

'Nesting networks'

Hinton, Lisa; Dumelow, C. ; Hodgkinson, James; Montgomery, C. ; Martin, A. ; Allen, C; Tucker , K; Green, M.E. ; Wilson , H; McManus, Richard; Chappell, L; Band , R

DOI:

[10.1016/j.midw.2023.103622](https://doi.org/10.1016/j.midw.2023.103622)

License:

Creative Commons: Attribution-NonCommercial-NoDerivs (CC BY-NC-ND)

Document Version

Peer reviewed version

Citation for published version (Harvard):

Hinton, L, Dumelow, C, Hodgkinson, J, Montgomery, C, Martin, A, Allen, C, Tucker , K, Green, ME, Wilson , H, McManus, R, Chappell, L & Band , R 2023, "Nesting networks": Women's experiences of social network support in high-risk pregnancy', *Midwifery*, vol. 120, 103622. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.midw.2023.103622>

[Link to publication on Research at Birmingham portal](#)

Publisher Rights Statement:

This is the Accepted Author Manuscript of an article published by Elsevier: L. Hinton, C. Dumelow, J. Hodgkinson, C. Montgomery, A. Martin, C. Allen, K. Tucker, M.E. Green, H. Wilson, R.J. McManus, L.C. Chappell, R. Band, 'Nesting networks': Women's experiences of social network support in high-risk pregnancy', *Midwifery*, Volume 120, 2023, 103622. The final published version is available at <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.midw.2023.103622>.

General rights

Unless a licence is specified above, all rights (including copyright and moral rights) in this document are retained by the authors and/or the copyright holders. The express permission of the copyright holder must be obtained for any use of this material other than for purposes permitted by law.

- Users may freely distribute the URL that is used to identify this publication.
- Users may download and/or print one copy of the publication from the University of Birmingham research portal for the purpose of private study or non-commercial research.
- User may use extracts from the document in line with the concept of 'fair dealing' under the Copyright, Designs and Patents Act 1988 (?)
- Users may not further distribute the material nor use it for the purposes of commercial gain.

Where a licence is displayed above, please note the terms and conditions of the licence govern your use of this document.

When citing, please reference the published version.

Take down policy

While the University of Birmingham exercises care and attention in making items available there are rare occasions when an item has been uploaded in error or has been deemed to be commercially or otherwise sensitive.

If you believe that this is the case for this document, please contact UBIRA@lists.bham.ac.uk providing details and we will remove access to the work immediately and investigate.

1
2
3
4
5
6
7
8
9
10
11
12
13
14
15
16
17
18
19
20
21
22
23
24
25
26
27
28
29
30
31

'Nesting networks': Women's experiences of social network support in high-risk pregnancy.

Abstract

Objective

Social support, an individual's social relationships (both online and offline), may provide protection against adverse mental health outcomes, such as anxiety and depression, which are high in women who have been hospitalised with high-risk pregnancy. This study explored the social support available to women at higher risk of preeclampsia during pregnancy by examining personal social networks.

Design

Semi-structured interviews were accompanied by social network mapping using the web-based social networking tool GENIE.

Setting England

Participants 21 women were recruited, of whom 18 were interviewed both during pregnancy and postnatally between April 2019 and April 2020. 19 women completed maps pre-natally, 17 women completed maps pre-natally and post-natally. Women were taking part in the BUMP study, a randomised clinical trial that included 2441 pregnant individuals at higher risk of preeclampsia and recruited at a mean of 20 weeks' gestation from 15 hospital maternity units in England between November 2018 and October 2019.

Results

Women's social networks tightened during pregnancy. The inner network changed most dramatically postnatally with women reporting fewer network members. Interviews revealed networks were primarily 'real-life' rather than online social networks, with members providing emotional, informational, and practical support. Women with a high-risk pregnancy valued the relationships they developed with health professionals during pregnancy, and would like their midwife to have a more central role in their networks by providing informational and, where needed, emotional support. The social network mapping data supported the qualitative accounts of changing networks across high-risk pregnancy.

Conclusion

32 Women with a high-risk pregnancy seek to build “nesting networks” to support them through
33 pregnancy into motherhood. Different types of support are sought from trusted sources.
34 Midwives can play a key role.

35 **Practice Implications.**

36 As well as highlighting other potential needs during pregnancy and the ways in which they can
37 be met, support from midwives has a key role. Through talking to women early in their
38 pregnancy, signposting information and explaining ways to contact health professionals
39 regarding informational or emotional support would fill a gap that currently is met by other
40 aspects of their network.

41

42 **Keywords**

43 High-risk pregnancy, social support, networks, midwives, qualitative, network mapping

44

45 **1. Introduction**

46 **Social support**

47 Social support, an individual's social relationships (both online and offline), is good for health
48 across the life course, and has been studied extensively in men and women[1-4]. It plays a
49 crucial role during pregnancy; the presence of social support is important for mental health
50 and pregnancy outcomes [5-9] including preterm birth, negative birth experiences and adverse
51 outcomes [10, 11]. Social support is particularly important for women's pregnancy experience,
52 recovery and psychological wellbeing following a high-risk pregnancy. [12]. Hypertensive
53 disorders of pregnancy or high blood pressure, affect 10% of women worldwide, and
54 preeclampsia complicates 2% to 8% of pregnancies [13]. In addition to serious adverse health
55 outcomes for both woman and baby, preeclampsia can be associated with negative
56 psychological consequences such as guilt, disappointment, loss of control, stigma, and fear
57 of harm (or death) for the woman and baby [12, 14, 15].

58 High risk pregnancies more generally are associated with higher levels of anxiety and women
59 are in need of psychosocial support. This support may be emotional (displays of caring, trust,
60 and empathy), instrumental (concrete help and service) and informational (advice,
61 suggestions, and information) [16-18]. Social support may provide a buffer against adverse
62 mental health outcomes, such as anxiety and depression, which are especially high in women
63 who have been hospitalised with preeclampsia [19-21].

64 **Social networks**

65 Individual social networks may include partners, family, friends, colleagues, health
66 professionals, neighbours, and online sources [22-24]. Mapping social networks in other
67 contexts using the concentric circles method [25] has identified the importance of size,
68 diversity of members and presence of weak ties in social networks [26]. Weak ties are a salient
69 feature of contemporary society that is less centralised and has a broader diffusion of support
70 networks and distributed knowledge that has grown alongside the primary set of relationships
71 an individual sustains. [26] In pregnancy, social network density has been associated with
72 lower rates of loneliness and network size with lower rates of depression [27]. Different social
73 network members may provide varying types of support depending on women's changing

74 support needs. Online sources, such as social networking sites, have been used to bolster
75 knowledge and improve support when women perceive gaps in their physical network during
76 pregnancy [28-31]. The changing nature of social networks has also been identified in
77 pregnancy, including a strong 'social nesting' movement towards family [32]. Despite this
78 small body of knowledge on social networks in pregnancy, little is known about the context
79 and use of social networks amongst women with a high-risk pregnancy during their transition
80 to parenthood.

81 The aim of this study was to explore the social support available to women who are at higher
82 risk of developing preeclampsia during pregnancy by examining personal social networks, and
83 to better understand how online and offline social networks interact during the transition to
84 parenthood for this group of women.

85

86 **2. Methods**

87 This sub-study was embedded within the BUMP 1 (Blood pressure monitoring in high-risk
88 pregnancy to improve the detection of hypertension) Randomised Controlled Trial (RCT) [33,
89 34]. Women were included in the BUMP trials if they were aged 18 years or above, between
90 16 and 24 weeks' gestation and were at higher risk for preeclampsia defined as having one or
91 more of the following risk factors: age 40 years or older, nulliparity, pregnancy interval of more
92 than 10 years, family history of preeclampsia, previous history of preeclampsia or gestational
93 hypertension, body mass index 30 kg/m² or above at booking, chronic kidney disease, twin
94 pregnancy, diabetes or autoimmune disease [35]. The BUMP trial included 2441 pregnant
95 individuals recruited at a mean of 20 weeks' gestation from 15 hospital maternity units in
96 England between November 2018 and October 2019. For this sub-study, a sample of 21
97 women were purposively recruited from the BUMP 1 RCT to ensure diversity in age, parity,
98 risk factors and ethnic background and education level [Table 1]. They were provided a
99 description of the sub-study at the point of enrolment to the trial. If they consented to contact,
100 a researcher contacted them regarding participation in the sub-study. A social network
101 perspective was taken which offers the opportunity to explore how social relationships are
102 important for wellbeing, but also how the quality and quantity of these relationships may
103 change over time.

104 Interviews were conducted between April 2019 and April 2020. Ethical approval was gained
105 from the West Midlands - South Birmingham NHS Research Ethics Committee: ref
106 17/WM/0241. The trial was prospectively registered with the clinicaltrials.gov registry,
107 NCT03334149.

108

109 **2.1 Data Collection**

110 Women were contacted for interview during pregnancy and invited to take part in up to three
111 interviews, two to take place during pregnancy (the first upon entry to the study, at
112 approximately 20 weeks, and the second at approximately 36 weeks) and one postnatally
113 (approximately 12 weeks after birth). Written informed consent was obtained from eligible
114 women after they had been given an information pack to read. At each data collection point,
115 women were invited to generate their current social network map and then completed the
116 qualitative interview. Interviews were conducted by CM, JH, LH and CA and took place in
117 women's own homes or by telephone (according to the woman's preference).

118 2.1.1 Network mapping

119 The web-based social networking tool GENIE (Generating Engagement in Networks
120 Involvement) was used with participants to produce an individual, time-specific visual image
121 of their existing support network. Concentric circle network map production, facilitated by the
122 researcher, allows for discussion and reflection on who and what is currently important in
123 providing support, how this is accessed, and any recent changes [36]. This process
124 conceptualises the participant as the centre of their network of support, with three concentric
125 circles surrounding this. The innermost circle represents who or what they view as important
126 in their daily lives, the mapping process starts here and works outwards. The researcher
127 guides the participant to reflect on a variety of relationships and support, allowing for
128 participants to change the map as the map is generated. The first mapping experience was
129 conducted face to face. If subsequent interviews were conducted by telephone the researcher
130 completed the network map on behalf of the participant. The circles were used as a heuristic
131 device to help participants visualise their own social network, and to elaborate on the different
132 forms of support provided by different network members, at different times, and in response
133 to different needs as their pregnancy progressed and postnatally.

134 2.1.2 Qualitative interviews

135 Interviews were semi-structured and included questions on the type of support each social
136 network member provided, how women used online sources of support in conjunction with
137 their physical network, and reflections on how women felt about their social network over the
138 course of their pregnancy and postnatally. The topic guide is included in supplemental file 1.

139 **2.2 Analysis**

140 Interviews were audio-recorded and transcribed verbatim. CD read the transcripts and listened
141 to the audio recordings for data familiarisation. Initial codes were identified which were
142 discussed with LH, RB and CA. These codes were applied to all transcripts using NVivo 11
143 qualitative data analysis software. Using constant comparison, a technique derived from
144 grounded theory, codes were compared within and between each other aiding the iterative
145 search for themes, which were reviewed, defined and named [37]. Recurrent themes were
146 identified in discussion with LH, CD, RB, CA and JH. Network map data was extracted to
147 provide descriptive accounts of the network. For each network map the total number of
148 network members (count) was recorded; the types of relationship (i.e., parent, friend,
149 healthcare professional) were recorded during the mapping process and consequently, a
150 summary count for each relationship type was collated. The frequency of contact (in days per
151 year) was coded for each network member and a summary score generated. A numerical
152 value was assigned to each frequency of contact coding per network member within each
153 map. For example, a network member they saw daily was coded as 365 support days while
154 network members they saw weekly was assigned 52 support days. The support days were
155 then summarised for each network map and time point. Network changes over time were
156 explored in relation to overall network size, the number of network members within each
157 relationship type and contact frequency, and are presented alongside the qualitative data.
158 Data are reported in line with journal standards for qualitative research [38].

159 **3. Results**

160 Twenty-one women were recruited, of whom 18 were interviewed both during pregnancy and
161 postnatally. Three women were lost to follow-up after being interviewed once during
162 pregnancy. Not all interviews were accompanied by a network map. 19 women completed
163 maps pre-natally, only 17 women completed maps pre-natally and post-natally. Fourteen
164 women lived in Oxfordshire, 5 in Greater London and 2 in the West Midlands. Fourteen were
165 in their first pregnancy. Interviews took place between April 2019 and April 2020. Not all
166 participants were interviewed twice during pregnancy, due to availability, and two were not
167 interviewed postnatally due to loss to follow up caused by lockdown during the pandemic.
168 Three postnatal interviews took place after the UK lockdown began in March 2020.

169 Those we interviewed were highly educated and broadly representative of the UK population
170 in terms of ethnicity, including White British (15), White mixed (1), White European (1), Asian
171 or Asian British (2), Black or Black British (1) and Black African (1) (see Table 1).

172 **3.1 Network mapping**

173 Review of network maps generated by women in this study explored the number of network
174 members (total and within each concentric circle) and the frequency of support coded during

175 mapping. As all three maps were not available for all women, their first pre-natal and post-
176 natal maps are presented in this analysis. During high-risk pregnancy, women described
177 gathering a wide range of support from various sources including family, friends, work
178 colleagues, pregnancy groups, websites and smartphone applications, neighbours, pets, and
179 health professionals. The amount of perceived support varied from woman-to-woman and for
180 women over the course of pregnancy. During their pregnancy, women identified an average
181 of 17 network members in the mapping process (range = 8-28), but this reduced after birth to
182 (on average) 15 network members (range=10-18) (Table 4). At the core of the network was
183 the “inner circle” which reflected the perceived most significant support during and after their
184 pregnancy. In some cases, this included just a partner or parents, but also often included other
185 close friends and relatives, with an average of six network members included before birth
186 (range 1-11). It was this inner circle that changed most markedly postnatally with women
187 reporting fewer members (average n=4, range 2-8). For many, their inner circle reduced from
188 a broad range of people to close family and friends.

189 Frequency of contact between the women and each network member was recorded in the
190 mapping process; this was used to provide an estimate of “support days” available to women,
191 using a method previously described elsewhere [39]. Comparing antenatal and postnatal
192 maps, the amount of support available from partners and friends remained constant across
193 time (see Table 2 and 3). However, women reported increased contact from parents and
194 formal parent groups in the postnatal period, with decreased contact from healthcare
195 professionals, online sources, colleagues, and relatives other than parents. See Figures 1 and
196 2 for sample anonymised maps.

197

198 INSERT TABLES

199

200

201 **3.2 Interviews**

202 The analysis of interviews provided explanation for the reduction observed in the support
203 network and focussed on the *types* of support women sought out. Women described how,
204 during pregnancy, there were people in the outer circles of their social network they hoped
205 would have a bigger support role postnatally, such as pregnant friends, neighbours, or new
206 friends from their shared experience of pregnancy. In contrast, there were also network
207 members who dropped away after birth, such as work colleagues, or through other life events
208 like moving house or relocating.

209 **Types of support**

210 Analysis of the interviews revealed how social network members provided emotional,
211 informational, and practical support. Some network members would provide several types of
212 support, others only emotional support or practical support. Emotional support was where
213 women shared worries and sought reassurance from members of their network. Informational
214 support was where women sought information from their network to support their pregnancy.
215 Practical support was where women sought practical help from members of their network. A
216 final source of support was health professionals who women turned to if they were seeking
217 clinical advice.

218 **3.2.1 Emotional support**

219 Emotional support took the form of talking about the pregnancy and childbirth including
220 sensitive aspects, seeking reassurance, offloading worries and concerns. Women reported
221 going to different members of their network for different types of emotional support, but two
222 principal groups emerged: “close confidantes” and those with “shared experiences”.

223 “Close confidantes” were trusted family members or long-term friends where women felt they
224 could safely express and offload their worries and concerns without judgment. Women turned
225 to different people depending on the response they needed. Technology meant these
226 members did not have to be physically proximate. Women used technology, such as
227 WhatsApp, to contact friends and family living further away, or in another country. There were
228 clear timepoints when women turned to a social network member for emotional support, such
229 as when they experienced the onset of a new symptom in pregnancy and when first told they
230 were at potential risk for preeclampsia.

231

232 *when I just have, just need to like talk to someone about the pregnancy or something*
233 *[um] or just like text her like a question or a call]..... Like for instance when I found*
234 *out that it was breeched yesterday,but she was so like helpful and she will be*
235 *helpful obviously if I have to have a caesarean because she has gone through it.*
236 *(Participant 3)*

237

238

239 People with “shared experiences” were another group who women turned to, with the shared
240 experiences meaning people in this group were able to show empathy and understanding
241 which provided emotional support.

242 *“It’s one of those relationships where you can just definitely ask anything without any*
243 *sort of embarrassment or shame. It’s really useful in pregnancy it turns out.”*
244 *(Participant 10)*

245

246 A few women sought emotional support from their health professionals, primarily their
247 midwives [see 3.2.4]. Two other types of emotional support were provided by network
248 members. One was “fun friendships” which consisted of people who they did not talk to in
249 detail about their pregnancy, but who provided a connection to other interests outside
250 pregnancy and childbirth. The second, for some women, were networks that included pets and
251 children. Dogs provided companionship and offered an opportunity to exercise which had
252 emotional benefits. Although most participants were in their first pregnancy, those with children
253 indicated they could provide emotional support by usually being a source of joy.

254 **3.2.2 Informational support**

255 Women sought informational support for various reasons. Women described generic
256 information needs, such as seeking information about their baby’s development week-by-
257 week and planning for birth, as well as seeking informational support for specific events, such
258 as, learning their pregnancy was high risk or the development of new symptoms. The women
259 in our sample described needing information to support their high-risk pregnancy and this
260 information came from diverse sources.

261 *It’s like my hands and feet started swelling and I looked, I looked it up [on baby App] ,*
262 *‘oh yeah that’s perfectly normal, I’ve been on my feet all day.’ (Participant 2)*

263

264 A broad range of diverse social ties were used for informational support including other
265 pregnant women and recent mothers, older relatives/friends with experiences of pregnancy,
266 childbirth and parenting, online sources (websites including NHS Choices, smartphone
267 applications , social networking sites, YouTube videos), health professionals and antenatal
268 classes, pregnancy yoga and baby classes.

269 *“She’s just become kind of close, particularly since the pregnancy, because she just*
270 *had a baby as well. She’s given me tons of info; she sends me stuff all the time [...]*
271 *we were friends beforehand, but it’s become much closer because of the pregnancy*
272 *because she’s someone who’s been very supportive and helpful throughout it all.”*
273 *(Participant 3)*

274

275 Women did use online sources for informational support, but any online information was
276 usually verified or triangulated with other people in their physical social network. Trusted
277 sources, such the NHS website, were preferred to social networking sites, particularly to find
278 out more medical pregnancy-related information and more factual information about
279 pregnancy and baby care.

280 *I look on the NHS website regarding pregnancy quite a lot. I've had a few health*
281 *scares. I don't mean to be paranoid about things but you do end up being a little bit*
282 *paranoid and rather than going instantly with both feet thinking there's something*
283 *wrong I'll have a look at the online website for my symptoms. And then match it up to*
284 *anything and then just keep an eye on it. Like with this gestational diabetes I was on*
285 *the cusp of that when I was 25 weeks and I think I haven't had another test for it but I*
286 *think I've probably got it because I'm very thirsty all the time and I've looked at the*
287 *symptoms and that's from the website. (Participant 10)*

288 *Sometimes you read too much on the internet and I have been warned many times,*
289 *that sometimes information can actually not contribute to a good cause but to more*
290 *stress. [.....] If I'm concerned, I double check with the midwife or with my friend or the*
291 *doctors or with people like more experience. (Participant 19)*

292 *I'm very careful about all the other websites. There's a lot of anecdotal stories.*
293 *(Participant 12)*

294

295 Few women described using online social networks to connect with other pregnant women,
296 unless it was a specialised group such as an online fertility network, or specialist Facebook
297 groups.

298

299 **3.2.3 Practical support**

300 Women turned to three groups within their network for practical support; those in their inner
301 circle who either lived locally or were able to provide support for continuous periods at a time
302 if they lived further away, neighbours, and people in their outer circle who were available for
303 emergency situations. Two types of practical support were provided by social network
304 members; day-to-day support, for example, with household and childcare tasks, attending
305 medical appointments, providing/shopping for baby-related equipment; and emergency
306 situation support whereby social network members had a support role if other members were
307 unavailable.

308

309 *“She’s, like, you know, she helped me put the buggy together, for example. And she’s*
310 *already offered to come like before the birth and clean my house. She’s very, she’s*
311 *very practical in the type of support that she will offer.” (Participant 20)*

312

313 People who provided practical support were people who women felt they can ask for support
314 unconditionally, this primarily consisted of family members and close friends. For some
315 women, neighbours also offered practical support, especially if they had children or were also
316 pregnant. Neighbours were available in emergency situations and new connections were built
317 during their pregnancy with neighbours who were pregnant or recent mothers.

318 *“I feel like sort of inner circle people you can definitely, I don’t know, ask to do stuff for*
319 *you and, I don’t know, without sort of worry. Whereas, perhaps as you get further out*
320 *there’s you, yeah you’d probably call on inner circle people first.” (Participant 10)*

321

322 *There’s a couple of old colleagues who still work with [my partner] who we’re leaving*
323 *a key with in case there’s any emergencies while he’s away. So I don’t speak to them*
324 *for months at a time and don’t keep up with them about much but they’re local and*
325 *they’d be happy to get me to and from the hospital, for example. (Participant 14)*

326

Sources of practical support

- The inner circle – people who either lived locally or were able to provide support if they lived further away
- Neighbours
- The outer circle who were available for emergency situations.

Types of practical support

- day-to-day support, for example, with household and childcare tasks, attending medical appointments, providing/shopping for baby-related equipment
- emergency situation support

327 *Box 1 – Sources and types of practical support*

328

329 **3.2.4 Healthcare professionals**

330 When women were experiencing worrisome symptoms in their high-risk pregnancy, they
331 would turn to their clinical network for advice, such as calling the triage/ maternity assessment
332 unit (MAU).

333 *I'm at the hospital quite a bit. I just ask questions, like, as and when I go to the midwife*
334 *or the doctors because I've been going quite regularly, I think I've had to, I went to*
335 *MAU once. I had to ring up and go in but apart from that I've been in hospital once or*
336 *twice a week anyway, so I've been asking stuff as and when I'm there. (Participant 1)*

337 Women saw their midwife as the health professional who would be most easy to access during
338 pregnancy, and their first point of contact. Women who knew they could contact their midwife
339 between appointments, and how to do so, said they felt supported.

340 *The midwives I'm kind of happy with, I know that I can always phone up with any*
341 *queries" (Participant 17)*

342 *I just had such a great relationship with [my midwife] that if I had any questions*
343 *sometimes, I'd message her." (Participant 6)*

344 *I'm sure if there was something I needed, I could go to the midwife or the doctor and*
345 *they would be able to put me in the right direction, yeah. (Participant 2)*

346 However, others would have liked health professionals to be more central in their social
347 network. Ease of access was key. Not all women knew how to access timely informational
348 support from their community midwife and so sought out other sources, such as the internet
349 or friends in their social network who were easy to access and could provide a quick answer.
350 Some women wanted their midwife to have a more central role in their informational support
351 network.

352 *"I'd like to bring the midwives right into the middle [of the network]. I just think, well*
353 *they've got all the knowledge there, but I don't, they're not really imparting that*
354 *knowledge. I'm finding out from Google and NHS website rather than from them*
355 *directly.... So, it would be good to have somebody who's a professional." (Participant*
356 *7)*

357
358 *"I think I've learnt more from friends than I've learnt from anybody else which doesn't*
359 *really seem the right way round [...] I don't feel like disappointed I have to Google*
360 *things, but it's just a shame I haven't already got the information" (Participant 5).*

361

362 *There's loads of different phone numbers but I don't know what, because they*
363 *haven't really, she never said specifically "oh if there's any issues just call her." I feel*
364 *like it's hard to get hold of them. I don't know who I'm meant to call when and I have*
365 *to ask things rather than be told things. (Participant 7)*

366

367 Lack of continuity left women feeling it was difficult to build rapport. Women with high-risk
368 pregnancies were also under the care of obstetricians, but here lack of continuity also
369 prevented them feeling supported.

370

371 *But I've never seen the same person when I've been. So and I've been to two*
372 *midwife appointments and they've both been with different midwives. So again, like*
373 *last time I had the same midwife and go more often. But I haven't got a relationship*
374 *with anybody that I can really sort of, got a rapport with yet. [...]*

375

376 *But, I guess, if you see the same consultant they know your background from my*
377 *previous health problems with my previous pregnancy and kind of, kind of understand*
378 *it a bit more. [.....] I was at the hospital on Tuesday and two weeks before at the*
379 *high-risk clinic and the people I speak to say, they're just, like, "Well nothing can be*
380 *decided until later on," and they just give what their opinion on it but it's always*
381 *different to the person I've seen before. (Participant 1)*

382

383

384 Although National Institute for Health and Care Excellence (NICE) guidance recommends that
385 mental health should be regularly discussed before, during and after pregnancy, our data
386 suggest in practice women were finding support elsewhere. [40] Most women we interviewed
387 said they would prefer to talk to other people in their social network for emotional support first
388 rather than their midwife, general practitioner (GP) or health visitor, although a few women did
389 speak to a health professional first for emotional support. Knowing the health visitor or midwife
390 were available to support them had been form of emotional support for some women, although
391 women in our sample described generally poor experience of health visitor support.

392

393 **4. Discussion and Conclusion**

394 **4.1 Discussion**

395 This study found that participating women with high-risk pregnancies created a 'nesting
396 network' that supported them during their pregnancy and the post-partum period. These

397 'nesting networks' were made up of network members who could provide 'nesting resources'
398 in the form of emotional, informational, and practical support which formed a strong framework
399 of support for their baby and for themselves. This 'nesting' in preparation for their newborn
400 happened in different ways, bringing different ties from their network into proximity to meet
401 their current and perceived future needs. The network maps provide a visual representation
402 of how these networks narrow to the inner circle as the pregnancy progresses. (Figures 1 and
403 2)

404 Women's networks go through a process of change during pregnancy linked to a changing
405 social self as well as health needs, brought on by temporarily exiting the workforce, and
406 distancing from friends and activities not aligned with pregnancy [2]. When a pregnancy is
407 classed as high risk, the value of building a strong network of support becomes perhaps even
408 more important, where preparation for parenthood is characterised by disrupted pathways,
409 time spent in hospital and premature birth and higher levels of anxiety and depression [18,
410 41]. Urgent support requests were frequently triggered by changes in symptoms, or threats to
411 health. Where gaps in their network existed, women in our study sought ways to fill them from
412 different means; for example, when timely informational support was not available from health
413 professionals, other sources within their network were used, such as friends or the Internet.
414 Technology, such as telephone and social media platforms, enabled women to seek
415 informational and emotional support across a wide geographical spread, and beyond the
416 confines of close physical proximity. Three interviews were conducted during the COVID-19
417 pandemic. The rapid change to the provision of remote antenatal care, compelled women to
418 adjust to new ways of accessing and receiving antenatal care and information [42, 43].

419 Previous studies in pregnancy have identified different types of social support used by women
420 [44, 45]; our findings extend this work by exploring how women with a high-risk pregnancy use
421 the different members of their network for support, and how those networks change. Our
422 findings indicate that woman navigate their network to identify those best able to provide the
423 support required; this can depend on several factors including the nature and urgency of the
424 support needed and how accessible network members are. In other contexts, this navigation
425 and negotiation are hypothesized mechanisms through which an individual can generate
426 collective efficacy [46]. We found that when seeking support, sometimes there was overlap in
427 the types of support provided by a social network member, such as practical and emotional
428 support. These different forms of support intersect, much like a nest, to provide a framework
429 in preparation for birth of their baby. Both online sources and physical networks are used to
430 build this framework of support.

431 While previous research has indicated widespread use of online social networks in pregnancy
432 [47, 48], women in this study rarely used online social networks to meet other pregnant
433 women. Where these online social networks were used for information, they were perceived
434 as opinion rather than being empirically grounded. Women preferred to seek information from
435 their physical network, health professionals, in particular their midwives, or trusted online
436 sources, such as the NHS website. While the relatively high educational level of the women
437 in our study may explain this, the high-risk nature of their pregnancy, and that they were
438 making decisions affecting their baby's life rather than just their own, may make women more
439 cautious about who they seek information from, and require higher levels of trust [49]. In line
440 with this, in building their "nesting network" women with a high-risk pregnancy wanted greater
441 and easier ways to access information from their maternity healthcare professionals, although,
442 as reported, some in our study felt well supported by health professionals, especially their
443 midwife. Given the known impact of high-risk pregnancy on mental health, previous research
444 suggests healthcare professionals should support women with a high-risk pregnancy to
445 manage their emotional needs [17]. However, a lack of continuity of care left some women
446 reporting they had not developed a relationship with their midwife. These individuals did not
447 automatically seek emotional support from their midwife or health visitor, nor feel it was
448 something they were able to do. However, support from their midwife was highly valued in
449 cases where a trusting relationship was established.

450 Analysis of the pregnancy experiences of women with social risk factors, who are at
451 significantly greater risk of poor outcomes, has highlighted the value and importance of
452 relationships and the provision of practical and emotional support [50]. These are vital in some
453 pregnancies as there is, for example, widespread lack of knowledge and understanding about
454 the signs and symptoms of preeclampsia or other high risk complications in pregnancy, and
455 the ways of speaking up and effectively seeking urgent medical assessment and care [51].
456 Research on new models of group antenatal care have highlighted its potential as an
457 instrument of empowerment and reaffirmed importance of social support for women with high
458 risk pregnancies and/or from socio-economically disadvantaged and minority ethnic groups
459 [52, 53]. While these models of antenatal care offer promise, this study adds insights into the
460 multiple layers of support that women can draw on throughout their pregnancies and
461 transitions to motherhood.

462 There are strengths and limitations to the study findings. This study uses an innovative
463 approach, using a social network perspective to explore the importance of social relationships
464 during and after a high-risk pregnancy. But it has several limitations. Firstly, the sample was
465 small, had generally high education levels and those included were predominantly in their first

466 pregnancy rather than for other high-risk pregnancy factors. Interviews were conducted by
467 several different researchers, with some in participants' homes and others over the telephone
468 which might create bias in the data. Not all participants were interviewed twice during
469 pregnancy and two were not interviewed postnatally due to loss to follow up caused by
470 lockdown during the pandemic. Three postnatal interviews took place after the pandemic
471 lockdown began in March 2020 which would have created an enforced change to their social
472 networks that may not have existed otherwise, but this study does not address changes in
473 social networks that resulted from the national lockdowns of 2020-21 [54].

474 **4.2 Conclusion**

475 Women with a high-risk pregnancy build “nesting networks” to support them through
476 pregnancy into motherhood, and these networks change significantly in the postnatal period.
477 Different types of social support are gathered from trusted sources, mostly people they know
478 who have experience of pregnancy, childbirth, and parenting. These different strands intersect
479 and mesh together to provide a framework of support. Although the internet is used for
480 informational support during pregnancy, women value information gathered from their physical
481 social network more than from an online social network. Women value the role their midwives
482 can play in their “nesting network” by being central to providing timely accessible informational
483 support during pregnancy.

484 **4.3 Practice Implications**

485 The African proverb “it takes a village to raise a child” has relevance [55]. This study
486 demonstrates women gain support from a diverse range of sources, and among these
487 midwives are a trusted voice. Women with a high-risk pregnancy highlighted the value that a
488 midwife can play in supporting them through their pregnancies, by providing accessible and
489 timely informational support and, where needed, emotional support. Recommendations
490 include talking to women early on in their pregnancy about their support and information
491 needs, highlighting the social changes ahead and exploring existing and potential social
492 support networks. Signposting information and explaining ways to contact midwives regarding
493 informational or emotional support would provide guidance about other aspects of their
494 network which may not be providing accurate and up to date information on management of
495 high-risk pregnancies.

496

497

498

499

500

501

502 **References**

- 503 1. Kouvonen, A., et al., *Social support and the likelihood of maintaining and improving levels of*
504 *physical activity: the Whitehall II Study*. The European Journal of Public Health, 2012. **22**(4):
505 p. 514-518.
- 506 2. Oakley, A., *Social support and motherhood (Reissue): The natural history of a research*
507 *project*. 2018: Policy Press.
- 508 3. Malicka, I., et al., *The role of social support in women's health and recovery processes*.
509 *Psychology, Health & Medicine*, 2016. **21**(1): p. 81-91.
- 510 4. Negron, R., et al., *Social support during the postpartum period: mothers' views on needs,*
511 *expectations, and mobilization of support*. Maternal and child health journal, 2013. **17**(4): p.
512 616-623.
- 513 5. Elsenbruch, S., et al., *Social support during pregnancy: effects on maternal depressive*
514 *symptoms, smoking and pregnancy outcome*. Human reproduction, 2007. **22**(3): p. 869-877.
- 515 6. Agampodi, T.C., et al., *Social capital and health during pregnancy; an in-depth exploration*
516 *from rural Sri Lanka*. Reproductive health, 2017. **14**(1): p. 1-19.
- 517 7. Baker, B., et al., *Competence and responsiveness in mothers of late preterm infants versus*
518 *term infants*. Journal of Obstetric, Gynecologic & Neonatal Nursing, 2013. **42**(3): p. 301-310.
- 519 8. Oakley, A., *Social support in pregnancy: the 'soft' way to increase birthweight?* Social Science
520 & Medicine, 1985. **21**(11): p. 1259-1268.
- 521 9. Oakley, A., et al., *Social support in pregnancy: does it have long-term effects?* Journal of
522 Reproductive and Infant Psychology, 1996. **14**(1): p. 7-22.
- 523 10. Moshki, M. and K. Cheravi, *Relationships among depression during pregnancy, social support*
524 *and health locus of control among Iranian pregnant women*. International Journal of Social
525 Psychiatry, 2016. **62**(2): p. 148-155.
- 526 11. Sigurdardottir, V.L., et al., *The predictive role of support in the birth experience: A*
527 *longitudinal cohort study*. Women and Birth, 2017. **30**(6): p. 450-459.
- 528 12. Roberts, L.M., G.K. Davis, and C.S. Homer, *Pregnancy with gestational hypertension or*
529 *preeclampsia: A qualitative exploration of women's experiences*. Midwifery, 2017. **46**: p. 17-
530 23.
- 531 13. Duley, L., *The global impact of pre-eclampsia and eclampsia*. Semin Perinatol, 2009. **33**(3): p.
532 130-7.
- 533 14. Barlow, J.H., J. Hainsworth, and S. Thornton, *Women's experiences of hospitalisation with*
534 *hypertension during pregnancy: feeling a fraud*. Journal of Reproductive and Infant
535 Psychology, 2008. **26**(3): p. 157-167.
- 536 15. Fleury, C., M. Parpinelly, and M.Y. Makuch, *Development of the mother-child relationship*
537 *following pre-eclampsia*. Journal of Reproductive and Infant Psychology, 2010. **28**(3): p. 297-
538 306.
- 539 16. Cohen, S. and T.A. Wills, *Stress, social support, and the buffering hypothesis*. Psychological
540 bulletin, 1985. **98**(2): p. 310.
- 541 17. McCoyd, J.L., L. Curran, and S. Munch, *They say, "If you don't relax... you're going to make*
542 *something bad happen": Women's emotion management during medically high-risk*
543 *pregnancy*. Psychology of Women Quarterly, 2020. **44**(1): p. 117-129.
- 544 18. Gourounti, C., N. Karpathiotaki, and G. Vaslamatzis, *Psychosocial stress in high risk*
545 *pregnancy*. International Archives of Medicine, 2015. **8**.
- 546 19. Coburn, S.S., et al., *Multiple domains of stress predict postpartum depressive symptoms in*
547 *low-income Mexican American women: The moderating effect of social support*. Archives of
548 women's mental health, 2016. **19**(6): p. 1009-1018.
- 549 20. Razurel, C., et al., *Relationship between perceived perinatal stress and depressive symptoms,*
550 *anxiety, and parental self-efficacy in primiparous mothers and the role of social support*.
551 *Women & Health*, 2017. **57**(2): p. 154-172.

- 552 21. Jonsdottir, S.S., et al., *Partner relationship, social support and perinatal distress among*
553 *pregnant Icelandic women*. *Women and Birth*, 2017. **30**(1): p. e46-e55.
- 554 22. Baker, B. and I. Yang, *Social media as social support in pregnancy and the postpartum*. *Sexual*
555 *& Reproductive Healthcare*, 2018. **17**: p. 31-34.
- 556 23. Kraschnewski, J.L., et al., *Paging "Dr. Google": does technology fill the gap created by the*
557 *prenatal care visit structure? Qualitative focus group study with pregnant women*. *Journal of*
558 *Medical Internet Research*, 2014. **16**(6): p. e3385.
- 559 24. Cornish, D.L. and S.R. Dobie, *Social support in the "fourth trimester": A qualitative analysis of*
560 *women at 1 month and 3 months postpartum*. *The Journal of perinatal education*, 2018.
561 **27**(4): p. 233-242.
- 562 25. Kennedy, A., et al., *Implementing a social network intervention designed to enhance and*
563 *diversify support for people with long-term conditions. A qualitative study*. *Implementation*
564 *Science*, 2016. **11**(1): p. 27.
- 565 26. Rogers, A., et al., *Why less may be more: a mixed methods study of the work and relatedness*
566 *of 'weak ties' in supporting long-term condition self-management*. *Implementation science*,
567 2014. **9**(1): p. 1-11.
- 568 27. Yu, Q., et al., *Associations Between Social Network Characteristics and Loneliness During*
569 *Pregnancy in a Sample of Predominantly African American, Largely Publicly-Insured Women*.
570 *Maternal and Child Health Journal*, 2020. **24**(12): p. 1429-1437.
- 571 28. Pedersen, S. and D. Lupton, *'What are you feeling right now?' communities of maternal*
572 *feeling on Mumsnet*. *Emotion, space and society*, 2018. **26**: p. 57-63.
- 573 29. Mackintosh, N., et al., *Online resources and apps to aid self-diagnosis and help seeking in the*
574 *perinatal period: A descriptive survey of women's experiences*. *Midwifery*, 2020. **90**.
- 575 30. Nolan, S., et al., *Social networking site (SNS) use by adolescent mothers: Can social support*
576 *and social capital be enhanced by online social networks? – A structured review of the*
577 *literature*. *Midwifery*, 2017. **48**: p. 24-31.
- 578 31. Mills, A., et al., *Someone to talk to: young mothers' experiences of participating in a young*
579 *parents support programme*. *Scandinavian Journal of Caring Sciences*, 2013. **27**(3): p. 551-
580 559.
- 581 32. Gameiro, S., et al., *Social nesting: Changes in social network and support across the*
582 *transition to parenthood in couples that conceived spontaneously or through assisted*
583 *reproductive technologies*. *Journal of Family Psychology*, 2010. **24**(2): p. 175.
- 584 33. Tucker, K.L., et al., *Effect of self-monitoring of blood pressure on diagnosis of hypertension*
585 *during higher-risk pregnancy: the BUMP 1 randomized clinical trial*. *JAMA*, 2022. **327**(17): p.
586 1656-1665.
- 587 34. Chappell, L.C., et al., *Effect of Self-monitoring of Blood Pressure on Blood Pressure Control in*
588 *Pregnant Individuals With Chronic or Gestational Hypertension: The BUMP 2 Randomized*
589 *Clinical Trial*. *JAMA*, 2022. **327**(17): p. 1666-1678.
- 590 35. Dougall, G., et al., *Blood pressure monitoring in high-risk pregnancy to improve the detection*
591 *and monitoring of hypertension (the BUMP 1 and 2 trials): protocol for two linked*
592 *randomised controlled trials*. *BMJ Open*, 2020. **10**(1): p. e034593.
- 593 36. Kennedy, A., et al., *Implementing a social network intervention designed to enhance and*
594 *diversify support for people with long-term conditions. A qualitative study*. *Implementation*
595 *Science*, 2015. **11**(1): p. 1-15.
- 596 37. Glaser, B. and A. Strauss, *The discovery of grounded theory*. 1967, Hawthorne, NY: Aldine
597 Publishing Company.
- 598 38. Salmon, P., *Assessing the quality of qualitative research*. *Patient education and counseling*,
599 2013. **1**(90): p. 1-3.
- 600 39. Reidy, C., C. Foster, and A. Rogers, *A novel exploration of the support needs of people*
601 *initiating insulin pump therapy using a social network approach: a longitudinal mixed-*
602 *methods study*. *Diabetic Medicine*, 2020. **37**(2): p. 298-310.

- 603 40. National Institute for Health and Care Excellence, N., *Antenatal and postnatal mental health: clinical management and service guidance [CG192]*. 2014.
- 604
- 605 41. Duffy, J.M., et al., *What outcomes should researchers select, collect and report in pre-eclampsia research? A qualitative study exploring the views of women with lived experience of pre-eclampsia*. BJOG: An International Journal of Obstetrics & Gynaecology, 2019. **126**(5): p. 637-646.
- 606
- 607
- 608
- 609 42. Jardine, J., et al., *Maternity services in the UK during the coronavirus disease 2019 pandemic: a national survey of modifications to standard care*. BJOG: an international journal of obstetrics and gynaecology, 2021. **128**(5): p. 880-889.
- 610
- 611
- 612 43. Hinton, L., et al., *Quality framework for remote antenatal care: qualitative study with women, healthcare professionals and system-level stakeholders*. BMJ Quality & Safety, 2022.
- 613
- 614 44. Johnson, S.A., *'Intimate mothering publics': comparing face-to-face support groups and Internet use for women seeking information and advice in the transition to first-time motherhood*. Culture, health & sexuality, 2015. **17**(2): p. 237-251.
- 615
- 616
- 617 45. Zhou, J., et al., *Changes in social support of pregnant and postnatal mothers during the COVID-19 pandemic*. Midwifery, 2021. **103**: p. 103162.
- 618
- 619 46. Band, R. and E. James, *The role of collective efficacy in long-term condition management: A metasynthesis*. 2019.
- 620
- 621 47. Gleeson, D.M., A. Craswell, and C.M. Jones, *Women's use of social networking sites related to childbearing: An integrative review*. Women and Birth, 2019. **32**(4): p. 294-302.
- 622
- 623 48. Smith, M., et al., *The relationship between digital media use during pregnancy, maternal psychological wellbeing, and maternal-fetal attachment*. PloS one, 2020. **15**(12): p. e0243898.
- 624
- 625
- 626 49. Sillence, E., et al., *A revised model of trust in Internet-based health information and advice: Cross-sectional questionnaire study*. Journal of medical Internet research, 2019. **21**(11): p. e11125.
- 627
- 628
- 629 50. Rayment-Jones, H., et al., *How do women with social risk factors experience United Kingdom maternity care? A realist synthesis*. Birth, 2019. **46**(3): p. 461-474.
- 630
- 631 51. Carter, W., et al., *A narrative synthesis of factors that affect women speaking up about early warning signs and symptoms of pre-eclampsia and responses of healthcare staff*. BMC pregnancy and childbirth, 2017. **17**(1): p. 1-16.
- 632
- 633
- 634 52. Hunter, L.J., et al., *Better together: A qualitative exploration of women's perceptions and experiences of group antenatal care*. Women and Birth, 2019. **32**(4): p. 336-345.
- 635
- 636 53. Byerley, B.M. and D.M. Haas, *A systematic overview of the literature regarding group prenatal care for high-risk pregnant women*. BMC pregnancy and childbirth, 2017. **17**(1): p. 1-9.
- 637
- 638
- 639 54. Aydin, E., et al., *Giving birth in a Pandemic: Women's Birth Experiences in England during COVID-19*. BMC Pregnancy and Childbirth, 2022. **22**(1): p. 1-11.
- 640
- 641 55. Reupert, A., et al., *It Takes a Village to Raise a Child: Understanding and Expanding the Concept of the "Village"*. Frontiers in Public Health, 2022. **10**.
- 642

643

644

645

646

647 **Appendices**

648 **Questionnaire**

649 **Qualitative interview topic guide**

650 **Network maps**