](#page-7-0)). However, epidemiological models still follow the principles of sequential models and, therefore, limit the understanding of incidents. In turn, both of these sequential and epidemiological models were considered as traditional models, and systematic models have been developed to fully understand incidents (Hollnagel et al. [2014](#page-6-0)).

Systemic accident models have been built on systems theory. In systems theory, multiple factors act concurrently and accidents arise from combined mutually interacting factors (Klockner and Toft [2015;](#page-6-0) Leveson et al. [2016](#page-6-0)). Therefore, the interaction of these factors must be considered to understand the accidents and prevent similar ones (SIA [2012;](#page-7-0) Hollnagel [2004](#page-6-0)). Accimap (Rasmussen [1997\)](#page-7-0), the Functional Resonance Accident Model (FRAM) (Hollnagel et al. [2014\)](#page-6-0) and the Systems-Theoretic Accident Model and Processes (STAMP) (Leveson [2004](#page-6-0)) are the examples for systemic accident models.

In the healthcare literature, a few studies have used systemic models (Alm and Woltjer [2010](#page-5-0); Clay-Williams and Colligan [2015](#page-6-0); Pawlicki et al. [2016;](#page-7-0) Leveson et al. [2016](#page-6-0); Chatzimichailidou et al. [2017](#page-6-0)). For instance, Clay-Williams et al. (2015) (2015) used FRAM and revealed the difference between 'work as done' and 'work as imagined'. Alm and Woltjer [\(2010](#page-5-0)) used FRAM and uncovered a number of systematic interdependencies within a surgical procedure. Pawlicki et al. [\(2016](#page-7-0)) used Systems Theoretic Process Analysis (STPA) and revealed a comprehensive list of causal scenarios as well as a number of unsafe control actions.

Indeed, hospitals are complex by nature, and accidents occur due to several interacting factors. It can, therefore, be expected that hospitals should use incident investigation techniques, which are built on systemic models.

The Problems with Traditional Accident Models

Safety researchers have been accustomed to explain accidents by traditional accident models, which apply the cause-effect way of thinking for centuries. However, defining a sequence of events for an accident does not always lead to the accident itself (Hollnagel et al. [2014\)](#page-6-0). The limitations of the traditional models are summarised as follows:

- They are not adequate for complex systems, and might not explain today's accidents (Leveson [2011](#page-6-0)).
- Accidents are defined by a chain of events (Leveson [2011\)](#page-6-0).

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- Understanding is limited, where active failures play a major role to lead to an accident (Shorrock et al. [2005\)](#page-7-0).
- These models do not provide relationships among causal factors (Luxhoj and Kauffeld [2003](#page-6-0)).
- Defence layers are not independent and, therefore, one layer may erode another one (Dekker [2002\)](#page-6-0).
- Holes on the layers do not explain where the errors specifically are, what they consist of, and how the holes lead to an incident when there is a change in the system (Dekker [2002;](#page-6-0) Shappell and Wiegmann [2000](#page-7-0)).
- Latent conditions can be too difficult to control (Shorrock et al. [2005](#page-7-0)).

Additionally, Reason, himself comments on SCM by saying

the pendulum may have swung too far in our present attempts to track down possible errors and accident contributions that are widely separated in both time and place from the events themselves. (Reason [1997b,](#page-7-0) p. 234).

With all the limitations given, the use of traditional models may result in overlooking some important accident causation factors or using resources ineffectively and thus contribute to more serious incidents in the future. Consequently, the question that arises is how to prevent this from happening? The safety literature addresses this challenge by introducing new models, including FRAM (Hollnagel [2004\)](#page-6-0) and STAMP (Leveson [2004](#page-6-0)). While FRAM sees the glass as half-full by considering how to sustain success in daily works, STAMP sees the glass as half-empty by considering how to sustain sufficient safety control structure in the systems.

FRAM suggests that accidents occur when systems are unable to tolerate the system variances. This model focuses on performance variances in system functions and links among these functions by considering how things go right rather than how things go wrong (Hollnagel [2004\)](#page-6-0).

STAMP considers that accidents occur when systems are poorly controlled or individual controllers do not perform their responsibilities (Leveson [2004;](#page-6-0) Leveson et al. [2016\)](#page-6-0). This model focuses on the changes of technology and software, human behaviour, organisational culture and process by time (Leveson [2004](#page-6-0)).

On one hand, the systemic models can help fully understand incidents occurred in the complex settings of the healthcare system. On the other hand, not all parts of the healthcare system are complex, and so accidents may be able to be understood through the use of epidemiological models. Furthermore, many other complex industries also use epidemiological models and even use methods that were built on sequential models. For instance, Fault Tree Analysis and Event Tree Analysis are still successfully used in nuclear industries. Accident models can, therefore, be selected depending on the system needs, safety objectives and the complexity of the situations and the different parts of the healthcare system may thus require the use of different or a combination of accident models.

It should be also noted that while a few papers have been published regarding the effectiveness and use of the systemic models in healthcare (Clay-Williams et al. [2015;](#page-6-0) Alm and Woltjer 2010; Pawlicki et al. [2016;](#page-7-0) Leveson et al. [2016](#page-6-0)), these models were found to be difficult to implement as well as time-consuming to use (Larouzée and Guarnieri [2015;](#page-6-0) Carthey [2013](#page-6-0); Roelen et al. [2011\)](#page-7-0).

Discussion and Conclusion

In healthcare, incidents have been explained by the use of traditional accident models. Consequently, it is likely that patient safety incidents might not be understood well, and the true lessons from the incidents might not be learnt. Paving the way towards addressing this problem, it is recommended for incident investigators to consider the following factors.

- Be aware that accidents may occur at any time.
- Recognise that accidents may result from changes in the system, system failures, inadequate interactions among system elements, performance variances, system design, and inadequate controls as well as latent conditions and active failures.
- Determine the use of systematic accident models or a combination of traditional and systemic accident models to understand incidents.
- Consider the limitations of the existing patient safety investigation techniques as they were built on traditional accident models.

While traditional accident models claimed to pass their sell-by date (Reason et al. [2006](#page-7-0)), the systemic models have not passed the quality control yet. Thus, there is no ideal way to understand and investigate incidents. Perhaps, there is still a need to develop a simple, but effective accident model for the healthcare use alone. Or perhaps, these models should be combined with each other depending on the nature of the situations and the extension of the system under analysis. However, experiences from other industries have shown that accidents occur as a result of multiple interacting factors.

In this paper, recommendations provided might offer insight into acting in relation to understanding patient safety incidents. We hope that this paper would trigger further discussions on the fundamental concept of the incident investigations in healthcare.

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